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Library.*

*Although the present incumbent assumed his position  
June 1st, 1907, the accompanying volume has been  
edited by Mrs. Laura E. Howey, the late librarian,  
and to her all the credit is due.*

*Volume seven will be issued during the year 1908.*

*Wm. S. Bell, Librarian.*





MONTANA CAPITOL BUILDING.



CONTRIBUTIONS  
TO THE  
Historical Society of  
Montana

WITH ITS  
TRANSACTIONS, OFFICERS AND  
MEMBERS

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Vol. VI.

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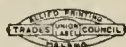
"Give praise to others, early come and late,  
For love and labor on our Ship of State."  
John Boyle O'Reilly.

"The labours of others have raised for us  
an immense reservoir of important facts."  
Charles Dickens.

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1907

"INDEPENDENT PUBLISHING COMPANY, HELENA, MONTANA."





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## Preface.

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The act to incorporate the Historical Society of Montana was approved by Governor Edgerton, February 2, 1865, nearly forty-two years ago.

The purposes of the organization, namely, “to *collect* and *arrange facts* in regard to the early history of this territory, the discovery of its mines, and incidents of the fur trade,” have never been lost sight of during all the changes and vicissitudes incident to the formative years of such an organization. Of the list of named incorporators, given on page 19 of Vol. II. of the Historical Society contributions, but two are living today—Granville Stuart, in Butte, Montana, and F. M. Thompson, in Greenfield, Mass. The biographies of most of them have been published in former volumes—Chief Justice Hosmer in Vol. III.; Malcolm Clark and W. W. DeLacy in Vol. II.; James Stuart in Vol. I., and C. E. Irvine in Vol. VI.

These men certainly deserve a prominent place in the Historical Society publications. True, they only began the great work, but most of the original members clung to the cause through their entire lifetime, gathering facts and material priceless today. After eleven years of sublime, patient effort, in 1876, through the recommendations of Gov. B. F. Potts in his message to the legislature, an appropriation was made for the publication of a volume, the first one issued. The Introduction to Vol. II., which appeared twenty years later, in 1896, fully sets forth the conditions of the Territory during that period and the adverse circumstances of the Society as a result of those conditions. Since 1896, however, better days have come to the organization. It has been enabled to publish at stated intervals of two years apart Vols. III., IV., V. and VI.



The future seems bright before it now that its vast collection has become a part of the State Library, properly housed, and its volumes can be carefully edited from time to time by those in charge.

The aim of the editor of the last four volumes has been to present systematically at least a *part* of the data collected. While it is true the province of the department is to gather material for a future historian to use, at the same time we can publish such material as the Executive Documents, the schools and churches in chronological order, beginning with the first, as was done in Vol. III., interspersed with interesting episodes of pioneer life and single events of interest and importance.

In the selection of proper material for these volumes, Judge Hedges was a most excellent counsellor to whom we always turned for advice. He well knew the embarrassment of riches which came to him in the preparation of Vol. II. for publication. It seemed one of the most difficult tasks he ever undertook to select from this vast storehouse of invaluable historic facts, that which ought to have precedence in the forthcoming volume. He regretted it contained so much, but did not see how he could make it smaller. Even with the greatest care on his part and his two assistants in the work, Henry Wheeler and Wilbur U. Sanders, librarians, the volume is larger than they anticipated or desired. It contains more words than any other volume, but as it is finer print does not seem so large as later ones. To maintain a uniform size is a matter to be considered always. The difficult problem will ever remain what shall be published in the next issue, and how much. Local criticism may be expected, but it should ever be borne in mind we are endeavoring to chronicle events of our history from which some individual historian may in future evolve a *connected* history of Montana.

It is a source of deep regret to the present editor not to

be able to publish several very interesting contributions she had had carefully prepared for this time, but owing to the length of "Contributions" which *must come* according to our plan, namely Executive Documents, Biography and Church History, it did not seem wise to crowd the volume; but we are greatly indebted to Mr. C. E. Titus for his intensely interesting and valuable sketch of "Chief Joseph's Last Stand at Bear Paw Mountain," to W. U. Sanders, former librarian, for a most excellent and timely article entitled "The Naming of Montana," and to many others for papers of equal value.

The delay in the publication of this volume seemed unavoidable. Although the manuscript was sent to the public printer more than a year ago, the crowded condition of that office, owing to the publication of state officers' reports required by law to be ready by the first of the year, made it necessary to lay our work to one side during that rush. The biennial report from this department was ready in proper time to present to the legislature, and it contained the following recommendations regarding the publication of Vol. VII.:

"I would recommend the publication of Vol. VII. next year, and would urge the reprint of all the important part of the Lewis and Clark journal through Montana in it, together with the valuable contributions we now have from Prof. Sillway on the birds, and Prof. Elrod on the plants mentioned by these intrepid explorers on their journey through this State, and if illustrated with the views we have obtained from Mr. De Camp and Mr. Carpenter, and other photographs of their camping places in Montana, views never yet published, we can make an intensely interesting and important volume for our own school children and older ones, and of value to all readers of the Lewis and Clark story."

In the preparation of this number we are greatly indebted



to the President of the Board, who was chosen by that body to assist me in the task of editing the book. We are also under obligations to Mrs. J. J. Ryan, Judge Henry N. Blake, Mrs. J. A. Ferguson and Mr. Al Lathrop for assistance rendered, and to the large number of pioneer men and women who have cheerfully answered questions and given suggestions as to matters of importance which could not be verified from any other source. We are grateful, too, for the use of pictures from the Anaconda Standard and the citizens possessing those required to complete the illustrations.

LAURA E. HOWEY.

OFFICERS  
OF THE  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
OF MONTANA  
1905-1906

---

President

MASSENA BULLARD,  
Helena, Montana,

Librarian and Secretary

LAURA E. HOWEY,  
Helena, Montana.

Board of Trustees

MASSENA BULLARD,                      DAVID HILGER,  
J. M. BOARDMAN,                      NORMAN B. HOLTER  
ALBERT I. LOEB



## Transactions.

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Helena, Montana, Dec. 1, 1904.

The Board of Trustees of the Historical and Miscellaneous Department of the Montana State Library met in Mr. Bullard's office, Thursday, December 1st, 1904, to consider the biennial report of the librarian. It was formally passed upon, and after the president prepared the letter of transmittal as required by law, a copy was duly signed by the members present, and forwarded to the governor.

Another copy was sent to the public printer with instructions to print 500 copies, 150 of which were to be cloth bound.

No further business appearing the Board adjourned.

MASSENA BULLARD,

President.

C. HEDGES, JR., Secretary Pro Tem.

---

Helena, Montana, March 14, 1905.

4 o'clock P. M.

Minutes of the regular meeting of the Trustees of the Historical and Miscellaneous Department of the Montana State Library held at the office of the library in the State Capitol, commencing at four o'clock P. M. on the fourteenth day of March, 1905.

The following named Trustees constituting a quorum of the Board were present, to-wit:

J. M. Boardman, N. B. Holter, Massena Bullard.

It was announced that Trustee David Hilger was prevented from attending the meeting by reason of sickness in his family and that Trustee A. I. Loeb was absent from the state.

The Board was organized by the election of Massena Bullard as President and by the unanimous vote of the trustees present of Mrs. Laura E. Howey as Librarian and Secretary.

The Minutes of the meeting of the Board held December 1st, 1904, were read and approved.

The Librarian presented a financial statement for the months of December, 1904, January and February and up to and including the fourteenth day of March, 1905, which was read, and upon motion duly seconded and carried the same was approved.

On motion duly seconded and carried it was ordered that the Librarian be and she is hereby authorized for and on behalf of this Department of the State Library to purchase of Fisk Brothers 254 volumes of the Helena Herald for a purchase price not to exceed \$350.00.

The Librarian announced that Mr. A. J. Fisk had presented this department of the State Library with a complete set of Hubert Bancroft's works, whereupon the librarian was instructed to express to Mr. Fisk the appreciation of the Board for his generous gift.

Upon motion duly seconded and carried it was ordered that the Librarian be authorized to retain her present assistants, Miss Florence Fortune and Miss Mary Pew, the former to be assigned the position provided for by the legislative assembly, and the salary of the latter to be paid from the general appropriation.

After an informal discussion of the matters pertaining to the best interests of the library the Board upon motion duly seconded and carried adjourned.

MASSENA BULLARD,

President.

LAURA E. HOWEY,

Secretary and Librarian.





Helena, Montana, May 1, 1907.

4 O'clock P. M.

Minutes of a special meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Historical and Miscellaneous Department of the State Library, held pursuant to due and regular notice, at the office of said department, in the State Capitol, in the City of Helena, Montana, commencing at 4 o'clock p. m. on the first day of May, 1907.

The following named Trustees constituting the full board were present, to-wit: N. B. Holter, A. I. Loeb, David Hilger, J. M. Boardman and Massena Bullard.

On motion, duly seconded and carried, Massena Bullard was elected Chairman *pro tem*.

Thereupon, upon motion duly made, seconded and carried, Massena Bullard was elected as President of the Board for the remainder of the current term and until his successor shall be duly elected and qualified.

The President called the attention of the Board to a communication received by him from Hon. Joseph K. Toole, Governor of Montana, and the opinion of the Attorney-General of Montana, to which reference is made in said communication from the Governor, which communication and opinion are as follows:

Executive Office, Helena, Montana, March 23, 1907.

Hon. Massena Bullard, Chairman Board of Trustees, Historical and Miscellaneous Department of the State Library, Helena, Montana:

Dear Sir:—I have recently had occasion to consider a number of executive appointments erroneously made, and as a result have been obliged to revoke six or seven appointments upon the ground that the appointees were ineligible under Section VII of Article V of the Constitution.

Another phase of the question was recently presented to the Attorney General involving a construction of another section of the Constitution as to the right of a woman to hold the office of Notary Public and the office of Librarian of the Historical and Miscellaneous Department of the State Library, which, upon consideration by the Attorney General, was determined adversely to her right to hold any office except that of "County Superintendent of Schools or any School District Office," and that such disqualified person cannot maintain an action to recover the salary attached to the office.

The opinion of the chief law officer of the State appears to be well considered and sustained by ample authorities, and would seem to be

conclusive upon the question of woman's ineligibility to hold any office under the Constitution or laws of this State, with the two exceptions above enumerated.

It is known to you that the former appointments of the present incumbent of the Librarian's office, made three different times by your Board and covering a period of six consecutive years, have not only been made with my approval, but in each instance upon my official endorsement, so that for whatever responsibility attaches to this constitutional oversight, I am, with you, *pari delicto*.

To the end, therefore, that no invidious distinctions be made, and that all appointments in the Executive Department of the State may possess the qualifications prescribed by the Constitution, I indulge the hope that your Board will be called in early session to elect some suitable male elector of the State to succeed the acting Librarian.

I have often commended, publicly and privately, the great interest manifested by her in her work and regret that an exigency has arisen which makes it incumbent upon those in authority to take the action above indicated.

Yours Truly,

J. K. TOOLE,  
Governor.

Department of Attorney General,

Helena, Mont., March 22, 1907.

To His Excellency, JOSEPH K. TOOLE,

Governor of the State of Montana, Helena, Montana:

Dear Sir:—Your communication of the twentieth instant, in which you request an official opinion upon the following statement of facts, received:

"In course of business of this office numerous applicants for appointment as Notaries Public give only the initials of their name, and on several occasions I have been misled into the appointment of persons who are subsequently found to be women.

"Acting upon the belief that such appointments were unauthorized by the Constitution, I have promptly revoked the same as soon as the facts were brought to my attention. My investigation of the question has not, however, been exhaustive, and I shall be glad to have the written opinion of your office as to the eligibility of women to hold such office under the Constitution and laws of this State.

"Under the law the Trustees of the State Historical Library appoint a Librarian, and the present incumbent—appointed three several times with my express approval—is a woman. Recent investigations of the general power of appointment lead me to inquire whether that position is an office within the purview of the Constitution and laws, and, if so, is the incumbent eligible?

"House Bill No. 181, passed at the last session of the Legislature, added to chapter III, article I, part III, title V of the Political Code a section to be designated as Section 2401, which provides for the appointment by the Librarian of two assistants.

"These two assistants are also women. I do not find that the law prescribes their duties, fixes their tenure or requires a bond. So that, if you should hold that the position of Librarian is an office under the Constitution and laws, and that a woman is ineligible to such appointment, does such rule of construction follow as to the two female assistants?"

In answering the above questions, we shall take the same up in the order which they are submitted.

1. That the position of Notary Public constitutes a Public Office within the State there can be no question. By Section 912 of the Political Code, his term of office is fixed at a definite period. The duties of such office are prescribed by Section 913, and he is required to take an official oath and file an official bond, and thereby comes squarely within the rules laid down by the authorities showing that such person is a public officer.

In re House Bill No. 66, 21 Pac. (Col.) 473.

State v. Davidson, 22 S. W., 639.

State v. Spaulvine, 102 Ia. 639.

This brings us to the question as to who is eligible to hold public offices in this State.

Section II of Article IX of the State Constitution reads as follows:

"Any person qualified to vote at general elections and for State officers in this State shall be eligible to any office therein except as otherwise provided in this Constitution, and subject to such additional qualifications as may be prescribed by the Legislative Assembly for city offices and offices hereafter created."

Section II of the same Article of the Constitution defines what persons are qualified to vote at general elections and for State officers in this State and provides therein that:

"Every male person of the age of twenty-one years or over possessing the following qualifications shall be entitled to vote at all general elections, etc."

Section X of the same Article of the Constitution expressly provides that women shall be eligible to hold the office of county superintendent of schools and school district offices. By expressly providing that women were eligible to such office it is apparent that the framers of the Constitution intended that they should be eligible to no other office, and any question of doubt is settled for the reason that, under Section II, no person can be eligible to any other office than that of superintendent of schools and school district offices unless he is qualified to vote at general elections, and as no person is qualified to vote at general elections excepting male persons possessing the qualifications defined by said Section II, it necessarily follows that women are not eligible to hold the office of Notary Public.

There are many States which hold that women can hold this office, but upon investigation of the Constitution and statutes of such States it is found that they contain no constitutional provision such as found in our Constitution.

2. With respect to the office of Librarian of the Historical Library, there can be no question but what, under the statutes of this State, the same constitutes a public office.

Section 2383 of the Political Code fixes the term of office of the Librarian at two years. Section 2384 prescribes the duties of such officer. Section 2391, as amended by the laws of 1907, fixes the salary of such officer, and Section 2392 provides that such officer must execute an official bond, and, under Section 1010 of the same Code, such officer must take an official oath.

The Supreme Court of Ohio, in the case of State v. Brennan, 29 N. E., 594, in defining public office, said:

'From these definitions and illustrations it is clear that the position created by the act in question is an office, and that the defendant, if selected in the manner prescribed by law, is an officer. Upon



him is imposed the right to exercise an employment in the purchase and control of property of the public, not as a temporary, casual act, but as a continuous duty. He is to exercise public functions in the supposed interest of the people. These he exercises independently, for others, and without their leave. He is given by the act itself the title or designation of 'stationery storekeeper,' and it is not without significance that he is also denominated an 'officer.' He is to give bond for the faithful performance of his duties, and is entitled to the yearly salary affixed by the act. The office is an independent one. Its duties are not devolved upon the occupant by a superior, as ministerial duties may be devolved upon a deputy, but are imposed by the statute."

The Supreme Court of the United States, in *U. S. v. Hartwell*, 6 Wallace, 385, said:

"The office is a public station or employment, conferred by the appointment of government. The term embraces ideas of tenure, duration, emolument, and duties."

The Supreme Court of Georgia, in *Bradford v. Justices*, 33 Georgia, 332, said:

"When an individual has been appointed or elected in a manner provided by law, his designation or title given him by law, and exercises functions affecting the public, assigned to him by law, he must be regarded as a public officer."

See also

*State v. Spaulding*, 132 Ia. 639, for an exhaustive collection of authorities defining public officers.

Also

*Mechem on Public Officers*, Secs. 1 and 2.

*Throop on Public Officers*, Sec. 3.

It being apparent that the Librarian of the Historical Library of the State is a public officer, it necessarily follows that, in order for a person to be eligible to hold such office, he must be qualified to vote at general elections and for State officers in this State, as provided by Section II, Article IX of the State Constitution, and in order to be qualified to vote at general elections and for State officers in this State a person must be a male of the age of twenty-one years or over and possessing the qualifications provided for in Section II of said Article IX.

Constitutional provisions similar to the above have been frequently construed in other States, and it has been uniformly held that "where only qualified voters are eligible to office, women are, of course, excluded in any State that has not extended to them the right of suffrage."

23 Eng. & Am. Ency. of Law, p. 332.

Section IV, Article XV of the Constitution of Ohio provides that

"No person shall be elected or appointed to any office in the State unless he possesses the qualifications of an elector," which qualifications are prescribed by Section I, Article V of said Constitution to be:

"Every male citizen of the United States of the age of twenty-one years who shall have been a resident of the State one year," etc.

The Supreme Court of Ohio, in construing a law which provided for the appointment of five women to constitute a Board of Workhouse Directors of the Female Department of the Workhouse at Cincinnati for female convicts, held that, under the above constitutional provisions, such law was in violation thereof, and, among other things, the court said:

"Legislative acts are always to be upheld unless clearly in violation of the Constitution, but when so, courts are required to declare them void.

"In this case we regret to be compelled to so decide, on account of

the great value, and we might say necessity, of having women to attend to the wants and watch over the many unfortunate victims of crime incarcerated in such institutions. The very high character of the ladies who have been appointed to this charge assures us that under their guidance the condition of the inmates would be greatly ameliorated, their characters improved, if not entirely changed, and the public be a great gainer. We are of the opinion that it was a great oversight in our Constitution in not making provision for women filling just such positions as that contemplated in this act.

"While we have felt constrained to hold that the statute in question attempted to confer on the persons who should be appointed under its provisions such duties and functions as made their office one which, in contemplation of the constitutional provision, can only be held by an elector, we would not be understood as holding that there are not many positions in said institution which may be held by women."

Article VI (Section VIII) of the Constitution of Oregon provides that:

"No person shall be elected or appointed to a county office who shall not be an elector of the county."

Section II, Article II of the same Constitution defines an elector as a male citizen.

The Supreme Court of Oregon in *State v. Stevens*, 44 Pac. 899, said:

"It necessarily follows that none but male citizens can be elected or appointed to county offices. \* \* \* Whatever views we may entertain as to the propriety of the constitutional provision prohibiting women from holding county offices, we have no alternative but to declare that, under the provisions of that instrument, as it now exists, that they are ineligible to the office in question."

See also:

*Atchison v. Lucas*, 83 Ky., 451.

*State v. McSpaden*, 137 Mo., 628.

You are, therefore, advised that women are ineligible to the office of Librarian of the Historical Library.

While under the above holding the present incumbent would not be legally holding the office, nevertheless, she is a de facto officer, and any acts done by her are valid as to third persons during such time as she is permitted to hold the office. Of course, the question might arise as to the present incumbent's right to the salary of the office, but as this is not an elective office and there is no one contesting the office, I apprehend that no question will be raised as to her right to the salary, at least for the period prior to the date of this opinion. In discussing de facto officers, Mechem on Public Officers, in Section 331, lays down the following general principles:

"But while the acts of the de facto officer are thus valid as to third persons, he cannot himself acquire rights based upon his defective title.

"It is well settled, therefore, that he cannot maintain an action to recover the salary, fees, or other compensation attached to the office.

"It is the settled doctrine in this State," says the court in *New York*, "that the right to the salary and emoluments of a public office attached to the true and not to the mere colorable title, and in an action brought by a person claiming to be a public officer, for the fees or compensation given by law, his title to the office is in issue, and if that is defective and another has the real right, although not in possession, the plaintiff cannot recover. Actual incumbency merely gives no right to the salary or compensation."

3. With respect to the two assistants whose appointment is provided for in House Bill No. 181, approved March 4, 1907, no fixed tenure

of office is prescribed, nor are they required to file official bonds. Their duties are purely ministerial, and consist of typewriting, stenography, tabulation of reports, classification and arrangement of books and papers in the library, and other clerical work under the direction of the Librarian. Their duties are not defined by law and they possess none of the requirements necessary to constitute them public officers within the meaning of the constitutional provision. Their duties are similar to that of a secretary, stenographer or clerk in the office of the Attorney General, Auditor, or Secretary of State, and are clearly distinguished from those of a Deputy State Auditor or Deputy Secretary of State, who has authority to sign warrants or take acknowledgments or to certify over his signature as deputy to public documents.

Mechem on Public Officers, in Section 38, defines deputies as follows:

"Whether deputies appointed by public officers are to be regarded as public officers themselves, depends upon the circumstances and method of their appointment. Where such appointment is provided by law, which fixes the powers and duties of such deputies, and where such deputies are required to take the oath of office and to give bonds for the performance of their duties, the deputies are usually regarded as public officers. Thus deputy postmasters appointed and qualified according to law, are public officers. So a deputy marshal is an officer of the United States, and deputy sheriffs are recognized by the statutes of most States as independent public officers.

"But where the deputy is appointed merely at the will and pleasure of his principal to serve some purpose of the latter, he is not a public officer, but a mere servant or agent. So a special deputy employed only in a particular case is not a public officer."

It is perfectly clear in the light of the duties and powers of the assistants to the Librarian of the Historical Library that they are not public officers.

You are therefore advised that women are not ineligible to such clerkship.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed)

ALBERT J. GALEN,

Attorney General.

See Pol. Code. Secs. 991, 992, 993, 1004, 1005, 1010, 1015, 1057; 1088. Const. Art. IX, Sec. 7.

Thereupon a recess was taken until 8 o'clock P. M. At 8 o'clock P. M. the Board resumed business, all members being present.

Thereupon the Board proceeded to the election of Librarian and Secretary, and Mr. W. S. Bell was in due form of law elected Librarian and Secretary to take office June 1, 1907.

Thereupon, on motion duly seconded and carried, a committee, consisting of Trustees Massena Bullard and A. I. Loeb, was appointed to prepare suitable resolutions expressive of the appreciation of this Board of the eminent services rendered by Mrs. Laura E. Howey, former Li-



brarian, in behalf of the Miscellaneous and Historical Library of the State of Montana.

The President submitted the following communications from the Secretary of the Woman's Club of Helena and from the committee of the Helena W. C. T. U., which were ordered spread upon the record, to-wit:

Woman's Club of Helena.

May, 9, 1907.

Mr. Massena Bullard Chairman Board of Trustees Historical Library,  
Helena, Montana:

Dear Sir:—At a meeting of the Woman's Club of Helena, held today, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the Club extend to Mrs. Laura E. Howey, Librarian of the Montana Historical and Miscellaneous Library, the thanks of the Woman's Club for her interest in its club work and her readiness at all times to aid the members in their study and research; and that the Club express its appreciation of the faithful and efficient service of Mrs. Howey as Librarian and its regret that Montana's Constitution contains any clause which can be so construed as to disqualify Mrs. Howey from serving longer as Librarian because she is not a qualified voter.

GEORGINA A. LOCKHART,

Secretary.

Montana W. C. T. U.

Helena, Montana, May 8, 1907.

The Board of Trustees, Montana Historical and Miscellaneous Library:

Gentlemen:—We have been appointed to write you that the Helena W. C. T. U. adds its expression of appreciation to similar expressions, which have come from all parts of the state, in regard to the value of the service rendered by Mrs. Laura E. Howey as your Librarian, and records its regret that Montana's constitution contains any clause which can be so construed as to exclude her, on account of her being a woman, from longer serving as your Librarian.

Wishing it were possible to have Mrs. Howey retained as your Librarian, we are

Respectfully yours,

MARY L. ALDERSON,  
HENRIETTA C. RALEIGH,  
MATILDA J. PAICE,

Committee.

Thereupon the special committee appointed to prepare resolutions expressive of the appreciation of this Board of the eminent services rendered by Mrs. Laura E. Howey presented the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Resolved 1. That the Trustees of the Historical and Miscellaneous Department of the State Library of Montana, profoundly regretting the exigency that for legal reasons

prevents the election of Mrs. Laura E. Howey to serve another term as Librarian, do hereby express their high appreciation of the eminent services rendered by Mrs. Howey as Librarian during the eight and a half years that she has held that office.

Resolved 2. That the Historical and Miscellaneous Department of the State Library of Montana is greatly indebted to Mrs. Laura E. Howey for her zeal, industry and efficiency in bringing the library out of the confusion in which she found it into the orderly and splendid condition in which it is today. She has so conducted the affairs of the library as to make friends for it throughout the State; to draw attention to its value, and to enlist the co-operation of men and women familiar with the early history of the Territory and State of Montana in the accumulation of items of historic interest and the acquisition and preservation of narratives, sketches and biographies of the experiences, struggles and achievements of the men and women of pioneer days.

Resolved 3. That the sincerest good wishes of this Board will accompany Mrs. Laura E. Howey throughout her future in every endeavor to which she shall give her time, her thought and her eminent abilities.

Resolved 4. That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the proceedings of this Board and a certified copy thereof transmitted to Mrs. Howey.

The President made announcement to the Board of the recent death of Hon. Cornelius Hedges, for many years a trustee of this Department of the State Library, whereupon Trustees Massena Bullard and A. I. Loeb were appointed a special committee to prepare resolutions expressive of the sentiments of this Board in view of the death of Judge Hedges.

Thereupon the special committee appointed for the purpose of presenting resolutions expressive of the sentiments of this Board in view of the death of Hon. Cornelius Hedges presented the following resolutions which, upon motion duly seconded, were unanimously adopted, to-wit:

Resolved 1. That in the death of Hon. Cornelius Hedges

the Historical and Miscellaneous Department of the State Library of Montana loses one of the oldest, best and most highly esteemed of its friends and contributors. He was prominent in the very earliest efforts to preserve and make available for future generations a faithful, accurate and trustworthy record and repository of facts and things connected with and making up the true history of the formative period of the Territory and State of Montana.

Resolved 2. That we tender our sincerest sympathies to the wife and children of our departed friend.

Resolved 3. That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the proceedings of this Board and a copy thereof be transmitted to the family of said deceased.

No further business appearing, the meeting adjourned.

MASSENA BULLARD, President.

A. I. LOEB, Sec. Pro. Tem.



Mrs. Laura E. Howey.

Secretary and Librarian, 1898-1907.

In recognition of the excellent educational efforts of Mrs. Laura E. Howey in Montana, both in the public schools and the libraries, it seems appropriate, at the close of her work as Secretary and Librarian of the State Historical and Miscellaneous Library, that some biographical mention should be made of her in this volume.

Laura E. Spencer was born in Cadiz, Ohio. Her father, Daniel Spencer, was of English descent, the Spencer family having come to America in Colonial days, settling in Connecticut and New York.

On her mother's side she is of French Huguenot ancestry. The original family were silk manufacturers expelled from France. They went over into England and Scotland, from there to Maryland some time before 1700, thence to Ohio about 1802.

Daniel Spencer was graduated as a civil engineer and surveyor, but later studied law with Secretary Stanton in Cadiz, Ohio. In a letter from Mr. Stanton to the family he stated that Mr. Spencer was the brightest law student he had ever had in his office.

Mr. Spencer died while still a young man, leaving his wife with two young children to care for. She at once began teaching school, and was one of the foremost and best female teachers in that part of Ohio. She was a remarkably well read woman and her children were reared in the refining atmosphere of books and music. They always had their own books and papers, among them being Grace Greenwood's "Little Pilgrim," published in Philadelphia.

The family has been represented in every war from Rev-

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Note.—The above sketch was prepared at the request of the Board of Trustees.



LAURA E. HOWEY.





olutionary times down to the Spanish-American war, and also in prominent public positions, notably John C. Spencer in Tyler's cabinet, and Judge Rufus Peckham, of the United State Supreme bench, who is still living.

Laura E. Spencer's grandparents in Maryland, the Laceys, were slave owners. On their removal to Ohio their slaves were taken with them. After their arrival in the Buckeye State they gave freedom and land to their slaves, who settled near the Lacey home. Subsequently the Laceys became strong anti-slavery people and maintained what was termed an "underground railroad station" to assist fugitive slaves into Canada.

Two of the old homesteads are still owned by the family after nearly one hundred years of occupancy by some branch of the descendants.

The family is a long-lived one, some members living to be over ninety, and now and then over one hundred years of age; strong and vigorous, both mentally and physically, working for principles rather than gain, interested in progress, and particularly well read upon moral and political topics.

After her graduation from the High School in her native town, the subject of this sketch was sent to Beaver College, at Beaver, Pa., which was at that time one of the foremost colleges for women. Here she took a three years' course, including music, French and elocution, besides the full course in mathematics and mental, moral and natural science, under the best instructors. The students were afforded excellent opportunities of attending high-class concerts and lectures in Pittsburg.

Examinations under such men as Judge Agnew and Hon. Matthew Quay, who were then trustees of the college, were not jokes, but meant higher standards and ideals to be attained before gaining the coveted "sheepskin."

While teaching in Harlem Springs College, Ohio, she met

Prof. Robert H. Howey, also an instructor in the college, and later they were married at Cadiz.

Although music teaching was Mrs. Howey's chosen line of work, the all-round preparation at college proved invaluable in later years, as she has taught every branch included in the curriculum of the college.

In 1879 Mrs. Howey came to Montana with her husband to engage in school work, and then began her best efforts along educational lines. During the first winter in Helena, "Pinafore," the first opera ever given in Montana, was presented under her management, and nearly \$700 was realized for the public school and the Helena Library Association. This entertainment was followed by a cantata and by different school performances, the proceeds of which were used to purchase books and pictures for the school.

For some years Mrs. Howey was actively engaged as treasurer of the town charity committee, when but three persons did the work. Out of this grew the Associated Charities, now in existence. In 1893-94 she served as secretary of the State Board of Charities. For several years she was a trustee of the city library when it was a private organization.

In 1883, largely through the influence of Frances Willard, whom she had met while teaching in Allegheny City, Mrs. Howey took up W. C. T. U. work in Montana, and from 1885 to 1889 was president of the state organization. In 1891 she was appointed by Miss Willard to represent the National W. C. T. U. at the Pan-Republican Congress held at Philadelphia.

Mrs. Howey was secretary of the Board of Lady Managers of the Montana World's Fair Board in 1893, and proved herself an invaluable member.

At the close of the year 1898 the board of trustees of the Montana State Historical and Miscellaneous Library elected Mrs. Howey librarian, a position which she filled with great

credit to herself and the state until June 1, 1907. From the first her energies were directed toward the growth and usefulness of the institution, and in this endeavor she has met with signal success. She is a woman of marked executive ability, as has been shown by her skill in organizing and directing any work or enterprise she has undertaken. Conclusive proof of this is found in the present high standing of the State Historical and Miscellaneous Library. Coming to the management of this department at a time when it was ill-housed in the county building, with meager and begrudged appropriations from the legislature, and attracting little attention from any but pioneers and a few far-sighted persons who were able to realize its future value and priceless usefulness, Mrs. Howey at once undertook the task of mapping out the plan under which the institution is now conducted. She also undertook to arouse, not alone a public spirit and an interest in the Society, but what was still more difficult, to create an influence in legislative circles which materialized into hard cash in the way of increased and generous appropriations.

The thousands of visitors to the handsome quarters of the Historical Society, who gaze with delight upon the countless curios and relics of early days in Montana, together with the evidences of the State's material progress and development, can have but little idea of the minute attention to detail, the ceaseless care and supervision, tireless energy and personal capacity for hard work upon the part of the librarian, which the collection represents.

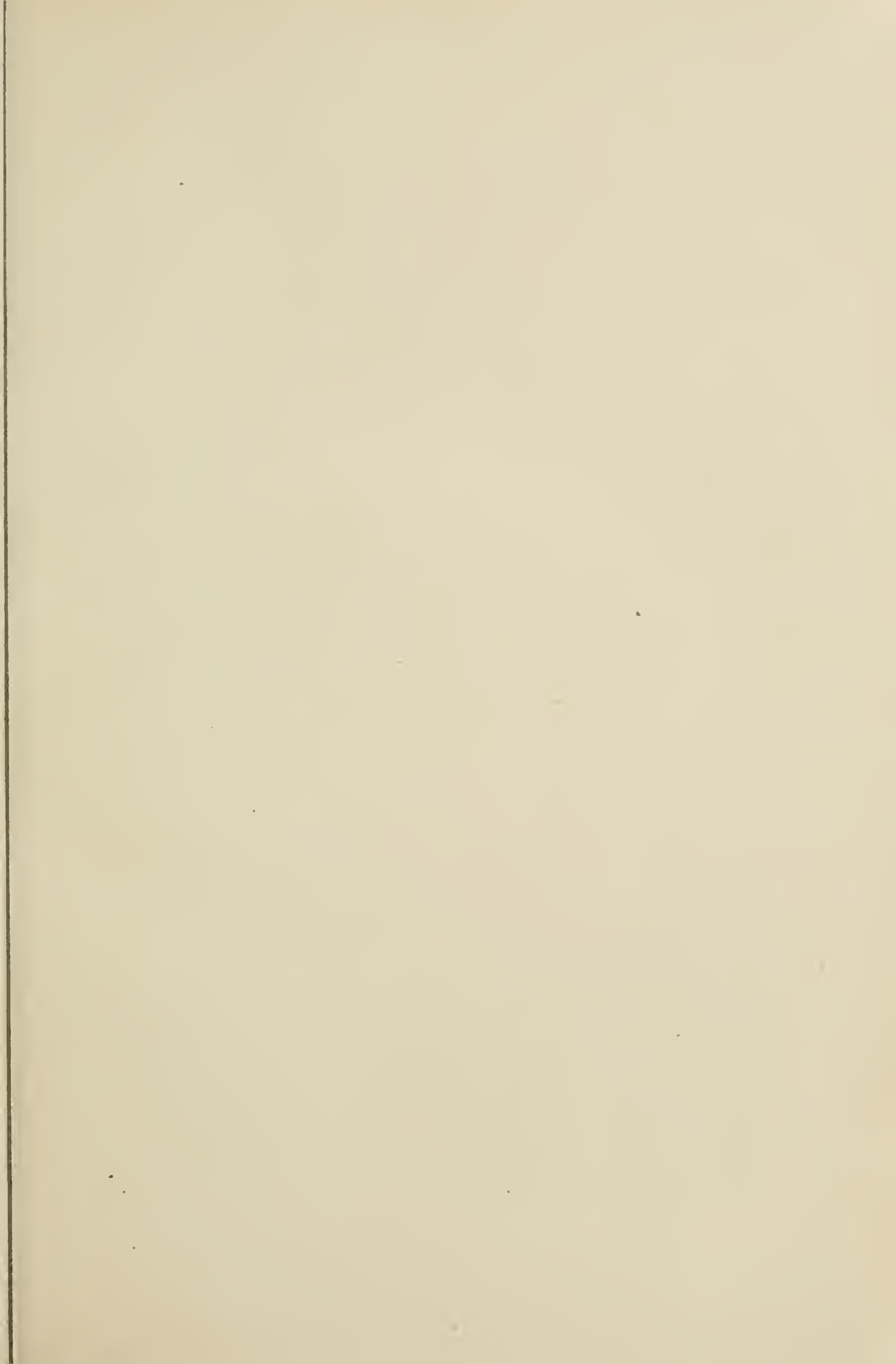
Conscientious to a fault, and thoroughly devoted to duty, Mrs. Howey has conferred upon the State a lasting benefit which will become more valuable and more highly appreciated as time goes on. Her work in the library may truly be said to be the crowning glory of a useful and well spent public career.

Mrs. Howey is at present a member of the faculty of the



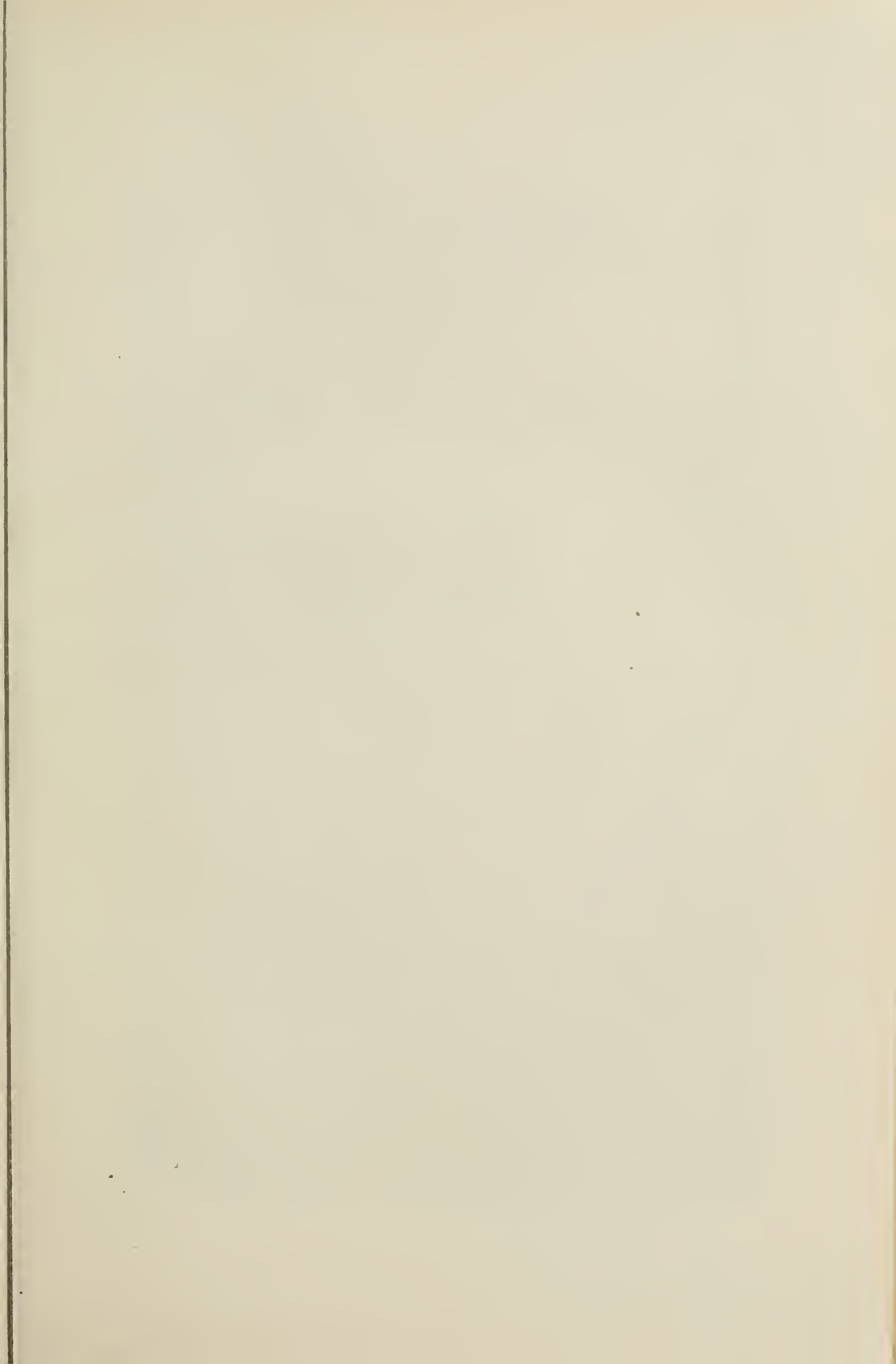
Montana Wesleyan University, and in addition to her duties as instructor, she has taken up the work of enlarging and increasing the usefulness of the school library, with all the zeal and vigor formerly displayed in her management of the Historical Library.

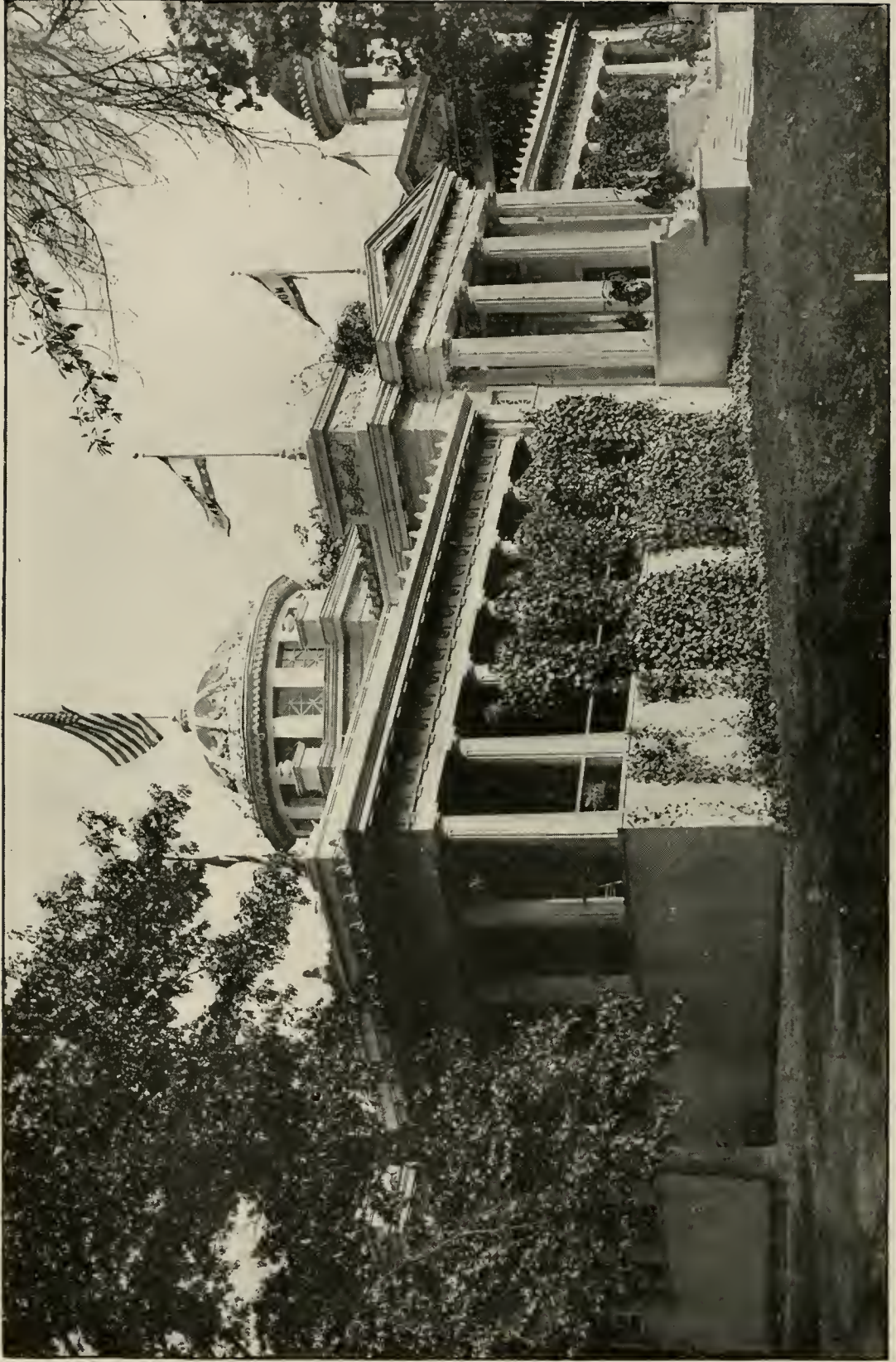
MARY C. FERGUSON.











MONTANA STATE HOUSE, LOUISIANA PURCHASE, ST. LOUIS, MO.

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Montana at the Louisiana Purchase  
Exposition.

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PROCEEDINGS  
of the  
Montana World's Fair Commission  
at the  
Louisiana Purchase Exposition  
St. Louis, 1904,  
and at the  
Lewis and Clark Exposition  
Portland, Oregon, 1905.

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By HON. LEE MANTLE,  
President of the Commission.

## Introductory.

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It would take up altogether too much space to attempt to relate in detail the work and proceedings of the Montana World's Fair Commission covering the Louisiana Purchase Exposition held at St. Louis, Mo., in 1904, and the Lewis and Clark Exposition held at Portland, Oregon in 1905.

The amount of labor connected with this enterprise has been enormous and has required the services of a large number of experts and employees, in addition to the work performed by members of the Commission.

The Commission was created by an act of the Legislature, at an extra session called for that specific purpose, May 26th, 1903; the members having previously advised the Governor that they would serve without charge for mileage or per diem.

The work of the Commission has covered a period of about three years from its creation until the final closing of its labors.

The amount of money received and expended by the Commission for the two Expositions was about Seventy Thousand Dollars, while the value of the exhibits gathered from all sections of the State and which were either donated, bought or borrowed, was fully One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Dollars.

The powers of the whole Commission were vested in an Executive Committee of seven of its members, and the President was given full charge of all its affairs and employees. No officer or member of the Commission has ever drawn any salary, per diem, traveling or other personal expenses, while attending meetings or conducting the business of the Com-

mission, all of them having gladly donated their time and services to the State.

In the conduct of an enterprise which included every section of the State as well as all its products and industries, including, also, the handiwork of its citizens, its achievements in the arts, and its educational interests, a vast amount of research and correspondence was involved. Numerous meetings of the Executive Committee were held at which the current reports of the several special agents were considered, contracts let, bills and accounts audited, the recommendations of the President submitted and discussed and plans and policies outlined for carrying on the work; the details of all which, as suggested, would fill a large volume.

Almost the first act of the Commission was to enlist the several educational institutions of the State in the work of gathering, preparing and installing the exhibits. This plan secured the active interest and hearty co-operation of these bodies, thus bringing to the work trained specialists in the various departments. In this way the State School of Mines, the Agricultural College, the State Horticultural Society, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the heads of the State University and State Normal School, and a number of prominent educators, were enlisted in the labor of gathering and preparing the various exhibits of the State's splendid resources and achievements.

Early in its work, too, the Commission wisely sought the co-operation of the women of the State, who rendered most efficient aid in raising funds and in the furnishing and equipment of the beautiful building at St. Louis, one of the handsomest and best appointed on the grounds.

Following will be found a brief historical review showing the steps which led up to the creation of the Montana World's Fair Commission. Also the reports to the Governor covering the work of the Commission in connection with both the St. Louis and Portland Expositions, including



a complete financial statement showing all receipts and expenditures and the separate amounts expended upon the several exhibits. Accompanying these reports will also be found the Rules and By-Laws governing the Commission and the final reports of the several special agents after the close of each Exposition.

The reports of W. C. Buskett, the special representative in charge at both St. Louis and Portland, contain much information of a detailed nature touching both Expositions which will be found of much interest.

The Proceedings of June 14th, 1904, upon the occasion of the dedication of the Montana State Building at St. Louis, were most interesting, but as they were published in Vol. 5 of the Historical Society of Montana it is unnecessary to reproduce them.

The reports of the Commission to the Governor will be found to contain all the essential facts and matters connected with the work of the body and constitute, I think, the best historical statement of what was accomplished.

The following telegram was received by Governor Toole upon the occasion of President Roosevelt's visit to the St. Louis Fair.

St. Louis, Mo., Nov. 27th, 1904.

Hon. Jos. K. Toole, Governor, Helena, Mont.:

President Roosevelt's visit to exposition yesterday greatly enjoyed by himself and appreciated by exposition management and the people, who welcomed him in large numbers. He saw and admired Montana's building and expressed great gratification at participation of your state.

DAVID R. FRANCIS,

President.

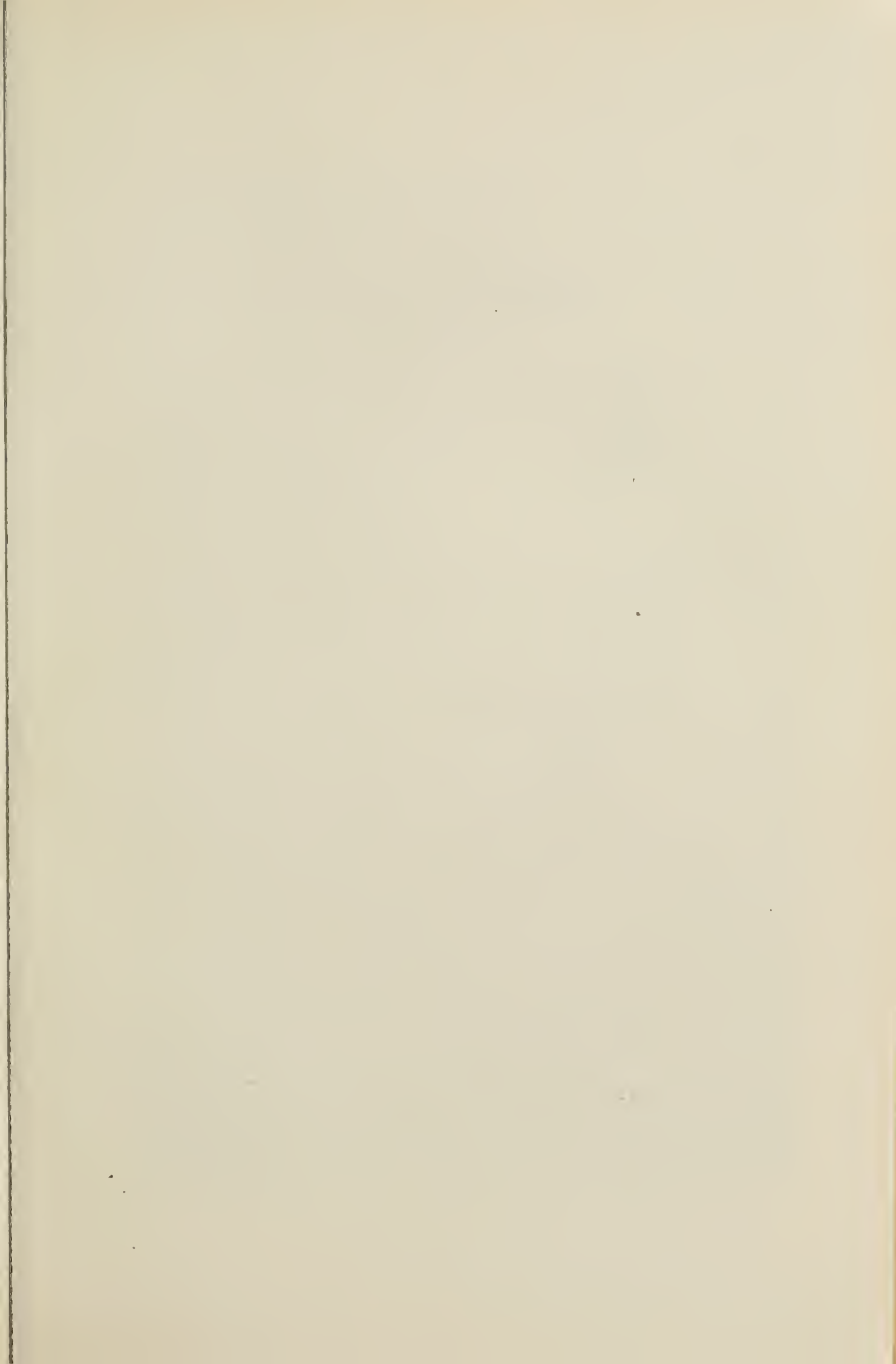
## Historical.

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Although the Seventh Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana, which met in January, 1901, had a full knowledge that the Louisiana Purchase Exposition was to be opened at St. Louis, Missouri, May 1st, 1903, it yet failed to make any appropriation therefor. After the adjournment of that Assembly the Governor, in response to the urgent request of the Press of the State and the personal solicitation of many citizens, appointed an Honorary Commission consisting of thirty-one members, representing every County, to formulate plans for raising funds for the State's representation at the Exposition. Shortly after this Commission was appointed the date for opening the Exposition was changed to May 1st, 1904, and the members took no decisive action.

In his Message to the Eighth Legislative Assembly, which convened in January, 1903, the Governor recommended that the sum of \$35,000.00 be appropriated to enable Montana to take part in the Louisiana Purchase Exposition and in the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition at Portland, Oregon, to be held later in 1905.

The House of Representatives of the Eighth Legislative Assembly passed a Bill appropriating the sum named by the Governor. In the Senate the Bill was amended by adding the names of five prominent citizens to constitute the Commission, whose duty should be to take charge of the State's interests in the two Expositions. The House of Representatives refused to concur in the Senate Amendment naming the Commission, and the Bill failed on the last night of the session.







PRESIDENT, MONTANA COMMISSION AT LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION.

On the 14th day of March, 1903, almost immediately following the adjournment of the Legislature, the Governor issued the following proclamation, appointing an Honorary Commission for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

PROCLAMATION.

APPOINTING HONORARY COMMISSION.

LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION.

“Whereas, the Eighth Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana adjourned without making an appropriation to insure the representation of this State at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis in 1904, and

Whereas, it was manifest that both branches of the Legislature and the people at large were in favor of being represented, and of making a liberal appropriation therefor—the only difference between the two houses relating to the manner of appointing the Commission, and

Whereas, it is desirable that the wishes of the people respecting a proper representation of this State and its resources should be made at St. Louis, at said Exposition, if possible,

Now Therefore, I, J. K. Toole, Governor of the State of Montana, reposing special confidence in the ability and integrity of W. G. Conrad, Lee Mantle, H. L. Frank, Paul McCormick, Martin Maginnis, B. F. White, F. A. Heinze, William Scallon, C. W. Hoffman, J. H. Rice, Conrad Kohrs, D. R. Peeler, C. J. McNamara, A. J. Davidson and T. L. Greenough, do hereby appoint them as Honorary Commissioners to make all necessary and proper arrangements for the collection and installation of such exhibits as to them shall seem expedient and proper, exemplifying the history and varied resources of the State of Montana at said Exposition; to appoint their own alternates; to solicit and receive all subscriptions for such exhibit; to expend and disburse the same, and otherwise arrange for, manage and control

the exhibit of this State as fully to all intents and purposes as if they had been thereunto specially authorized by law.

It is understood, however, that the creation of said Commission does not imply any authority upon the part of the Commission to obligate the State of Montana to reimburse any subscriber for any sum by him subscribed.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of the State of Montana to be affixed.

(Seal) Done at the City of Helena, the Capital of the State of Montana, this fourteenth day of March, A. D. One Thousand Nine Hundred and Three and of the Independence of the United States the One Hundred and Twenty-seventh.

By the Governor:

J. K. TOOLE.

GEO. M. HAYS,

Secretary of State.”

Only one of the Honorary Commission declined the appointment, to-wit: A. J. Davidson. The Governor subsequently appointed Daniel McDonald in lieu of Mr. Davidson.

On March 26th, 1903, the Acting Governor of the State issued the following Call to the members of the Honorary Commission:

“Helena, Montana, March 26th, 1903.

For the purpose of perfecting an organization and the transaction of such other business as may come before its membership, a meeting of the Honorary Commission, appointed for the purpose of arranging for a proper exhibit of the resources of the State of Montana at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition to be held in the City of St. Louis, Missouri, in 1904, is hereby called to take place in the Governor's reception room at the State Capitol, in Helena, Montana, on April 4th, 1903, at two o'clock P. M.

I hope you will find it convenient to be present.

Yours very truly,

JAS. P. MURRAY,

Acting Governor.

Per LON R. HOSS,

Private Secretary.”



On April 4th, 1903, the Honorary Commission met as requested in the foregoing call and the following are the minutes of their proceedings:

MEETING OF HONORARY BOARD OF WORLD'S  
FAIR COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED BY  
GOVERNOR J. K. TOOLE.

In compliance with the call of the Acting Governor of the State of Montana, the Honorary Board of World's Fair Commissioners met at the Capitol of the State upon the 4th day of April at two o'clock P. M., 1903.

Upon the roll call the following members of the Commission were found present:

Lee Mantle, Butte, Montana; H. L. Frank (by A. E. Spriggs, alternate), Townsend, Montana; Paul McCormick, Billings, Montana; Martin Maginnis, Helena, Montana; B. F. White, Dillon, Montana; C. W. Hoffman, Bozeman, Montana; J. H. Rice, Fort Benton, Montana; T. L. Greenough, Missoula, Montana.

On motion of Martin Maginnis, seconded by C. W. Hoffman, Lee Mantle was chosen temporary chairman.

On motion of C. W. Hoffman, seconded by B. F. White, Paul McCormick was chosen temporary secretary.

On motion of A. E. Spriggs, seconded by C. W. Hoffman, a committee consisting of Lee Mantle, Paul McCormick and Martin Maginnis was appointed to draw a petition addressed to Honorable J. K. Toole, Governor of the State of Montana, requesting him to call the State Legislature in extraordinary Session for the purpose of making an appropriation for the World's Fair to be held at St. Louis in 1904, and for the Lewis and Clark Centennial to be held at Portland, Oregon in 1905.

The meeting then took a recess of thirty minutes.

Meeting called to order by Chairman.

The Committee appointed to draw petition to the Governor reported the following, which was adopted:



“To His Excellency, Joseph K. Toole, Governor, Helena, Montana:

Sir:—At a meeting of the Honorary World’s Fair Commission, called by the Acting Governor to meet at the Capitol on the 4th day of April, 1903, the following members, constituting a quorum were present, viz:

Lee Mantle, A. E. Spriggs, Alternate for H. L. Frank, Paul McCormick, Martin Maginnis, B. F. White, C. W. Hoffman, J. H. Rice, T. L. Greenough.

After a full discussion of the question of State representation at St. Louis it was the unanimous opinion of the Commissioners present that it is unadvisable from any point of view to attempt to raise the necessary funds for making a proper and fitting display of the State’s resources and products at the St. Louis Exposition, by private subscription.

After a careful consideration of the entire subject the Commission is of the opinion that whatever is done should be done under the authority of legislative enactment, and that, unless so done, the Commission as a body will be wanting in that force and dignity which should properly surround its acts.

We therefore respectfully petition you to call the Legislature in extraordinary session at the earliest possible moment for the purpose of passing a law appropriating the necessary money, and for creating a Commission, to provide for, and to take charge of the State’s Exhibit at St. Louis and at Portland.

In this connection we beg leave to offer the suggestion that in our opinion, the members of the Legislature will gladly tender their services free of cost to the State, for the few hours that will be required for the purpose herein stated.

We further respectfully suggest that the amount to be appropriated shall be \$50,000.00 for the St. Louis Exposition and \$10,000.00 for the Exposition at Portland, Oregon. It is our judgment that a creditable display cannot be made for a less sum than above stated.

In this connection we are pleased to state that we find on making inquiry at the State Auditor's Office that there will be ample funds in the Treasury to meet the appropriation herein suggested.

We respectfully submit that, if it shall be agreeable to the Legislature, and shall meet the approval of the Executive, and in the event of the recommendation herein contained being followed, the members of this Honorary Board will consent to continue to act in the capacity of Commissioners.

Respectfully submitted,

LEE MANTLE,  
MARTIN MAGINNIS,  
PAUL McCORMICK,  
Committee."

The Secretary was directed to forward a duly certified copy of the foregoing petition to the Governor.

The Board then took up the consideration of a bill to be presented to the Legislature for its action, provided it should be called in extra session, and, taking the measure which had failed of enactment at the regular session as a basis, formulated the following "Bill for an Act" as being suitable for the purposes required:

A BILL FOR AN ACT APPOINTING A COMMISSION, MAKING AN APPROPRIATION AND PROVIDING FOR AN EXHIBITION OF THE ARTS, INDUSTRIES, MANUFACTURES, AND PRODUCTS OF THE SOIL, RANGES, MINES AND FORESTS OF THE STATE OF MONTANA AT THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION, TO BE HELD AT ST. LOUIS IN THE YEAR 1904.

Be it Enacted by the Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana:

Section 1. That for the purpose of exhibiting the arts, industries, manufactures and products of the soil, ranges, mines and forests of Montana at the Louisiana Purchase Ex-

position, to be held at the City of Saint Louis in 1904, a Commission is hereby constituted, to consist of the following named persons:

W. G. Conrad, Lee Mantle, H. L. Frank, Paul McCormick, Martin Maginnis, B. F. White, F. A. Heinze, William Scallon, C. W. Hoffman, J. H. Rice, Conrad Kohrs, D. R. Peeler, C. J. McNamara, T. L. Greenough, Daniel McDonald.

Said Committee shall be known and designated as the "Montana World's Fair Commission" and the members thereof shall receive a commission signed by the Governor, and shall, before entering upon their duties, subscribe and file with the Secretary of State the oath of office prescribed by law for State Officers. On the call of the Governor and within thirty days after the approval of this Act, said Commission shall assemble and organize by electing a President, Vice-President, a Secretary, a Treasurer and such other Officers, Agents and Sub-committees as they may deem necessary to carry out the purposes of this act, and they shall make such rules and regulations, not in conflict with the provisions of this act, for the conduct of the business entrusted to their charge as they may deem necessary.

Section 2. Any vacancy occurring in the membership of said Commission, by death, resignation, failure to qualify or otherwise shall be filled by the Governor.

Section 3. The Commission shall have charge of the Interests of the State and its citizens in the preparation and exhibition at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904, of the arts, industries, manufactures and products of the soil, ranges, mines and forests of the State and of all other matters involving the participation of Montana in said Exposition.

Section 4. The Commission shall make and report in detail its proceedings and expenditures to the Governor and at any time upon his written request shall convey to him any information they have or can obtain connected with said Exposition and the participation of the State therein.



Section 5. The Commission shall have the power to employ such persons as in their judgment may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act and to fix their compensation. They may also authorize the payment of the actual expenses of any member, or of any sub-committee of the Commission (not exceeding three) while necessarily absent from their homes in connection with the business of the Commission and by its express direction.

Section 6. Said Commission shall cause to be erected on the site assigned to and accepted by the State, on the grounds of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis, an appropriate building and to furnish the same.

Section 7. For the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of this Act, the sum of Sixty Thousand Dollars or so much thereof as may be necessary is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the Treasury of the State and not otherwise appropriated. Thirty Thousand Dollars, to be available in 1903, and Thirty Thousand Dollars thereof to be available in 1904; and the State Treasurer is directed to pay the same from the general fund from time to time on the requisition of said Commission, signed by its President and Secretary, and approved by the Governor of the State. Provided, that for current expenses, the State Treasurer shall on the requisition of the Commission, signed by its President and Secretary, deliver to the Treasurer of the Commission an amount, not exceeding Five Thousand Dollars at one time on an estimate of expenses, to the payment of which the money so drawn is to be applied. That for all moneys by him paid out, the Treasurer shall take and file vouchers showing the amount and the purpose for which expended or to be expended.

Section 8. That at the close of the said Louisiana Purchase Exposition the Commission shall cause all exhibits which it may be permitted to control to be transferred to the City of Portland, Oregon, for the purpose of having the



same exhibited at the Lewis and Clark Centennial and American Pacific Exposition and Oriental Fair to be held in that City in 1905, and for that purpose the sum of Ten Thousand Dollars of the appropriation hereinbefore made shall be available. The Exhibits thus transferred shall be installed and remain under the control of the Commission unless otherwise provided by law.

Section 9. That not later than January 1st, 1905, said Commission shall make a complete report to the Governor showing the work by it performed in detail, with a detailed statement of all moneys received and expended and the purpose for which the expenditures were made. Neither said Commission nor any Officer, Agent or Member thereof shall be authorized to, directly or indirectly, obligate the State in any sum or amount in excess of the appropriation herein made.

Section 10. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage and approval.

LEE MANTLE,  
President.

PAUL McCORMICK,  
Secretary."

As the Governor could not include, in his call for an extraordinary session of the Legislature, a request that the members should serve without pay, as suggested in the petition presented to him by the Honorary Commission, he indicated to the Chairman of the Honorary Commission that he would be pleased to hear from the members of the Legislature, themselves, their sentiments upon the subject. The Chairman thereupon communicated\* with every member of

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\*HONORARY WORLD'S FAIR COMMISSION.

Butte, Montana, April 25th, 1903.

Dear Sir:—As you are aware, owing to a disagreement between the two Houses, the late legislature adjourned without making any appropriation for the State's representation at the St. Louis World's Fair Exposition.

After the adjournment of the legislature, Governor Toole named an

the Legislature, giving the reasons for the necessity of calling them together and requesting each one to communicate directly with the Governor, and to express his opinion upon the advisability of calling the extraordinary session, and also his views upon the question of attending and serving without cost to the State. Every member then in the

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Honorary Commission of fifteen members to arrange for a state exhibit and to provide ways and means for defraying the expense of same.

Later, upon the suggestion of Acting Governor Murray, a majority of the members of this Commission met in Helena, where a temporary organization was effected, and a full discussion of the subject had.

At this meeting the sentiment was unanimous that it would be a most difficult undertaking to secure by private subscription the necessary amount of money to make a creditable display of the State's products and resources, and that, as the object in view is essentially a public one, and one which appeals to state pride and dignity, it is right and proper that the expense shall be borne by the state, and that the Commissioners, selected shall be fully clothed with the necessary power and authority by an act of the Legislature and shall hold commissions legally signed by the Governor of the State.

In accordance with these views the Commission decided to petition the governor to call an extra session of the legislature for the purpose of making an appropriation; provided, it could be done without cost to the state, and at the same time expressing the confident belief that, under all the circumstances, the members would willingly agree to give their services, for the few hours required for this public and patriotic purpose, without compensation.

The Commission is advised that the Governor will gladly issue the call for the purpose named if assured in advance that members will attend and serve, as suggested, without compensation for per diem or mileage.

We therefore take the liberty of enclosing a postal card addressed to the Governor, and asking that you will sign the same and mail at once—provided this proposal meets with your endorsement and approval.

We are aware that a large majority of the members have already, through the Press, signified their willingness to attend the extra session, if called, without cost to the state, but it is deemed proper, under the circumstances, that members should signify their wishes in the matter directly to the Governor.

Respectfully submitted,

LEE MANTLE,

Temporary Chairman of Honorary Commission.

PAUL McCORMICK,

Temporary Secretary of Honorary Commission.

State replied at once, advising the Governor to call the session and agreeing in advance to give his service free.

The Governor then issued the following proclamation:

PROCLAMATION CONCERNING THE LEGISLATURE  
IN EXTRAORDINARY SESSION.

“Pursuant to the power vested in me by Section II of Article VII of the Constitution, I hereby convene the Legislature in Extraordinary Session at the Capitol in the City of Helena on the 26th day of May, 1903, at 10 o'clock A. M., for the following purposes:

First: To appropriate a sufficient sum of money to collect, install and properly exhibit in a State building or otherwise, the resources of this State at the forthcoming Louisiana Exposition to be held at St. Louis, Missouri in 1904.

Second: To appropriate a sufficient sum of money to pay the actual and necessary expenses of maintaining the Capitol Building and grounds for the fiscal years 1903 and 1904.

Given under my hand and the Great Seal of the  
(Seal) State this Sixth day of May, One Thousand  
Nine Hundred and Three.

By the Governor:

J. K. TOOLE.

GEO. M. HAYS,

Secretary of State.”

Pursuant to the foregoing Proclamation the Legislature met on the date named, whereupon the Governor delivered the following Message touching the subject of an appropriation for Fair purposes:



“GOVERNOR’S MESSAGE.  
EIGHTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,  
EXTRAORDINARY SESSION, MAY 26th, 1903.

Executive Office, Helena, Montana,  
May 26th, 1903.

To the Eighth Legislative Assembly in Extraordinary Session:

At your last regular session I called attention to the forthcoming celebration, at St. Louis, Missouri, of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the acquisition of the Louisiana Purchase by the United States, and recommended an appropriation sufficient to secure a creditable representation of this State and its varied resources on that occasion.

The suggestion met with a hearty response from the people of the State.

A bill was introduced in line with the recommendation so made, but for some reason failed to become a law.

Since your adjournment the subject has been thoroughly considered and discussed by the people and the press, and the almost unanimous opinion is that a State comprising such an important part of the Louisiana Purchase as Montana does, should not fail to be properly represented.

In deference to this strong public sentiment, and to this end I appointed an Honorary Commission to solicit private subscriptions and arrange for the collection and exhibition of our resources at the Exposition.

At that time this seemed to be the only possible plan at our command.

It soon developed, however, that this method would entail considerable expense of time and money on the part of the Commission which was acting without compensation, and that after all, nothing short of an appropriation out of the public treasury would be adequately responsive to the popular demand.

I have, therefore, upon the request of a majority of both



houses of your honorable body and obedient to the expressed wishes of a large constituency, deemed it prudent and proper to convene the Eighth Legislative Assembly in extraordinary session to make suitable provision for our representation at St. Louis.

I desire to express my appreciation of the commendable public spirit which animated you in suggesting the propriety of this extraordinary session without expense to the state, and to advise you that the President of the United States, returning from a tour to the Pacific Coast, will be the guest of this State and the Capital City on to-morrow and that the ceremonies attending his welcome will be held at the north entrance of the Capitol.

You are cordially invited to attend and participate in the same.

J. K. TOOLE, Governor.”

Immediately upon its organization, the Legislature took up and promptly passed, the bill prepared by the Honorary Commission.

It would take up altogether too much space to attempt to relate in detail the proceedings and work of the Commission and so I think I can do no better than to incorporate here the report of the Commission made to the Governor on February the 16th, 1905, which embraces all our operations in connection with the St. Louis or “Louisiana Purchase Exposition,” including reports from all the special agents of the Commission. This report to the Governor does not include details of the numerous meetings of the Executive Committee or the many reports and recommendations of the President of the Commission made from time to time to the full Commission and to the Executive Committee, touching the work in hand. To include all this would necessitate the publication of a large volume. I may mention, however, that the work of the Commission fell upon the Execu-

tive Committee, and that the general charge and supervision of the work and of the agents and employees was placed in the hands of the President.

The financial statement included in the report to the Governor will be found very complete.

Appended to the report to the Governor will be found the reports of the several special agents of the commission summarizing the results of their labors at St. Louis; also the Rules and By-Laws adopted by the Commission for its own government and that of its agents and employees. Following the report to the Governor on the Lewis and Clark Exposition at Portland will also be found reports of the Special Agents in charge at that place and also complete lists of the medals and awards at both St. Louis and Portland.

REPORT TO THE GOVERNOR OF THE  
Montana World's Fair Commission  
ON THE  
Louisiana Purchase Exposition  
St. Louis Mo., 1904.

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Butte, Montana, February 19, 1905.

To His Excellency, Joseph K. Toole,

Governor of the State of Montana:

Sir:—Pursuant to the provisions of the act appointing the “Montana World's Fair Commission” approved May 27th, 1903, the following report of the proceedings of the Commission and the work performed by it, is herewith respectfully submitted.

The Commission appointed by the act above referred to consisted of the following named citizens, to-wit:

W. G. Conrad, H. L. Frank, Lee Mantle, Paul McCormick, Martin Maginnis, B. F. White, F. A. Heinze, Wm. Scallon, C. W. Hoffman, J. H. Rice, Conrad Kohrs, D. R. Peeler, C. J. McNamara, T. L. Greenough, D. McDonald.

On May 28, 1903 the Governor issued the following notice addressed to the members of the Commission.

“The Louisiana Purchase Exposition Committee is requested to meet at the Capitol, Helena, Montana, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon on Saturday, June 6th, 1903, for the purpose of organization and such other business as may be deemed proper to come before it.

(Signed)

J. K. TOOLE,  
Governor.”

On June 6th the Commission met pursuant to the Governor's call, the following members being present:

Lee Mantle, H. L. Frank, Paul McCormick, Martin Maginnis, C. J. McNamara, B. F. White, Wm. Scallon, C. W. Hoffman, D. R. Peeler, J. H. Rice, T. L. Greenough.

The following officers of the Commission were then elected:

President, Lee Mantle; Vice-President, Martin Maginnis; Secretary, Paul McCormick; Treasurer, C. W. Hoffman; Assistant Secretary, J. B. Leggat.

Later on Mr. Leggat resigned and the vacancy was not afterwards filled.

A resolution was unanimously adopted authorizing the appointment of an Executive Committee to consist of six members of the Commission, which was later increased to seven—and conferring upon this Committee the right to exercise all the powers belonging to the Commission under the act creating it, subject, however, to the approval and under the general direction of the Commission.

The Executive Committee appointed is as follows:

Lee Mantle, Chairman; Martin Maginnis, Vice-Chairman; Paul McCormick, Secretary; B. F. White, Wm. Scallon, H. L. Frank, C. W. Hoffman.

At a meeting of the Commission held June 22nd, 1903, the Executive Committee reported a set of Rules and Regulations for the government of the Commission, its officers, committees, agents and employees, which were adopted and a copy of which is attached to this report.

At this meeting of the Commission plans and specifications for a State Building to be erected on the World's Fair Grounds at St. Louis were received and inspected, the same having been previously advertised for, and after careful consideration those of Messrs. Link and Carter, architects of Butte, Montana, were accepted.

The Commission then proceeded to outline a plan for gathering and preparing an exhibit of the manufactures, industries and products of the State; passing a series of reso-



Intions, addressed to the President and Faculty of the several State Institutions inviting their co-operation in the work and requesting them to act as auxiliary committees to the Commission, which they consented to do.

Thus the Mineral Exhibit was placed in the care of the State School of Mines with Professor A. N. Winchell in charge.

The Agricultural Exhibit was placed in charge of Prof. F. B. Linfield of the State Agricultural College.

The Horticultural Exhibit was placed in the care of C. H. Edwards, Secretary of the State Board of Horticulture.

The Educational Exhibit was taken charge of by an auxiliary committee consisting of:

Prof. W. W. Welsh, State Superintendent of Public Instruction; Dr. O. J. Craig, President of the State University; Dr. H. H. Swain, President of the State Normal School; Dr. James Reid, President of the State Agricultural College; R. G. Young, President of the city schools, Butte; A. D. Largent, Superintendent of the city schools, Great Falls; E. S. Brothers, Superintendent of the city schools, Billings; E. A. Steere, County Superintendent of Public Instruction, Kalispell.

A. D. Largent subsequently resigned and R. J. Cunningham of Ft. Benton, was appointed in his place.

The Forestry, Game and Taxidermy exhibits were gathered and arranged by the members of the Commission under the direction of the President.

Early in its deliberations the Executive Committee deemed it wise to secure the co-operation of the women of the State in the matter of furnishing and decorating the State Building and to this end appointed a "Woman's Auxiliary Committee" consisting of Miss Mary A. Cruse, of Helena, Chairman; Mrs. W. W. Cheely, of Butte, Secretary and Treasurer; Mrs. A. T. Carson, of Great Falls.

It may be said in passing that this Committee did most effective work in the field assigned them, not only expending

the funds placed at their disposal by the Commission most advantageously, but also soliciting and securing the active co-operation of the women of the State, as well as a number of contributions to their fund, which enabled them to furnish and decorate the State Building in a most elegant and artistic manner.

A "Committee on Art" was also appointed consisting of T. A. Marlow, Helena; Chas. Schatzlein, Butte, and Mrs. Marshall, Bozeman, whose duty was to select such paintings and other work of Montana artists as in their judgment would most creditably represent the State in this particular. As a result of their efforts a very fine collection of rare paintings by Russell, Paxson, Swain and others, together with other works of art were secured and hung in the State Building where it formed a most attractive exhibit, receiving much attention and being greatly praised and admired.

The contract for the construction of the State Building at the World's Fair Grounds was awarded to the Shackleton Whiteway Construction Company of Butte, Montana, whose bid was much the lowest one submitted. They filled their contract in a most satisfactory manner, and the completed building proved to be, in construction, location and architecture, one of the handsomest and most popular State buildings upon the Fair Grounds.

As the time for opening the Exposition approached it was found necessary to have some person at St. Louis to represent the Commission and take charge of its business, and W. C. Buskett, of Helena, was appointed Special Agent for that purpose. Mr. Buskett has given perfect satisfaction and has represented the Commission and the State most capably and honorably and with great credit to himself and all concerned. A report from Mr. Buskett will be found attached hereto.

The Commission is well pleased with the work of the several Special Agents who have had charge of the gathering, installing and care of the State Exhibits and improves

this opportunity to express its warm appreciation and sincere thanks to each and all of them, together with their faithful assistants, for their very intelligent and efficient labors. The various displays prepared under their direction have demonstrated in a most impressive manner the marvelous resources and wonderful possibilities of our splendid young commonwealth, and the results cannot fail to be beneficial in inducing settlement and inviting investment among us.

The Commission is happy to state that a large and creditable number of prizes have been awarded to the State, to the Commission and to individuals for our various Exhibits, among them being a grand prize for our Mineral display. The number and character of these awards will be found referred to in the several Special Agent's reports submitted herewith. Later on a complete list of all awards will be issued by the Exposition authorities. When issued copies will be secured and filed with this report and with the State Historical Library.

As the Forestry, Game, Botanical and Taxidermy Exhibits were arranged under the direction of the President by the Commission itself, and was not in charge of a special agent or committee, as were the other exhibits, it is proper to state here that this Exhibit consisted of fine specimens of saw logs gathered under the direction of Commissioner D. R. Peeler and a very handsome collection of taxidermy representative of almost all the large wild animals of the State, and many of the smaller, specially grouped and very artistically prepared and arranged by Messrs. Gulden and Hammond of Missoula. There were also included many beautiful specimens of heads and of whole animals loaned by Commissioners H. L. Frank and Paul McCormick and Mr. Frank Mares of Helena. Many of these were awarded prizes. The Exhibit also included a complete Botanical display artistically and scientifically grouped and arranged



by Prof. J. W. Blankenship of the State Agricultural College. Also a very handsome display of finished lumber products gratuitously arranged and installed by the Black-foot Milling Company of Bonner, and also a large number of the wild flowers of the State attractively displayed.

Believing that the World's Fair would afford an exceptional opportunity for advertising the manifold advantages of our State to those seeking homes and opportunities for profitable investment, the Commission decided to issue a pamphlet for free distribution at the Exposition, descriptive of our resources and industries. Our funds being limited it was decided to ask for contributions from the several counties and cities. To this request there was a liberal response and we were thus enabled to issue about 60,000 pamphlets printed on fine paper, containing 82 pages 9 1-2x 8 1-2, embellished with a large number of engravings illustrating every phase of our varied industries and with a handsome specially designed cover and a colored map of the State.

The pamphlet was compiled and edited by John B. Read of Butte, and is replete with interesting descriptive matter and vital facts and statistics relating to the State. Special efforts were made to insure its effective distribution by passing them out in envelopes ready for mailing, to such persons as made application for them. This pamphlet has elicited much favorable comment and will largely assist in emphasizing and perpetuating the good impression made by our exhibits and in furnishing reliable information to those looking for homes or seeking openings for capital.

The Commission deems this a fitting time to make grateful recognition of the courtesy of the several railroads doing business in the State. Their kindness in transporting our exhibits to a common assembling point and in agreeing to return them from such point after the close of the Exposition, free of cost, together with their liberality in



furnishing transportation to and from St. Louis for the use of Special Agents and employees of the Commission, have been of great help to us in conserving our fund and carrying on our work.

Upon the whole, and having in mind the magnificent results achieved in this greatest Exposition the world has yet seen, we feel that our State has just cause for pride in the fact that it has contributed in no small degree to the marvelous success of that stupendous undertaking, and that it has done its full duty as a part of that grand Empire whose acquisition the Louisiana Purchase Exposition was designed to commemorate.

We also improve the occasion to thank all who have in anywise aided or contributed to the accomplishment of the labors assigned to this Commission.

All of the St. Louis exhibits designed for the Lewis and Clark Exposition to be held at Portland, Oregon, June 1st next, have already gone forward and an agent of the Commission is now on the grounds to receive them. It is the intention of the Commission to add such new and available material as may be necessary, and can be secured for the Portland exhibits.

Such articles as it has been decided not to send to Portland, together with the paintings and other works of art, bric-a-brac, curios, etc., etc., which will not be available by reason of our not having a state building, have been returned to the owners.

The appropriation for the Lewis and Clark Exposition is \$10,000.00. This sum is not sufficient to enable the Commission to erect a State Building and we shall therefore have to be content to make our display at Portland in the regularly designated Exposition buildings, foregoing the pleasure and comforts of a building of our own such as we enjoyed at St. Louis. In the present condition of the State treasury we hesitate to suggest a further appropriation.

However, after a careful consideration of the subject, the Executive Committee is of the opinion that the sum available for Portland will be insufficient to properly add to, install, care for and return our exhibits, and that an additional sum of five thousand dollars should be appropriated for this purpose.

The sum appropriated for the Louisiana Purchase exposition at St. Louis by the Legislature was \$50,000.00. This was a generous allowance but in outlining the work desired to be accomplished, including a creditable building and a full and representative display of our products and resources, the Commission found that the most rigid economy would be necessary. And here we desire to make grateful acknowledgement of a most generous donation from the Amalgamated Copper Company of \$7,500.00. This sum enabled us to amplify and complete the splendid Mineral exhibit which attracted so much attention, and otherwise to perfect our plans. It will not be out of place to mention also that the Boston and Montana Company, The Montana Ore Purchasing Company, Butte Reduction Works and other Mining and Smelting Companies were very generous in preparing and shipping Mining and Milling displays largely at their own expense.

It is also proper to mention in connection with the financial affairs of the Commission that its members have drawn no compensation whatever, either for services, mileage, or expenses, incurred in attending meetings. The Executive Committee in particular, upon whom has devolved the bulk of the work at home, have attended many meetings, paying all their own expenses. All the members have looked upon their offices as one of honor rather than profit and have regarded their labors as a patriotic duty due to the State.

As shown by the financial statement of the Women's Auxiliary Committee, which is herewith submitted, they col-

lected in subscriptions the sum of \$2,106.00, which, however, was not turned into the treasury of the commission but was expended by them in furnishing the State Building and in the entertainment of guests. This sum therefore does not appear in the financial statement of the Commission.

There are yet a number of items of expense properly chargeable to the St. Louis Exhibit which we have not been able to gather up in time for this report and which will be included in the final report of the Commission after the close of the Lewis and Clark Exposition. These items will probably equal the balance in the Treasurer's hands, viz: \$865.44.

The following reports are herewith submitted as a part of the report of the Commission.

- “A” Report of Prof. A. N. Winchell, in charge of the Mineral Exhibit.
- “B” Report of Prof. F. B. Linfield, in charge of the Agricultural Exhibit.
- “C” Report of C. H. Edwards, in charge of the Horticultural Exhibit.
- “D” Report of H. H. Swain, Secretary of the Auxiliary Committee on Educational Exhibit.
- “E” Report of the Women's Auxiliary Committee, Mrs. Cheely, Secretary.
- “F” Report of Special Agent, W. C. Buskett, in charge of the Commission's affairs at St. Louis.
- “G” Report of C. W. Hoffman, Treasurer of the Commission.
- “H” Report—Rules and By-Laws governing the Commission.

Books of account have been kept by the Commission and vouchers in duplicate taken for all expenditures.

The original vouchers are in the hands of the treasurer and the duplicates, together with the statements, vouchers and receipted bills of the several Special Agents are on file

with the Commission and available for examination by the proper State Officer.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

The report of Hon. C. W. Hoffman, Treasurer of the Commission shows the total receipts from all sources to be..... \$62,451 34

Total disbursements .....	\$61,585 90
Balance with the Treasurer .....	865 44
	\$62,451 34

RECEIPTS.

From State Treasurer (Appropriation) ..... \$50,000 00

FROM CONTRIBUTIONS.—

(Amalgamated Copper Co.)

Parrot Mining Co. ....	\$ 865 50	
B. & M. M. Co. ....	2,115 00	
Washoe M. Co. ....	769 00	
Anaconda M. Co. ....	2,115 00	
Colorado M. Co. ....	769 50	
Butte & Boston M. Co. ....	865 50	
	7,499 50	
Bismarck Nugget Co. ....	125 00	

PAMPHLET CONTRIBUTIONS.

City of Butte .....	\$ 500 00	
City of Billings .....	600 00	
City of Kalispell .....	405 00	
City of Missoula .....	450 00	
City of Helena .....	250 00	
City of Bozeman .....	150 00	
City of Virginia .....	150 00	
County of Gallatin .....	300 00	
County of Madison .....	150 00	
Butte Business Men's Association .....	450 00	
	3,405 00	

FROM SALES, REBATES, ETC.—

Unexpended balance Mineral Exhibit ...	\$ 139 43	
Unexpended balance Agricultural Exhibit	220 17	
Sale Agricultural Exhibits .....	74 70	
Sale Horticultural Exhibits .....	56 00	
Rebates, Fares, G. N. R. R. Co. ....	20 00	
Sale of Furniture State Building .....	813 50	
Rebates on Safe, Meters, Etc. ....	86 42	
Interest on deposits .....	11 62	
	1,421 84	

Total Receipts ..... \$62,451 34



## EXPENDITURES.

## STATE BUILDING.—

Construction including Architect's Fees ...	\$18,785 20	
Furniture, Furnishings, Freight, Boxing, Etc. (less sales) .....	1,995 82	
Operating Expenses, Light, Water, Gas, Lawn, Etc. ....	1,520 96	
Equipment .....	684 17	
Office Expenses, Stationery, Postage, Etc	493 36	
Attendants .....	2,421 01	
Insurance .....	858 70	
Entertainment .....	887 57	
Re-packing and Re-shipping .....	485 78	
	<u>          </u>	28,132 57

## MINERAL EXHIBIT.—

Collecting Exhibit .....	\$1,416 35	
Installation and Incidentals .....	3,982 72	
Freight and Express .....	824 05	
Insurance ....	413 70	
Re-shipping .....	353 64	
	<u>          </u>	8,588 96

## AGRICULTURAL EXHIBIT.—

Collecting and Preparing .....	\$ 1,248 96	
Installation .....	1,361 94	
Attendants .....	963 95	
Glass Cases, Booth, Photos .....	379 25	
Freight .....	168 83	
Re-shipping to Portland and Bozeman ...	319 12	
	<u>          </u>	4,442 05

## HORTICULTURAL EXHIBIT.—

Gathering Exhibit .....	\$ 1,044 16	
Attendant's incidentals .....	1,000 00	
Installation .....	664 75	
Cold Storage Rent, St. Louis and Butte..	412 64	
Freight, Express, Drayage .....	346 25	
Assembling, Packing and Loading on cars .....	350 10	
Chemical Exhibit .....	148 25	
	<u>          </u>	3,995 15

## FORESTRY—GAME EXHIBIT.—

Gathering, Preparing .....	\$ 500 55	
Installation .....	413 68	
Attendants .....	256 00	
Freight .....	636 50	
Insurance .....	96 00	
	<u>          </u>	1,902 53

PAMPHLET.—

Printing and Engraving .....	\$ 4,763 94	
Editing and Compiling .....	950 00	
Telegrams, Stenographer, Sundry Ex- pense .....	208 41	————— 5,922 35

EDUCATIONAL EXHIBIT.—

Collecting Exhibit .....	\$ 460 40	
Installation .....	985 45	
Attendants .....	906 82	
Freight ..	105 73	
Re-shipping to Portland .....	179 92	————— 2,638 32

BOTANICAL EXHIBIT.—

Gathering and Preparing .....	\$ 187 50	\$ 187 50
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OFFICE EXPENSES.—

Stationery .....	\$ 137 25	
Rent, Telephone and Incidentals .....	633 93	
Postage .....	84 50	
Telegrams .....	160 40	————— 1,016 08

SALARIES.—

Clerks, Stenographer, Assistant Secretary and Spe- cial Agent Buskett at St. Louis .....	\$ 3,378 55	
Sales, Rebates, Unexpended Balances returned to Treasury .....	1,421 84	
Balance in Treasury .....	865 44	—————
Total .....		\$62,451 34

The foregoing report was submitted to the Executive Committee at a meeting held this 16th day of February, 1905, at Butte, and by them approved and ordered to be signed by the President and Secretary of the Commission and by them submitted to His Excellency the Governor.

Respectfully submitted,

LEE MANTLE,  
President.

PAUL McCORMICK,  
Secretary.

RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR THE  
GOVERNMENT  
OF THE  
Montana World's Fair Commission  
Its Officers, Committees, Agents and Employees.

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OFFICERS:—The officers of the Commission shall be a President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer, to be selected from the members of the Commission.

MEETINGS:—Meetings of the Commission shall be held at such times and places as the Commission itself may designate at its last meeting. Provided, that the President may call meetings whenever he may deem them necessary; and provided further, that the President shall call a meeting whenever requested by five members of the Commission to do so in writing.

DUTIES AND POWERS OF COMMISSION:—The duties of the Commission shall be such as are prescribed in the act creating it. It shall have general charge and control of all matters committed to its care, and may approve or disapprove any act of any officer, agent, employee or sub-committee. It may appoint an executive committee, to consist of the President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer, and such other members of the commission as it may choose, and delegate to such executive committee any or all the powers it possesses, reserving to itself, however, the right to approve or disapprove.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:—The executive committee may fix the time and place of its own meetings. It shall have full charge and control of the business of the Commission, sub-

ject to the general direction of the Commission. It shall appoint or employ such agents or persons as it may deem necessary; fix their compensation and define their duties; make all necessary contracts for supplies, material or labor needed; suspend or discharge any agent or employee at its pleasure; make such rules as it deems proper for the guidance of subordinates; keep a record of all its acts and proceedings and report the same to the full Commission whenever required to do so. It shall audit, or cause to be audited, all bills, claims, estimates and accounts, and no bill, claim, estimate or account shall be paid until so audited and approved. Three members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

**PRESIDENT:**—The President shall preside at all meetings of the Commission; he shall with the Secretary, sign all requisitions upon the State Treasurer for funds for the use of the Commission. He shall be a member and chairman of the Executive Committee, and shall have general charge and supervision of the work of the Commission and its agents and employees, subject to such orders and directions as may be made, or given, by the Commission and the Executive Committee. He shall countersign all warrants drawn upon the treasurer and no warrant shall be paid unless so countersigned.

**VICE-PRESIDENT:**—In the absence of the President the Vice-President shall discharge the duties of the President. He shall be a member of the Executive Committee, and vice-chairman thereof. If the President and Vice-President shall at any time be absent or unable from any cause to attend to the duties of their office, the Executive Committee may, pending a meeting of the Commission, elect a temporary presiding officer.

**SECRETARY:**—The Secretary shall keep a complete record of all the proceedings of the Commission. He shall be custodian of the records of the Commission, and shall hold



them subject to examination by the Commission or any member thereof. He shall make a full and complete report in detail of all the transactions of the Commission, after the close of the World's Fair Exposition at St. Louis, and again after the close of the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition at Portland, Oregon, and shall make such other reports as may be required by law or ordered by the Commission at any time. He shall receive and file all applications made to the Commission for any purpose. He shall draw all warrants on the Treasurer, upon properly audited bills, for service rendered and material furnished, which audited bills shall be kept on file, bearing corresponding numbers and date with warrant; he shall keep an account of all moneys received and disbursed by the Treasurer. He shall conduct such correspondence as may be assigned to him, and perform such other duties as may be required from time to time. He shall be a member of the Executive Committee and the Secretary thereof.

**TREASURER:**—The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds of the Commission and shall keep correct books of account showing in detail all receipts and disbursements of cash. He shall make all payments by check only, and no bill, claim or account shall be paid by him until the same has been audited or approved as heretofore provided, and a warrant drawn therefor and signed by the Secretary and countersigned by the President. All checks issued by the Treasurer shall be numbered consecutively and for every check issued a receipted voucher, in duplicate, shall be taken. He shall keep accurate accounts of receipts and disbursements. He shall make a statement in detail in duplicate, whenever required to do so by the Commission, the Executive Committee or President, and shall file the same with the Secretary, and shall perform such other duties as the Commission or the Executive Committee may direct from time to time. He shall be a member of the Executive Committee.

His books and accounts shall be open to the inspection of the Commission and the Executive Committee at all times.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO THE COMMISSION:—An Assistant Secretary to the Commission may be appointed to the Commission whose duties shall be such as may be prescribed by the Commission or the Executive Committee from time to time.

EXPENSE ACCOUNTS—Agents and employees shall be paid their actual and necessary expenses only when traveling on the business of the Commission and by the direction of the Executive Committee. Their expenses may be limited to a stated sum per diem. No unusual or unnecessary items will be allowed.

Any member of the Commission, or any sub-committee of the Commission, not exceeding three members, may be allowed their actual expenses while necessarily absent from their homes in connection with the business of the Commission and by its express direction.

No bill or claim for transportation shall be allowed in any case when passes are used. When fares are paid a receipt must be taken and filed with the claim. When required, any claim, bill or account shall be sworn to.

CONTRACTS:—When practicable any work required by the Commission shall be submitted to competitive bids and the contract awarded to the lowest responsible bidder. In all cases the right shall be awarded to reject any or all bids.

GENERAL:—Money shall be drawn from the State Treasury as provided by the Act creating the Commission, and in accordance with resolution duly adopted by the Commission or the Executive Committee at regular or special meetings.

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REPORT OF W. C. BUSKETT, SPECIAL AGENT IN  
CHARGE AT ST. LOUIS.

St. Louis, Mo., January 30, 1905.

Hon. Lee Mantle, President,

Montana World's Commission, Butte, Montana:

My Dear Sir:—In submitting to you my final report concerning the affairs of the Montana Commission at St. Louis, I cannot refrain from expressing the sentiment I feel in the flattering representation made by our State in the hands of the "Montana Commission". I am encouraged in this expression by the many flattering comments coming not only from the visitors from our own State, but those living at great distances, east, south and west, as well as foreign countries. Many of these criticisms are flavored with a tinge of the ludicrous, however, as Montana in the minds of many, is a country of sage brush, hills and Indians, the people half civilized, and a board side-walk in a town a modern luxury, and strange as it may seem, many of these opinions exist in communities not a thousand miles from the State. The look of surprise and astonishment to be seen in looking at some of our exhibits is amusing. To see apples that are raised in the Bitter Root and Flathead Valleys that measure fifteen inches in circumference, and wheat from the Gallatin Valley that yields 75 bushels to the acre, is beyond their belief, but while these expressions may seem homely in their nature, they are honest and sincere, and count for much.

To those who are acquainted with the resources and advantages of our State, our exhibits were a surprise, and we may be justly proud of the result as signified in the awarding of medals in the various departments. The Agricultural Exhibit was prominent, and attracted wide attention, and while not as extensive and elaborate as some of the larger States, was most interesting, and excelled in merit many States larger than our own. The Horticultural Exhibit with low installation was very creditable indeed, and the first car load of fruit that was shipped was in better condi-





WM. C. BUSKETT.





tion, and kept better, than any fruit consigned to the Cold Storage Company. So said the general manager of the Company to me. The exhibits of Taxidermy and Forest Products in the Forestry, Fish and Game Buildings, were very interesting and occupied a most favorable position. The collection of Messrs. H. L. Frank and Paul McCormick contributed largely to that of Mr. M. L. Gulden. The forest products of the Blackfoot Milling Co., were very attractive, especially the "Facade" of Pine and Tamarack.

The Educational Exhibit, though occupying the smallest space was well represented by the exhibits of Butte, Helena, Missoula and other cities. A great deal of interest was taken in this exhibit as the educational advantages of a State especially concern the home seeker.

I am pleased to report the successful distribution of our pamphlet, "Montana, the Treasure State", compiled by Mr. John B. Read and which I think will be the means of promoting new and profitable interest in the State. A little less than 60,000 were given away and mailed from the State Building and exhibits, and many were sent in response to requests, and you will now find them in nearly, and possibly all of the States and some of the foreign countries.

To say that Montana should feel a good deal of pride and satisfaction in the result of the efforts made by the Commission and those who assisted, is but fair and just, and if the sentiment of a mixed concourse of people is a criterion, Montana had no competitor in proportion to the facilities in hand.

#### STATE BUILDING.

The Montana State Building would certainly have merited and won a Grand Prize, had that prize consisted of popularity. I am justified in this assertion in many ways. The building itself was most suitable for the purpose. There was ample room for every comfort, though not too much, and the space nicely distributed. It was unique and attractive, and did not resemble anything else on the ground. The

selection of the furniture and furnishings was most admirable, as the beautiful effect throughout made an impression that was not forgotten, and many visitors have returned tired and worn out, and you would find them saying: "I just thought I would come back by the Montana Building, it looks so cool and restful here."

The beautiful paintings loaned by the citizens added much interest, especially those by Mr. Russell and Mr. Paxson, "Custer's Last Battle" by the latter, being a great attraction. The onyx mantel sent by Col. Chisholm, was also greatly admired.

A most favorable impression of our building was made on June 14th, "Montana Day", which was the occasion of the Dedication. The absence of Gov. Toole and yourself was much regretted, but aside from that, the success of the event was pronounced and remarked by many.

In no small way did the assistants in the building contribute to the comfort and pleasure of all visitors, and at times their patience was taxed severely, but I do not think any just cause of complaint was ever registered against the treatment in our building.

As hostess, Mrs. McDowell has proved herself equal to all occasions, and the position at times was not an enviable one. Miss Kolbe, as stenographer and postmistress, added assistance in many ways, as did Mr. Reeder, who was always watchful of the interest of the building. T. G. Williams and wife, as porter and maid, also deserve recognition for their faithfulness.

The number of visitors who passed through our building averaged during the season about 500 a day, 10 per cent of whom were Montanians, and that required some attention, and although on rainy and muddy days, many buildings would not admit visitors, the doors of the Montana Building were always open to every one.

Many chapters of interest could be written concerning the history of this Exposition, the breadth and magnitude

of which are hardly visible to the reader, and they were unfortunate who were denied the pleasure of seeing its beauties and attractions, as they could not be enjoyed from afar. It was a marked success in many ways, and a failure in but few, but the enormity of the undertaking justifies forbearance to some extent. In this connection, a few items of interest that I have received from the official records, and which have just been completed, would not be amiss, and which gives one an idea of the extent of the Exposition:

The total amount of receipts for admissions and concessions was \$12,804,616.

The total number of admissions was 19,800,000.

Sixty-two (62) foreign countries were represented at the Fair, and every State in the Union excepting four. The foreign countries expended \$12,000,000 and the States \$8,000,000. The Exposition Company expended \$20,000,000, and it is estimated \$10,000,000 was spent on the Pike, making in all \$50,000,000. The Intramural Railroad within the grounds ran 177 days, carrying 6,274,738 revenue passengers and about 450,000 complimentary, consisting of officials, officers, guards, etc. The distance covered in the round trip was twelve (12) miles, there being 20 stations in all. The schedule of time, was a train of two cars every three minutes, and 51 cars in all were used. The St. Louis Transit Co., which includes all of the Street Car lines excepting the Suburban Line, carried during the last nine (9) months of 1903, 115,312,379 passengers, and for the same months in 1904, 165,595,061, showing an increase during the World's Fair of 50,282,664, which added to the number carried by the Suburban 15,889,746, makes a total of 181,484,807, for 1904.

To the State of Montana belongs a proportionate amount of credit as having been duly recognized in its efforts to perpetuate the memory of the greatest Exposition the world has ever seen, and of which effort the people of our State may feel justly proud.

Very respectfully,  
W. C. BUSKETT,  
Special Agent.



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REPORT OF PROF. A. N. WINCHELL IN CHARGE OF  
MINERAL EXHIBIT AT ST. LOUIS, MO.

December 27, 1904.

President Lee Mantle, Butte, Montana:

Dear Sir:—I beg to submit the following brief report of the work accomplished in connection with the Montana Mineral Exhibit at the St. Louis Exposition.

Having been placed in charge of this work through the action of the Montana World's Fair Commission in August, 1903, I prepared and sent out several thousand circular letters to the newspapers and to all the mining men of the State requesting that suitable exhibits from the mines, quarries, smelters, etc., of the State be sent to Butte to be prepared for shipment to St. Louis. As satisfactory and representative collections were not obtained in this way it was found necessary to employ a man to make a canvas of the mining districts of the State. Mr. C. R. Murdoch was selected for this work, and he accomplished it with very satisfactory results during October, November and part of December, 1903. During January and February he was engaged in labelling and packing the specimens already secured and in collecting material from the mines and smelters of Butte. Early in March two carloads of material were sent to St. Louis where they were received by Mr. Murdoch, and installation was commenced. I went to St. Louis in April and pushed the installation forward so that the exhibit was opened to the public on opening day of the Exposition, April 30, 1904. It was of course kept in proper condition for public inspection continuously thereafter until the close of the Fair, December 1st, 1904.

The greatest diligence was necessarily exercised to properly safeguard the very valuable series of gold quartz, gold nuggets, gold crystals, and cut and uncut sapphires, which filled the central case in the exhibit. These were kept in a manganese steel safe at all times when not under the care of at least one responsible person. They were also insured

against loss by fire or burglary to their full intrinsic value.

As evidence of the quality and success of the exhibit it is only necessary to state that the International Jury awarded to it a grand prize, fourteen gold medals, sixteen silver medals and twenty bronze medals. It was generally conceded that Montana's mineral exhibit compared favorably with that of any State of the Union.

I think it proper to state in this connection that it would have been an impossibility to gather the exhibit without the active co-operation of mining men generally throughout Montana to whom therefore the thanks of the State are due for the success attained; furthermore it would have been impossible to install and care for the exhibit without the very generous and public spirited contributions of funds made by the Amalgamated Copper Company.

I wish to state also that I appreciate very highly the assistance rendered by Mr. C. R. Murdoch. His services have been very important and very efficient.

Detailed monthly financial statements have been submitted to the Commission.

Respectfully submitted,

ALEXANDER N. WINCHELL,

In Charge Montana Mineral Exhibit.

REPORT OF PROF. F. B. LINFIELD, IN CHARGE OF  
THE AGRICULTURAL EXHIBIT AT ST.  
LOUIS, MO.

Agricultural Experiment Station,

Bozeman, Montana, December 26, 1904.

President Lee Mantle,

Montana World's Fair Commission, Butte, Mont.

Dear Sir:—In accordance with your request I herewith present a history of my connection with the work of the Montana World's Fair Commission.

At the time the Commission was organized in the spring of 1903, I had been but eight months in the state, and thus was a comparative stranger to the people. Sometime in

July notice was sent to President Reid of the College and to the Secretary of the Executive Board, asking that the Agricultural College take charge of the agricultural exhibit at St. Louis and that the faculty appoint one of their number to take charge of the work. The President was away from the city. No Board meetings were being held. The correspondence was turned over to the writer in the early part of August, but I lacked yet any official appointment to the work. However, the work had to be done and some person had to do it. I felt busy with this extra work, as at that time I was acting Director of the Experiment Station. As Agriculturalist I had sole charge of the agricultural work of the college and station, including the management of the farm, as at that time I had no assistant. I had also the responsibility of managing the farmer's institute work over the State and helping at many of the meetings. Because of this I did not have the time or opportunity to give to the work required by the Commission the attention that it should have had. Because of these facts and also of the delayed notice it was late before I got started collecting material.

The first effort in the direction of gathering samples was to send out notices, about August 11th, to as many addresses as I had, calling attention to the exhibit and what was wanted from our farmers, and asking that samples be saved and sent in. The response to this was practically nil. My next move was to get some person to help gather the material and to interest the people of the various sections in the exhibit. After some correspondence I secured the services of Mr. Frank A. Spragg of Denton, Fergus County, a recent graduate of the College. By this time it was the beginning of September. Mr. Spragg visited Fergus and Meagher counties and those counties down the Yellowstone valley, as far as possible taking in the fairs where held in those counties. Personally I visited Beaverhead, Lewis and Clark, Missoula and Ravalli counties and the district around Great Falls. As this work progressed it was suggested by Mr. John Pace,



Secretary of the State Fair, that we work in conjunction with the county fair directors, to the end that a good collection might be on exhibition at the State Fair, and that after the Fair the collection could be turned over to the World's Fair Commission. It was through this latter method that we finally got the collection we needed for the St. Louis Fair. All the counties exhibiting, except Yellowstone, turned over to me their collections of grains and grasses complete. We had in addition to this some few samples sent in from time to time, and quite a large number of samples collected in the Gallatin valley, together with Experiment Station collections of grains and grasses.

During the winter months all the samples were carefully gone over and the grain cleaned and graded, so that the samples would possess the best possible appearance when placed on exhibition.

In the early part of January a visit was made to St. Louis to look over the ground and to get suggestions on a plan of a booth for the display of the exhibit. Mr. Green, an architect in the office of Mr. F. W. Taylor, chief of the Department of Agriculture, submitted a plan which met with the approval of the Commission and later Mr. W. C. Buskett, the representative of the Commission at St. Louis, let the contract for the booth complete at \$1,000.

The goods were shipped early in March, some 12,000 pounds altogether being sent. On the 14th day of April, Mr. Spragg and the writer arrived at St. Louis and three weeks were spent in installing the material, the work being practically complete at the opening of the Fair. Montana was one of the very few states that had their exhibit in place for the opening day.

Of the grains and grasses we had a large representative display from nearly every part of the State, as the subjoined list will show. Altogether there were about 260 exhibitors, and nearly 800 samples contributed. There were 314 samples of sheaf grain and 302 samples of threshed grain, 266



in the great majority of cases, will make good use of it. In three weeks spent at the Fair this fall and in assisting at the exhibit, I saw but one of the pamphlets discarded and that was apparently left by mistake.

In the matter of awards I think that the State got her full share. Of the 260 persons who sent exhibits 172 received medals, made up of 68 gold medals, 61 silver, 43 bronze. This it appears to me is a very good showing indeed.

Finally, I wish to commend most heartily the earnest work of my assistant, Mr. Spragg. Like myself he was new to the work and had to accumulate experience as the work progressed, but I have found him faithful and earnest. He has kept closely to the work all the season and has used his best ability to explain the exhibit and interest the visitors in the same.

I also wish to commend the unselfish labor of those who aided us in getting the exhibits together, as without their interest and help it would have been impossible to make the display we did with the money available, and in conclusion I desire to thank the officers of the Commission for their support, advice and help.

Respectfully submitted,

F. B. LINFIELD.

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REPORT OF C. H. EDWARDS, IN CHARGE OF THE  
HORTICULTURAL EXHIBIT, ST. LOUIS, MO.

Butte, Montana, January 21, 1905.

To Hon. Lee Mantle, President Montana World's Fair Commission:

Dear Sir: At the request of your honorable body I began the work of preparing Montana's horticultural exhibit for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition about July 20, 1903.

From that time up to, and inclusive of Dec. 24, 1903, I secured and preserved about 100 jars of fruit, including choice specimens of berries, cherries, plums, prunes and a car load of the choicest apples obtainable in the State. The jar fruit was all chemically prepared, preserving the fruit in its natural form and color. While the exhibit of chemically prepared fruits was small it was choice, and certainly proved of value, showing as it did the possibilities of small fruit culture in our state.

During the months of July and August I visited the various fruit districts of the state and solicited in advance the promise from the fruit growers of a sufficient quantity of fruit to make up a full car, to be placed in cold storage. During October, November and December I gathered this fruit and assembled it at Butte. Here it was repacked in the most careful manner. The work of packing this car was tedious and consumed nearly sixty days. This was owing to the difficulty experienced in getting the fruits from the orchard to the store house, and the necessity of great carefulness in handling specimens. Altogether there were some 30,000 specimens in the car. The car was shipped from Butte, December 24, 1903, and was received in St. Louis, Jan. 2, 1904, by the Mound City Ice & Cold Storage Co., with whom arrangements for storing the same had been made during the summer. Letters on file in this office from the Mound City Co. show that the car arrived in fine condition and was voted by them and the officials of the Exposition as one of the finest prepared cars received for exhibit.

It was universally conceded by all horticultural superintendents that our pack and package was the very best.

Application for 1,000 square feet of space in the Horticultural Palace had been made during October, and after the shipment of fruits had been made the matter of installation of the exhibit was taken up. In view of the fact that funds were small, low installation was decided upon. While this plan of installation deprived us of an opportunity of much adornment, it, we believe, gave the advantage of presenting visitors our entire exhibit at a glance.

On April 15th, I went to St. Louis to begin the work of installation. On April 30, 1904, the day upon which the Fair was formally declared open Montana's horticultural exhibit was declared complete, and from that time to December 1st, the closing day of the Fair, Montana was well represented in the Palace of Horticulture, exhibiting throughout the season no less than ten thousand plates of fruits.

While in St. Louis during the month of June, I had a good opportunity of observing the poor condition of the small fresh fruits that were received by the nearby states and decided then that it would be utter folly for us to attempt the local shipment of small fruits during the months of July and August, as was our intention. Then, too, our fund available was small for this work and the express rate of \$5.50 per one hundred pounds made it possible for us to ship only a very few shipments. Had it been possible to get them there in good condition I would have attempted to have shown strawberries and cherries, and other small fruits, fresh from the orchards; but as it was not I abandoned the plan.

During the summer months of 1904 I visited the fruit growers of Montana and again solicited fruits for a second car with which to close up and make a good finish. About September 15, I commenced the work of assembling at Missoula this second car, and upon October 1st, shipped the same to St. Louis. The car arrived there about October



10th. This car contained nearly 15,000 specimens, consisting of apples, crabapples, plums, prunes and pears. It arrived in good condition and completed the work of gathering and packing of fruits for the Fair. During October we were showing in good condition, apples of 1903 and 1904 at the same time.

It has been no easy task, indeed, to maintain for a period of seven months an exhibit of fresh fruits, covering a space of 1,000 square feet and consisting of 10,000 plates of fruits, when we take into consideration the fact that our base of supply was distant from St. Louis about two thousand miles. It required the greatest care possible to maintain an exhibit of cold storage fruits alone, lasting over a period of five months, yet during this period Montana's exhibit compared favorably with all the western states, especially when we remember that she spent in the horticultural department less than half the money spent by the least of the states.

Throughout the entire work the strictest economy has been practiced. Not one needless dollar has been spent.

It would of course be impossible that our horticultural exhibit should come up to the expectations of all the people that saw it, and of many of our citizens who visited the fair, yet it is a fact that no exhibit in the horticultural palace attracted greater attention. It is universally conceded that Montana stands at the head as a mining, agricultural and stock raising state, but that she should claim a place in the category of fruit growing states has not been credited by the people outside of her own borders, and by many living within her domain.

It is my opinion, formed from observations made during my visit to this educational fair just closed, in connection with this work, that the money expended in our horticultural exhibit will prove of inestimable value to our state.

It is yet impossible to make to your honorable body a complete report of what has been accomplished in the matter of securing awards and prizes. I have received up to



this time only a partial report which informs me that altogether there have been awarded to us some sixty-five medals, consisting of gold, silver and bronze.

During the entire season of the fair the exhibit was cared for by Mr. Verdi Spurgin. That it was in good hands is evidenced by the results as shown in the matter of awards. It would have been impossible to have found a gentleman better fitted for this work. To his untiring efforts is due the credit of our success. He has labored early and late for eight months, never losing sight of a single opportunity to advance the interests of the State, and I desire to express to him my sincerest thanks for his many efforts to carry to a successful close the exhibit.

In conclusion I wish to express my thanks to the Commission for their many courtesies extended; and for their earnest efforts on behalf of the fruit interests of the state; to Mr. Buskett, representative of the commission, and to the fruit growers of the state for their earnest co-operation; and to the press for its kindly assistance.

I herewith append a statement of all disbursements from the commencement to the finish. The expenditures have been segregated so as to show the cost of each part of the work.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed)

C. H. EDWARDS.

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REPORT OF H. H. SWAIN, SECRETARY OF THE  
AUXILIARY COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION  
ST. LOUIS, MO.

Dillon, Montana, January 30, 1905.

Hon. Lee Mantle, Butte, Montana:

Dear Sir:—I have the honor to submit the following condensed report from the Auxiliary Committee on Educational Exhibit.

Very soon after their appointment the Committee met and organized, and in conference with those in general charge of the Educational Department at St. Louis, formulated definite plans for the preparation and collection of an exhibit. As soon as a general agreement had been reached on these matters, announcements were sent out as widely as possible to the public schools,—chiefly through the county superintendents,—urging them to prepare exhibits. Invitations were also sent to all the state educational institutions and to private institutions so far as they were known. It is believed that none of the latter were overlooked.

The response from the rural schools was not what the Committee had hoped, and for one reason or another several of the larger towns did not seem to find it practicable to make exhibits. However, a considerable number of towns and some rural schools sent exhibits which largely made up, by their excellent quality, for the lack of exhibits from other places.

As it proved that the space assigned for Montana, only 15x30 feet was so small, it was quite as well that the number of schools offering exhibits was not very large, for it is difficult to see how it would, under such circumstances, have been possible to display even a specimen of one kind of work from each school, had all wished to be represented. As it was, however, the Committee found it possible to make a reasonably satisfactory display of the work of such schools as were represented. Not nearly all the material offered could be utilized at once, but selections which gave a very typical

exhibition were displayed, and as individual pieces became soiled during the Exposition, they were replaced by others.

The exhibits from the city school systems of Butte, Helena, Billings and Missoula were particularly noticeable for their completeness, while partial exhibits from a large number of towns were made.

The first plan had been to have a typical exhibit of the whole educational system of the state from beginning to end. This idea had to be modified, however, when it was definitely learned that the space assigned to Montana could not be increased. Every effort was made to secure some expansion, but those in charge at St. Louis were inflexible, and we were obliged to do the best we could with the space assigned. The Montana Agricultural College had its special exhibit in connection with the Agricultural Department, the splendid exhibit from the Montana State School of Mines had its place in the Mining Building, and the Montana State School for the Deaf and Blind made its exhibit in connection with the other institutions of a like character. The state institutions therefore decided to ask for no space in the educational exhibit beyond room to display a few photographs and some statistical charts illustrating their work and growth. This left the Montana exhibit almost exclusively an exhibit from the public schools.

Two distinct features were kept in mind in the preparation of the exhibit, (1) to show the general plan or system employed in educating the child, and (2) the effectiveness of the system as shown in the excellency of the work done by the pupil.

The exhibits were collected in Butte and shipped thence to St. Louis. Shortly before the opening of the Exposition, the Commission sent Superintendent J. G. McKay of Missoula and Miss Jane Wall of Helena, to St. Louis, and they arranged the exhibits in the space assigned. Montana's was one of the few exhibits that was in readiness for the opening of the Exposition. The space assigned was ar-



ranged in the form of a double booth, and this gave the maximum amount of wall-space without unduly crowding the passage ways.

During the entire time of the Exposition the Montana Exhibit was in charge of caretakers who, two at a time, served for one month each. They were appointed by the Committee from among the teachers of the state, and not only contributed their services freely, but provided their own transportation to and from St. Louis, the Committee providing only for their local expenses while present at the Exposition.

In several respects the exhibit was the most satisfactory that has ever been made from Montana. In the first place the policy of the Exposition in providing a separate building for educational exhibits served to bring these exhibits into far greater prominence and gave them the recognition which their importance deserves. It also made possible a far more comprehensive and connected exhibit than could otherwise have been made. In the second place the meeting of the National Educational Association at the exposition grounds served to call special attention to all the exhibits, so that they could be examined by a greater portion of the general public than would otherwise have noticed them, while at the same time this gathering brought to the Exposition and to the educational exhibits a large number of visitors specially capable of appreciating them and of understanding what is being accomplished in Montana in educational work.

I should like to recommend that the material which is returned from St. Louis be sorted, and the specimens which are uninjured be arranged, with others to be collected through the winter, at the Montana State Fair and at the Exposition to be held in Portland.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed)

H. H. SWAIN,

Secretary of Auxiliary Committee on Educational Exhibits.



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**REPORT OF WOMEN'S AUXILIARY COMMITTEE.**

Butte, Montana, February 5, 1905.

To the Hon. Lee Mantle,

President of the Montana World's Fair Commission:

Dear Sir:—I beg leave to submit the following report of the Women's Auxiliary Committee.

The work assigned our Committee was the furnishing of the Montana State Building at St. Louis. For this purpose and expenses incidental to it the Commission appropriated \$2,500.00.

Immediately upon the appointment of the committee it organized, electing Miss Cruse, Chairman; Mrs. Carson, Treasurer, and Mrs. W. W. Cheely, Secretary.

Realizing the inadequacy of the amount appropriated and the necessity of securing the co-operation of the women of the state, a sub-committee was appointed composed of one woman from each county. In so far as it was possible, meetings were held with the women of the different counties with the result that Madison, Powell, Deer Lodge, Custer, Cascade, Sweet Grass, Park, Gallatin and Lewis and Clark loaned curios, pictures, and many other decorations for the Building. Fergus contributed \$87.00, Chouteau \$91.00, Gallatin \$90.50, Silver Bow \$350.00 and Yellowstone \$487.50 to our fund. We also received from Mrs. Margaret Daly and Senator W. A. Clark \$500.00 each and from E. H. Sherman the loan of two pianos, one baby grand and one upright; and from E. S. Paxson and Charles Russell many of their most beautiful paintings.

In February Miss Cruse went to St. Louis and contracted for the furnishing of the building and to her the credit is due for the excellent judgment and good taste displayed which made the Montana Building one of the most attractive on the grounds. In April Miss Cruse returned to St. Louis and superintended the placing of the furniture and opening of



MONTANA WORLD'S FAIR COMMISSION.  
FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF THE WOMEN'S AUXILIARY COMMITTEE.

Helena, Montana, January 20th, 1905.

To the Hon. Lee Mantle, President:

MONEYS RECEIVED.

From Montana World's Fair Commission.....	\$2,500.00
From Senator W. A. Clark .....	500.00
From Mrs. Margaret Daly .....	500.00
From Mrs. L. T. Jones, Sec. Sub-Committee of Yellowstone County .....	487.50
From Mrs. J. M. White, Sec. Sub-Committee of Silver Bow County .....	350.00
From Mrs. W. Taylor, Sec. Sub-Committee of Chouteau County .....	91.00
From Mrs. S. C. Kenyon, Sec. Sub-Committee of Gallatin County .....	90.50
From Mrs. Charles Lehman, Sec. Sub-Committee of Fergus County .....	87.00
	\$4,606.00

MONEYS EXPENDED.

Furnishing Account—	
Statement attached .....	\$4,001.50
Additional Expenses—	
Statement attached .....	604.50
	\$4,606.00

FURNISHING ACCOUNT.

To Scruggs, Vanderwort & Barney .....	\$1,897.97
To Simmons Hardware Company .....	198.76
To Lammert Furniture Company .....	1,354.20
To William Barr Dry Goods Company .....	130.87
To Scarritt, Comstock Company .....	78.00
To St. Louis Brass Company .....	140.00
To J. Kennard & Sons .....	16.00
To F. Weber & Company .....	17.40
To C. Young & Sons .....	168.30
	\$4,001.50

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 ADDITIONAL EXPENSES.

To Miss Giltinan .....	\$ 2.00
To H. G. Young .....	12.30
To L. A. Copbridge .....	15.00
To Charles Williams .....	4.00
To Peckman Brothers .....	42.00
To Zellar Brothers .....	13.00
To Tyrolean Alps Restaurant .....	110.00
To Miss Kolbe .....	59.00
To Secretary's Supplies .....	9.55
To Telephone Company .....	15.12
To W. M. Biggs Company .....	15.00
To Tuttle Jewelry Company .....	7.00
To Postage .....	.53
To Mrs. W. W. Cheely, Expenses .....	300.00
	<hr/>
	\$604.50

(Signed)

MISS MARY A. CRUSE,

Chairman.

(Signed) MRS. W. W. CHEELY,

Secretary.

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\* For Montana at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, Part I, see pages 80-105 of Vol. 5 "Historical Contributions" which contains account of dedication of the state building.



COMPLETE LIST OF AWARDS  
OF THE  
**Louisiana Purchase Exposition**  
TO  
MONTANA EXHIBITS AND EXHIBITORS

**EDUCATIONAL EXHIBIT.**

TOTAL AWARDS.

Gold Medals (2)

Silver Medals (5)

Bronze Medals (4)

GOLD MEDALS.

University of Montana, Missoula.....Instruction in Electrical Engineering.  
Butte Board of Education .....Elementary Schools.

SILVER MEDALS.

Montana Commission (Collectively).....Elementary and Secondary Education in  
the State of Montana.  
Billings Board of Education.....Elementary Schools.  
Helena Board of Education .....Elementary Schools.  
(Secondary Education.)  
Butte Board of Education .....Secondary Schools.  
(Higher Education.)  
State College of Agriculture and  
Mechanic Arts, Bozeman .....Models of apparatus used in Irrigation  
Engineering.

BRONZE MEDALS.

Missoula Board of Education .....Elementary Schools.  
Helena Board of Education .....Secondary Education.  
Montana Historical Library .....Historical Collection of Photographs.  
University of Montana, Missoula .....Higher Education.

**MINERAL EXHIBIT.**

TOTAL AWARDS.

Grand Prizes (1)

Gold Medals (17)

Silver Medals (17)

Bronze Medals (21)

GRAND PRIZE.

State of Montana, Butte, Montana.....Mining Industry.

GOLD MEDALS.

Montana World's Fair Commission.....Minerals and Gold Crystals.  
Boston & Montana Con. Copper and  
Silver Mining Co., Butte .....Silver, Copper Ores.  
Fergus County Business Men's Associa-  
tion, Lewistown .....Cyanide Ores.  
Conrad, W. G., Great Falls .....Gold Nuggets, Gold Dust, Etc.  
Montana World's Fair Commission, ButteClays and Building Stone.  
(Models, Maps, Etc.)  
State of Montana, Helena.....Model of Butte District.  
Anaconda Copper Mining Co., Anaconda.Mine Models and Photographs.  
State School of Mines, Butte .....Diagrams and Models.  
(Metallurgy.)  
Boston & Montana Con. Copper and  
Silver Mining Co., Butte.....Copper Concentrates and Product.  
Washoe Copper Co., Anaconda .....Copper, Concentrates and Products.  
Anaconda Copper Mining Co., Anaconda..Ores, Concentrates and Copper.



Bismarck Nugget Gulch Con. Mining Co...Sheridan .....Silver & Gold Ore.  
 Northwestern Improvement Company ....RedLodge .....Bituminous Coal.  
 (Collaborators, Mines and Metallurgy.)  
 Wethy, A. H..... Original Con. Mining Co., Butte.

### HORTICULTURAL EXHIBIT.

#### TOTAL AWARDS.

Gold Medals (4)                      Silver Medals (38).                      Bronze Medals (23).

#### GOLD MEDALS.

State of Montana .....Fruit.  
 Bass Brothers .....Stevensville ....Apples.  
 Bitter Root Farm .....Hamilton .....Apples: Crab Apples.  
 (Collaborator)  
 Edwards, C. H. ....State of Montana.

#### SILVER MEDALS.

Allen, W. J. ....Carlton .....Apples.  
 Appolonio Water Co. ....Victor. ....Apples.  
 Colcord, J. C. ....Stevensville ....Apples.  
 Cook, F. L. ....Como .....Apples.  
 Cottrell, Ida F. ....Carlton .....Apples.  
 Deveber & Herbert .....Florence .....Apples: Crab Apples.  
 Dinsmore, Samuel .....Missoula .....Apples.  
 Deering, Thomas .....Woodside .....Apples.  
 George, B. ....Darby .....Apples, Strawberries.  
 Gores, Gus. ....Darby .....Apples.  
 Harlan, W. B. ....Como .....Apples.  
 Hendricks, Fritz .....Woodside .....Apples.  
 Huff, J. E. ....Woodside .....Plums and Prunes.  
 Jamison, R. V. ....Victor .....Apples.  
 Johnson, E. A. ....Hamilton .....Apples.  
 Johnson, Henry .....Carlton .....Apples.  
 Johnson, J. H. ....Victor .....Apples.  
 Lacoff, Joseph .....Florence .....Apples.  
 Lacoursier, L. ....Victor .....Apples.  
 Lehson, J. H. ....Missoula .....Apples.  
 Lewis, J. S. ....Plains .....Apples.  
 Lockwood, J. E. ....Woodside .....Apples.  
 McClain, J. P. ....Carlton .....Apples.  
 McClain, T. A. ....Carlton .....Apples.  
 McRea Bros. ....Woodside .....Apples.  
 Padden, Thos. ....Darby .....Apples.  
 Parkhurst, R. ....Corvallis .....Apples.  
 Pierce, M. H. ....Plains .....Apples.  
 Rock, W. H. ....Lo Lo .....Apples.  
 Satterlee, Geo. L. ....Darby.....Apples.  
 Sears, J. ....Woodside .....Plums and Prunes.  
 Smith, Thomas S. ....Carlton .....Apples.  
 Tiedt, W. J. ....Darby .....Apples.  
 Vanderpool, A. C. ....Plains .....Apples.  
 Victor Mine Orchard Co. ....Victor .....Apples.  
 Wagner, S. ....Florence .....Apples.  
 Willis, C. C. ....Plains .....Apples.  
 (Collaborator.)  
 Verdi Spurgin ....State of Montana .....

## BRONZE MEDALS.

Bandmann, D. E. ....	Missoula	Apples.
Billings Land & Irrigation Co. ....	Billings	Apples.
Cooper, O. C. ....	Hamilton	Apples.
Durnford, A. J. ....	Carlton	Apples.
Gilbert, Fred. ....	Lo Lo	Apples.
Grill, Fred ....	Hamilton	Apples.
Johnson, C. O. ....	Carlton.	Apples.
Lockridge, F. E. ....	Corvallis	Apples.
McClay, W. P. ....	Missoula	Apples.
Meyers, E. A. ....	Hamilton	Apples.
Missoula Nursery Co. ....	Missoula	Apples.
Mittower, A. N. ....	Victor	Apples.
Murphy, Mrs. Lizzie. ....	Carlton	Apples.
Pickering, F. G. ....	Joliet	Apples.
Porter, Wm. ....	Woodside	Apples.
Read, J O. ....	Hamilton	Apples.
Sleeman, R. A. ....	Missoula Co.	Apples.
Smith, C. W. ....	Woodside.	Apples.
Smith, T. H. ....	Woodside.	Apples.
Turnage, W. ....	Woodside.	Apples.
Wagner, Isadore ....	Florence	Apples.
Wallace, J. M. ....	Billings	Apples.
Willis, J. R. ....	Plains	Apples.

## AGRICULTURAL EXHIBITS.

## TOTAL AWARDS.

Gold Medals (69.)

Silver Medals (62).

Bronze Medals (53).

## GOLD MEDALS.

Montana Commission.	Irrigated Products.	
Anderson, C. M. ....	Belt	Oats, wheat.
Anderson, C. F. ....	Belt	Oats, barley.
Armstrong, Judge F. K. ....	Bozeman	Oats.
Austin, A. M. ....	Flathead	Oats.
Austin, C. H. ....	Cascade	Oats.
Barnhill, O. H. ....	Holt	Oats,
Bison, E. ....	Great Falls	Barley, Wheat, Rye, Oats.
Braithvant, Joseph. ....	Highwood	Oats.
Brush, Henry ....	Chinook	Oats.
Callen, W. R. ....	Monarch	Wheat, oats.
Cameron, Duncan ....	Cascade	Barley.
Carolus, Jacob. ....	Bozeman	Wheat, Oats.
Cook, James ....	Chinook	Oats.
Cook, Wallace ....	Chinook	Oats.
Coulson, John C ....	Cascade	Wheat, Oats.
Davidson, E. M. ....	Belgrade	Barley, Oats, Wheat.
Dick, Samuel ....	Great Falls	Peas, Beans.
Epperson, John ....	Belt	Broom Corn, Millet.
Experiment Station ....	Bozeman	Wheat, Oats, Barley, Rye, Speltz.
Fake, Pete ....	Eden	Wheat.
Featherley, C. R. ....	Dillon	Oats,
Flynn, Claude V. ....	Toston	Hay.
Green, John H. ....	Plains	Oats,
Harlen, Frank ....	Missoula	Oats,
Heaney, B. J. ....	St. Peter	Oats.
Hicke, H. ....	Truly	Wheat.



Horan, J. M. ....	Townsend	....	Oats,
Horan, J. M. ....	Belt	....	Timothy.
Horan, J. M. ....	Townsend	....	Oats.
Innes, Carl .....	Dillon	....	Oats.
Johnson, Otis .....	Plains	....	Oats.
Kessner, G. P. ....	Stockett	....	Wheat.
Kemp, B. H. ....	Cascade	....	Barley.
Krueger, J. R. ....	Plains	....	Bromus Inermis.
Lamphear, J. H. ....	Manhattan	....	Oats,
Lee, C. A. ....	Sand Coulee	...	Wheat and Oats.
Lindh, C. H. ....	Great Falls.	...	Oats.
Mannix, Con .....	Townsend	....	Oats.
Manxer, Joe .....	Eden	....	Wheat.
McCormick, Paul .....	Billings	....	Alfalfa Hay.
Morgan, Chas. ....	Truly	....	Wheat.
Morse, J. E. ....	Dillon	....	Oats, barley.
Nash, P. R. ....	Gallatin	....	Barley, Oats.
Nelson, Theodore .....	Dillon	....	Oats.
Newton, W. C. ....	Bozeman	....	Wheat, oats, barley.
Norman, Theo .....	Bozeman	....	Oats.
Patterson, J. J. ....	Truly	....	Oats, wheat.
Payne, Daniel .....	Monarch	....	Wheat, oats, barley.
Peterson, Ed .....	Kibbey	....	Timothy seed.
Porter, Robert .....	Central Park	..	Oats.
Potter, James A. ....	Bozeman	....	Oats, barley.
Presthye, Christ .....	Kalispell	....	Bromus Inermis.
Rine, Frank W .....	Echo	....	Beans.
Ross, John R. ....	Great Falls	....	Wheat.
Sales, A. H. ....	Salesville	....	Barley.
Scott, Robert .....	Sand Coulee	...	Barley, wheat, oats.
Skidmore, C. E. ....	Bozeman	....	Oats.
Sparr, G. W. ....	Bozeman	....	Oats.
Stone, Leonard .....	Central Park	..	Oats.
Stephens, Chas. ....	Highwood	....	Oats.
Stubbs, J. H. ....	Kalispell	....	Oats.
Sullivan, M. D. ....	Townsend	....	Oats.
Thompson, Olie .....	Plains	....	Oats.
Van Wagen, C. ....	Laurel	....	Oats.
Wade, M. L. ....	Choteau	....	Oats.
Winslow, C. W. ....	Waterloo	....	Wheat, oats.
York, W. L. ....	Riceville	....	Wheat, oats.
Montana .....			Collective Exhibit of Vegetables.

## SILVER MEDALS.

State of Montana Exhibit. Statistics gathered from the farmers in regard to the products on exhibit.

Albright, Wm. H. ....	Albright	....	Timothy Hay.
Anderson, Herman .....	Kibbey	....	Wheat.
Anderson, Swan .....	Belt	....	Wheat.
Anthers, Louis .....	Gallatin	....	Timothy seed.
Baker, James .....	Plains	....	Grains.
Ball, R. S. ....	Great Falls	...	Wheat.
Ballard, S. C. ....	Townsend	....	Grains.
Beatty, Geo. ....	Winston	....	Oats.
Blankenship, J. W. ....	Bozeman	....	Grasses.
Border, J. D. ....	Bozeman	....	Barley.
Bradford, P. W. ....	Great Falls	....	Grains.

Bremish, W. R. ....	Plains .....	Wheat.
Buskmister, John .....	Highwood .....	Wheat.
Campbell, C. H. ....	Great Falls ....	Grasses and grains.
Conrad, Paul .....	Stockett .....	Wheat.
Conrad, Will .....	Stockett .....	Wheat.
Cummings, David .....	Truly .....	Wheat.
Cunningham, Albert .....	Monarch .....	Oats.
Davis, A. A. ....	Central Park ..	Oats and barley.
Flynn, Claude V. ....	Toston .....	Oats.
Gerhart, G. H. ....	Belt .....	Wheat.
Gerhee, Charles .....	Great Falls ....	Barley.
Gileson, Jerry .....	Evans .....	Oats.
Hammons, C. H. ....	.....	Wheat.
Hussford, W. R. ....	Great Falls ....	Wheat.
Johnson, Nelson .....	Truly .....	Wheat.
Johnson, Peter .....	Belt .....	Barley and wheat.
Kanouse, Chas. A. ....	Toston .....	No exhibit named.
Ledolph, H. T. ....	Canyon Creek ..	Peas.
Leewin, H. L. ....	Park City .....	Alfalfa seed.
Lippert, Chas. E. ....	Townsend .....	Wheat.
Manhattan Malting Comapany .....	Manhattan ....	Grains.
Mainland, Jack. ....	Great Falls ....	Oats and wheat.
McCormick, Emm .....	Billings .....	Alfalfa Seed.
McGuire, James .....	Belt .....	Barley and wheat.
Mortag, Nicholas .....	Monarch .....	Wheat.
Mandt, L. ....	Great Falls ...	Barley.
Nash Bros. ....	Bozeman .....	Wheat and barley.
Odett, Chas. ....	Red Butte .....	Wheat.
Oelies, Thos. H. ....	Great Falls ....	Oats.
Patterson, J. L. ....	Townsend .....	Wheat.
Paxton, W. E. ....	Bozeman .....	Speltz.
Peardon, J. W. ....	Townsend .....	Oats.
Peterson, Jens .....	Dillon .....	Alfalfa hay.
Pickering, E. E. ....	Belt .....	Scotch fife.
Ratherflush, Frank .....	.....	Oats.
Rich, A. G. ....	Park City .....	Clover seed.
Rounig, L. ....	Stockett .....	Wheat.
Schauer, F. W. ....	Laurel .....	Alfalfa seed.
Sieglins, Gustave .....	Armington ....	Alfalfa.
Spavell, Geo. T. ....	Jefferson Island	Wheat.
Starweather, H. ....	Townsend .....	Wheat.
Steel, Robert .....	Billings .....	Oats.
Sward, Chas. ....	Red Butte ....	Wheat.
Tabor, Chas. ....	St. Peter .....	Oats.
Teagus, Amos .....	Evans .....	Oats.
Thompson, W. S. ....	Townsend .....	Oats.
Waite, F. W. ....	Great Falls ....	Wheat.
Whitecraft, Edward .....	Great Falls ....	Wheat.
Yellowstone Land & Irrigation Co. ....	Billings .....	Vegetables.
Young, Fred .....	Great Falls ....	Wheat.

## BRONZE MEDALS.

Alexander, Jas. W. ....	Kalispell. ....	Fife wheat and spring wheat.
Banan, Thomas .....	Billings .....	Oats.
Benepe, Frank L. ....	Bozeman .....	Baled clover hay.
Borde, H. I. ....	Bozeman .....	Chevalier barley.

Bower, Wm. J. ....	Great Falls ...	Scotch fife wheat and soft spring wheat.
Brass, Anton .....	Helena .....	Oats.
Backland, N. W. ....	Highland .....	Hulless barley.
Carleson, John .....	Farmington ...	Wheat.
Dean, R. H. ....	Townsend. ....	Wheat.
Dean, Thomas .....	Townsend .....	Oats.
Eberhart, John .....	Chestnut .....	Fife wheat, another kind of wheat and rye.
Fossum, J. A. ....	Big Fork .....	Grasses.
Gallop, J. H. ....	Bozeman .....	Crail's fife wheat.
Gibson, Paris .....	Great Falls ...	Oats.
Homesland, Samuel .....		Wheat and oats.
King, Chas. ....	Laurel .....	Oats.
Kinnick, John .....	Park City .....	Oats.
Koenig, Theodore .....	Kalispell .....	Oats, Crail's fife wheat and spring wheat.
Lee, Oscar .....	Sand Coulee ...	Oats.
Little, Walter H. ....	Toston .....	Oats.
Luce, S. L. ....	Chinook .....	Oats, wheat.
Munn, Ed. F. ....	Belt .....	Grasses.
Munson Bros. ....	Deer Lodge ...	Barley, wheat.
Nanett, Lau .....	Farmington ...	Oats and barley.
Neild, Thos. ....	Townsend .....	Oats and wheat.
O'Donnell, I. D. ....	Billings .....	Timothy Seed.
Petersman, H. F. ....	Kalispell .....	Wheat and oats.
Rhewoldt, John .....	Park City .....	Oats.
Schorsch, Christian R. ....	Deer Lodge ...	Oats.
Schroeder, Henry .....	Sabin. ....	Potatoes.
Shulstad, Sixel .....	Missoula .....	Red chaff wheat.
Stewart, John .....	Billings .....	Early Rose potatoes.
Stone, D. P. ....	Central Park ..	Barley.
Spragg and Keistead .....	Denton .....	Eight varieties of native grasses.
Talbott, E. V. ....	Riceville. ....	Five varieties of native grasses.
Tolliver, S. C. ....	Billings .....	Early Rose potatoes.
Steinmesch, Henry. ....	St. Louis .....	Egg plant.
Van Dyke, L. P. ....	Belgrade .....	Barley, wheat.
Walker, James .....	Bozeman .....	Wheat.
Walton, A. ....	Bozeman ... ..	Two kinds of wheat.
Whimsett, Stephen .....	Laurel .....	Navy beans.
Wildran, Wm. ....	Paradise Valley	Red chaff wheat.
Willis, C. G. ....	Missoula .....	Swedish oats.
Wisser, I. K. ....	Bozeman .....	Wheat, three kinds.
Woodhill, Frank .....	Cascade .....	Wheat.
Zappa, James .....	Monarch .....	Great Northern oats.
Alcorn, Mr. ....	Bozeman .....	Potatoes.
Billings Land & Irrigation Co. ....	Billings .....	Potatoes.
Dover, J. M. ....	Billings .....	Potatoes.
Jergenson, J. E. ....	Hamilton .....	Squash.
Parker, W. O. ....	Billings .....	Potatoes.
Vreeland, Frank .....	Bozeman .....	Exhibit of vegetables.
Hellstern, F. G. ....	Hinsdale .....	Turnips and potatoes.

**FORESTRY, FISH AND GAME.**

**TOTAL AWARDS.**

**Gold Medals (4).**

**Silver Medals (1).**

**Bronze Medals (1).**

**GOLD MEDALS.**

(Forestry)

Blankenship, J. W. ....Bozeman .....Ecological Flora of  
Montana.  
State of Montana .....Forest Products, Finished  
Products, Etc.

(Fishing Equipment and Products.)

Henshall, Dr. J. A. ....Bozeman .....Literature.

(Products of Hunting.)

Montana's World's Fair Commission.....General Collection of  
Mounted Animals.

**SILVER MEDALS.**

(Fishing Equipment and Products.)

Yancey, Daniel .....Butte .....Mounted Trout.

**BRONZE MEDALS.**

(Forestry)

State of Montana .....Helena .....Flowers of Montana.



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FINAL REPORT OF THE MONTANA WORLD'S FAIR  
COMMISSION TO THE GOVERNOR.

Butte, Montana, July 30, 1906.

To His Excellency, Joseph K. Toole,

Governor of the State of Montana.

Sir:—The final report of the Montana World's Fair Commission embracing the work and proceedings of the Commission since the rendering of its last report to you on February 16th, 1905, is herewith respectfully submitted. The report of February 16th, 1905, included all the work of the Commission in connection with the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis, Mo., and the present report deals with, and includes, the Commission's labors in connection with the Lewis and Clark Exposition at Portland, Oregon, which began on June 1st, 1905, and closed October 15th, 1905.

The amount of money at the disposal of the Commission for use at Portland, to-wit: \$10,000, was not sufficient to enable us to erect a State Building as was done at St. Louis. This was a distinct disappointment to the many visitors from our State who had admired and enjoyed our handsome and comfortable State Building at the World's Fair.

The exhibits at Portland were continued in charge of the same special agents as at St. Louis, with the exception of the Horticultural display, which was united with the Agricultural Exhibit under the direction of Prof. F. B. Linfield.

The spaces and locations assigned to Montana at the Lewis and Clark Exposition were very favorable, and the exhibits themselves were supplemented and enlarged, and the installations made even more attractive than at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

The Forestry and Game Exhibit, which was a very attractive feature of our display at St. Louis, was omitted from the Portland Exposition on account of the excessive cost of shipment, due to the character of the exhibits.

Mr. W. C. Buskett who represented the Commission so

satisfactorily at St. Louis was again placed in charge as special representative at Portland. His services have been satisfactory and of great benefit to the Commission and the State.

Vouchers in duplicate, numbered consecutively, have been taken and checks issued for all expenditures, the original vouchers being filed with the Treasurer of the Commission. All moneys paid to special agents have been accounted for by them in regular monthly statements accompanied by receipted bills and vouchers, and all statements, receipted bills and vouchers will accompany this report. The Treasurer will also transmit the original vouchers in his possession with his final report, and the Commission respectfully requests that its accounts as submitted be inspected and audited by the proper State officer as early as possible.

The tables, show cases and cabinets used in the Mineral Exhibit, have been left in the care of the State School of Mines, where they are now in use, subject to disposition by the proper authority.

Complete records of all the meetings of the Commission and of the Executive Committee have been kept showing all the proceedings had, in detail, and are transmitted herewith.

In rendering this our final report the Commission ventures to express the hope that the manner of its discharge of the important duty devolved upon it by the Act of the Legislature creating it, has been satisfactory to yourself and the people generally, and that our State has been well and creditably represented at these two great Expositions.

Following is the Financial Statement of the Lewis and Clark Exposition.

#### RECEIPTS.

From Treasurer's Statement—	
From State Treasurer (Appropriation) .....	\$10,000 00
Cash from Paul McCormick .....	1 00
Balance from St. Louis Exposition .....	865 44
Unexpended balance Agricultural Exhibit (Linfield) .....	270 30
Unexpended balance Mineral Exhibit (Winchell) .....	54 05

Unexpended balance headquarters (Buskett) .....	92 71	
Check unrepresented (Mrs. W. W. Cheely—item included in another voucher .....	10 70	
Cash from Lee Mantle to correct error in voucher No. 15, March, 1905 .....	2 00	
	<hr/>	
Total receipts .....		\$11,296 20

**EXPENDITURES.**

Mineral Exhibit—		
Installation and incidentals .....	\$1,475 85	
Attendants .....	1,227 85	
Freight and Expressage .....	1,115 60	
Insurance .....	126 65	
	<hr/>	\$3,945 95
Agricultural and Horticultural—		
Installation and incidentals .....	\$725 58	
Attendants .....	632 39	
Collecting exhibits .....	440 95	
Freight and expressage .....	232 07	
	<hr/>	2,030 99
Educational—		
Installation and incidentals .....	\$566 90	
Attendants .....	543 50	
Freight .....	61 75	
	<hr/>	1,172 15
Headquarters Portland—		
Salaries, Special Agent, April 1st, to Oct. 31st ....	\$1,300 00	
Janitor and incidentals .....	156 20	
Furnishing .....	113 43	
Typewriting, stationery .....	89 70	
Postage, telegrams .....	23 40	
Pamphlets, freight .....	66 59	
Badges .....	66 00	
Executive Commission Expense .....	36 40	
Official Photographs .....	26 25	
	<hr/>	1,877 97
Office Expense—		
Rent, light, telephone, stenographer, postage, telegrams, stationery, Butte, from Feb. 1st, 1904, to close .....	617 65	617 65
Sundry Expenses—		
Freight paid on exhibits returned from St. Louis, transfer, boxing, preparing and expressage, ..	232 92	
Paid C. M. Russell, damage to Art exhibit loaned to Commission .....	100 00	
Paid John Lindsay for lost Gold Specimens loaned to Mineral Exhibit .....	100 00	
	<hr/>	432 92
Returned to Treasurer of Commission—		
Unexpended balance Mineral Exhibit (Winchell) .....	54 05	
Unexpended balance Agricultural Exhibit (Linfield) .....	270 30	
Unexpended balance Headquarters (Buskett) .....	92 71	
	<hr/>	417 06
Balance in hands of Treasurer of the Commission to be covered into the State Treasury. ... ..		801 51
		<hr/>
		\$11,296 20



PAUL McCORMICK,  
SECRETARY, MONTANA COMMISSION AT LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION.





Accompanying this report will also be found:

- “A” Report of Special Representative W. C. Buskett.
- “B” Report of Special Agent A. N. Winchell, in charge of the Mineral Exhibit.
- “C” Report of the Treasurer of the Commission, C. W. Hoffman.
- “D” Complete list of Awards to Montana Exhibits and Exhibitors at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St. Louis.
- “E” Complete List of Awards to Exhibits and Exhibitors at the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition at Portland, Oregon.
- “F” File of minutes and record of the proceedings of the Commission and of the Executive Committee thereof.
- “G” Bills and Vouchers for Expenditures of the Commission and its special agents and representatives.

The foregoing report was submitted to the Commission at its final meeting held July 30th, 1906, at the office of the president in Butte, and same was approved and ordered spread upon the minutes of the meeting and that a copy of same, duly signed by the President and Secretary of the Commission, be forwarded to the Governor of the State, together with the reports, vouchers, statements, receipted bills and records therein referred to.

LEE MANTLE,

President of the Montana World's Fair Commission.

PAUL McCORMICK,

Secretary of the Montana World's Fair Commission.



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Montana at the Lewis and Clark  
Centennial Exposition.

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Montana at the Lewis and Clark Centennial  
Exposition.

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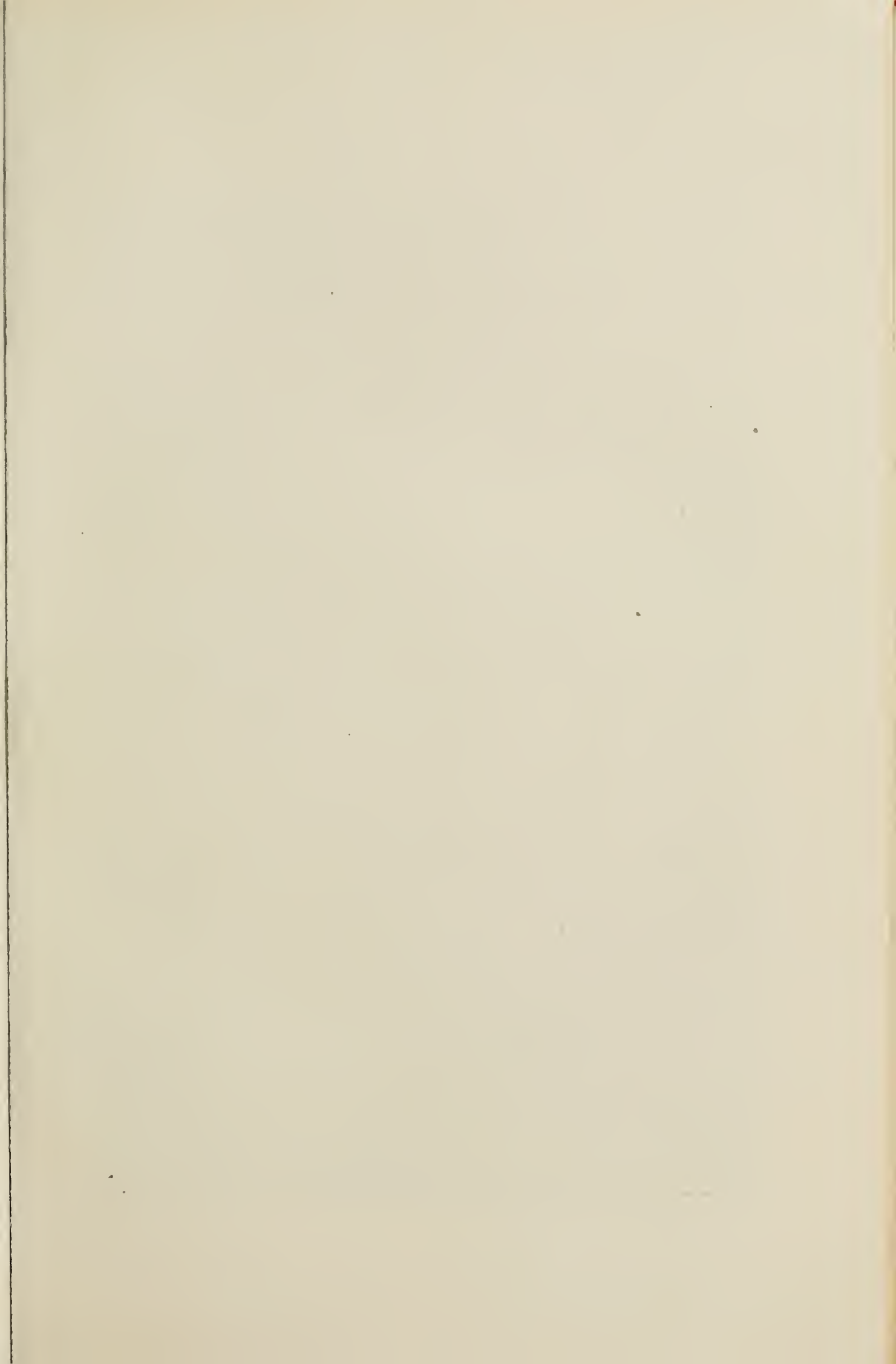
REPORT OF W. C. BUSKETT, SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPOSITION AT PORTLAND, OREGON.

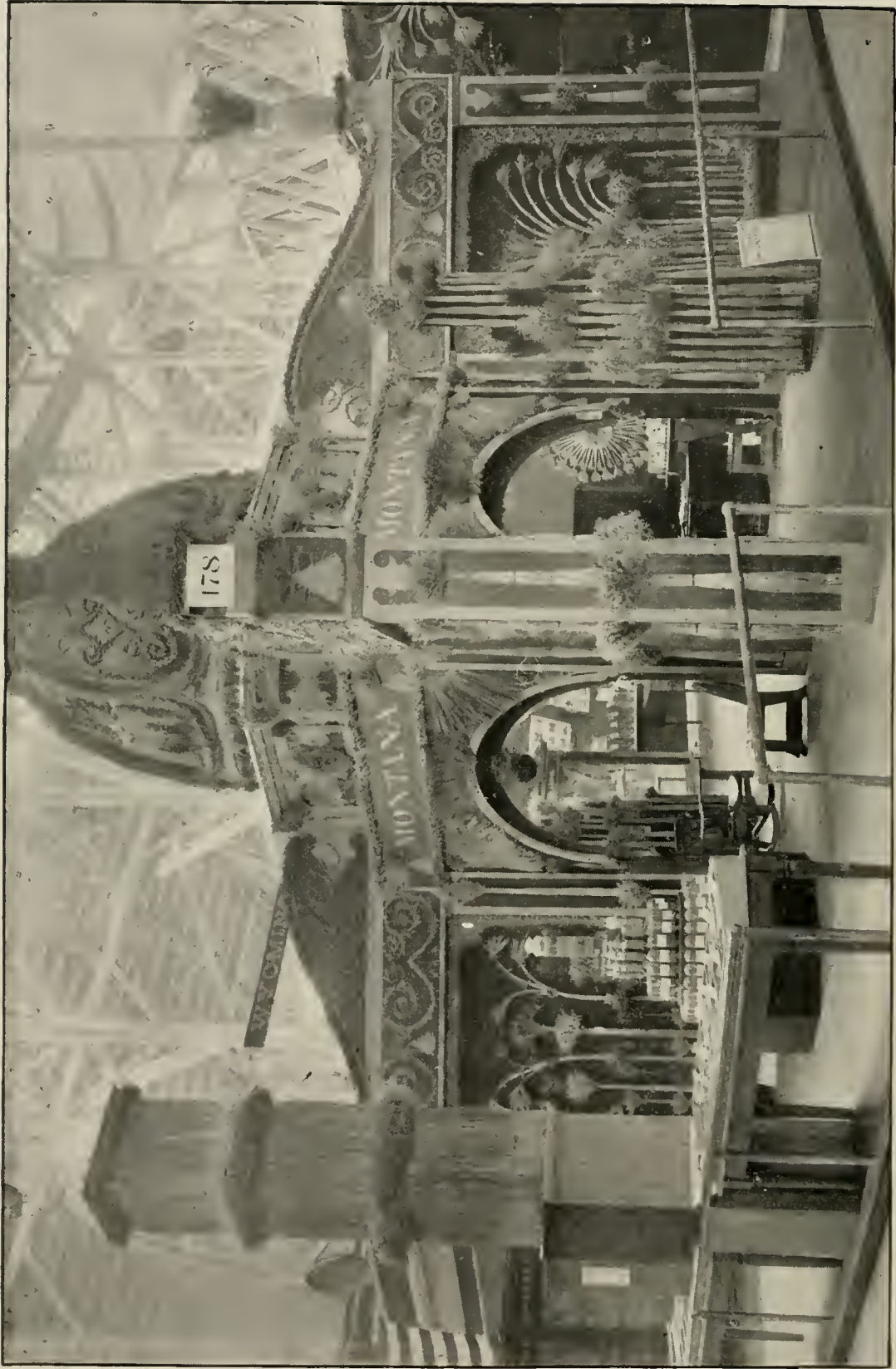
Hon. Lee Mantle,  
President Montana World's Fair Commission,  
Butte, Montana.

My Dear Sir:—I enclose you herewith my final report of the affairs of the Montana State Commission in its participation in the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition held in Portland, Oregon, and with which I have had to do.

It gives me pleasure to say that from the results, as shown to me in my capacity, our state has every reason to feel the greatest satisfaction in what has been accomplished in Portland as well as in St. Louis.

In comparing the two events, to be sure, the Portland Fair was overshadowed in every particular by the Fair at St. Louis, but for all that I do not hesitate to say that in proportion to the amount of money spent on the two occasions the benefits reaped for our state in Portland are not exceeded by the St. Louis Fair. It is true that in Portland we were without the attractions of a State Building, but the various exhibits were made as comfortable as possible for visiting Montanians and our registers show that over 7,500 of our people signed the register during the four and one-half months, or an average of 55 per day. In St. Louis I estimated from the register in the State Building the average attendance of Montanians was 50 per day. The Secretary of





AGRICULTURAL EXHIBIT, LEWIS AND CLARK EXPOSITION, PORTLAND OREGON.



the Bureau of Statistics, however, figured that in proportion to the number of people brought in by the Railroads, Montana with her population was allotted 14,000, but I do not think that this is correct.

\* \* \* \* \*

The appropriation for our State was \$10,000, and was the smallest for any of the states. Washington had an appropriation of \$85,000 and had a beautiful state building; so had California with \$90,000; New York, \$60,000; Missouri, \$35,000; Idaho, \$35,000; Illinois, \$25,000, and Utah, \$20,000. Many advantages were afforded these and other states having buildings in as much as they were granted the privilege of placing their exhibits in the buildings. In St. Louis this was not the case, as exhibits were placed in buildings for distinctive branches, and many visitors could visit some one or two buildings but would not see them all. So much was lost in that distinction, but in the use of a state building everything can be seen under one roof, and the visitor carries away a full impression of what the states have had to exhibit, besides it is economy.

However, I must say that in the matter of recognition and awards, Montana has just reason to feel proud.

#### EXHIBITS.

Our Mineral Exhibit was not excelled by any. It was practically the same as was shown in St. Louis but did not occupy as much space though the portion that was omitted did not materially lessen the attraction.

The total number of medals awarded this exhibit was 62; divided as follows: Gold, 13; Silver, 11; Bronze, 13; Honorable Mention, 25.

The Agricultural exhibit was much admired, also the booth, which was beautifully decorated with the various grains and grasses of the state, presented a most attractive appearance. It was the same as was used in St. Louis. The products exhibited in this booth were a surprise to visitors. Montana's



exhibit was secondary, however, to that of Oregon which occupied one-half the space on the north side of the building and a large portion of the center, and over twenty counties in this state had by subscription raised more money for each exhibit than was apportioned ours, the amounts ranging from \$2,500 to \$3,500 each; so that this fact alone had a tendency in a measure, to depreciate not only Montana, but every other state in the building. In the face of all this, however, this exhibit received 77 medals out of the 82 entries divided as follows: Gold, 62; Silver, 13; Bronze, 2.

The Horticultural Exhibit in this booth was also very attractive, though not so extensive, but it speaks well for the exhibitors in the face of such overwhelming competition. In this department every exhibitor received a medal.

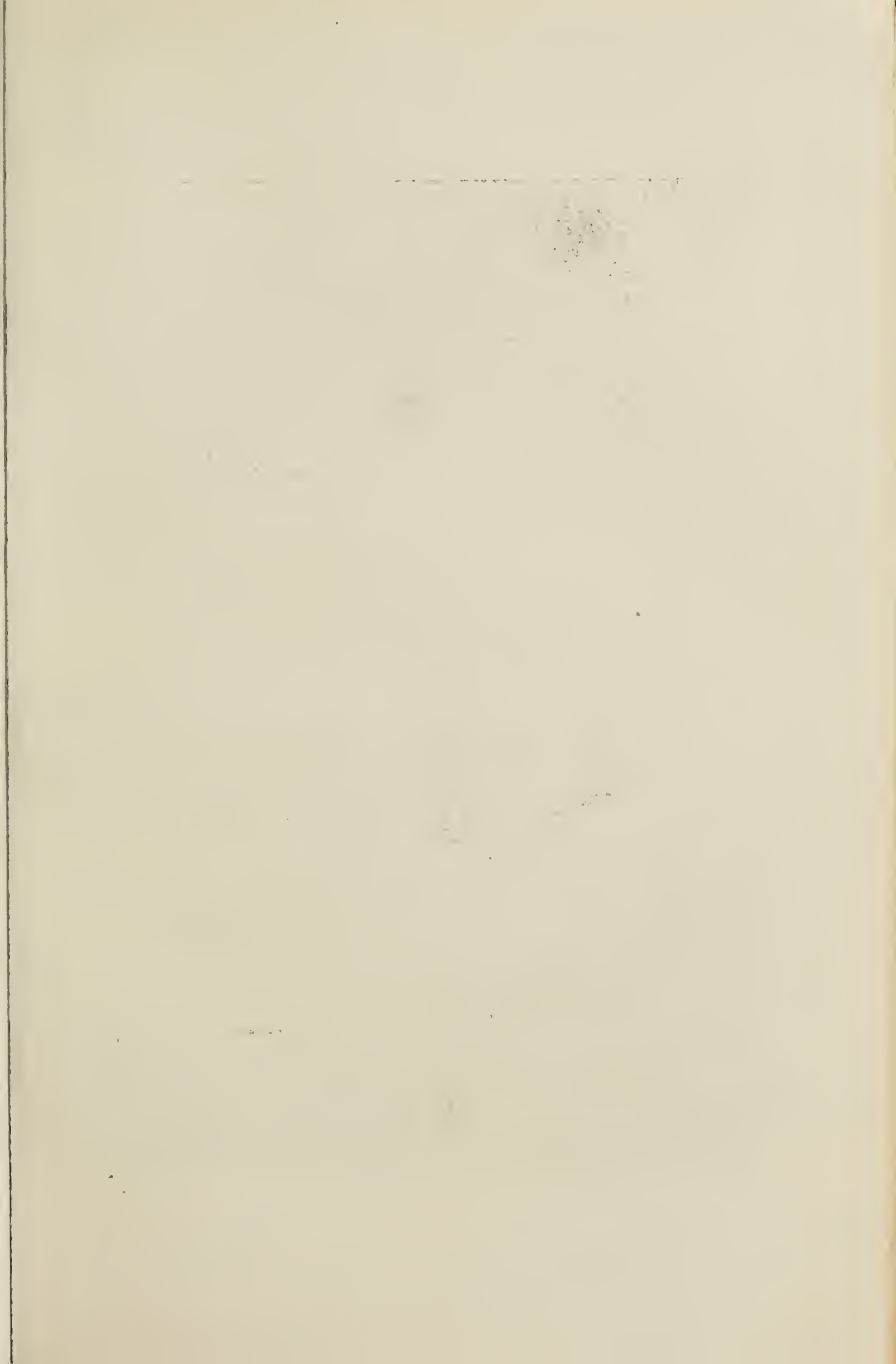
The Educational Exhibit, although laboring under a disadvantage in one respect, was visited by a great many. The gallery in the Oriental Building was set aside for Educational purposes, and in order to reach it you had to climb two short flights of stairs, but this booth was the most attractive in the building. The facade was the same that was used in St. Louis with some additions, and it was here that I set aside a space known as "Headquarters" and which, in the absence of a State Building, afforded our people a place of rest and comfort which though limited, seemed to answer the purpose. The Educational exhibit received 15 medals divided as follows: Gold, 3; Silver, 5; Bronze, 5; Honorable Mention, 3.

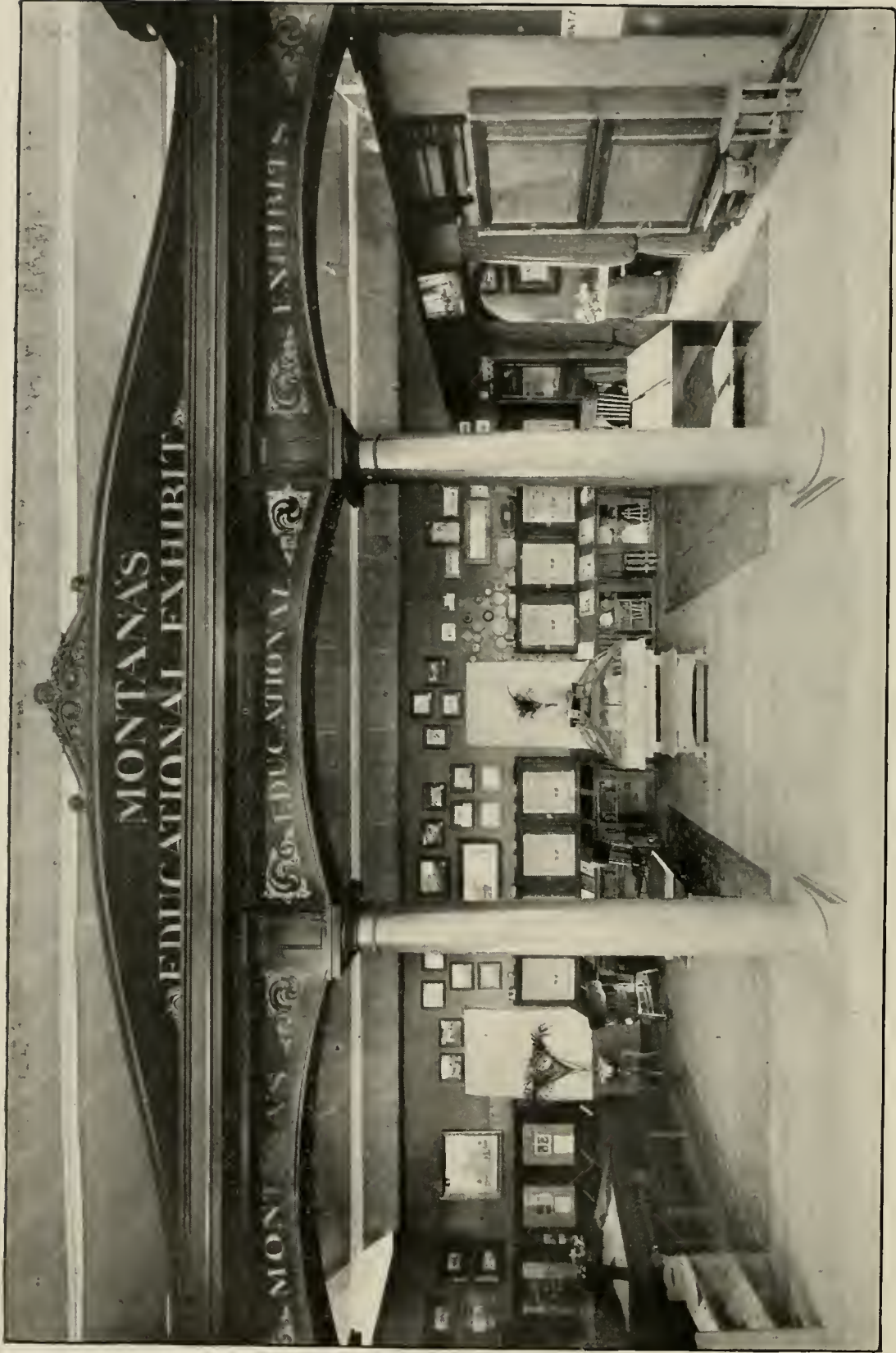
#### SUMMARY.

The total of awards received in all departments is as follows: Gold, 78; Silver, 33; Bronze, 23; Honorable Mention, 28. Total 162.

You will find attached a complete list of awards in all departments. This is a splendid showing considering our small appropriation.

The total number of awards granted by the Exposition was 9,422 exclusive of the Horticulture and Live Stock.





LEWIS AND CLARK EXPOSITION, PORTLAND, OREGON.



These medals are now in the hands of the manufacturer, and will be delivered in the near future to each and every exhibitor named. The medals awarded at the St. Louis Fair have not yet been delivered. Owing to the conflict between the National Commission and the Exposition Company, the order for the manufacturer was held in abeyance until recently, but they will of course be delivered as soon as completed and are I understand now being made. I might add for general information that at both Expositions the medals will be made Bronze. The distinctive degree of merit is embodied in the "Diploma" which accompanies each medal such as; Mr.——— has been awarded a Gold, Silver or Bronze medal for, etc., as the case may be, but all medals are made of Bronze.

I will say, however, that while in St. Louis and Portland, I heard some of the Executive Commissioners of the state say that it was their intention to have their medals plated with gold and silver, but it came from those who had money left from their appropriation.

I have been asked the question several times by some of our citizens: "Do you think the state is justified in appropriating money for the exhibit of the state's resources at these fairs?" My reply to that question is, that from careful observation and comparison while attending these two fairs, I do not hesitate to say that I believe it to be money well spent. It would take much space to go into the matter in detail, and it can only be realized and appreciated by being on the ground. However, this is a matter of opinion, but I am convinced that our state has been greatly benefited by our efforts in these two events and now we are known and spoken of in terms of praise and congratulation throughout the forty-five states of the Union, and over one-half hundred foreign nations, and in no sense do I consider it wise to allow such important occasions to pass without a representation from our good state in which we take such loyal pride.



I have given you briefly a few expressions of opinion, thinking it proper at this time, as they are the result of experience gained in serving the people of the state. In conclusion I wish to thank the Executive Committee of our Commission who confirmed my appointment and with whom my association has been so pleasant but especially do I wish to thank you upon whom has fallen the burden of the management of the work in this undertaking, for your kindly treatment, patience and valuable direction in the discharge of the duties of my office. In matters of this nature few realize the many trying and harrassing details that confront the successful management of an affair of so much importance, but I assure you I fully appreciate it in all its phases.

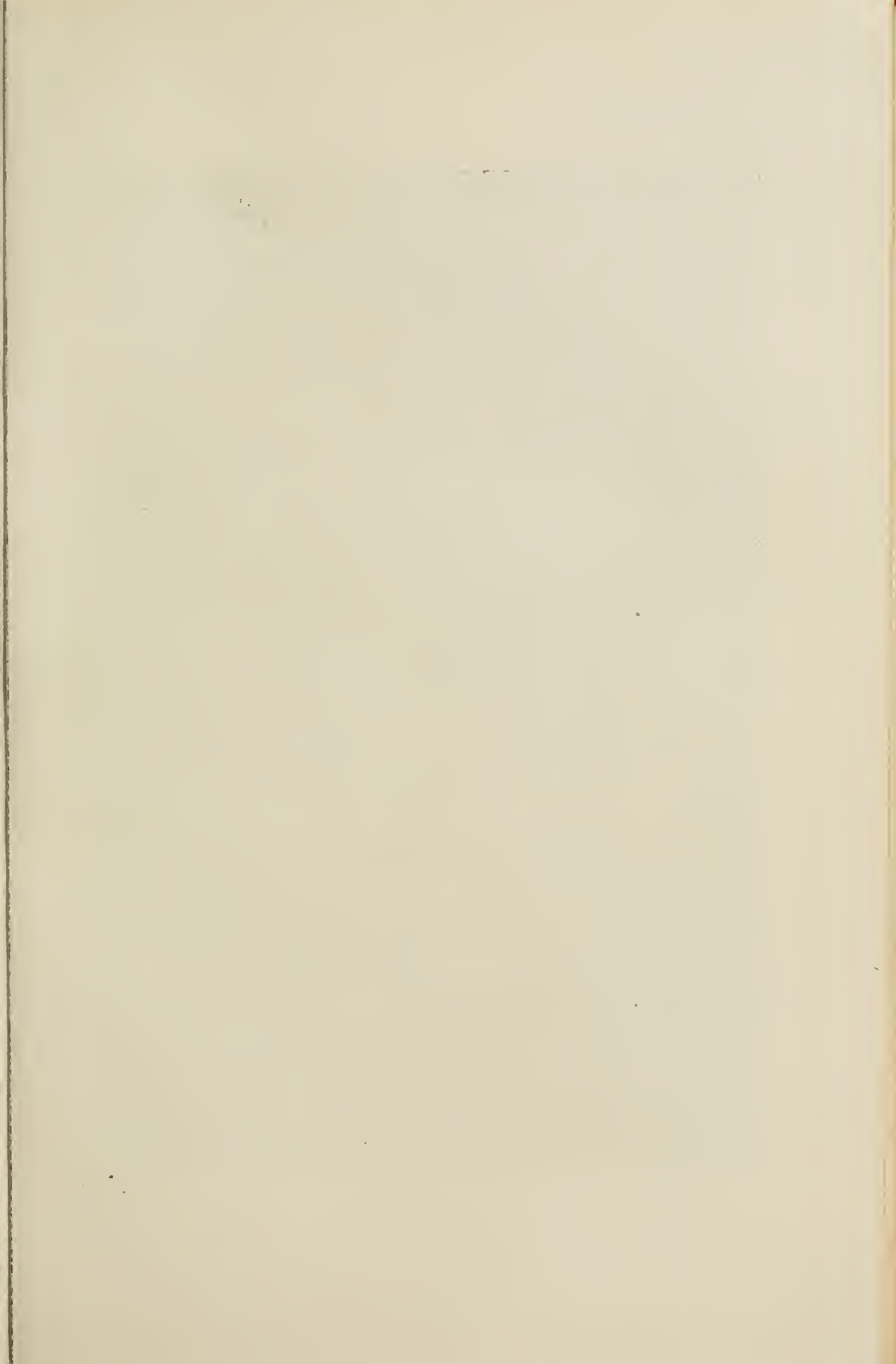
I would like to take occasion also to thank my associates in all the departments for the manifest courtesies and kindness shown me at all times individually and collectively in our united efforts to serve our state.

Again thanking you and congratulating you upon the successful termination of the life of the Montana Commission, I beg to remain.

Yours sincerely,

W. C. BUSKETT,

Special Representative.





MINERAL EXHIBIT LEWIS AND CLARK EXPOSITION, PORTLAND, OREGON.

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REPORT OF PROF. A. N. WINCHELL, MINERAL EXHIBIT AT PORTLAND, OREGON.

Butte, Montana, December 1, 1905.

Hon. Lee Mantle,

Pres. Montana World's Fair Commission,  
Butte, Montana.

Dear Sir:—I have the honor to present the following report concerning the Montana mineral exhibit at the Lewis and Clark Exposition at Portland in 1905.

The mineral exhibit shown at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis in 1904, was in large part shipped by freight direct to Portland at the close of the Exposition. The Gold Exhibits were sent for safe keeping during the interval between the two expositions to the Montana State School of Mines, being always shipped by express. The massive copper exhibit shown at St. Louis by the Boston and Montana Company was shipped east for the market, and a new exhibit, somewhat more extensive, was prepared and sent to Portland.

The Northwestern Improvement Company prepared and sent to Portland from their Rocky Fork mines a ten-foot pyramid of cubes of coal. With the Montana mineral exhibits as shown at St. Louis, and these modifications, the exhibit at Portland was made, the installation being wholly different.

The exhibit was ready at the opening of the Exposition on June 1st, 1905, and was thereafter continuously open to the public till the close of the Exposition on October 15th. After that date it was returned to Butte, the place where it had first been assembled. Many of the owners of the exhibits donated their material to the Montana State School of Mines where it has now been installed as a permanent exhibit of the mineral resources of the State. All the exhibits not donated or loaned to the School were then returned to their respective owners.



For the preliminary work of shipping, the work of installation and care until June 15th, I had the valued assistance of Mr. P. L. Pauly, E. M., of Butte, Montana. During the summer from June 15th to Sept. 1st, I was fortunate enough to secure the assistance of Prof. W. H. Winchell, who has had a long and varied experience in geological and exposition work. From September 1st to October 23d, I was ably assisted by Mr. C. R. Corey, E. M. of Butte, Montana.

The exhibit at Portland was visited and carefully examined by a large number of persons, and was of even greater value to the State than that shown at St. Louis. The esteem in which the exhibit was held by the Jury of Awards is shown by the remarkable record of fourteen gold medals, ten silver medals, eight bronze medals and twenty-five additional diplomas.

Finally I wish to publicly express my conviction that the State of Montana has been remarkably fortunate in receiving the services of the members of the Montana World's Fair Commission without compensation of any kind, and even without compensation for actual expenses incurred. The burden of this work has fallen most heavily upon the officers of the Commission, and they have shown a zeal and public spirited energy in its performance that deserve more general recognition. It has been a pleasure to carry forward my small part of the work under such supervision.

Respectfully submitted,

ALEXANDER N. WINCHELL.

## FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

The report of Hon. C. W. Hoffman, Treasurer of the Commission, shows  
 the total receipts from all sources to be ..... \$62,451 34  
 Total disbursements ..... \$61,585 90  
 Balance with the treasurer ..... 865 44

## RECEIPTS.

From State Treasurer (Appropriation)..... \$50,000 00  
 From Contributions (Amalgamated Copper Co)—  
 Parrot Mining Co ..... \$865 50  
 B. & M Mining Co ..... 2,115 00  
 Washoe Mining Co. .... 769 00  
 Anaconda Mining Co ..... 2,115 00  
 Colorado Mining Co. .... 769 50  
 Butte & Boston Mining Co. .... 586 50  
 Bismarck Nugget Co. .... 7,499 50  
 125 00  
 Pamphlet Contributions—  
 City of Butte ..... \$500 00  
 City of Billings ..... 600 00  
 City of Kalispell ..... 405 00  
 City of Missoula ..... 450 00  
 City of Helena ..... 250 00  
 City of Bozeman ..... 150 00  
 City of Virginia ..... 150 00  
 County of Gallatin ..... 300 00  
 County of Madison ..... 150 00  
 Butte Business Men's Association..... 450 00  
 3,465 00  
 From Sales, Rebates, Etc.—  
 Unexpended balance Mineral Exhibit..... \$139 43  
 Unexpended balance Agricultural Exhibit ..... 220 17  
 Sale Agricultural Exhibits ..... 74 70  
 Sale Horticultural Exhibits ..... 56 00  
 Rebates, fares, G. N. R. R. Co..... 20 00  
 Sale furniture, state building ..... 813 50  
 Rebates on Safe, Meters, etc. .... 86 42  
 Interest on deposits ..... 11 62  
 1,421 84  
 Total receipts ..... \$62,451 34

## EXPENDITURES.

State Building—  
 Construction of building, Architect's fees ..... \$18,785 20  
 Furniture, furnishings, freight, boxing, etc. (less  
 sales) ..... 1,995 82  
 Operating expenses, light, water, gas, lawn, etc... 1,520 96  
 Equipment ..... 684 17  
 Office expenses, stationery, postage, etc. .... 493 36  
 Attendants ..... 2,421 01  
 Insurance ..... 888 50  
 Entertainment ..... 887 57  
 Re-packing and re-shipping ..... 485 78  
 28,132 57  
 Mineral Exhibit—  
 Collecting exhibit, installation ..... \$1,416 35  
 installation and incidentals ..... 3,982 72

Freight and express .....	824 05	
Insurance .....	413 70	
Re-shipping .....	353 64	
		8,588 96
Agricultural Exhibit—		
Collecting and preparing .....	\$1,248 96	
Installation .....	1,261 94	
Attendants .....	963 95	
Glass cases, booth, photos .....	379 25	
Freight .....	168 83	
Re-shipping to Portland and Bozeman.....	319 12	
		4,442 05
Horticultural Exhibit—		
Gathering exhibit .....	\$1,044 16	
Attendants' incidentals .....	1,000 00	
Installation .....	664 75	
Cold storage, rent St. Louis and Butte.....	412 64	
Freight, express, drayage .....	346 25	
Assembling, packing and loading on cars .....	389 10	
Chemical exhibit .....	148 25	
		3,995 15
Forestry—Game Exhibit—		
Gathering, preparing .....	\$500 35	
Installation .....	413 68	
Attendants .....	256 00	
Freight .....	636 00	
Insurance .....	95 00	
		1,902 53
Pamphlet—		
Printing and engraving .....	\$4,763 64	
Editing and compiling .....	950 00	
Telegrams, stenographer, sundry expenses .....	208 41	
		5,922 35
Educational Exhibit—		
Collecting exhibit .....	\$460 40	
Installation .....	985 45	
Attendants .....	906 82	
Freight .....	105 73	
Re-shipping to Portland .....	179 92	
		2,638 32
Botanical Exhibit—		
Gathering and preparing .....	\$187 50	187 50
Office Expenses—		
Stationery .....	\$127 25	
Rent, telephone and incidentals .....	633 93	
Postage .....	84 50	
Telegrams .....	160 40	
		1,016 08
Salaries—		
Clerks, stenographers, Ass't Secretary and Special Agent Buskett at St Louis .....		3,378 55
Sales, rebates, unexpended balances returned to treasury .....		1,421 84
Balance in treasury .....		865 44
Total .....		\$62,451 34

LIST OF AWARDS BY THE  
Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition  
to Montana Exhibits and Exhibitors.

**MINERAL EXHIBIT**

The total awards at Portland, Oregon, were as follows:

Gold Medals .....	13	Bronze .....	13
Silver .....	11	Honorable Mention .....	25

**AGRICULTURAL EXHIBIT**

Gold Medals .....	62	Bronze .....	2
Silver .....	13		

**HORTICULTURAL EXHIBIT**

Each exhibitor received either a silver or bronze medal.

**EDUCATIONAL EXHIBIT**

Gold Medals .....	3	Bronze .....	5
Silver .....	5	Honorable Mention .....	3

**MINERAL EXHIBIT**

**GOLD MEDALS.**

State of Montana .....	Collective exhibits.
State of Montana .....	Collective gold exhibits.
Montana World's Fair Commission .....	Topographic model of Butte.
Montana State School of Mines .....	Diagrams and Mine Models.
W. G. Conrad .....	Gold Nuggets
H. L. Frank .....	Gold Samples.
Monitor Gold Mining Co. ....	Gold Samples.
August Fack .....	Gold Samples.
Anaconda Copper Mining Co. ....	Mine models.
Washoe Copper Co. ....	Smelter products.
Boston & Montana Con. Silver & Copper Mining Co. ....	Smelter products.
Senator W. A. Clark .....	Smelter products.
Anaconda Copper Mining Co. ....	Sulphide ores of copper.
Boston & Montana Con. Silver & Copper Mining Co. ....	Sulphide ores of copper.

**SILVER MEDALS.**

Montana State School of Mines .....	Collection of Montana minerals.
Montana World's Fair Commission .....	Building stones.
Montana Corundum Co .....	Corundum ore, etc.
Boston & Montana Con. Silver & Copper Mining Co. ....	Photographs.
Senator W. A. Clark .....	Wetthey calcine furnace.
Montana Sandstone Co. ....	Grindstones and lentils.



## Geological Department of the Anaconda

Copper Mining Co. ....	Ideal section of copper vein.
United Copper Co. ....	Copper ores.
Fergus County Business Men's Association .....	County exhibit.
Northwestern Improvement Co. ....	Coal.

## BRONZE MEDALS.

Crystal Graphite Co. ....	Graphite ores and crucible
Montana Coal & Coke Co. ....	Coal and Coke.
Senator W. A. Clark .....	Sulphide ores of copper.
Col. O. P. Chisholm .....	Onyx.
Thos. Long .....	Powder thawer.
R. P. Burch .....	Hand hammered copper models of implements.
Cottonwood Coal Co. ....	Coal.
Bismark-Nugget Gulch Con. Mining Co.	Ores and concentrates.

## DIPLOMAS.

Ellingwood & Richards .....	Gold-silver ores.
Thos. Cruse .....	Silver ores.
Colorado Smelting & Mining Co .....	Sulphide ores of copper.
Alder Gulch Mining Co. ....	Cyanide gold ores.
Western Mining Co. ....	Collection of ores and matte.
Big Indian Mining Co. ....	Gold ores.
Montana Mining Co. Ltd .....	Gold ores.
Kendall Gold Mining Co .....	Cyanide gold ores.
Alice Gold & Silver Mining Co. ....	Gold-silver ores.
Elkhorn Mining Co. ....	Silver ores.
Chicago-Montana Gold Mining Co. ....	Cyanide gold ores.
Montana Ore Purchasing Co. ....	Sulphide ores of copper.
North Butte Mining Co. ....	Sulphide ores of copper.
Bridger Coal Co. ....	Coal.
Cameron Coal Mining Co. ....	Hard coal.
W. Kobelt .....	Cut sapphires.
H. L. Frank .....	Gold in quartz and tetradynite.
Monitor Gold Mining Co. ....	Gold quartz.
August Fack .....	Native gold.
Hecla Con. Mining Co. ....	Silver-lead ores.
Gold Reef Mining Co. ....	Cyanide gold ores.
Patrick Sweeney .....	Sapphire in matrix.
Bald Butte Mining Co. ....	Silver-lead-gold ores.
Barnes-King Mining Co. ....	Cyanide gold ores.
Parrot Silver & Copper Mining Co. ....	Sulphide of copper.

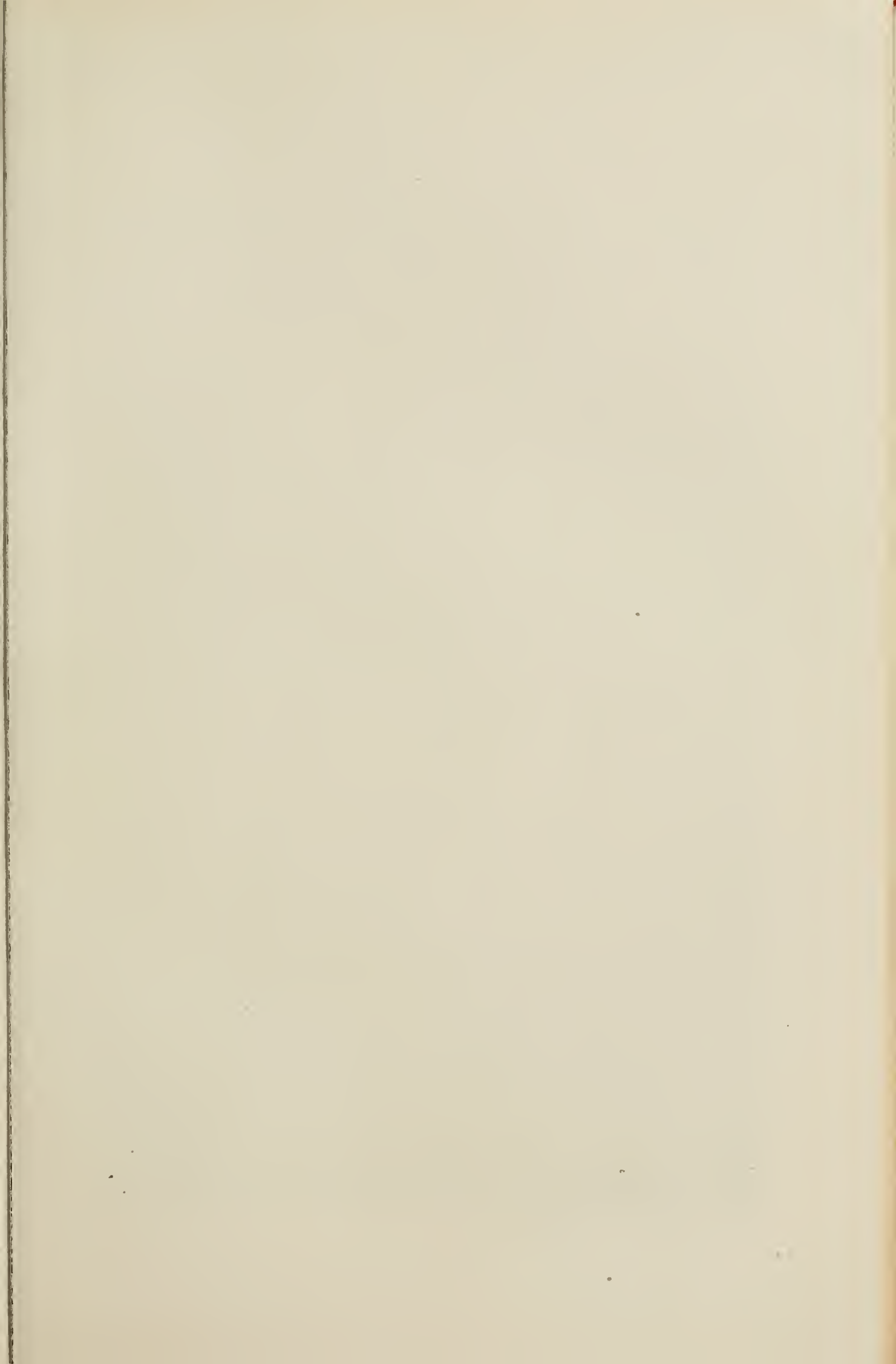
## EDUCATIONAL

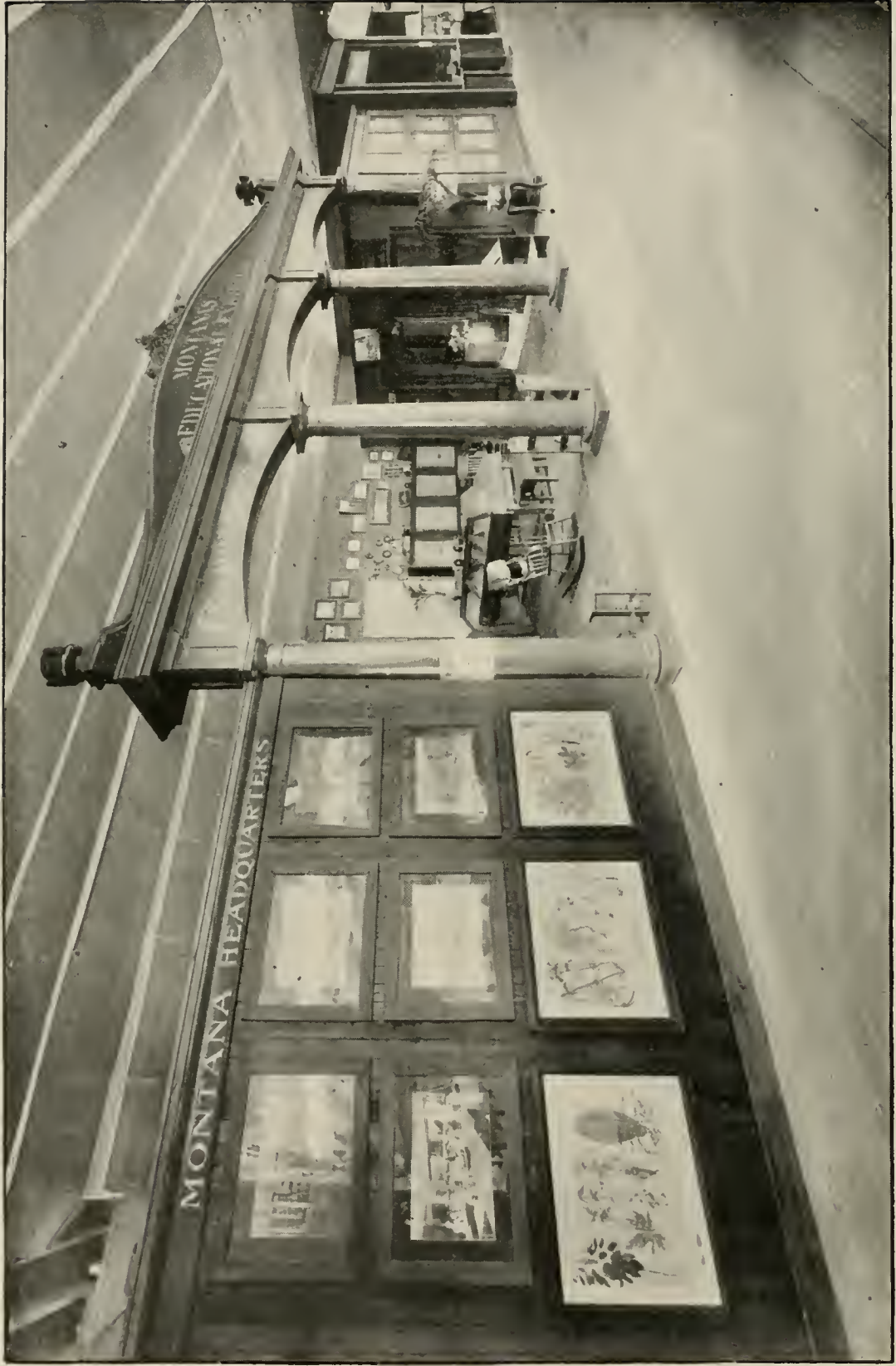
## GOLD MEDALS.

State of Montana .....	Collective exhibit
Butte .....	Collective exhibit.
State of Montana .....	Original and ornamental design of booth.

## SILVER MEDALS.

Butte .....	Exhibit of secondary education.
Helena .....	Collective exhibit in elementary education.
Missoula .....	Collective exhibit as per entry.
Billings .....	Exhibit in elementary and secondary education.
Montana Agricultural College .....	Collective exhibit as per entry.





LEWIS AND CLARK EXPOSITION, PORTLAND, OREGON.

## BRONZE MEDALS.

University of Montana .....	Exhibit of two cabinets of mounted photographs, including views of university buildings, etc.
Bozeman .....	Twelve bound volumes of first to eighth grade work, as per entry.
Philipsburg .....	Exhibit of written and illustrated work from grammar and high schools as per entry.
Columbus .....	Written work from grades one to ten inclusive, in all subjects of common school study.

## HONORABLE MENTION.

State Normal School .....	Cabinet display of psychological charts, plan of school grounds.
Deer Lodge .....	Exhibit of written work as per entry.
Ravalli .....	Seven bound volumes of rural school work, as per entry.

## AGRICULTURAL

## GOLD MEDALS.

John Kinner .....	Oats.
Mrs. A. Lock .....	Oats.
Thomas Kening .....	Wheat.
J. Carolus .....	Oats.
Nash Bros .....	Wheat, oats and barley.
A. C. Vanderpool .....	Wheat.
C. Van Wagner .....	Oats.
W. A. Little .....	Oats.
John Eberhart .....	Wheat.
G. N. Featherly .....	Oats.
John H. Stubb .....	Oats.
John McKennick .....	Oats.
James Baker .....	Wheat.
Pabst Steel .....	Oats.
E. W. Schram .....	Wheat.
S. Holmstead .....	Oats.
Thomas Bauers .....	Oats.
S. D. Luce .....	Wheat.
Thomas Nelson .....	Oats.
J. H. Laupher .....	Oats.
J. E. Moore .....	Oats.
C. H. Lindle .....	Rye and wheat.
J. P. Stone .....	Barley.
Clark Harlan .....	Oats.
J. E. Moore .....	Barley and oats.
P. R. Nash .....	Flax and oats.
W. C. Neton .....	Oats.
C. Mancat .....	Oats.
Manhattan Malting Company .....	Barley.
George Beatley .....	Oats.
C. W. Winslow .....	Oats.
Otis Johnson .....	Wheat and oats.
Carl Innes .....	Oats.
J. C. Gibson .....	Timohty seed.
John Epperson .....	Macaroni wheat.
Peter Johnson .....	Barley.
C. R. Gearch .....	Wheat, oats and barley.



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Charles King .....	Oats.
C. Prestby .....	Bromus grass seed, and wheat, oats and flax.
Manhattan Malting Co. ....	Barley, spring rye and wheat.
S. Holmsland .....	Wheat.
C. H. Campbell .....	Rye.
H. F. Peterson .....	Wheat.
E. F. Mann .....	Wheat.
A. H. McMillan .....	Wheat.
Daniel Cummings .....	Wheat.
George F. Sparrell .....	Wheat.
Ed Peterson .....	Timothy and barley.
Frank Shelton .....	Wheat.
E. E. Wilcox .....	Rye.
W. J. Bowers .....	Barley and wheat.
U. Marte .....	Oats.
John Baumgardner .....	Wheat.
Beaverhead County .....	Grains, grasses and decorated panel.
Gallatin County .....	Grains and grasses used in decoration of panel.
Cascade County .....	Exhibit of grains and grasses.
Flathead County .....	Grains and grasses.
Yellowstone County .....	Grains and grasses in sheaf.
State of Montana .....	Collective exhibit of grains and grasses.
State of Montana .....	Montana flora.
State of Montana .....	Exhibit booth.
State of Montana .....	Collective exhibit of wool.

#### SILVER MEDALS.

Ravalli County .....	Grains and grasses.
Missoula County .....	Grains and grasses in sheaf and decorated panel.
J. H. Gallup .....	Wheat.
C. A. Hammond .....	Wheat.
Samuel Dick .....	Beans.
S. C. Ballard .....	Wheat.
H. F. Ledolph .....	Peas.
George F. Sparrell .....	Wheat.
L. C. Vandyke .....	Wheat and oats.
A. Schusland .....	Wheat.
C. Presby .....	Field and garden peas.
Nelson Johnson .....	Wheat.
L. C. Freeman .....	Wheat.
J. O. Hamilton, Ravalli County .....	Potatoes.

#### BRONZE MEDALS.

Kalispell Flouring Company .....	Wheat.
C. F. Luppert .....	Wheat.

#### HORTICULTURAL, SILVER MEDALS.

R. Parkhurst, Victor, Ravalli County....	Apples.
L. S. Sliter, Big Fork, Flathead County..	Apples and pears.
C. F. Dolman, Missoula .....	Fruit.

#### BRONZE MEDALS.

W. E. Dorsett, Missoula .....	Apples.
F. W. Shaur, Billings .....	Apples.
W. L. Mabry, Billings .....	Crabapples.

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**History and Biography.**

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## Thomas Francis Meagher.

(Contributed by Major Martin Maginnis.)

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**Dedication of the Statue to the Patriot, Soldier and Orator Erected in the  
Capitol Grounds of the State of Montana in whose Service He Died.**

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On the fourth of July, 1865, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, which had just concluded the great war of modern times for the preservation of the Union, appointed one of the distinguished soldiers of that conflict to be the Secretary of the new and remote Territory of Montana. Thomas Francis Meagher was famous all around the world, as an orator of most impassioned force and power, who had thrown himself into the cause of his native country, and in her hopeless struggle for liberty and justice had become renowned among men. After suffering capture and escaping the sentence of death, he had been exiled to the other side of the world. Escaping from captivity he had become an American citizen and living in New York was famous and popular among all classes of citizens whom he delighted with his magnetic eloquence, and the finished and beautiful productions of his pen.

Then began the terrible war between the Government of the Union and the seceding states. Believing that the preservation of the Union was the hope of mankind, he threw himself into the conflict with all the brilliancy of his intellect and all the power of his manhood. The commands that he organized and lead, fought with courage and desperation and won a never fading wreath of immortality. It was all over and he sought new scenes and new lands, where enterprise and courage would found new states, his own



UNVEILING OF THE MEAGHER MONUMENT.





veteran soldiers and scattered countrymen, new hopes and new homes. Here his pen would find new scenes to depict, his words new multitudes to direct and he turned his thoughts and aspirations to the new glories of the West.

Being too late in the year to connect with any of the expeditions across the plains, or any of the fleets of steamboats ascending the Missouri, he crossed the isthmus and coming up the coast, came by the way of the pack trails from Oregon and the Mullan road. He visited the old missions, and wrote most charming and graceful descriptions of these and of the entire route for Harper's Magazine which thus became the first bearer of the character, scenery and resources of the new country to the reading people of the States.

In the beautiful days of a Montana September, he arrived at Virginia City, then the capital of the Territory. He found the mines yielding prodigiously of their golden treasures, the climate most delightful, the progress of settlement rapid and free, the strenuous days of crime and lawlessness over, and only two distressing features in his new governorship—for in the absence of the old governor and before the arrival of the new one, he became the acting Governor of the Territory. One of these, was the desperations and murders committed by hostile Indians all around the borders of the new community, and the other, the violent and fierce political rancor of the divisions in this small state, occasioned by the exasperating and dominant partisanship of the official faction, on one side and the natural objection and resistance of the majority of the people on the other. This arose largely from the character of the immigration. The close of the war had brought about the break up of many homes and families in the border states. In the wreck of life and industries, many had sought new homes and peaceful places in the new territories. On the other hand, the officials appointed to govern these, felt all

the dislikes and prejudices of the victorious North. It is a noticeable thing in history that colonists who leave the mother country during violent controversies, carry with them their bitterness long after the people at home have become reconciled to each other. So here it was found that men who had left the scenes of action during the earlier stages of the war, were infinitely more antagonistic, than the veterans, who having remained to the end and learned to respect the sincerity and courage of each other, shook hands over the struggle at its final conclusion.

On one hand the incomers from the border and southern states were bitterly denounced as being still disloyal to the government, and therefore not fitted to hold office or exercise the rights of suffrage. On the other, the officials and their supporters, were denounced as mere carpet-baggers, who wanted by test-oaths and other means to control the politics of the new commonwealth and reap the benefits accruing to the officers. Both of these parties naturally sought to control the new governor, but especially the representatives of the Government, claimed his sympathies and assistance in overthrowing the others and sought to control him in their interests. Beset as he was by these, and among them were men of great ability and most rancorous partisanship, Meagher announced his disposition to be governor of the whole people, and despite the hostility and dictorial character of the men conspicuous among these, he succeeded in doing this to the fullest of his expectations and to the satisfaction of the large majority of the people as expressed in the elections. Then he was accused of having also become disloyal and as unduly favoring those who were claimed to be still enemies of the United States. These he answered in his own eloquent way in a speech in Helena on the 21st of February, 1866:

“On the battlefields which they had heroically held for four tempestuous years, the soldiers of the South had low-

ered their colors and sheathed their swords. The spirit in which they had surrendered, as well as the spirit with which they fought, entitled them to respect, honorable consideration and the frank confidence of their adversaries and the generosity of the colossal power to which they had been forced to capitulate. These are no new sentiments of mine. What I was during the war, I am now prepared to repeat should another rebellion be set on foot and the Republic declared in danger. But the war is over and I would not plant thorns where the olive has taken root. Here at all events, among the great mountains of the new world no echoes should be awakened save those that proclaimed true and glorious peace, the everlasting brotherhood of those who had been foes upon the battlefield. The triumphant reign of industry and another pillar and crown of gold to the nation that had been restored. In the divine sacrament of love, forgiveness and patriotism, let us dedicate with an irrevocable pledge this beautiful and superb domain to the consolidation of liberty with law, the crushing of the malevolence of faction, nationality against sectionalism and the foundation of an enlightened civilization, where religion may flourish without bigotry and loyalty without humiliation.”

Thus General Meagher laid the foundation of that fraternal patriotism which has of recent years assumed an undisputed sway over all the sections of our land.

Many needful laws were required, and new counties, and new arrangements for revenue and taxation were absolutely necessary to sustain the young and growing commonwealth. The Governor called the legislature together. His opponents denounced this fundamental power of a governor. He was sustained in the elections and in the legislature. In the controversy, the legislature annulled the double compensation paid to the Federal Judges. This was granted on account of the disparity between gold and green backs



and raised by taxation which was claimed to be excessive. There was a great deal of difference over this and it excited the animosity between the parties. Much wise and greatly needed legislation was enacted. New counties were created. New officers were elected and the government of the Territory rounded up and completed in a manner satisfactory to a large majority of the people as repeatedly attested by their votes.

The dissatisfied minority, however, went to Washington, then a long distance away, and succeeded in carrying an amendment act through Congress, which repealed all the laws, abolished the new counties, broke up contracts and even violated marriages made by new officials who were rendered incompetent. This was the most unjust act ever perpetrated by the Congress of the United States on a Territory. Indeed, the only one of the kind ever known in the history of the government. It was only carried through on the grossest misrepresentation of the character of the population. Many of those concerned in it left as soon as their commissions expired. More who remained never gained the confidence of the people, while those who were aspersed have lived to be the most successful freighters, merchants, stockgrowers and citizens of the State, eminent in every walk of life and conspicuous examples among the promoters and executors of every good work. The history of the Territory and the State bear ample testimony to the wisdom of the just, broad and liberal sentiments of the Union soldiers and the patriotic devotion to home rule of the wise statesman of its early days.

In the spring the hostile Indians began again their depredations all around the frontier. He called out volunteers to meet these dangers. Among other duties he took a trip to Fort Benton to receive a consignment of arms and ammunition. After a long ride of many miles in the hot summer sun he rode into Fort Benton on the evening of July

1st, 1867. He went on board the old battered steamboat, G. A. Thompson, and took a state room, there being no other accommodations. Tired as he was, he wrote to Hon. Richard O'Gorman of New York and other friends before retiring. There were no guards around the deck. They were broken down in a previous accident. He stepped out between nine and ten o'clock; the night was dark, he stumbled over a coil of rope struck the lower deck. The alarm was given but the gallant soldier, orator, patriot and Governor of the Territory was lost in the darkness and the rolling river.

The news went around the world. Requiems were sung, masses celebrated, orations delivered, meetings of condolence held in every country where the English language is spoken. Rewards were offered for the recovery of the body, but the river never gave up its dead. Of course many memorial gatherings were held in Montana.

*The Helena Meeting.*

St. Patrick's day, 1869, was a great day in Helena. Twelve hundred stalwart miners from all parts of the territory marched up Main street. The largest body that had ever been in line at that time. It was Fenian times and there was wild talk about seizing Manitoba and British Columbia. It was just after the loss of General Meagher, and so that naturally became the subject of the address on that day, which was delivered by Major Martin Maginnis, who had served with Meagher, in the same army corps, under the trefoil of Sedgwick, Sumner and Hancock. It contained the first plea for the erection of a monument—quoting Meagher's address in Virginia City to show that such a remembrance was one of the fitting desires of a man who devoted his talents and life to his country.

*The First Speech.*

I believe the reason that I fill so unusual a role as that of public speaker today is, to amplify upon a few remarks that

I made at a late entertainment in memory of one who did deliver a lecture in Montana on St. Patrick's day that has left no hope to follow in his footsteps, save as the gleaner, who gathers what the reaper spurns.

But candles are lighted when the sun goes down; let us light our little tapers to his memory—and then place them, as is the custom of his native land, upon the bier of the departed—not to dissipate the gloom of our sorrow, but to reveal again the lineaments of the lost and loved.

His connection with her history shed honor on Montana. The fact that her soil is his grave, will cause many an eye in distant lands to turn lovingly towards her, and many an ear to listen with tender affection to the music of her history. So bright is the halo of genius that it sheds a radiance on all things connected with its possessor; his haunts and abiding places are regarded with affection, and his cast off garments become objects of more lasting interest than the purple robe or jeweled crown of kings. And when Thomas Francis Meagher was lost to mortal sight in our territory—as the sun sinks in the cloudy splendor of his glory—the admiring and sorrowing eyes of two hemispheres were turned to the spot where he went down in the west.

Here he found friends—warm, ardent friends—and kindred spirits, that could appreciate what was beyond their own creation. He met the other class also; men of narrow minds, and smaller souls, who took cognizance of his faults alone; magnifying them and belittling all his virtues. Men to whom carelessness of the main chance, and sacrifice of interests for ideas, are alike incomprehensible; in whose eyes the irregularity which arises from a lofty carelessness of little things, is the sin beyond forgiveness; whose generosity, even, is more like a profit and loss account with sentiment than the nobility of impulse that stops not to count the pence among the silver it bestows. Men that put out no



cent that may not soon return, and cast no bread upon the waters, till they find an eddy which will bring back their own loaf, and with it that of the more careless wight who looked not which way the current ran.

Such men can scarcely be expected to understand the nature that gave up position, prospects, domestic felicity, the assurance of fortune beyond all natural wants, for the prison cell, the convict ship, the death-in-life of exile. Incomprehensible to them as the mysteries of creation, the sentiments that found utterance, that day he set the prisoner above the judge who condemned him—and the judgment seat amazed itself before the dignity which he bestowed upon the felon's dock. When he prepared to look his last upon the land for which he gave up all, he avowed his readiness to meet his death sentence, which would send his soul to "appeal with a pure and perfect composure to that higher tribunal—a tribunal where a judge of infinite mercy as well as justice will preside—and where, my lords, many, many, of the judgments of this world will be reversed."

He was like the sky above such men—its clouds and storms to be grumbled at, interfering with business or with pleasures; its beauties all unnoticed and unobserved. He was like it, too, beyond the rule and tape-line, of such Gradgrinds, as with "scales and multiplication table always in their pocket are ready to weight and measure any parcel of human nature, and tell you what it will come to." But why waste words? The conceit of such men will forever prevent them from recognizing what they dislike—or admiring what they cannot understand.

To his early life, and to the incidents and men of the struggle of which the exile or death of Meagher and his companions was the closing scene, we have no time to allude. Its memories are seared upon every heart—the sacrifices, the trials, the gloom and the glory of that time, are not forgotten. When the epitaph of Emmet is written, the page



will be illuminated with the blood of the heroes of '48. The men of today do not suffer in vain—the men of Manchester did not die in vain. Their blood shall not sink into the ground, nor will their prayer of "God save Ireland" remain unanswered forever.

Freedom's battle once begun,  
Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son,  
Though baffled oft, is ever won.

Let us speak of Meagher's American career, and of that Irish Brigade which left its dead on every battlefield in Virginia, but which never lost a gun or color to its gallant enemy.

An account of its organization, its marches, its bivouacs, its battles, its humors on the march and in the camp, he has given you from this spot. You caught the fire of its enthusiasm, and glowed in the recollection of its chivalry, pictured by that eloquent tongue, now silent, and took the signal for your laughter from that genial smile now frozen in death.

The military enthusiasm which marked the beginning of the war was in many of its incidents as ridiculous as its spirit was sublime. The awkward movement and ridiculous commands distinguished the efforts of these incipient heroes alike in every part of the country; and we venture to say that in no portion of it occurred more laughable scenes or ludicrous misapprehensions than in those companies of the Irish brigade, which were recruited from the farms, the workshops and the wharves, and of which neither officers or men had received the training of the old 69th, or other military organizations of New York, who were at that time perhaps, the best trained in the volunteer service.

Major Maginnis then described the actions of the brigade at Fair Oaks, where it made a most brilliant record and changed the fortunes of the day. At Antietam, where its famous bayonet charge was a great incident and drew un-

stinted praise from the late confederate, General Gordon. And Fredericksburg, where it swept beyond all others to the sunken road at the foot of Marye's heights and lost the greater proportion of its men. One of the most notable assaults of the war as described by Swinton, the Count de Paris and other historians.

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I watched them until two years had passed away, and many a gallant fellow was buried with his hopes, his ardor, and his honors, on the Peninsula, at Antietam, at Fredericksburg. The brigade was a brigade in name only, and its brigadier, incensed at Stanton, had resigned, and watched in moody silence its career. Few in numbers, but veterans of tried endurance and bravery—exposure and hardship had long been their bed fellows and danger their constant companion. Their laugh was as cheerful, their spirits as light as followed their first jests, but discipline now marked all their movements, confidence their demeanor. They had shared great dangers and sorrows together, and cultivated to the highest that martial esprit du corps, which bears men up when patriotism pales its fires, and even the desire of personal distinction is lost in the hardships of a weary struggle, the burdens of an over-tasked existence.

Not to open afresh the closing wounds of civil strife upon this festive day, but to exhibit the fearful scenes amid which the valor that Meagher organized won its laurels, have we thus digressed. To show what honor was justly due to that brigade which he marshalled under the green colors that he hoped to see at the close of the struggle wave over the Irish veterans of both armies as they charged upon the battalions of England and swept the cross and lion down before their onset. Whatever reputation accrues to the old land from the actions of this brigade is due to the fact that Meagher stamped it with the insignia of Irish nationality. For ten times as many Irishmen as it contained fought on either side in regiments bearing state designations.

As he said at Virginia, the "land is billowed" with the graves of Irishmen who fought for that government which they had sworn to uphold when they cast off their light allegiance to Great Britain—and among all tombs in whose midst the desolate south mourns for her lost heroes, none are more deservedly dear to her, than that of that model of a soldier and pattern of an officer, Pat Cleburne, of Tennessee, and the hundreds of his race who did battle for her cause.

It is, alas! the fate of those who have no land or flag that they can call their own, to fight in every country's quarrel, to be divided on every man's cause, and to waste against each other their unavailing valor on every field. The battle grounds of the world are the crucibles in which Irish manhood has been tried by fire—the wailing places, over which the cheeks of Erin may blanch with sorrow for her gallant dead; but need never blush for shame for her recreant living.

But leaving for a moment the sad subject of man's passions, let us consider briefly the more delightful achievements of his mind—for of that realm our dead hero and orator was a peer. In the hierarchy of intellect he was a high priest—a prophet, to whom the sanctuary of genius was an open chamber.

As an orator, he marshalled his arguments and words as he did his soldiers—adorned for review, but efficient for service—resplendent with ornaments and banners for parade; but immovable in defense, irresistible in assault. Genius waited upon his youthful efforts, and his words—the burning expression of freedom's aspirations—fired his countrymen to madness, and made them rush to their doom as to a marriage feast. The ripeness of his manhood bore out the promise of his youth.

Genius was his, and all its divine attributes—that wonderful intuition which lays bare the souls of men, and compre-



hends their passions, their aspirations, their longings. Every chord of the human heart which its careless hand, with instinctive correctness, touches at will, the sympathetic tones that find an echo in all bosoms—from these like some gifted improvisator, he could awaken sweet harmony, while to the mechanical player he seemed to violate the very rules of his art.

He had that poetic imagination which opens the golden vistas of paradise, and peoples earth and space with sympathetic life and mystical excellence. Holds communion with invisible nature beyond the bounds of this narrow world, dwells in the magic lands of fable, among fairies and talismans, and delightedly “believes in all divinities—being itself divine.” Which taught Egyptian priests and Grecian poets to construct a faith; and to place the destinies of humanity in the hands of supernatural wisdom, strength and beauty.

“The intelligible forms of ancient poets,  
The fair humanities of old religion—  
The power, the beauty, and the majesty  
That had their haunts by dale or piney mountain,  
Or forest, by slow stream or pebbly spring!  
These live no longer in the faith of reason.”

—But they dwelt like welcome guests mid his thick teeming fancies, and were his ancients, his familiars and his friends. They were the servants of his pen and rewarded his efforts and devotion with the graces they shed upon his page.

You who have read his descriptions of South American scenery will remember the verdure he gives to the forests, the beauty and fragrance he bestows upon the flowers. No sickly, artificial, hot-house plants are they, but tropical productions, blooming with tropical luxuriance on his delightful page. And from the brief, opening sketches in Harper’s Magazine, we know how much reputation the sublime and magnificent scenery of Montana has lost, because the hand of the master was paralyzed, ere the ground work of his



picture was laid, or his bold pencil had drawn but the outline of our mountain peaks:

“He wrote of their white raiment, the ghostly capes that  
screen them;  
Of the storm winds that beat them; their thunder rents and  
scars;  
And the paradise of purple and the golden slopes between  
them,  
And the ‘parks’ where were God’s gentian bells and the  
Crocus stars.  
He wrote of frail gauzy clouds that drop on them like  
fleeces—  
To make green their fir forests, or feed their mosses hoar,  
Or come sailing up the valleys and get wrecked and go to  
pieces,  
Like sloops against their cruel strength, and then he wrote  
no more!”

Hapless Montana! For numberless centuries—the beauty of your vales and the grandeur of your mountains were unknown and undreamt of by appreciative man, and when the limner came to spread your beauties through the world, he left his task unfinished! And who shall take it up where he laid it down?

It is the happy privilege of the painter to present to the gratified senses, after years of labor, the picturesque and sublime elements of a single view; but a few dashes of his graphic pen would have given correct ideas of that wonderful grouping of striking scenes which Montana presents—the faithful reproduction of a single one of which would repay the labor of an artist’s existence and cover him with an immortality of glory.

We can imagine his descriptions of our towering precipices, hung with writhing cedars, the burning woods upon our mountains, with lurid flames twisting amid the blackening trunks, lighting up the rocks by night, darkening with smoke the heavens by day, and giving our quiet hills the semblance of volcanoes in eruption; the dark canyon, with

its yawning chasm beneath the narrow roadway; the rocks chaotically piled, or strewn in rugged confusion—the weapons of the Indians still marking their lost battle ground; the hot springs, with their curling wreaths of vapor; the mountain lake, set like a brilliant in eternal rocks; the solid granite, cleft and rent, and the blue mountains themselves, differing in form with every change of view, and with every fresh arrangement of their cloudy drapery; all the effects of those mighty forces which tossed the agonized earth into these monstrous shapes, but now slumber peacefully in their subterranean caverns in submission to the Almighty will. With what delightful representation of these, interwoven with anecdote and invested with human association, would he address the pleasure seeking tourist—and with what clearness of statement, and conciseness of statistics, would he invite the attention of the capitalist and emigrant to the farms and mines which nature has here provided for willing hands to cultivate and develop.

It was not to be, and the young territory was deprived of her champion, while he was preparing for the defense of her frontiers. The span of his life was brief; but it encompassed much of the experiences of existence, and was as brilliant as the rainbow. In it he had felt all, seen all, endured all, that makes life valuable or worthless. He had felt the patriot's glow of hope when his country, inspired by his spirit, attempted to burst the bonds of tyranny; he had felt the despair of the patriot who sinks amid the ruins of it in the exuberant spirit of free and fearless adventure. He had realized all the lofty aspirations, the unselfish actions, the cruel disappointments of that ideal young student he pictured to you at Virginia in such glorious tints as never will fade.

That oration was the picture of himself. By its light should its record be perused. The delineation of his dreams and motives are wonderfully distinct—the utterances of his

inner consciousness, and the premonition therein of the sudden and terrible catastrophe to a ripening manhood, "whose genius, tenderness and soaring promise appealed to the sympathies of the world," was a startling prophecy of his own fate.

Like the young hero of his Virginia lecture, Meagher had a glorious and happy youth, and a great example in the forum and on the bier. Some of you will remember Dan O'Connell's speeches; many of you will remember Dan O'Connell's funeral. The career of Dan O'Connell became Meagher's example; the obsequies of Dan O'Connell his inspiration, the freedom and glory of Ireland his object.

Like the young orator of that lecture, Meagher achieved greatness; he obtained power; he won the esteem of the great, the applause of the noble and the envy and malice of the mean. He triumphed in his life, and in his death won that "homage of great cities and peoples; the nations mourn over him; his name is public property to the end of time; his is the 'sacrament of eternity.'" But one thing is wanting to complete the parallel; but one thing to fulfil the prophecy! *A monument paid by public subscription to his memory.*

A monument should be erected to mark the country where he sank beneath the wave. A monument that will endure, till his own race, in his own land can raise a shaft to him and others, and write their epitaphs with that of Robert Emmet. When the independence of her nationality shall have been achieved; when she shall be a luminous star in the constellation of free nations: when the blood of her sons, no longer wasted in foreign strife, shall flow alone for her; when her poets shall sing of her glory, her orators speak in her councils; when slavery, poverty and misery have fled to return to her no more forever, and she has come into that inheritance of liberty and prosperity which her children shall maintain for her till "the end" is written to her history of Time.



The varied and eventful life of Meagher was crowned with a sudden and extraordinary death; but one of which he always carried a presentiment.

It was not his fate to perish by the gibbet of his country's tyrants which he sought to overthrow; nor by the murderous volleys of their hireling sentinels, through which he burst his way to freedom. A royal clemency, born of shame, not charity, saved him from the one; a Providence that had work for him to do preserved him from the other.

It was not his fate to lie upon the stricken fields of the sunny southern land, amid the dead of his immortal brigade. By the banks of that clear rivulet whose crystal waters were crimsoned with the first great battle of the war; under the sighing pines of the Peninsula; beneath the frowning battlements of Fredericksburg, and on that green slope of Gettysburg—which they crimsoned with their blood and consecrated with their bravery—he left them with their glory.

Buried in the hurried retreat, or still more hurried pursuit; shallow were the graves they found, and lightly were the sods laid on their manly breasts, till the country they died to save gathered tenderly the bones of those who, perishing for her defense, so well deserved a grave within her bosom.

Not so their leader and their chief. He was Nature's child; her lover, her disciple, and she returned his devotion with a close and natural sympathy. She had whispered to him that no lingering pains, no torturing debility, would mark the union of his bodily essence with her elements. She had told him that she would provide no ordinary avenue of escape for his powerful and daring spirit to those mysterious realms which lie within the shadowy lands of the hereafter.

The rope had threatened him in vain; the bullet passed him like the harmless wind; the dangers of adventure left



him unscathed; but he always cherished the conviction that the wave would be his destiny; that Nature would in this, her first born element, from which the second day of creation brought forth the dry land, provide for him both bier and interment. Take to herself his mortal frame; hide it forever from the light of day; guard it with jealous care, and never yield it up to the eager eyes of human love, or the prying search of human avarice.

And so did it befall. In the darkness of night, she called him, and he went and grand was the resting place that she prepared for her beloved.

Near the source of her greatest river where its limpid waves, fed by the virgin snows of peaks forever bathed in the sun; by the crystal distillations of springs in those gloomy recesses into which no beam of sunlight ever pierced its way; by mountain torrents dashing in foam from cliffs of dizzy height, or murmuring in the caverns of dark ravines; and by the laughing brooks where glad valleys, first meet the invading keels of commerce—there she coffins him from day to day in her golden sands, and there does her rolling waters never cease to chant his requiem.

“After life’s fitful fever he sleeps well.”

About ten years ago an association was organized to carry out the expressed suggestions for a monument to General Meagher. The late Marcus Daly was the first president, and before his death Major Martin Maginnis succeeded him. At the request of the latter Hon. James H. Lynch of Butte was chosen and an active committee appointed. They began an active campaign all over the State. All classes contributed and the old-timers were especially generous. Sufficient funds were raised to assure success. The members of the association pledged their own credits for the remainder. The sculptor, Burns of Chicago, was awarded the task, and on the fourth of July, A. D., 1905, the completed statue was unveiled. The following account of the day’s proceedings is taken from the Helena Independent of July 5, 1905.

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 IN GRANITE AND BRONZE GEN. MEAGHER IS HONORED.
 

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Statue to Irish Patriot and Montana Governor Presented the Statue—Great Crowd witness the Exercises—From All Parts of the State the people Come to Pay Tribute to the Man Whose Voice and Sword Were Ever at the Service of Liberty—Col. Finerty's Oration.

In the presence of a large and representative gathering of the people of Montana the magnificent equestrian statue of Gen. Thomas Francis Meagher was yesterday afternoon unveiled and confided to the custody of the commonwealth.

The day was one on which loyal Montanians and patriotic Irish-Americans gladly found occasion to join in giving expression to the deeper emotions which occasionally stir men.

There was an acknowledged fitness in the scene of the Fourth of July for the unveiling of the monument to a man who, an exile from his own shores, gave his sword and the best of his intellectual life to the country of his adoption.

As a former acting governor of Montana, it was deemed fitting that the monument should be erected on the State capitol grounds and in the State's capital city.

There was a spirit about the day, about the military procession which preceded the unveiling exercises and about the exercises at the grounds which bespoke the spirit of the gallant and versatile Meagher.

*Glint of Steel.*

There was the glint of steel, the stirring sound of musketry, the display of military accoutrement, coupled with patriotic speech, uplifting sentiment and the softer element of the poetry of music.

Helena was gaily bedecked for the occasion. Flags fluttered from buildings, Main street being especially gorgeously decorated. The sweep of bunting was varied by the fluttering of numerous small and larger flags. In the residence

portion and along Sixth avenue on which the procession moved to the capitol, special efforts had been made and the red, white and blue floated bravely on the mountain winds, an evidence that the spirit of the day had permeated everywhere.

The massive front of the capitol betrayed the cunning handiwork of the decorator and the national colors smiled from the building in graceful festoons.

The speaker's stand was richly draped in the same way, the national colors appearing at every possible vantage point.

There were in all probably 2,500 out of town visitors in Helena. This number would have been considerably augmented had not the railroad facilities been inadequate.

Mayor John MacGinniss, of Butte, headed a delegation of 400 which arrived from Butte Monday night and he said that probably the same number came at noon yesterday.

B company, of Butte, of the Montana National Guard, was prevented from taking part in the parade on account of the lateness of trains, but arrived at the capitol grounds in time to take part in the salute fired at the moment of the unveiling.

#### *Military Feature Predominates.*

The parade itself was entirely military. It was made up of the State Capital band, the colored troops of the Twenty-fourth regiment from Fort Harrison, and the members of the local G. A. R., grizzled old veterans, who bravely marched to the capitol in the face of a blazing sun.

Gen. C. D. Curtis, as marshal of the day, headed the procession and was assisted by Adjutant General A. M. Alderson, of the Montana national guard, as assistant marshal.

The failure of the Butte company to arrive on time caused a delay of about half an hour, the procession finally starting about 2:30 o'clock.

Starting from the court house, the procession of troops



and of members of the G. A. R. took up the march directly to the capitol, along Sixth avenue, and the exercises commenced immediately after the arrival at the grounds.

The scene when the exercises began shortly after 2 o'clock on the State capitol grounds was one that will long remain in the memory of those present. The day was an ideal one, the sun shining brightly and a high wind blowing from the west, causing the flags on the capitol building and on the stands that had been erected to flutter in the breeze.

Around the stand were massed men, women and children, while up on the steps of the capitol was row after row of interested spectators. On the west side of the speaker's stand were the members of the Second regiment of the National Guard of Montana, the Spanish-American war veterans and members of the Grand Army of the Republic. To the east, drawn up on the outside of the audience, were four companies of the Twenty-fourth infantry, under command of Col. Borden.

In the stand erected just north of the statue were Gov. J. K. Toole, Lieutenant Governor Edwin E. Norris, Major Martin Maginnis, Col. John F. Finerty, Mayor R. R. Purcell, James H. Lynch, Father L. B. Palladino, Miss Anastasia O'Meara, E. D. Weed and the State Capital band. The stand was tastefully decorated with small flags and bunting, and about it stood the crowd, intent on not losing a sentence of the speakers' or a note of the band.

The oration of the day was delivered by Col. John F. Finerty, and he fully sustained his reputation as a great orator. He spoke for nearly an hour, and during the course of his address not a person left the audience, and so quiet did the people keep that those farthest away could hear distinctly every word he said.

*Welcomed by Mayor Purcell.*

Mayor R. R. Purcell called the meeting to order. "The honor has fallen to me," said Mayor Purcell, "as the of-



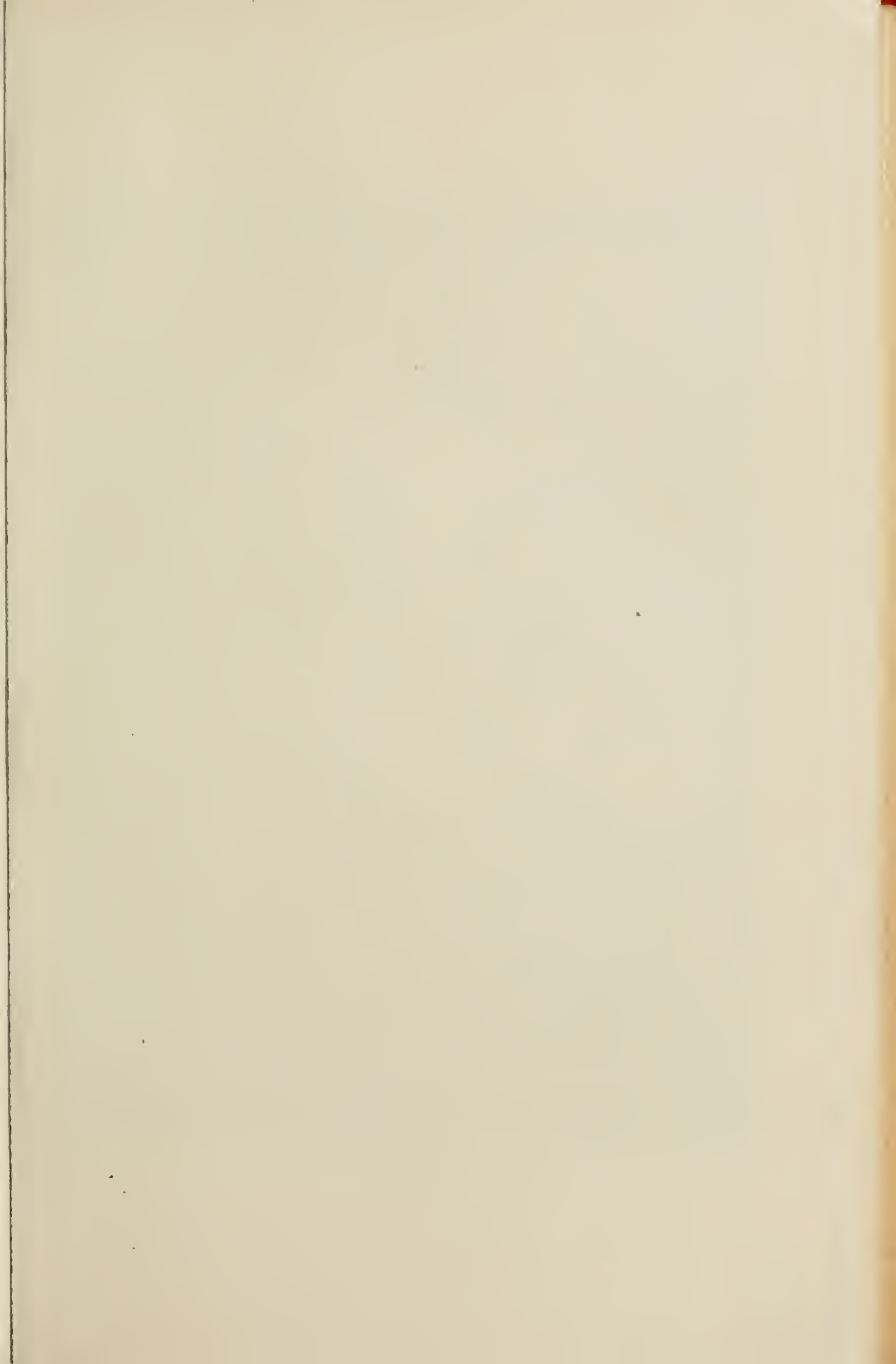
ficial representative of the capital city of Montana, to call this magnificent gathering to order. We have met here to express our regard for the memory of a man whose achievements are written in the history of our own State and that of the nation; one whose voice and sword were never lifted except in behalf of the liberty and the honor of the people. In thus honoring the memory of Thomas Francis Meagher we honor the memory of the champions of liberty of all time, under whatever flag they have struggled and died for the rights of the people.

“In behalf of the people of this city I desire to express their sense of the high honor that has been conferred on them by the selection of this city as the spot where granite and bronze will recall to all the deeds of the gallant man who as soldier, poet and orator has left an imperishable fame. He who never raised his voice or sword except in behalf of honor, the interest and the prosperity of the people of the land of his birth, as well as the people of the land of his adoption.”

*Lieutenant Governor Norris.*

Mayor Purcell then introduced Lieut. Gov. Norris as the permanent presiding officer of the meeting.

“I deem it a special privilege and distinguished honor,” said the lieutenant governor, “to perform the duties of permanent chairman on this occasion. It is a great honor to assist in dedicating this monument to one so distinguished as Gen. Meagher. It is especially fitting that the committee has chosen this day for the unveiling of this statue. On this day the most thrilling words that ever fell from the lips of man fell from the lips of Gen. Meagher. He was not native born, but long before he had come to these shores the principles of self-government, freedom and the rights of man had been born in him. Long before that spirit had reached this land the fire of liberty had been burning in Ireland. The fires lighted there served as beacons of liber-





**JAMES H. LYNCH**  
**PRESIDENT, MEAGHER MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.**

ty. Wherever there has been a meeting in the name or cause of liberty, wherever a sword has been raised for freedom, an Irishman has been found there.

“In erecting this monument to Gen. Meagher the thanks of the people of this State are due to the Meagher Memorial Association and to the Irishmen and citizens of this State who have assisted in the work. It is our duty to so shape our lives that we will do honor to the principles for which this man fought. It is not necessary for us to draw the sword to follow the example of Meagher, but we can honor his memory by living up to the principles he fought for.

“This monument will serve as an inspiration to all those who come after him. Standing here at the entrance of our State house, it will be a beacon light for those who serve the State, whether in the judicial, legislative or executive departments.”

*Invocation by Father Palladino.*

When Mr. Norris had concluded, Father Palladino delivered the invocation. “There is nothing that can more fittingly become the nature of man,” said Father Palladino, “than when undertaking anything whatsoever he lifts his eyes skyward to invoke the help and assistance of Him whose handiwork he is. Nothing can be more noble than for man to turn his eyes toward his creator. It is thus most appropriate that on this glorious occasion, when a monument is to be dedicated to one of the great men of the land, that religion should come in and honor be given Him who is the source of all goodness.”

*Reading of the Declaration.*

After the invocation the State Capital band rendered the “Star Spangled Banner,” the audience joining in. Then the Declaration of Independence was read by E. D. Weed, and this was followed by a selection by the band.

Hon. James H. Lynch, on behalf of the Meagher Monument Association, presented the statue to Gov. Toole as the



representative of the State. In making the presentation Mr. Lynch said:

“Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Governor Toole, governor of the fair State of Montana, on behalf of the Meagher Memorial Association, of which I have the honor to be the president, the pleasant duty devolves upon me to tender to you this beautiful statue, representing, as it does, one of Montana’s most worthy and respected citizens during his life, General Thomas Francis Meagher. I hope that you will accept the same on behalf of the State from the great body of its citizens who have so liberally contributed to its erection.

Before closing I wish to read to this audience a telegram from Mrs. General Meagher, who in a long letter of a few days ago regretted very much her inability to be here, owing to old age and infirmity. At this time she says:

“ ‘Rye, N. Y., July 4, 1905.—Greeting to the association and orator. Am with you in spirit.

“ ‘MRS. ELIZABETH MEAGHER.’

“Governor Toole, I now present to you this beautiful statue on behalf of the Meagher Memorial Association of Montana.”

#### *Unveiling the Statue.*

At the conclusion of the remarks of Mr. Lynch the statue was unveiled. Miss Anastasia O’Meara pulled the cord, and the starry banner that had been entwined about the horse and figure of the general floated away, revealing the work of bronze in all its striking beauty.

Just as the flags fell the buglers of the Twenty-fourth sounded the call. Then the four companies each fired three salutes. This was followed by a salute by Company B of the Second regiment, National Guard of Montana. The State Capital band played a short selection and then Gov. Toole accepted the statue on behalf of the State. Gov. Toole said:



DEDICATION, GENERAL MEAGHER MONUMENT.





*Accepted by Gov. Toole.*

“Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, and the Meagher Memorial Association:—It is refreshing in this busy working day to pause long enough to remember that the most sacred and best part of a nation is not in those things which make honor for its material uses. The nation is great because we have rendered it so by the great words that have been spoken in it, great deeds that have been done in it, great statues that have been erected in it, and the great sacrifices that have been sanctified—these are among the nation’s greatest. It is therefore not only most appropriate, but eminently fitting that the citizens of this republic should have combined to honor this day and year and to perpetuate the memory of Thomas Francis Meagher; and to do it here among the friends whom he loved, and here upon the soil upon which he helped to establish law and order.

“Montana, remembering his glories and achievements, and still mourning the loss of her adopted son, gladly and gratefully accepts this splendid tribute of his devoted friends, impatient only to hear the glowing words of the distinguished orator who is to review his life and career.”

*Oration by Col. Finerty.*

Col. John F. Finerty was then introduced by Chairman Norris, and he delivered the oration of the day. (He spoke without written preparation and without notes, so that an accurate copy of his speech cannot be given.) It was a magnificent effort frequently interrupted by applause, and at its close the speaker received an ovation. In opening, Col. Finerty said:

*Mr. Finerty’s Address.*

“Mr. Chairman, Governor Toole, Ladies and Gentlemen: The mountain wind is high to-day, but it is the breath of liberty, and “like the words of the holy man, it will not die with the prophet, but survive him.” I salute with you the friend of liberty represented in this splendid statue.



It is meet, indeed, that we should have the breath of liberty blowing here to-day to honor the patriot and man represented in that superb monument. I have come from the distant city of Chicago at the call of your committee to say some words in memory of this man whom the old among you knew and loved, whom the middle aged remember with pride, and to whom in future ages the young will look for example and inspiration. It is proper that on this occasion I should say something of the causes which led this man from his home by the waters of the Suir, under the shade of the Munster mountains, to become a citizen of the United States, and the acting governor of Montana. On the 1st day of January, 1801, the kingdom of Ireland, his native land, ceased to be an independent nation. The strong arm of a greater power, the genius of an unscrupulous minister and the treason of men who "thanked God that they had a country to sell," but who, thank the Lord of Freedom, were not men of the old Celtic race, handed over to the power of England basely and unscrupulously the cradle land of 20,000,000 of the American people. I say the cradle land or the mother land because there pulses in the hearts of 20,000,000 of Americans the hot and gallant blood that flowed through the veins of Meagher. (Great applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen, the Irish people of the post-Union period had their first martyr in that gallant youth who forsook his own class and virtually his own interests to take up the cause of liberty in the land that bore him, I mean that illustrious Protestant patriot, the beloved and immortal Robert Emmet.

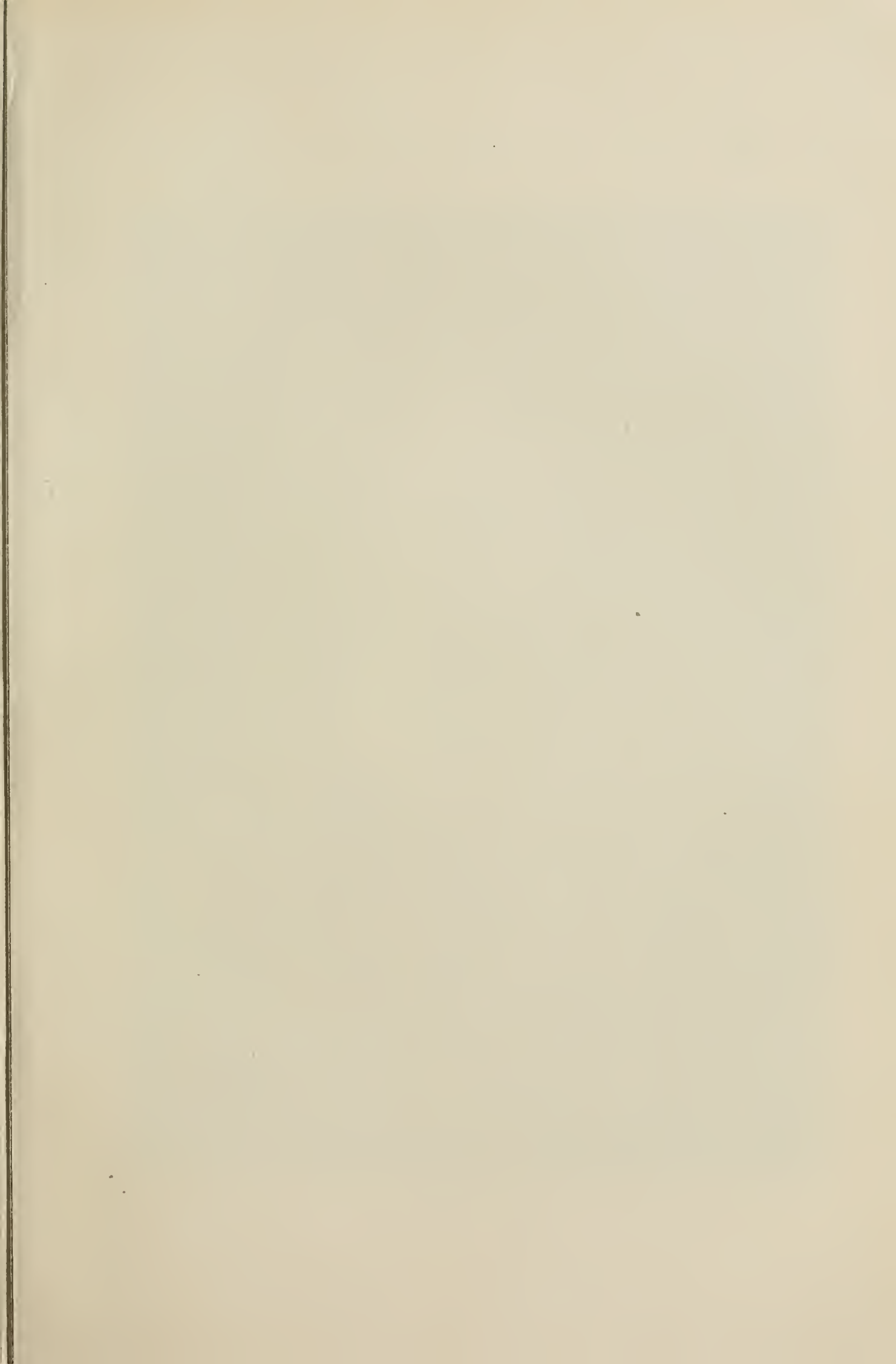
He shed his blood unavailingly, but like the blood of the martyrs it became the seed of the faith, and from that blood has sprung successive generations of Irishmen pledged to the cause for which Emmet fought and died. And when at last he was laid in his nameless grave, when the rapacious power that trampled on his country had at last wreaked

its vengeance upon him, there arose a prophet in Israel, a prophet of a different type, a Titan who resolved to break the chains that bound the Catholic majority of Ireland, and that man, whose voice thundered like that of Moses to the Israelites, was the illustrious friend of liberty, Daniel O'Connell. (Great applause.) Daniel O'Connell found Ireland in chains, he found the Catholic a slave on his native soil, and set to work to emancipate him. He aroused the inert, down-trampled mass of seven millions to "brace themselves to the act of their own deliverance," and break the chains which bound them. The gallant peasantry of Clare in 1828 took up the challenge of England. Since James II. fled from the Boyne, no Irish-Catholic had sat in Parliament. Daniel O'Connell was resolved to abrogate this base condition; he appealed to the manhood of Ireland, and the manhood of Ireland responded by electing him to Parliament. The gallant old county of Clare broke the chains of England, and returned O'Connell at the head of the poll; sent him to London, and there in the presence of the English Parliament, he told the tyrants of his country that Ireland was resolved to be free. Catholic emancipation came, and thus religious equality, through the genius of O'Connell and the fidelity of the Irish people, became triumphant on the soil of Ireland. There remained, however, something greater to be done, ladies and gentlemen,—to undo the iniquity of 1800, to restore again to Ireland the garb and throne and crown of nationhood, and for this O'Connell strove from 1840 to 1843. He rallied around him the chivalry of Ireland. He breathed a new spirit into the land; the young men of the country, the gifted young men, whether Protestant or Catholic, rallied around him. Five hundred thousand men heard his voice on the royal hill of Tara; another five hundred thousand at the storied rath of Mullaghmast; two hundred and fifty thousand on the plains of Mallow, where he hurled defiance at England and

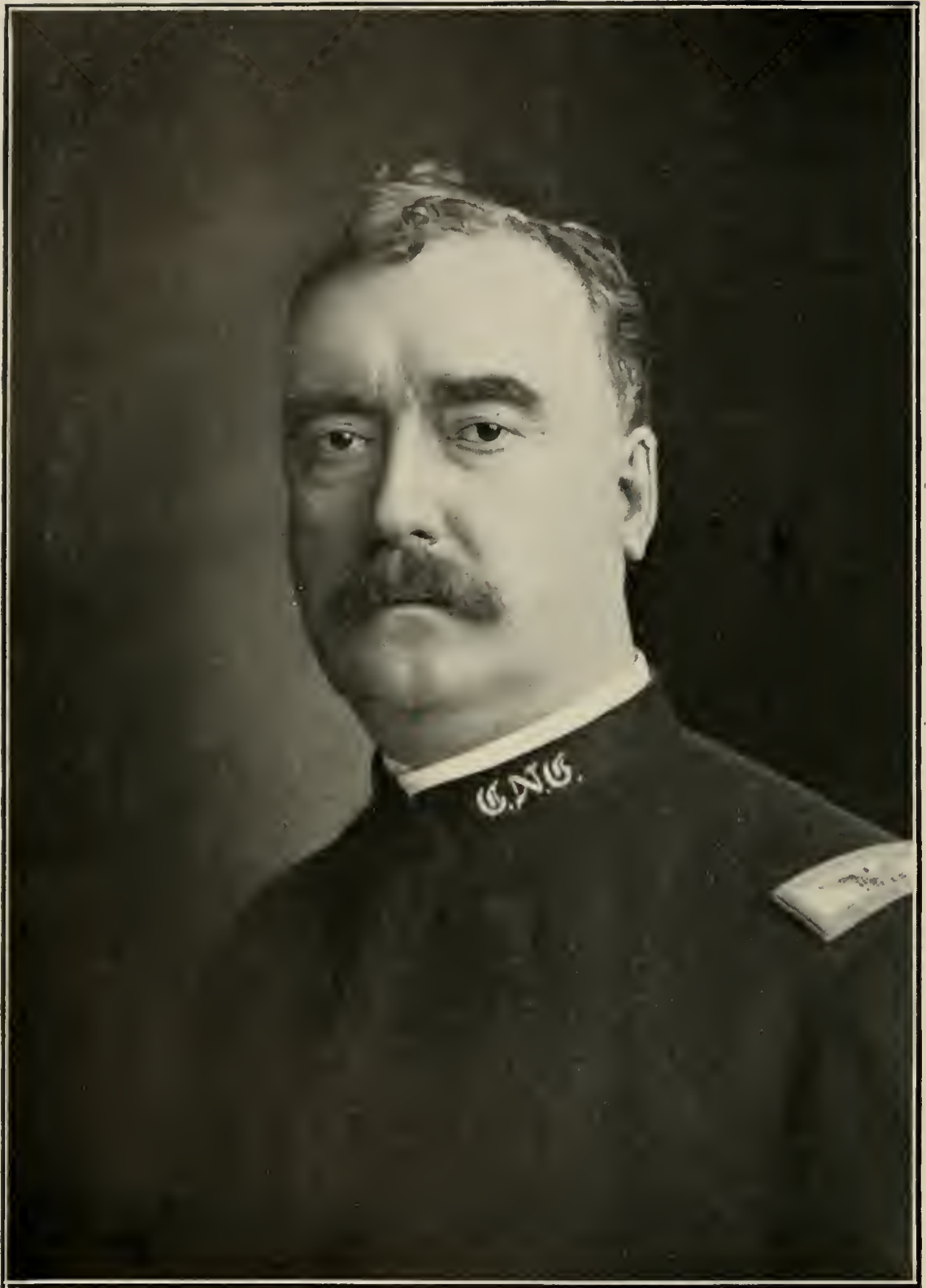
told the people in a moment of rashness that the "hour of action," "the repeal year," had come. But old age settled on that once fearless heart and clouded that once brilliant brain: the English government proclaimed the monster meeting that was to have been held at Clontarf in October and O'Connell backed down from his high and defiant position. He was arrested, sent to prison, tried by a packed jury, and convicted, with his associates, for no crime whatever but that of loving and seeking to free his country. The verdict was reversed by the House of Lords, but the harm had been done. At this time there came as his lieutenant the devoted William Smith O'Brien, and following him came that brilliant galaxy of young Irishmen, Thomas Davis, John Mitchel, Dillon, Duffy, Doheny and youngest and brightest of all of them, the gallant and inspired youth from Waterford, Thomas Francis Meagher. (Great applause.) He differed from O'Connell, as he said O'Connell had differed from Henry Grattan. He differed from O'Connell because he thought the eight million of Irish people, by an appeal to arms, might, under certain conditions, burst the chains of their country, and when O'Connell's son introduced the "peace resolutions" which declared against resistance to tyrants by force of arms, no matter what the provocation, Thomas Francis Meagher raised his eloquent voice in that speech which is immortal, that speech which gained him the epithet of "Meagher of the Sword," a companion piece in sublimest prose to the "Sword Song" of Koerner. (Great applause.)

"Then, My Lord," he said, "I do not condemn the use of arms as immoral, nor do I conceive it profane to say that the King of Heaven, the Lord of Hosts, the God of Battles, bestows his benediction upon those who unsheath the sword in the hour of a nation's peril.

"Prof that evening on which, in the Valley of Bethulia he nerved the arm of the Jewish girl to smite the drunken







JOHN F. FINERTY

tyrant in his tent, down to this, our day, on which he has blessed the insurgent chivalry of the Belgian priest, his Almighty hand hath ever been stretched forth from his throne of light to consecrate the flag of freedom—to bless the patriot's sword! Be it in defense, or be it in the assertion of a people's liberty. I hail the sword as a sacred weapon; and if, my lord, it has sometimes taken the shape of the serpent and reddened the shroud of the oppressor with too deep a dye, like the anointed rod of the high priest, it has at other times, and as often, blossomed into celestial flowers to deck the freeman's brow!"

While pursuing his majestic argument in still more eloquent terms, he was rudely interrupted by John O'Connell, who was himself the author of the Peace Resolutions, and who, in the absence of his father, renewed the quarrel with O'Brien and his friends because of their opposition to the projected Whig alliance, manifested by Richard Lalor Shiel's election in the borough of Dungarvan, without opposition from O'Connell and his following. Smith O'Brien endeavored to get a hearing for Meagher, and when the latter rose to conclude his address John O'Connell again interrupted and said that either Meagher or he should leave the hall. Thereupon O'Brien, who felt himself placed in the position of forcing O'Connell's son to leave the association founded by his father, rose and left the hall, followed by Meagher, Mitchel, Doheny, Duffy, Devin, Reilly and many others, who subsequently founded and organized the famous Irish Confederation, which existed in Ireland from the autumn of 1846 to the summer of 1848. In his addresses under the auspices of this body Meagher grew in eloquence, if that were possible, and his fame as an orator spread throughout Christendom far and wide. The most famous speakers of antiquity might have been proud of his matchless apostrophe to the "Yeomen of the North," delivered at Belfast and to Italy at the great gathering held in Cork

during the summer of 1847. When welcoming the American captain whose dismantled warship conveyed provisions to Ireland, Meagher said, at the conclusion of a glorious speech: "If danger should ever threaten the great republic, I, for one, will be grateful to the Samaritan rather than loyal to the Levite!"

When John Mitchel, the most advanced and determined member of the "Young Ireland" party, lost faith in agitation and was inflamed to fury by the sight of hundreds of thousands of his country people starving to death while there was plenty wherewith to feed them within the shores of Ireland; when John Mitchel denounced "moral force" and, in the columns of his newspaper, the "United Irishman," called upon the manhood of Ireland to arm, Meagher, because of his devotion to Smith O'Brien, temporarily adopted the more conservative view, but took care to dis sever himself from the doctrines of John O'Connell, who, on the death of his father in 1847, assumed the leadership of the "Old Ireland" party. Meagher was opposed to an immediate insurrection because he considered the time inopportune. At a meeting of the Irish Confederation, where excitement ran high and opinion clashed with opinion, he exclaimed, "Is an insurrection probable? Is an insurrection practicable? Prove to me that it is and I, for one, will vote for it this very night. You know well, my friends, that I am not one of the tame moralists who fear to shed a drop of their blood in the cause of freedom. Men who subscribe to such a maxim are fit for outdoor relief and nothing better.

"Against this miserable maxim the noblest virtue that has served or sanctified humanity appears in judgment. From the blue waters of the bay of Salamis; from the valley over which the sun stood still and lit the Israelite to victory; from the convent of St. Isidore, where the fiery hand that rent the ensign of St. George on the plains of Ulster has crumbled into dust; from the Cathedral of Cracow,



where the sword of Poland is sheathed in the shroud of Kosciusko; from the ducal palace in this kingdom, where the memory of the gallant and seditious Geraldine enhances more than royal favor the nobility of his race; from the sands of the desert where the wild genius of the Algerine so long has scared the eagle of the Pyrenees; from the solitary grave within this mute city which a dying request has left without an epitaph—oh, from every place where heroism has had its sacrifice or its triumph, a voice breaks in on the cringing crowds who cheer this wretched maxim crying out, ‘Away with it! Away with it!’

“Would to God, sir, that we could take every barrack in the island to-night and purchase with our blood the independence of our country,”

Perhaps it had been better for Ireland had Meagher, O’Brien and Duffy gone the whole way with Mitchel at the outset of his gallant crusade against English rule in Ireland. They waited too long. Mitchel arrested, tried and, of course, convicted under the treason-felony act, passed purposely by the British Parliament to convict him, was borne away in chains, after having said in the dock, “I have shown to the world what British power in Ireland is based upon—packed juries, partisan judges, perjured sheriffs!” “Promise for me, Mitchel!” exclaimed Meagher in the court room as his convicted friend said to Baron Lefroy from the dock, “The Roman that saw his hand burned to ashes before the tyrant promised that three hundred of his countrymen would follow his example. May I not also promise for one, for two, for three—aye, for hundreds!”

Meagher followed with fidelity the fortunes of Smith O’Brien and nobly took upon himself the whole blame for the failure to rescue Mitchel. At the meeting, which followed the transportation of that patriot, after exculpating the people who had been restrained by his counsel, he cried out passionately in the course of his noble speech: “To the



end I see the path I have been ordained to walk, and on the grave which closes in that path I can read no coward's epitaph!"—a glorious boast which his subsequent grand career proudly vindicated.

He was with O'Brien in Paris when the Irish deputation was received by the government of Lamartine after the revolution which "dashed the crown of Orleans against the Column of July" in the spring of 1848. He was with him when he addressed the organized clubs in Dublin before the suspension of the habeas corpus act. He was by his side in Kilkenny and Tipperary when, in a last despairing effort, the "Young Ireland" chieftain appealed to the latent valor of depleted and depressed Ireland, racked in all her bones and nerves by famine and by fever; he stood by his side in the Court House at Clonmel when both heroes, together with MacManus and O'Donoghue, were sentenced to be "hanged, drawn and quartered," and, with curling lip, he exclaimed, "Here on this spot, where the thief, the libertine and the murderer have set their footprints in the dust, and from whence I can see the early grave in an unanointed soil open to receive me; here on this spot, my lords, and environed by these terrors, the hope that beckoned me to the perilous sea upon which I have been wrecked, still consoles, animates, enraptures me! \* \* \* To lift this island up, to make her a benefactress of humanity and not the meanest beggar in the world, this has been my ambition, and my ambition has become my crime. Judged by the laws of England, I know that that crime entails the penalty of death, but the history of Ireland, my lords, explains and justifies it." It was to this splendid outburst that O'Connell's gifted nephew, the poet-orator, Maurice Richard Leyne, alluded when he wrote:

"The good old cause! to lift this isle from ruin and from  
shame,  
And with the beggar's squalid rags tramp out the beggar's  
name,

Oh, truest, noblest, worshipped friend, king of the rhythmic speech,  
This the emprise, dear Meagher, thy last proud words did preach!"

(Continued applause.)

English "law" paused and pondered over carrying the sentences into execution, because, once upon a time, according to the statement of General Sir Charles Napier, nephew of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Lord John Russell and other members of the English government had been "rebels" themselves and aimed at the dethronement of William IV. because of his opposition to the Reform Bill. Finally the sentence was commuted to transportation for life beyond the seas, and the four dauntless culprits were, after a weary detention in a Dublin jail, placed upon a warship and exiled to far-off Tasmania. There, beneath the rays of the burning Southern Cross, which illumines the midnight skies of the antipodes, he and his fellow victims ate the bitter bread of penal servitude, even though occasionally sweetened by the sympathy of the settlers, who respected the bravery and sincerity of the men who had dared all and lost all in a cause which they held dearer than life, fortune and happiness. (Great applause.)

At last, in the early days of 1853, Meagher found his opportunity, and in the teeth of many difficulties and dangers made his escape from Tasmania and turned his face over the vast ocean westward. Why he did so is best told in his own glowing words: "One morning," said he, "while I was a prisoner in a Tasmanian port on board a British man-of-war, I saw, through the port hole of my cabin, the stars and stripes floating from the peak of a stately American ship, and thus beheld Liberty at my prison gate!"

That flag beckoned him, as it has beckoned many more of his plundered, persecuted and exiled people, to follow it in its sunlit track across the sea. He came to this country after braving all the perils of desert and ocean, and he was

received with open arms. From New York to San Francisco, and from New Orleans to St. Paul, all were fascinated by his magnificent eloquence, which captured the hearts of the American people, who paid graceful tribute to his genius. When he settled down in New York to become a member of the American bar he was one of the most honored citizens of the great Empire State. He struggled hard and long, as editor, lawyer and lecturer, and was rapidly making his way to fortune as well as to fame when the flag was fired on at Sumter. You remember his after history; how he sacrificed all the pleasures of home, a beautiful and devoted wife, high position, and easy fortune—all that could influence a man of sentiment to avoid the stormy scenes of warfare, and cling to the domestic hearth. But this he did not do. He remembered with gratitude the country that received him and his countrymen. He knew that, in the words of the illustrious Grattan, "America was the last refuge of the liberties of mankind." He appealed to his countrymen to rally around the flag, and to march with him to defend it on the plains of Virginia. They followed him; they rallied around that flag; there is one survivor here to-day of that first company of Zouaves of the Sixty-ninth Regiment which Thomas Francis Meagher raised. He went with it to the Sixty-ninth Regiment at Fort Corcoran; he marched with it at the first battle of Bull Run, and there, as through all the war, the record of the Sixty-ninth Regiment was a glorious one; its lieutenant colonel was killed, its colonel was made prisoner and wounded, and the duty devolved upon Meagher after the battle to lead back the remnants of the regiment to Fort Corcoran. He then went to New York and again called upon his countrymen to rally around the flag of the Irish Brigade—those immortal regiments, the Sixty-third, Sixty-ninth and Eighty-eighth New York, the Twenty-eighth Massachusetts, and the 116th Pennsylvania—five regiments that have written with their

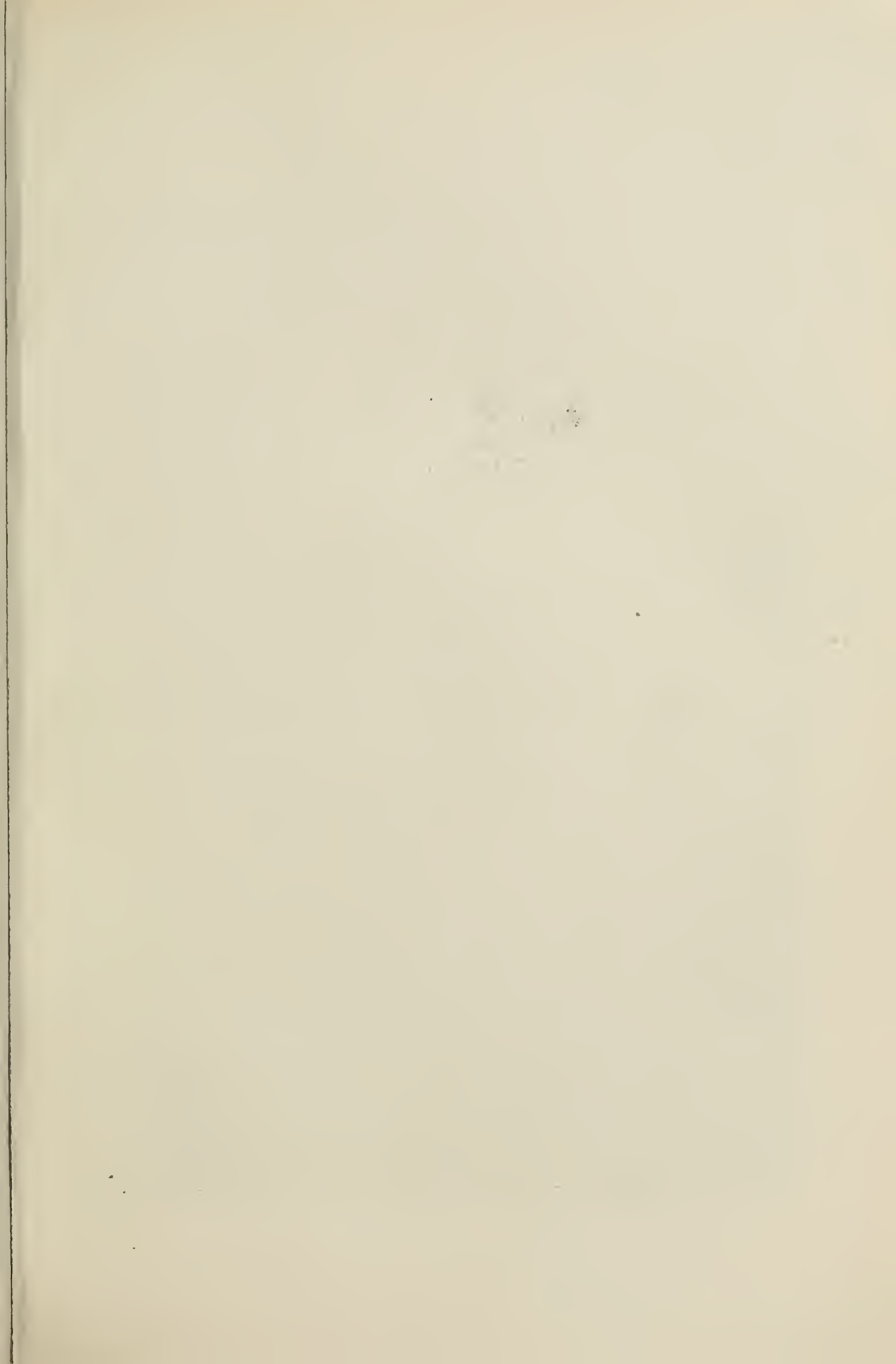


swords and their bayonets on the tablets of American history a record that is glorious and immortal. (Great applause.) They formed part of the magnificent Army of the Potomac, formed part of the corps of Sumner, displaying their green flag side by side with the Stars and Stripes at Fair Oaks, Gaines' Mill, Malvern Hill, where they protected the retreat of the Army of the Potomac to Harrison's Landing. We see them again after the second battle of Bull Run forming part of Richardson's division, and in all of that terrible attack upon the Sunken Road at Antietam they, with Caldwell's Brigade and Brooke's Brigade, were the men who bore the brunt of the fighting; they lost one-fourth of their officers and one-third of their men; the field was strewn with corpses, but their valor did not quail. A few months afterward we find them again at Marye's Height upon the soil of Virginia; we find them under the command of the gallant Hancock, forming a portion of French's devoted division. So deadly were the battles in which they had previously fought that not a shred of their flags remained upon the staffs; no one could tell that a Green Flag had ever fluttered there. I see no green flag here to-day, but there ought to be one. The flag that was brave enough to wave beside the Stars and Stripes in the storm of war, is good enough to float beside it in the calm of peace. I wish to fling no imputation at anyone; it was simply an oversight; but I remember on another occasion when there were no green flags, but the Irishmen were there just the same, and my friend Mr. Byrne, a member of the old Sixty-ninth, could tell you that when the Irish Brigade got the command to "forward, march" in the streets of Fredericksburg it was remarked that they had no green flag, and General Meagher turned to them and said: "Boys, our flags have been shot to pieces; the green color is all gone from them, but there is plenty of boxwood in the streets of Fredericksburg; take it and put it in your hats, and you will have the green flag



floating still." (Great applause.) And so with green box-wood in their hats the Irish Brigade marched up the heights of Fredericksburg less than two thousand strong, a mere remnant from the battles of Fair Oaks and Gaines' Mill and Antietam, and when the battle was over there were left but a few hundred of them; but though they left their bodies upon the slopes of Fredericksburg their memory is immortal, and their valor is testified to by foes as well as by friends. The noblest tribute ever paid to Irish valor was paid by the correspondent of the London Times as he described the charge of the bold brigade up the slopes of Fredericksburg; "Never at Fontenoy, at Albuera, or at Waterloo did the sons of Erin exhibit more splendid valor than in those six splendid dashes up those impregnable heights, but the bodies that lay in dense masses within forty paces of Colonel Walton's guns proclaimed what manner of men they were who rushed upon death with the fearlessness of a race that has gained glory on a thousand battle fields, and never more richly deserved it than at the foot of Marye's Heights, Dec. 13, 1862."

That, ladies and gentlemen, is the tribute of an Englishman, a man not prone to praise the Irish race, and for the reason that it comes from an English source it is more valuable testimony than all the orators of Irish blood and Irish birth could express; and it is for this reason because that man (pointing to the statue) made history; because he made good those words of liberty uttered in Ireland; because he helped to break the bonds of the slave in this country; because he made his countrymen immortal in American annals for as long as America exists the name of Meagher's brigade will be immortal; it is for these reasons we all honor him to-day. (Cheers.) He can never be forgotten; for when, at the battle of Chancellorsville, he moved the last pitiful remnant of his "noble little brigade" into the woods, covered with the shot and shell of the enemy; when he





FRONT VIEW OF THE BRONZE STATUE OF GENERAL MEAGHER.

marched up there, cheered by the whole army as he advanced with his usual courage; when at last the retreat was sounded by the order of Hooker, after Stonewall Jackson had destroyed the Federal flank, Gen. Hancock, in appreciation of the valor of that man (again pointing to the statue) and the men he led, said: "General Meagher, you cover the retreat." And General Meagher did cover it, and covered it effectually, until the federal army was safe in its cantonments. (Great applause.) Then, his brigade being not alone decimated, but practically annihilated, he asked the privilege of recruiting it, and I am sorry to say that privilege was denied. I would not say a word here to-day against the memory of the great martyred President, Abraham Lincoln, for it was not his fault, but the fault of one of his ministers, that the request was refused. Gen. Meagher resigned his sword as commander of the brigade, but placed it at the service of the government in any other capacity. President Lincoln afterward gave him a Major General's command in Tennessee and Georgia, with his headquarters at Chattanooga. In this position he served with distinguished ability, proving that military genius as well as brilliant courage had well fitted him to lead men to victory against the leaden hail of battle. (Applause.)

President Andrew Johnson recognizing his ability, his courage and his progressiveness, sent him out to be a pioneer of this magnificent country as it then was known, the territory of Montana. What Ireland lost in Meagher, you, ladies and gentlemen, won; what Ireland lost in Meagher, America acquired; what Ireland lost in the emigration of millions of her children, driven from the shores of their native land, as if they were wild beasts, by the power of England, America has gained. Here to-day on this soil of America the kindred of this brave man and men like him, with thousands of others as brave and true, are free and independent citizens of a great country, and they are not



here by sufferance, for from the birth of the republic to the very latest war the Irish sword has flashed in the van of victory, in every struggle has been on the side of freedom, and though sometimes defeated, has never yet, thank God, been sheathed with dishonor. (Applause.) And therefore, we meet here to-day, from far and from near, to do honor to this splendid memory. General Meagher's services among you are too well known for me to recount. He died in the flower of his usefulness; he died in the harness of the great office to which he was appointed. He died in his manly prime. At the early age of 43 he was called before the great Judge of all of us, but he has left behind him a memory that will never fail to inspire both Americans and Irishmen; he has left behind him a memory that unites in sympathy two countries—one enslaved, poor, oppressed, held by the power of a government that does not recognize outside of the territory of Great Britain and her favored colonies the principle of home rule. She is held in chains, but even so she has still within her the same bounding heart, the same dauntless spirit which found expression in his eloquence; her flag is furled, but it is not buried; her sword is broken, but as John Boyle O'Reilly, so eloquently said, "The broken hilt is still clenched in her hand." She has not ceased to hope; the lessons Meagher taught her will never be forgotten; they will go echoing to the last day down the long corridors of time—the land that has given birth to such a son and to others like him, for he stands there, the compeer of the greatest among the orators of the world, not solely among the orators of Ireland who are classed among the greatest. By the acknowledgement of the English poet, Byron, Grattan, the precursor of Meagher, stands beside those great men whose fiery tongues sanctified the dust of Rome and made classic the soil of Greece. The speeches of Thomas Francis Meagher are the gospel of freedom; they come to us as a precious heritage which

we will always treasure in this great, free country which he helped to unify; here in this country, all of which he loved, for General Thomas Francis Meagher was a non-sectionalist; he loved the South as well as the North, and when he drew that sword (pointing to the monument) it was with no hatred of the South which had so hospitably received him, but with a full sense of the duty of citizenship that he entered the army of the Union. This country remembers him as a true and loyal friend and gallant defender. Ireland would place upon that monument the cypress of mourning: America places upon it the chaplet of victory. The wail that sounded by the waters of the Suir when the news of his sad and sudden death went across the ocean was re-echoed throughout the length and breadth of this free land from the sources of the Missouri which engulfed his mortal part, to the waves of the great oceans, whose winds have trumpeted his fame. (Loud applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen, I can only say that in days to come, when Ireland seeks to be free and when America is in danger, may both countries have thousands of such sons as was Thomas Francis Meagher (applause). I wish he could have lived to see this day; when the people of the South and North are united as brethren; I wish he could have lived to see the time when the prophecy of his dear friend, his fellow orator, and the poet laureate of the army of the Potomac, Charles Graham Halpine, would be realized, as it is, thank God, to our knowledge here to-day.

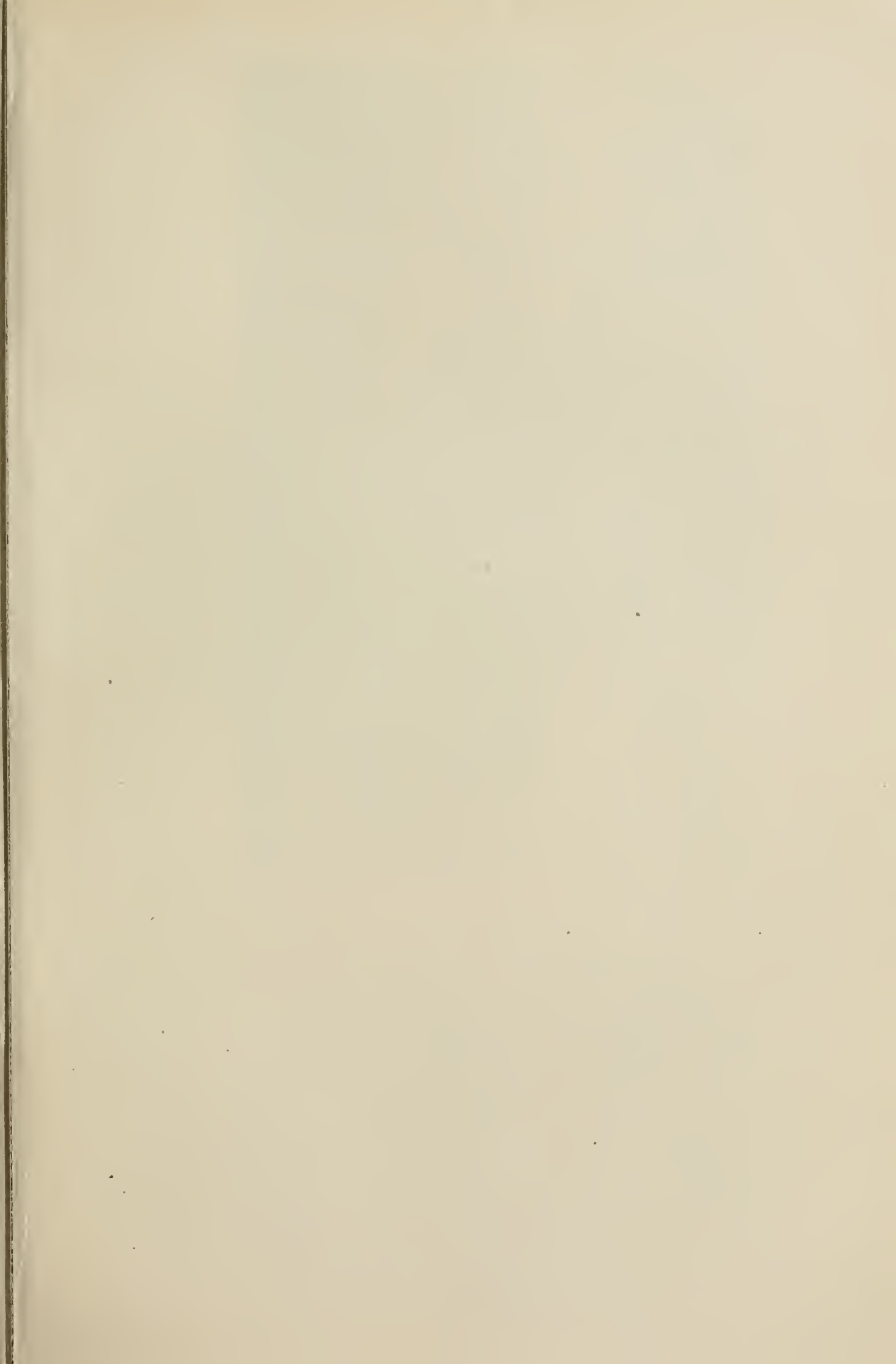
The day is not far distant  
 When our equal boast shall be  
 That our country's crown is glistened  
 By Grant, Farragut and Lee!  
 By Stonewall Jackson's front of flame,  
 By Sherman, swift and keen,  
 And Meagher, who lead on to fame  
 The boys who wore the green—  
 Tom Meagher, whose Brigade of fame  
 All wore the plumes of green,

And Sheridan, whose deathless name  
Proclaims he wore the green!

(Prolonged applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen, you have been most kind and attentive during these long proceedings, and I esteem it a high personal honor to have been selected for the proud privilege of addressing you here to-day on the soul-inspiring subject of Thomas Francis Meagher, the patriot, the soldier and the tribune. I thank you all from the governor to the humblest and youngest citizens for the cordial reception you were so kind as to extend to me when I was introduced to deliver these remarks on your glorious fellow citizen, whose effigy is here pillared in enduring bronze, but more enduring still will be his memory in the hearts of the people he loved and served so well. (Great applause.) I hope that the spirit of liberty and the soul of valor which his words and actions inspired while he spoke and moved among you will remain forever in the hearts of the people of Montana, the people of all America and the people of Ireland, and that some day, not too far distant, the glorious sunlight of liberty which we here enjoy and which he so bravely helped to preserve, will be flashed from the mountain peaks of Montana across continent and ocean to the expectant cliffs of the Irish shores, and restore to the Emerald Isle, "the discrowned Poland of the seas," the liberty and independence of which England so ruthlessly deprived her. The freedom of the land that bore him would be Meagher's noblest monument. (Long continued applause.)

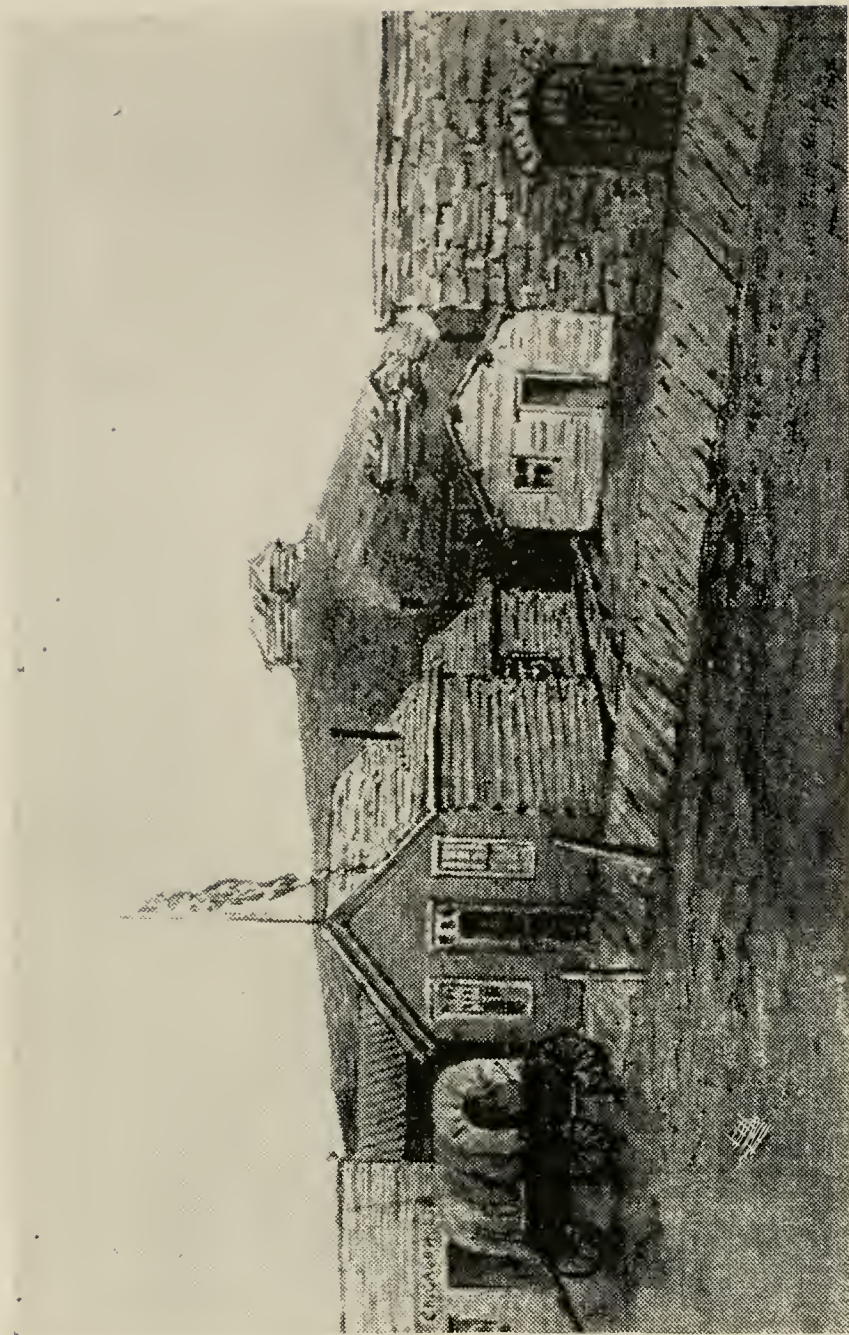
Telegrams of congratulations were received during the proceedings from the 69th regiment of New York; the United Irish Societies of Chicago and other Irish organizations throughout the country; and also from Mr. Henry Meagher, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, England, a nephew of the illustrious general.







MRS. ELIZABETH MEAGHER



MEAGHER RESIDENCE, VIRGINIA CITY, 1865

After the end of the exercises, Colonel Finerty was entertained at the Helena Club by United States Senator Thomas H. Carter, Hon. Martin Maginnis, Colonel Borden and other gentlemen.

MRS. ELIZABETH M. J. MEAGHER.

N. Y., July 6, 1906.—Mrs. Elizabeth M. J. Meagher, widow of Gen. Thos. F. Meagher, who led the famous Irish brigade in the Civil War, died yesterday at her home in Rye, Westchester County, of heart disease. She was born in Southfield, Orange County, N. Y., in 1830, and was a daughter of Peter Townsend. Mrs. Meagher's great grandfather made the chain that stretched across the Hudson during the revolution to prevent the British from ascending the river from West Point. Her grandfather was the first man in the country to make steel rails.

Mrs. Meagher met her husband in this city while he, an exile from Ireland because of his connection with the patriotic league there, was becoming famous for his oratory.

Mr. Meagher attended her husband during the Civil War and was with him at the first battle of Bull Run. She nursed him back to health when he was given up for dead after the battle. When he was territorial secretary of Montana during the war, she went with him.

One evening he was drowned mysteriously while crossing the Missouri River at Fort Benton. Mrs. Meagher had divers hunt for the body but it was never found.

Mrs. Meagher was a member of the Barlow family, an influential family in New York, related to S. L. M. Barlow, for many years a leading lawyer of New York City.

Gen. Meagher was secretary of Montana from Aug. 4, 1865 to July 1, 1867. James Tufts had been commissioned secretary March 28, 1867, but had not assumed office.

Gen. Meagher was secretary of Montana, on the departure of Governor Edgerton, Sept., 1865, and acted as governor till Green Clay Smith arrived as governor in the summer of 1866.

General and Mrs. Meagher lived in Virginia City during his term of office and their home was a social center of that city.

A priest, who was at Benton when the general was drowned, advised her of the sad accident in a tender letter written shortly after the accident, which occurred at about 11:00 P. M., and the letter went on the early morning train.

Mrs. Meagher visited in Helena in the summer of 1877 and attended the annual meeting of the Society of Pioneers and sat by President Stuart. Shortly after she presented to the society of Montana Pioneers a large and lifelike oil portrait of General Meagher. It is an exact copy of one presented to his native town of Waterford, Ireland, and it has been left by the Pioneer Society in the rooms of the Historical Society at the capitol temporarily.

Mrs. Meagher had hoped to attend the unveiling of the general's monument a year ago, but was unable to undertake the journey.

Copied from the Montana Daily Record, July 6, 1906.

EDITORIAL.

The dispatches from New York to-day announce the death of Mrs. Elizabeth M. J. Meagher, widow of Thomas Francis Meagher. The pioneers of Montana well remember Mrs. Meagher when she was a resident of Virginia



City, and of Helena, and recall with pleasure her winning personality and splendid womanhood. She lived in Montana during the lifetime of her distinguished husband, while secretary and acting governor of the then territory and was beloved by all who knew her.

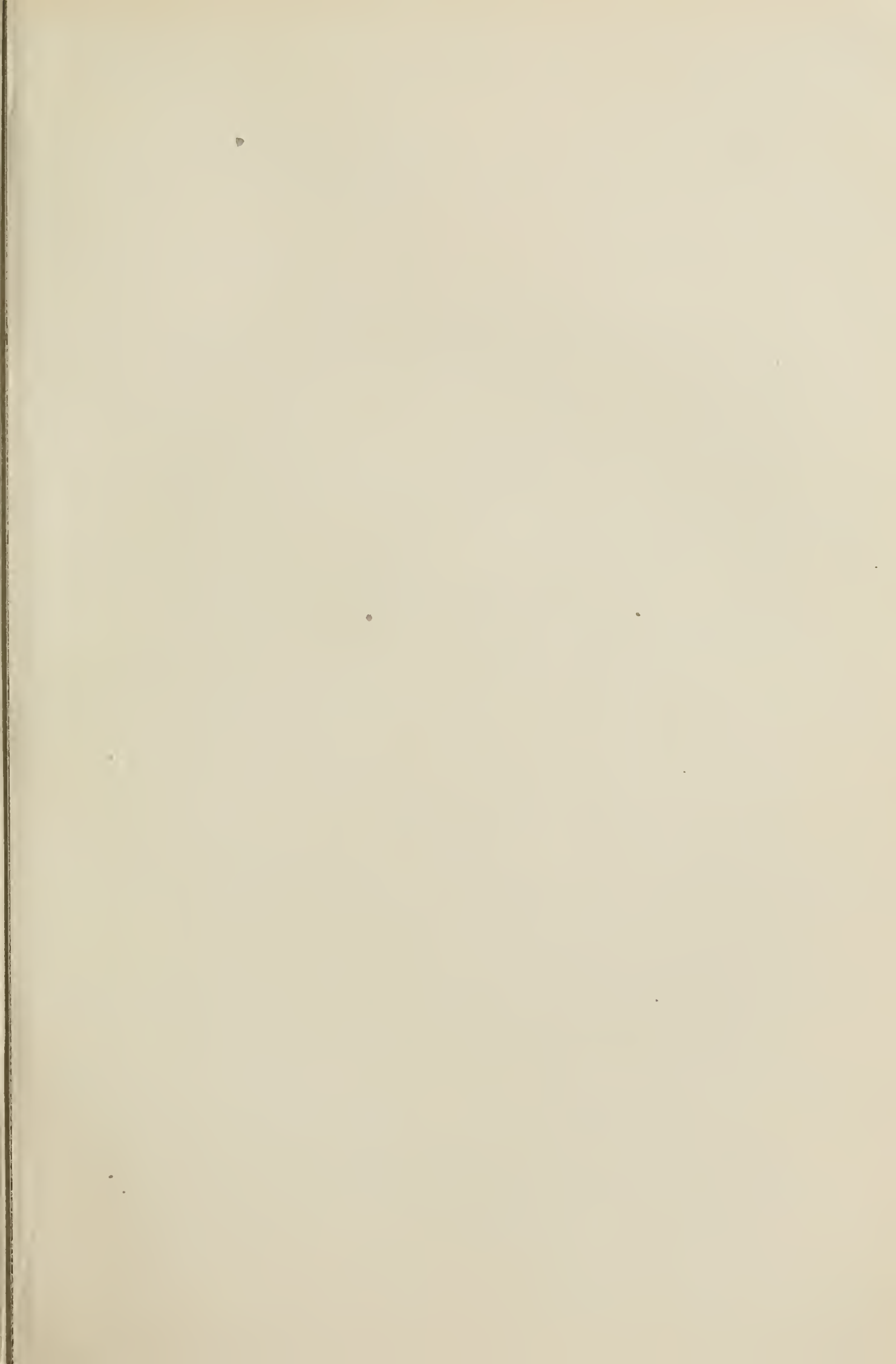
And while she had exceeded the three score years and ten and might be expected to pass from the scenes of earth from age and length of years, the announcement of her death will, nevertheless, be received with sincere sorrow and regret. She had not lived in Montana for many years, but her attachment to and interest in the welfare of this state and its people was retained by her while life lasted. Her memory is linked with that of her husband and will ever be held in fond remembrance by all Montanians.

To-day there stands a noble monument in front of the Capitol building, erected by friends and admirers of that distinguished patriot, soldier, statesman and orator Thomas Francis Meagher. This tribute to the memory of her husband was highly appreciated by Mrs. Meagher, and but for age and failing health, she would have been here at its unveiling.

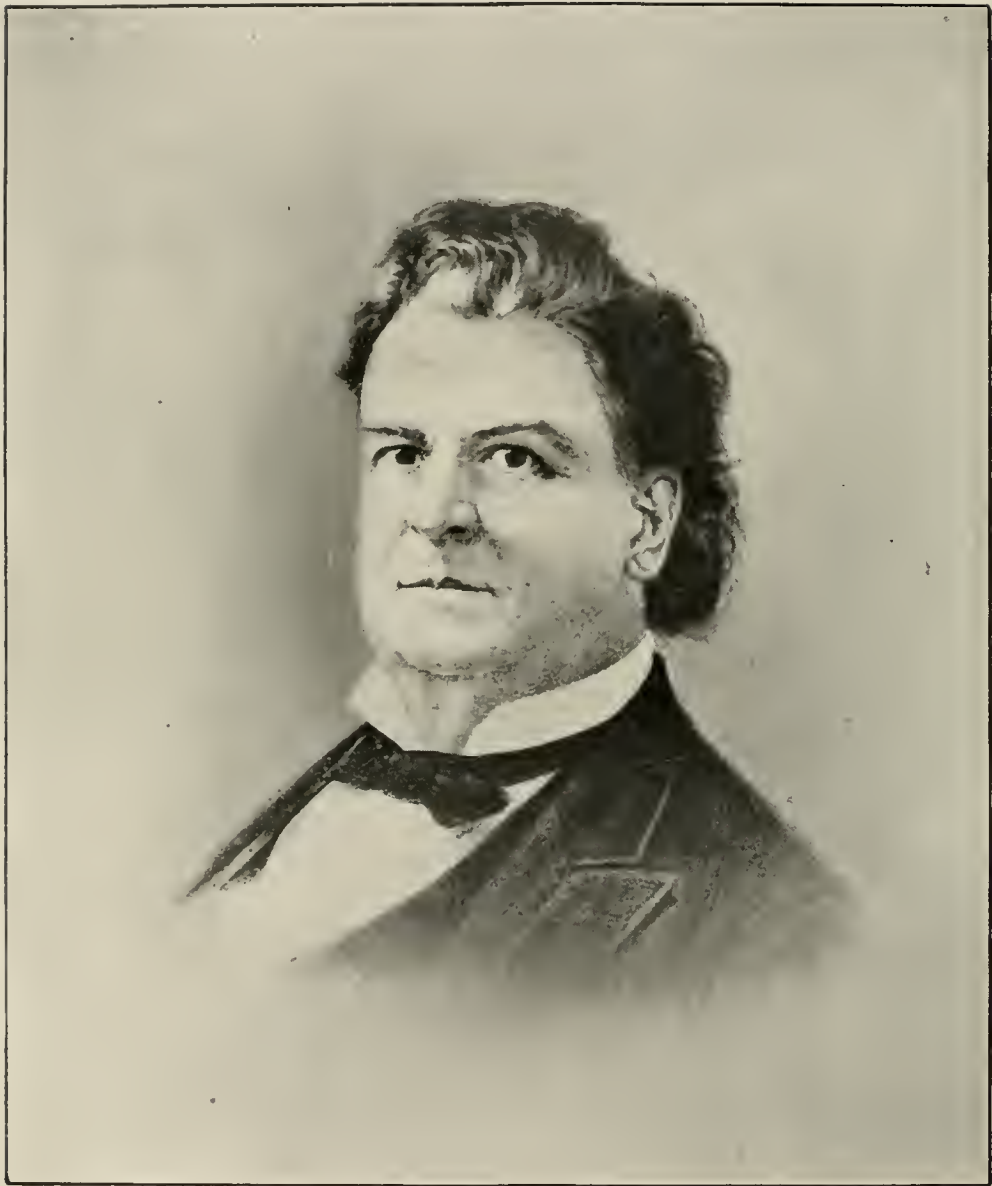
In her veins coursed the blood of revolutionary heroes and while General Meagher commanded the famous Irish Brigade she remained constantly with him and was intensely interested in his success and the cause for which he fought.

In the death of Mrs. Elizabeth Meagher there goes out a beautiful life and the end comes to a loving personality and devoted wife. Her loss will be deeply deplored by thousands.

Montana Daily Record, Friday, July 6, 1906.







GOVERNOR ASHLEY.

# Governor Ashley's Biography and Messages.

By Chas. S. Ashley.

## CHAPTER I.

### YOUTH AND YOUNG MANHOOD.

James M. Ashley, who gave its name to Montana and was one of its territorial governors, was born near Pittsburg, Pa., on Nov. 24, 1822.\* He was the son of John Clinton Ashley and Mary Ann (Kirkpatrick) Ashley, and was grandson of Rev. Benjamin Ashley, a Baptist minister of Norfolk, Va. It is supposed that the family was descended from Captain John Ashley of London, England, one of the signers of the Second Virginia Charter, whose descendants came to Virginia in 1635. A William Ashley, probably the grandfather of John Clinton Ashley, was a master's mate in the Virginia State navy during the Revolutionary War. From his father, therefore, James M. Ashley derived a Southern and English strain, while from his mother a Celtic character was obtained. It may be conjectured that from his father's side came the tendency to earnestness, at times bordering on fanaticism, an adventurous, scheming, public-spirited disposition, leading him into all sorts of public enterprises, while from his mother he inherited a splendid geniality—a wonderful sense of humor which made him a charming companion and won friends for him all his life. These two diverse elements in his character never quite harmonized, and sometimes left an impression of an

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\*There is some uncertainty about the year. In the Congressional record where the data were furnished by himself the year of his birth is given as 1824. The evidence, however, seems to favor the earlier date. His widow's recollection of his mother's statement is positive that 1822 is the correct date. Again the dates of birth of his next younger brothers, John and Benjamin are given as 1824 and 1826, in which last named year it is stated (Hist. of Scioto County, Ohio, page 646) that his parents and 3 children moved to Portsmouth, Ohio. So there is hardly room for doubt of the subject.

inconsistency which mystified those associated with him.

In 1826 John C. Ashley and his growing family removed to Portsmouth, Ohio, where he established a book-binding business in which he had been apprenticed as a boy in Pittsburg. The family were evidently not very prosperous, since John C. Ashley is advertised later as engaged in handling ice, and still later as a soap-maker. The whole community was doubtless very poor and it is not easy to see how a book-binder could make even a bare living. James M. Ashley used to describe the literature of the community aside from theological works as consisting of Pollock's *Course of Time*, and one or two other works of the same rank. It followed, therefore, that James received a very scanty education in books, although no doubt a rich and varied one in life.

The father and mother were exceedingly interested in religious matters and young James used to read long sermons aloud to his parents as soon as able, while they no doubt did their necessary household tasks. Perhaps it was reading aloud a seven days debate between Alexander Campbell (founder of the "Campbellite" sect) and Bishop Purcell which was the determining factor in giving the boy an anti-theological bias that characterized him all his life. At any rate, he heard little discussed except the highly artificial religious ideas of the day and early conceived an aversion and contempt for these which had an important bearing on his career. An incident which made a profound impression on him occurred during the time of the great "shooting star" period of 1835. It was fully believed in the household that the world was about to come to an end, and the precise time was fixed at which the angel Gabriel was to descend, and placing one foot on the sea, and another on the land was to proclaim that "time should be no more." All one night, in anticipation of this solemn event, the family sat up clothed in white, waiting for the coming of the heavenly messenger. The neighborhood was highly excited

and almost everybody was weeping and praying. One man, however, to the consternation of the rest, held out, and refused to pray. The neighbors thought he would bring a curse upon them, and pointing out the "shooting stars," which certainly had the appearance of heralding a general smashing up of the universe, begged him to join them in prayer. Even the hardened sinner was somewhat shaken by the terrifying phenomena and by the general outcry. Still he was reluctant to "give in," and finally, fixing his eyes on the North Star he said, "*Well, when the North Star breaks loose, I'll begin to pray!*"

Whatever may have been the direct cause, James early decided that he would not study for the ministry as his father wished; and this, together with an irreconcilable conflict of temperament between the seriousness of the father, who himself adopted the ministerial profession about 1840, and the extreme love of fun in the boy led to such a situation that the boy left home when about sixteen years of age, and went to work on an Ohio river steamboat, first as laborer and then as clerk. During his work on the river, as with Lincoln's, he had experiences which resulted in the most utter detestations of slavery. He used to relate this:

A slave owned by a kind master was given a safe-conduct and allowed to work for wages on board the steamer, the intention being, when he had earned enough, to allow him to buy his freedom. This safe-conduct, indispensable to the protection of the negro from being seized as a runaway slave, was unsafe on the person of the slave himself, because he was likely to be deprived of it by force, and was therefore entrusted to the captain, who would thus have the legal evidence necessary to protect the negro from fraudulent seizure and sale at the various steamboat landings. A slave, so working, young Ashley saw seized on the wharf at Memphis by the connivance of the captain, jailed as a runaway slave, and held as such on the pretext of advertising for his



owner, and finally sold into slavery to a new master, *to pay the costs of the proceedings*. Many a white man, he used to say, was seized and enslaved in the same way, if a dark complexion gave a pretext or if he seemed friendless or timid, and not able to make an effective resistance. Seeing such terrible things enacted without regard to the laws of God or man, and regardless even of the rights of slaveholders themselves, illustrated in the most striking way the moral anarchy of the slave system, grafted on to a commercial people, and made a profound impression upon the young adventurer, as they did also, and about the same time, upon the sensitive and generous heart of Abraham Lincoln. Another feature of the situation was the fearful sexual immorality prominent along the Ohio River. Many young white men considered it quite the thing to seduce negro or mulatto girls, and did not consider themselves quite "in the swim" unless they could boast of such exploits. Such things as these made slavery seem to young Ashley as to many others, "the sum of all villainies." In fairness it should probably be said that the slave system showed at its worst in the ports and where brought into contact with the bold and unscrupulous class who conducted commerce on the rivers. At any rate, observations of this kind led to the most unqualified detestation of slavery in the young man, and to a strong resolve on his part to do what he could to overthrow the system, and thus determined the principal events of his life up to the close of the civil war.

In one of his early voyages, when his boat seemed likely to be detained some time loading and unloading at Memphis, he went ashore and journeyed to the home of his boyish hero, Andrew Jackson, at the Hermitage. The old man received him kindly, kept him all night, and heard his story to the effect that his father wished him to have a college education on the condition that he be a minister. The old general advised him to agree to this on the ground that he was too

young to be sure he would not want to be a minister. "Afterward you can change your mind about consenting to be a minister, you know," he said humorously. The boy thought this advice was hardly disingenuous, and the old hero rather fell in his estimation for offering it. On making his way back to Memphis he found his steamer loaded and gone with all his effects on board. These he never recovered, although while working on other boats he several times met his old steamer plying on the river.

He was probably employed on the river for two or three seasons, and in his nineteenth year he was engaged in lumbering operations in what is now West Virginia. There he met with an accident which confined him to bed for some time, during which his strong anti-slavery opinions became noised about. In consequence, he was called upon by some old men—a sort of neighborhood committee—who interviewed him on the subject, and on having him reiterate his views, no doubt with extreme vigor, informed him that he must leave the soil of Virginia as soon as he was well enough. To this notice he returned a defiant and contemptuous reply, but found it necessary to comply with the request.

During the next ten years young Ashley's life was spent at Portsmouth, engaging in a great variety of occupations. He bought and sold produce and grain along the Ohio river, collecting it in his own boat and taking it to market. He studied medicine for a time. In 1848, with Edward Jordan, he established "The Democratic Enquirer" newspaper, which the founders were soon obliged to sell out for want of capital. In 1849, after studying with Charles O. Tracy, young Ashley was admitted to the bar, but he never practised much, in all probability, although he was taxed upon an income of \$1,000.00 in January, 1851. During all this time his chief real interest was given to public questions. He was connected with one of the early prohibition move-

ments, and was naturally attracted to the study and agitation of things political. As early as 1841, he contrived in some way to visit Washington to witness the inauguration of President Harrison, and while there managed to meet several distinguished men, including President VanBuren. For years he wrote continually to men prominent in public life, asking their views particularly on the slavery question, and he early became impressed with the idea that a common instinct, amounting in effect to a conspiracy, animated the whole slave oligarchy with the determination to rule or ruin this country. He attended the Democratic National Convention of 1844 as an adherent of Van Buren, and was convinced that the slave oligarchy cheated him of the nomination. Thus the autocratic habits of the slave-holding interest in politics, combined with his humanitarian sympathy to intensify his hostility to slavery. Naturally, therefore, he got into the habit of assisting runaway slaves, then a criminal offense, and a very dangerous thing to do in his section of the country, which was at that time strongly pro-slavery. His connection with this traffic known then as the "Underground Railroad," must have become more or less known, for he one day met a Quaker who said, "James, I think thee needs this," at the same time handing him twenty dollars. Knowing the Quaker like his sect in general to be hostile to slavery, young Ashley knew that this gift must refer to his expense in connection with the "Underground Railroad," which both considered it dangerous to speak of. If the Quaker knew of his activity in that way, he reasoned that others also must be aware of it, and that he was in danger of arrest, and he began to consider seriously the idea of removing from Portsmouth to a point further north.

Probably his feelings on this point were strengthened when in 1851 he ran for mayor of Portsmouth as a democrat and was defeated by Benj. Ramsey, Whig, by a vote of 261



to 201, a third candidate, Judge Oldfield, receiving 97 votes. It appears likely that he considered that, with his views, he had no future in that section, and in fact was in serious danger of prosecution for aiding in the escape of slaves. At any rate, he made a trip to the Northwest in the following summer for the purpose of selecting a future home, and after considering the relative advantages of St. Paul, Minn., and Toledo, he decided upon the latter place, then a town of 3,400 people, the terminus of two of the longest canals in the world, and therefore looked upon as occupying a most promising position. Returning from this trip he was married to Emma J. Smith in November, 1851, and returned with his bride to Toledo. There he established a wholesale drug business at the corner of Jefferson and Summit streets.

No doubt Toledo afforded a fine field in a mercantile way; but as always, young Ashley's real interest lay in politics, and he was not very attentive to his business. An incident will illustrate the love of fun, animal spirits, and carelessness in money matters which characterized him then, as indeed it did in large measures to the end of his life. It was reported to him that a customer of his in Coldwater, Mich., a distance of about 100 miles, was about to fail, and that Charles West, a competitor, who also had a claim against the Coldwater druggist has already started for Coldwater to secure himself by mortgage. In those days the quickest way to make the trip was by horse, so Ashley secured a fast horse and raced to Coldwater. On the road he came up with West, who had a slower horse, waved his hand at him gayly, and passed him. At Coldwater he secured himself by getting a mortgage on some real estate. This done, he forgot, or at all events, utterly neglected the matter, and never collected a cent either of interest or principal; and more than forty years afterward, the claim being long since outlawed, the writer executed a quit-claim to the property to remove the cloud upon the title without the payment of a dollar.



It is said that he was lax in making preparations to meet his obligations, and his younger brother, Eli M. Ashley, who joined him in 1854, relates that the notary would sometimes appear at the store to protest a note, there having been no visible preparation to meet it, but that somehow James would manage to avoid actual protest or suit. There is no doubt, however, that his business affairs remained for some years after the burning of the store in 1857 in a more or less confused and unsatisfactory state.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE MONTPELIER SPEECH.

In the meantime Mr. Ashley's political course had developed rapidly. Hitherto a democrat, and an emphatic adherent of such Jeffersonian doctrines as "That government is best which governs least," his intense antagonism to slavery had swept him into the Van Buren bolt of 1848, and was now about to take him out of the party altogether. In 1852 he at first supported Franklin Pierce, but as the canvass developed he became convinced that Pierce would prove (as indeed he afterward did) to be the tool of the pro-slavery faction, and thereafter supported the Free Soil candidates, Hale and Julian. In common with thousands throughout the whole country his sentiments were no doubt intensified by the events of 1854 and particularly by the Douglas Nebraska bill, which though pretending to be neutral on the slavery question, and to refer the entire question of slavery in the territories to the inhabitants thereof, had, as its real effect the overthrow of the Missouri compromise whereby slavery was prohibited in the United States territory north of 36 degrees, 30 minutes latitude, and the introduction of slaves into Kansas. The enormous importance of this innocent looking bill of Senator Douglas was in some mysterious way borne in upon the people, and all over the Northern states an uprising occurred, not referable to the efforts of an organized opposition party (for then there was none), but in the highest degree creditable to the political ability of the people. In Illinois, a convention occurred which signaled the re-entry of Abraham Lincoln into politics, and at which he delivered the celebrated "Lost Speech," which made him the leader of the Republican Party in Illinois when it became organized. And all over the North similar spontaneous movements occurred of such

force that a new set of men, united only by a common opposition to the extension of slavery were sent to Congress in such numbers as to be able to organize the House of Representatives. In the Toledo district, then a very large one, there was a convention at Maumee, a few miles from Toledo, which young Ashley was instrumental in calling and at which the party afterward called Republican, was organized in that section. This convention occurred in 1854. Young Ashley was already so well known that he could, he thought, have had the nomination for Congress, but either because he thought the time not yet ripe or for some other reasons he did not take the opportunity, and Richard Mott, a Quaker, was nominated, and to the general surprise, elected. In the four years, 1854-1858, Mr. Ashley devoted a great deal of time to politics, though in just what ways it is now hard to tell. He had some connection with the American or Know-Nothing movement, apparently without much sympathy with its anti-foreign bias and with the design of converting it into an anti-slavery party, for he is said also to have been connected with another secret organization which went by the name of the Know-Some-things. He attended an important convention at Pittsburg in February, 1856, and was a delegate to the Republican National Convention of 1856 at Philadelphia, voting first for Chase, who like himself had left the Democratic party on the slavery issue, and then for Fremont.

A speech made at Montpelier, Ohio, in the campaign of 1856 affords a fine illustration of his early political character. If the reader will let his imagination dwell upon the intense prejudices that permeated society at that time—prejudices not merely racial in character, but made greater by the strongest conservative fear and dread that anti-slavery agitation would precipitate upon the country a crisis of the most momentous nature and probably the most tremendous calamities—he will be prepared to appreciate the remark-

able boldness as well as the singular insight shown in this speech. In an early passage he told the audience that "Conspirators are at this very hour laying broad and deep the conditions which are certain to ultimate in a revolution of fire and blood that must end either in the destruction of this Union and Government or in the abolition of slavery." This remarkable utterance is in substance Lincoln's celebrated dictum, "This nation cannot endure permanently half-slave and half-free," delivered two years later. It shows that the young politician was not seeking prominence by concealing his thoughts or by catering to the timid and the time-serving. Another passage handles with superb humor and frankness the question of the racial prejudice against the negro:

"I often wonder how your northern-born men can show such hostility to the black man. Singularly enough, I find here in the North, as in the South, that the hatred of the negro is not that he is black or of mixed blood, but because he is a slave. It is the hatred born of the spirit of caste, and not the hatred of color. Wherever the negro is free and is educated and owns property, you will find him respected and treated with consideration by the slave barons of the South, and by Northern men as well; especially is this so in the South, if the black man is himself the owner of slaves.

"When a boy, I knew two negro planters in Louisiana who owned a number of slaves. One of them, I was informed, owned over a hundred, some of whom would easily pass for white men as readily, certainly, as some of the Bourbon leaders whom I know in this county. (Laughter). When these black planters came to New Orleans they were greeted by the wholesale merchants, with whom they dealt, as cordially as if they had been white men. A well filled decanter of old Kentucky bourbon (with a show of tansy in it) was as invariably set out for them as for the white planters,



and there was no pretext of being shocked because they were black. One of these negro planters was said to be the owner of a man who was known to all the surrounding planters to be a pure white man, without a drop of negro or mixed blood in his veins; yet no white slave baron interfered to question this black planter's right to hold this white man as a slave, for the simple reason for the raising of such a question might bring up in court, where the common law prevailed, the ticklish and technical legal question, as to the 'title' by which other human beings of all colors and shades were held as slaves in the State.

"An examination of the trials in cases where white persons through friends, had brought suit in the courts of Southern states, to obtain their freedom from slavery, and the judicial decisions reported, will disclose the startling fact that many white persons, without a taint of mixed blood, have been seized by the slave trading land-pirates and branded and sold into slavery, and that when once in the hands of slave barons, they resisted in courts and everywhere their surrender even when knowing them to be white and freeborn. So you see, that as Hosea Bigelow has it

" 'Slavery aint o' nary color,  
'Taint the hide that makes it wus,  
All it kers for in a feller,  
'S just to make him fill its pus.'

"Northern mercenaries, especially Northern slave owners (of whom there are more in our great cities than we know), do not act differently.

"Not long ago, a merchant of Bangor, in the State of Maine, walked into church one Sunday morning with his wife and daughter, and a big six-foot negro, as black as the ace of spades, whom he deferentially passed into his pew and seated next to his wife. A sanctimonious Bourbon in the seat behind him was greatly shocked at this defilement of the church, and reaching over whispered to his neighbor and said, 'How dare you bring a damned nigger into this

church and seat him in your pew next to your wife?' His friend, turning to him quietly whispered in his ear, and said, 'He is not a nigger, *he is a Haitian and worth six millions.*' As soon as this negro-hating Christian could recover from the surprise of this unexpected announcement, he whispered back to his neighbor and said, 'After the services are over please introduce me.' (Laughter and applause). So you see that in the North and South alike, circumstances alter cases.'" (Laughter).

A subsequent passage in which emancipation is discussed is interesting for its suggestion of a constitutional amendment which, nine years later, he was himself destined to be so active in promoting.

"But I deny that the Bible anywhere authorizes or justifies the crime of American slavery. Whatever injustice and oppression may have been, and perhaps was authorized, or tolerated, under the Mosiac dispensation, it was, as I read and understand the Bible, abolished and prohibited under the dispensation and teaching of Christ. But if the Mosaic code is still in force then I demand that 'cities of refuge' shall be established all over the broad land of ours, as numerous and as near each other, as the cities described in the books of Numbers and Deuteronomy, and that when an escaped slave reaches any of such cities, he shall not be given up to anyone who may claim to own him as he must now be given up here in Ohio, or in any free State, if we obey the infamous fugitive-slave law; a law which I never have obeyed, and by God's help I never shall. (Applause). And then, if you will turn to Leviticus, you will find, in every fiftieth year, under the Mosaic code, that there was a year of jubilee, in which year every slave was free. (Applause). If the Mosaic code is to be maintained, then I demand that we have a year of jubilee in this country now. (Applause). We have never had a year of jubilee since the first slaves were landed at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1620,

more than two hundred years ago, in which time we should have had four distinct half-century years of jubilee, if the Mosaic code is to hold. (Applause). I need hardly tell you, fellow-citizens, that if I had the power, we would have a general jubilee in this year of grace 1856. (Applause.) The gentleman on my right, who good-naturedly interrupts me, says, 'There is no danger of such a jubilee in this country during his or my lifetime.' That is more than probable, I must admit, but it is not impossible, and it is no less his duty and mine to work for it, though it may not be probable. (Applause). I am an optimist, and a more hopeful man than my friend. I believe that the right is certain to triumph and I hope to live to see the day when my country shall be free from the blighting curse of human bondage. I know not how or when the time will come, but I have an abiding faith, that somehow, sometime, the end will be. The God-defying judgments of our Supreme Court must be reversed and the declaration of the grand men who founded this Government, that 'the national constitution did not recognize property in man,' must be made universal law. (Applause). If this can be done in no other way, it will be our duty to amend our national constitution and all our state constitutions, so as to secure to every living human soul within our gates, their right to life, liberty and property, and it must also be amended so as to secure to all states, representatives in Congress, and in state legislatures—in proportion to the votes cast in each, to the end that all the people, white and colored shall be fairly represented in state legislative assemblies and in the national Congress. (Applause). If this proposition is now a recognized duty, touching an amendment to our national constitution, it must also become a duty touching an amendment to the state constitution of Ohio, and all state constitutions, South as well as North. (Applause). The time has gone by, when the Government of the Nation, or that of any State, can,



without protest, be dominated over by the minority, and be administered by organized force and fraud, in the interest of a privileged class." (Applause and cries of "that's so.")

A generous and broadminded allusion to the better class of slave-holders follows in a later paragraph:

"Fellow citizens, I do not class all men who are the owners of slaves, as slave barons, or pro-slavery conspirators, hostile to democratic government. Many men hold slaves who got them by inheritance and circumstances beyond their control compelled them to remain slave owners.

"I personally know a number of slave-holders who are better men than you would suppose possible under the slave system which environs them. Their acts told me, more forcibly than their words, that their hearts were not in accord with the accursed system under which, by birth, education and surrounding conditions, they were compelled to live. Such men would always give their worthy and trusted slaves a half day to themselves on Saturday, and sometimes all of Saturday, with the right to hold and own such personal property as they might earn during their holidays. Such men would permit their slaves to have their marriage solemnized by a regularly ordained clergyman of any church they might select. Of course such men could not be induced to purchase newly imported African slaves from a slave dealer, nor purchase a person whom they had reason to suspect was a free man, who had been kidnapped, either in a free or in a slave state, as has often been done by slave dealers. Such a slave master would no more be guilty of buying and holding as a slave, a free white man, or Chinaman, or black man, than he would think of buying and holding a stolen horse. So I say that such slave masters are better than the American slave system, under which thousands of men, white men, mulattoes, Chinamen, and foreigners, as free born as you or I, are to-day held as chattel slaves,



and there is, practically, no escape for them or their children but in the grave. ('Horrible! Infamous!') But the men, whom I have just described, are no more believers in slavery than was Thomas Jefferson and thousands of Southern men, who were born to this dangerous and degrading inheritance. (Applause). Such slave masters frequently permitted their slaves to buy their freedom and that of their wives and children. I have known personally of a half dozen instances of that kind."

By contrast he gives a view of the other kind of slaveholding:

"Now let me give you a clear view of a fellow who is a 'slave baron' at heart, and I regret to be compelled to say that I have known of more than one such 'slave baron.' I have known an instance where slaves bargained for their freedom with masters, who at heart were 'slave barons,' and after the price had been nearly all paid, the poor negro without notice was seized and sold South, from his family and all the home he had.

"Under the American slave system, the law declares, as I have read you, that a slave cannot own property, cannot make a contract, cannot even enter into a contract of marriage. He, therefore, can be seized and sold at any time, like a brute beast, and there is no escape in any slave state from this terrible condition. ('That's so.')

"When about eleven years of age, I was greatly shocked and my feelings outraged by this occurrence: Two slaves belonging to different owners, each made a bargain with his master to purchase his freedom. One was to pay a thousand dollars, and be free as soon as he paid it, with no limit as to time. The other was to pay eight hundred dollars, if paid within five years. If the time went beyond five years, the price was to be eight hundred and fifty dollars. Many of the neighbors knew of these agreements. Each of these slaves worked in season and out of season

to earn the money for his ransom. As fast as each got a few dollars ahead, they paid it over to their master, trusting to him to keep the account honestly. In something over three years time, one had paid his master nearly nine hundred dollars, and the other over five hundred dollars, when, without notice, and without an attempt on the part of the masters to conceal the perfidy and infamy of their acts, both slaves were sold, and unceremoniously seized by the slave trader, manacled and chained in a coffle-gang and driven off South and were never more seen or heard of by their families or friends, so far as I know. (Cries of 'Shocking! Shameful!') Do you wonder that I was outraged at this indescribable villainy? (Cries of 'No, we do not.') And I am glad to be able to tell you that there were many honest, pure-minded men and women in that neighborhood, some of whom were slaveholders who looked upon this dishonoring, God-defying act, as simply infamous. (Applause).

"This horrid occurrence so worked upon me that I have never forgotten it, and my heart has never ceased to rebel against a system which tolerates and makes possible such diabolical crimes." (Applause).

Perhaps the finest passage in this notable speech, because it breathes the noble spirit of individual liberty for all men—not only as regards men-masters but as regards the state itself (showing the influence of Jeffersonian teaching) is the following:

"Fellow-citizens, in what I have said, I have sought to make my purposes so plain that he who runs may read. I am unutterably opposed to the ownership of labor by capital, either as chattel-slaves or as apprentices for a term of years, as Chinamen are now being apprenticed in Cuba and in this country, ostensibly for seven years, but in reality for life.

"I do not agree that capital shall own labor North or

South, nor in any country on God's green earth. (Applause). I do not care whether that capital is in the hands of one man or in the hands of many men combined. Neither this State nor a corporation (which is an artificial person, and often a soulless one at that, created by the authority of the State), must be recognized as having a right to deprive any person, however poor, whether black or white, of his life or liberty, or property, except in punishment of crime, of which he must be duly convicted in open court by a jury of his peers. (Applause). This protection I demand for myself and mine, and that which I demand for myself I demand for the humblest of God's poor, of whatever kindred, tongue or people. I demand for every human soul within our gates, whether black or white, or of mixed blood, the equal protection of the law, and that everywhere beneath our flag, on the land or on the sea, that they be protected in their right to life and liberty, and the secure possession of the fruits of their own labor. In short, I demand that all God's children shall have an even chance in the race of life. (Applause). You will, I know, agree with me, that it is the duty of a civilized state to protect the weak and defenseless against the aggressions of the selfish and the powerful, to protect them against the heartlessness of greed and the brutality born of the infernal spirit of caste. (Applause). Whatever the pretext or excuse, I am opposed to all forms of ownership of man, whether by the state, by corporations, or by individuals. The ownership of men as chattels by the state, would be the most brutal and degrading form of slavery which the devilish ingenuity of man could invent. If I must be a slave, I would prefer to be the slave of one man, rather than a slave of a soulless corporation, or the slave of a state. But I protest in the name of that liberty which is the birthright of the human race against the enslavement by individuals, by corporations, or by the state, of any of God's children, however poor or defenseless, whether white or black."



There is much in this doctrine that applies to the questions of the present day, and to the cheap and shallow notions of state-socialism offered for our social ills. The bold assertion of the individual is very nearly the central thought on which the American colonies were founded, thrived, asserted their independence, and have since expanded and grown rich and great.

We cannot read this Montpelier speech without astonishment at the mental breadth, the splendid courage, the deep humor, and the moral earnestness that find expression in it. After the lapse of half a century there is no correction to be made of its statement of the problem of the time. He saw the slavery question then precisely as the historian sees it now. And when we consider that the speaker was a young man, not yet thirty-four years of age, of scanty school education, speaking in a backwoods community, then and for years afterward far distant from any railroad, it seems little short of marvelous.

The idea of investing the free negro with the ballot, expressed in this speech, as his best legal protection, was of course, far in advance of current republican doctrine. The authoritative leaders of the party, such as Seward and Lincoln, never, even during the Civil war, advocated so radical a course. In Ohio, a constitutional amendment giving negroes the right to vote was defeated in 1867 by a vote of 255,344 to 216,987, even after the events of the civil war, and that although the republicans elected their candidate for governor, R. B. Hayes, at the same election. It thus clearly appears that though young Ashley was no doubt ambitious for a public career, it did not induce him to moderate the expression of his views in order to win the favor of the majority. It is highly probably that this unrestrained radicalism was a source of political weakness to him in after days. At the time of the delivery of this speech, young John Sherman, then a representative of the Mansfield, Ohio,



district, and a rising young republican politician, was presenting the very antithesis of this boldness and frankness. He cautiously offered to voters only the narrowest of issues, on which he felt sure the majority would side with himself. In his "Recollections" (Vol. I, p. 12) he quotes from a speech made by himself in Congress in 1855, which furnishes an interesting and instructive contrast to the passage just quoted.

"I am no Abolitionist in the sense in which the term is used; I have always been a conservative Whig. I was willing to stand by the compromises of 1820 and 1850; but, when our Whig brethren of the South allow this administration to lead them off from their principles, when they abandon the position which Henry Clay would have taken, forget his name and his achievements, and decline any longer to carry his banner—they lose all their claims on me. And I say now, that until this wrong is righted, until Kansas is admitted as a free state, I cannot act in a party association with them. Whenever that question is settled rightly I will have no disposition to disturb the harmony which ought to exist between the North and South. I do not propose to continue agitation; I only appear here to demand justice—to demand compliance with compromises fully agreed upon and declared by law. I ask no more, and I will submit to no less."

Of this doctrine Mr. Sherman writes: "*This was a narrow platform, but one supported by public opinion.*" He avoided all denunciation of slavery, all appeal to love of liberty, humanity and progress, and confined himself to the argument: "You made a bargain with us by the compromises of 1820 and 1850, and *we want you to keep your contract.*" At this time such a platform seems indeed narrow, cold and uninspiring, but there can be no doubt that it was a source of strength to Mr. Sherman. Such a purely technical claim would, however, by itself have been too weak a

foundation for a great political party. It was the cautious, conservative and technical element of public thought, personified in Mr. Sherman that united with the fervor, the broad ideas, and the moral strength of the element of which young Ashley was an excellent representative to make the republican party. In the party's foremost leaders, Lincoln and Seward, we find united the fervor of the one with the caution of the other. Like Mr. Sherman those great leaders refused to countenance any project of interference with slavery where, as in the District of Columbia, it actually existed. They simply resisted its further extension. They were engaged in no anti-slavery propaganda, and were exceedingly limited and cautious in the hostility they expressed to it. In short they were great party men who aimed rather to organize for united action sentiment already existing, than to proselyte among those not yet convinced. As such they leaned upon such lieutenants as young Sherman, who at one end of the line, brought in the cold, calculating, and cautious, and young Ashley, who at the other extreme organized the enthusiastic, the generous, the passionate, and the philosophical. If we bisect the angle between Mr. Sherman and Wendell Phillips, who attempted no effective political action, but confined himself, to creating sentiment, we shall arrive very nearly at the exact political position of Mr. Ashley.

When we contemplate the huge contrast between the political characters of our subject and of John Sherman, we must be surprised that one party could contain two men so diverse. Unless politics be defined merely as the art of getting into office by making one's self a sort of automatic register of the prevailing wind, it is difficult to see why Mr. Sherman should have gone into politics at all. In regard to slavery he seemed far nearer to Senator Douglas, who "didn't care whether slavery was voted up or voted down," than to Mr. Ashley or even Mr. Lincoln—for the latter, how-

ever cautious his proposed action, never let his real feelings in regard to slavery be in any doubt. Mr. Ashley was full of conviction as to necessity of creating opinion in opposition to slavery, as a great social, political, economic and moral wrong; while Mr. Sherman was contented with making himself an efficient instrument of opinion already formed and in the majority.

In this speech young Ashley's future political career was clearly foreshadowed; or at least, we may easily see in it the elements that brought him forward, enabled him to reach a certain eminence, and to be of important public service during the war and in effecting the abolition of slavery; and then, the mission of his courage, his broad social views, and his enthusiasm having been fulfilled, a new era arrived in which these qualities had a greatly diminished sphere in public life, and he naturally passed from the political stage.



## CHAPTER III.

**ELECTION TO CONGRESS—ATTITUDE AT THE THREATS OF SECESSION  
—THE ELECTION OF 1862—VIGOROUS SUPPORT OF WAR  
MEASURES—WHY HE DID NOT JOIN THE ARMY—MADE  
CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON TERRITORIES.**

In 1858, two years after the delivery of the speech at Montpelier, Mr. Ashley was nominated and elected to Congress as a Republican. The Toledo district then included a great part of Northwestern Ohio, parts of which were strongly opposed to slavery agitation, and a man of such pronounced sentiments naturally had many trying experiences in his campaigning tours. Most of his meetings were held in churches—generally Methodist churches—for want of other public meeting places, but the character of the building did not always restrain political passion. On one occasion while standing in front of an open window back of the pulpit, he was struck over the head by a live goose thrown through the window. At another time he was interrupted by a local bully shouting, "You're a liar!" To this he made, at first, no reply; but on a second interruption of the same nature his hot blood, never far from the surface, refused to submit, and he said that he "had come there to make a public speech on important public questions; that he had a right to make it without indecent interruptions, and that should he be again interrupted in like manner he trusted that men in the audience would put the disturber out; but that, if no one else did so he would do it himself." For a short time he continued his speech unmolested; but then he was again interrupted with "You're a liar!" Finding that no one else seemed ready to deal with the situation, he rushed down from the pulpit, and seeing his opponent a very large and formidable man, he seized a cane from a bystander and dealt such a blow that the



disturber fell senseless. He then grasped him around the body, lugged him to the door and threw him outside. Returning to the pulpit he remarked, with calmness not, perhaps, altogether genuine, "As I was saying when interrupted—" The democrats immediately got out posters saying, "Aged Citizen Assaulted in Cold Blood for Asking Questions by Ruffian Republican Candidate," and more of the same kind of matter, but Ashley had the satisfaction of hearing that the man was a local bully and nuisance, who had broken up church meetings more than once; and his majority in that section was very large. He often related this experience and would laugh heartily as he added that he used often to send his constituent copies of his speeches in Congress and hoped they did him good!

One habit he had of which he tried hard, but unsuccessfully, to rid himself—the use of profane language. In the mouths of most men this language would seem not only profane, but vulgar; but with him there was so little malice in it and it flowed out and mixed in his speech so naturally that it did not seem offensive or even objectionable to most people. However, when speaking in churches he tried hard to restrain himself in this particular. In one of his tours he was accompanied for some days by a Methodist clergyman who had had no previous acquaintance with him. For some time Mr. Ashley contrived to keep back the flow of expletives; and at length the good brother opened his heart. "James," he said, "it has been reported that you were a very profane man, but now I have been with you for several days and have not heard you utter an oath. This shows how public men are slandered!" "James," no doubt received this address with modesty, tinged with the remorse of knowing how little he deserved it. But most unfortunately, they shortly afterward drove into a mud-hole (the Northwestern Ohio roads were "terrors" in those days) and a tremendous splash resulted in the travelers

being covered with mud, Ashley's fine white vest being completely put out of wearing. Then came out a vast accumulated store of "strong language," expletive and expletive, objugation and objugation. At length he recollected himself and his resolution; he paused and tried to apologize, saying how annoying the accident was, etc. "Yes, James," said his clerical friend, "I own the provocation was great, *but those swear words did come out so dreadfully natural!*"

One feature of this first campaign furnished a sad contrast to the practice of later days. His first campaign cost him just \$1.50. In those days he was regarded as the guest of the community in which he stayed, and he was not allowed to pay hotel bills, much less to be pestered by "grafters" with "influence." It is not intended to assert that people were any better in general in those days than now, but it seems as if the spirit of graft had not been developed so much as now, possibly because everybody was poor in these frontier communities, and there was nobody to "graft" onto to any great extent. But the writer several times heard Mr. Ashley mention this interesting fact, and it is given for what it is worth.

In the following year, Mr. Ashley prior to the assembling of his first congress, attended the execution of John Brown at Charlestown, Va. Owing to the crowded condition of this small city he could find no place to sleep except by sharing a hotel bed with a southerner. They quarreled all night and neither slept. The panic prevailing among the Virginians over a possible slave insurrection seemed surprising and utterly contemptible to Mr. Ashley. And thus he was a witness of one of the most tragic events in history—the execution of a good man devoted to the best of causes.

Upon taking his seat in Congress Mr. Ashley supported the candidacy of John Sherman for speaker. In after years he often said that not a single republican member of the Ohio delegation really wanted Sherman for speaker; yet

they all supported him through a long contest. To understand why and how such a thing could be is well worthy the study of a politician or a sociologist. Mr. Sherman was then young (38 years of age), had been in Congress but four years, while many able republican members of the house, such as Corwin and Giddings of his own state, had been famous before he was a voter; he was far from being an orator; he had no corporate machine or other organized and interested backing; he was of a cold, selfish, unsympathetic character, and neither then nor ever afterward had any following from personal loyalty or attachment; nor was he conspicuously devoted to principle—indeed his republican doctrine was so thin and scanty that there was no possibility of its creating any enthusiasm. Yet he was the republican caucus nominee among many able men, for speaker, and for forty years remained a successful and leading politician. There have been other very successful American politicians of this singular school, notably General Harrison, showing that Mr. Sherman's was not merely an isolated case to be set down as a freak of fortune. But no attempt will here be made to account for this singular phenomenon, which the reader is invited to consider for himself. Owing to the close balance of parties, Mr. Sherman was not elected, Mr. Pennington of New Jersey being chosen.

Mr. Ashley at once took his place among the extreme radicals or "Black Republicans." He early delivered a speech in the course of which he charged that for years a steady effort had been made to put before the federal judicial bench men devoted to the interests of slavery, and ready to declare "constitutional" doctrine accordingly; and he backed up the charge by a multitude of facts which appear to substantiate it. He had no reverence for the Supreme Court—indeed, very little respect—and he was either reckless of his own political fortunes or he did not



realize that in America there is lineal descendant of the doctrine that "The King can do no wrong," and that it is often unpolitic to bring even provable charges against those occupying a great station.\*

In the following year when the great crisis of secession was upon the country, Mr. Ashley voted steadily with the most radical section of the republican party, associating himself with men like Senators Wade, Chandler, Sumner and Representative Stevens. He opposed all attempts to compromise the differences between North and South, maintaining, after the election of 1860 that the South was beaten and that she must yield up the control of the government without any solatium. Accordingly he voted repeatedly with Southern fire-eaters who were also opposed to compromise and bent on secession. Logically he was, of course, right. Yet the public likes its representatives to yield to its feelings, and at this time the dread of secession and of civil war was so deep-seated as to weaken any one who did not seem to try and avert them. It may be conjectured, therefore, that Mr. Ashley did not strengthen himself politically by his aggressive and uncompromising stand. A large though incoherent mass of opinion at the North put the blame of civil strife upon northern radicals as well as upon those of the South.

Upon the outbreak of the war he gave a vigorous support to all war measures and was in many ways far in advance of his party. He was for the immediate freeing of slaves in the southern states, claiming that their labor in the fields

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There is a recent amusing instance of this in English politics. When the Balfour ministry was about to fall, Mr. Balfour secured a large pension for his younger brother Gerald upon no defensible ground. In America this would be called plain "graft"; but in England it is considered improper to charge a prime minister or former prime minister with so vulgar a thing, and "society", and even the newspapers almost unanimously, by a common instinct, agreed to ignore the matter, just as they would any personal indecency. It was wrong (such was the feeling), to speak of this bold robbery of the British taxpayer, and none but low, vulgar persons would do it. Here is another problem for the psychologist.



was indispensable to the rebellion, and that we should enlist them on the side of the government. Here again he ran counter to a very large mass of sentiment, which continually cried out for "The Union as it was!" So insistent was he on this point and so impatient of the slow cautious moves of the administration in this direction, that he seldom visited the White House, and had no cordial relations with Mr. Lincoln until after the Emancipation Proclamation in 1862. He was just as impatient of Mr. Lincoln's delay in removing Gen. McClellan, whom he looked upon as a show fighter only. On one occasion he called upon Mr. Lincoln by appointment to discuss this matter. To his great disgust Mr. Lincoln avoided the topic by telling a funny story, upon which Ashley said with scant politeness: "I did not come here, Mr. President, to listen to funny stories. I am here upon a subject serious and vital to the nation." Mr. Lincoln's face changed from an expression of merriment to one of infinite sadness. "Ashley," he said, earnestly, "if I did not divert myself in this way, I could not live!" So intense was his melancholy that it entirely disarmed the criticism of the impetuous representative, who could find no more words except of sympathy with the great burdened heart of the president. By such gentleness, patience, and long-suffering did Lincoln attract men to him.

Upon the assembling of 37th Congress in 1861, Speaker Grow appointed Mr. Ashley chairman of the committee of territories. Considering that opposition to the extension of slavery into the territories was the cardinal point of republican policy, this was a fine position. It was no doubt the reward of his earnestness on the slavery question. In February, 1862, he reported a bill for the organization of Arizona with a provision excluding slavery from the territory which followed the early precedents, but utterly ignored the Dred Scott decision declaring it beyond the power of Congress to legislate slavery out of the territories.

Utton March 25<sup>th</sup> 1886

Col W H Sanders

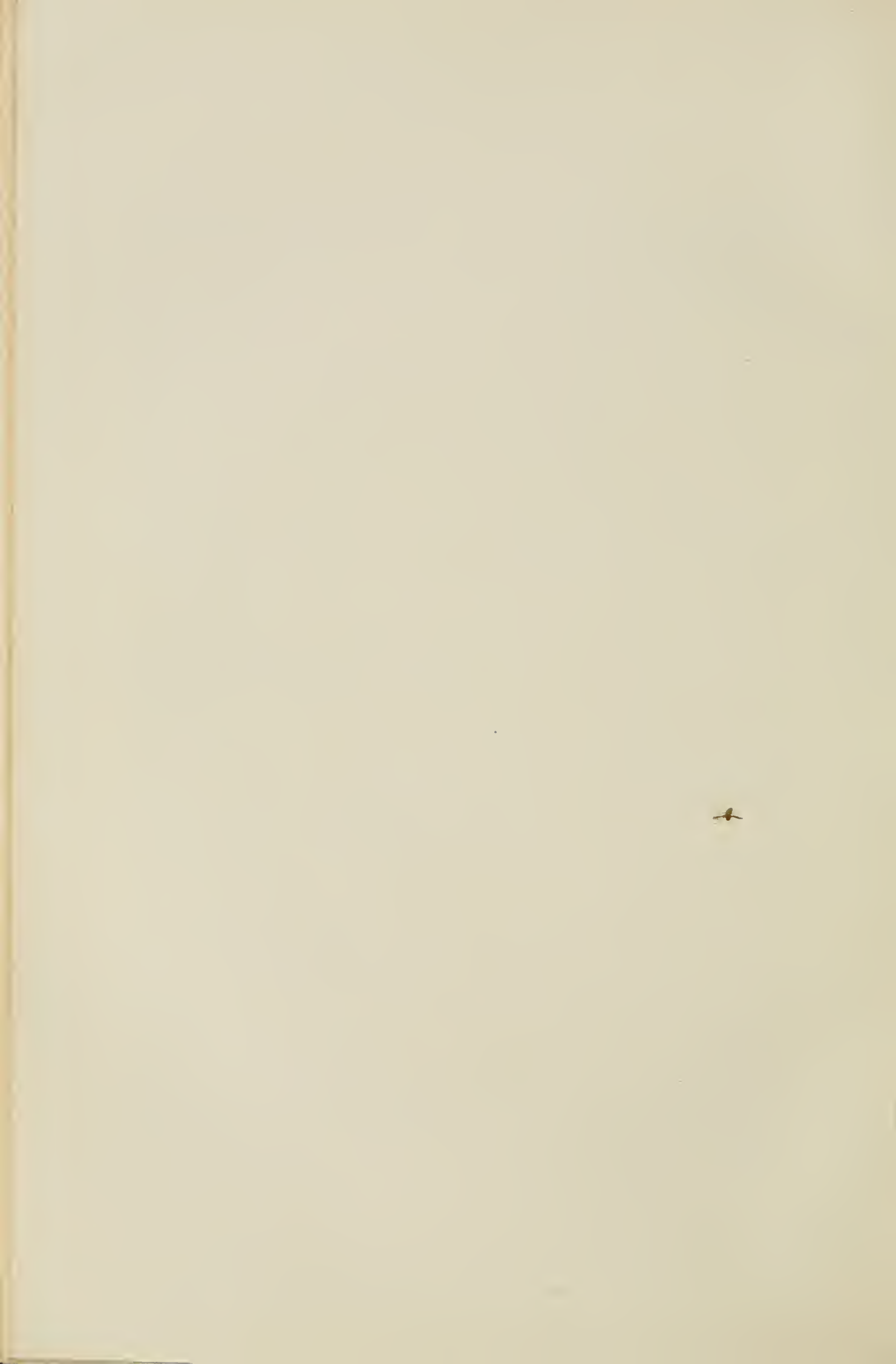
Sir:

In yours of Feb 27<sup>th</sup>  
you inquire who selected the name  
of Montana; I cannot tell who first  
mentioned the name, but the man  
who fought most earnestly for the  
name was the Hon James M Ashley  
Chairman of the Committee on  
Territories; When I left Bannack to  
secure the separation of Idaho it was  
well understood what the name of the  
new Territory would be or what  
at least it should be; The history of  
the name as far as I know is as  
follows On Dec 22 1862 Mr Ashley  
introduced a bill <sup>to provide a</sup> temporary  
government for the Territory of Idaho  
which was read twice and referred



To the Committee on Territories, Feb 11<sup>th</sup>  
1863, Mr Ashley from the Committee  
on Territories reported back House Bill  
No 626 to provide a temporary  
~~to~~ government of Montana which  
was ordered to be printed and  
recommitted to the same Committee  
Feb 12<sup>th</sup> next day, Mr Ashley from  
the Committee on Territories reported  
back House bill to provide a temporary  
government for the Territory of  
Montana with a recommendation  
that it do pass, the bill passed and  
was sent to the Senate  
Feb 13<sup>th</sup> Mr Wade from Senate  
Committee on Territories reported  
House bill to provide ~~for~~ a temporary  
government for the Territory of  
Montana without amendment  
March 3<sup>d</sup> Mr Wilkinson moved  
to take up House bill to provide a  
temporary government for the  
Territory of Montana, Mr Wilson





“We will show ‘the August Tribunal,’ ” said Ashley in committee, “just how little its Dred Scott decision amounts to.” This remark did not please the “moderates,” among them William A. Wheeler of New York, afterward vice-president.

On Feb. 11, 1863, Ashley reported a bill for the organization of Montana as a territory. It was passed May 3d following. When he suggested the name to Senator Sumner, that fine scholar demanded, “Where did you get that name?”

“It is a Latin name meaning mountainous.”

“There is no such word.”

“O, yes there is,” and Ashley found it and showed it to the learned senator. So “Montana” became the name of a great infant commonwealth.

Later Ashley reported bills for Nevada, Nebraska and Colorado. Bills were also reported which never became law for the organization of territories under the names of “Shoshone” and “Lenawa.”

In 1862 he had a hard fight on re-election. The ill-success of the military campaign sharpened the natural conservative dislike of his radicalism, and a “Union” candidate in the person of M. R. Waite, a conservative republican, afterward the Chief Justice, appeared against him. Waite was endorsed by the democrats. But Ashley seeing that his only chance lay in the division of his opponents, persuaded a democrat to enter the field also, and a very hot canvass ensued. While it was in full blast the Emancipation Proclamation appeared, which put Ashley in line of the Administration and took the wind out of the sails of the conservative republicans. Waite was now obliged to claim that he was “as good an anti-slavery man as Ashley,” and his candidacy lost its moral force. Seeing this, Ashley did everything he could in the last weeks of the canvass to strengthen Waite’s vote in Toledo, knowing that the real danger was

then the election of the democrat. These sharp tactics were successful. The vote in Toledo was so overwhelmingly for Waite that for several hours he thought he was elected, but in fact he was third in the race. From this campaign it clearly appears that Ashley could do some very fine political work on occasion; although in general he was lacking in tact and political strategy, having too little sympathy with the slow way in which men's minds move.

In 1864 he was opposed by Gen. A. V. Rice of Ottawa, a gallant soldier who had lost both legs in the service, and who was carried around the district on a stretcher. It was a painful thing to make a campaign against so fine and brave a man. Gen. Rice had a majority of the home vote, but his comrades in arms with a keener sense of the necessity of voting for one who could be depended on to support any war measure, however radical, cast so great a vote for Ashley that he was re-elected.

## CHAPTER IV. THE THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT.

We have now come to the grand story of the abolition of slavery in America by the adoption of the thirteenth amendment to the constitution.

During the early years of the war many resolutions were introduced into Congress on the subject of slavery. Although it was a subject of which politicians were naturally afraid, inasmuch as they could hardly touch it without the alienation of some part of the excited mass of public opinion in the North, yet its fascination was not to be overcome as it was the real center of the storm, around which all revolved. Brave men, therefore, in Congress and out, continually sought a remedy by attacking what "all felt, somehow, to be the cause of the war."

In his address before the Ohio Society of New York, delivered in 1890, Gov. Ashley gave a detailed account of the course of events leading to the adoption of the thirteenth amendment. We cannot do better than to quote his own words, which give by far the most vivid and circumstantial account that the writer has ever seen of this great event.

"During the first session of Congress, after Mr. Lincoln became President, I introduced a bill for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. It contained but one short section, and simply enacted 'that slavery, or involuntary servitude, should cease in the District of Columbia from and after the passage of this act.' I sent it to the Committee on the District of Columbia, of which I was a member, and Roscoe Conkling, of New York, was chairman. When the bill was read in the District Committee, it was by common consent referred to me, as a sub-committee



of one. The excitement and indignation which that bill caused in the District Committee, and the undisguised disgust entertained for me personally by the pro-slavery members of the committee, would be amusing now, but it was a matter of serious moment then.’

“I felt certain that a majority of that committee did not intend to let me report that bill or any other of like character to the House for a vote. As soon as it was known that I had the matter in charge, by direction of the District Committee Mr. Chase sent for me, and discussed the proposition which I had introduced, and suggested instead, a bill which should compensate the “loyal slave owners” by paying them a “ransom,” which should not exceed \$300.00 a head for each slave, and enforced his argument by adding that Mr. Lincoln was seriously considering the practicability of compensating the border states if they would take the initiative and emancipate their slaves, and he added, “I want you to see the President, and if possible, prepare a bill which will command the necessary votes of both houses of Congress, and the active support of the Administration.”

“I saw the President next day and went over the ground with him, substantially as I had with Mr. Chase, and finally agreed that I would ask for the appointment of a Senator on the part of the Senate District Committee to unite with me to frame a bill, which the Senate and House Committees would report favorably, and which should have the President’s approval, and the support of as many of the representatives from the border states as we could induce to vote, ‘to initiate emancipation,’ as Mr. Lincoln expressed it.”

“Fortunately for the success of the compensation policy the Senate District Committee designated as that sub-committeeman, Lot M. Morrell, of Maine, to confer with me and prepare such a bill as Mr. Lincoln and Chase had outlined.”

“After several meetings a bill was finally agreed upon

which appropriated one million dollars to pay loyal owners for their slaves at a price not to exceed \$300.00 each."

"This bill had the approval of Mr. Lincoln and Chase and other anti-slavery leaders before it was submitted to the District Committees for their action and recommendation to each house of Congress."

"Personally, I did not agree with Mr. Lincoln in his border state policy, but was unwilling to set up my judgment against his, especially when he was supported by such men as Chase, Fessenden, Trumbull, and a large majority of Union men in both houses of Congress. I therefore yielded my private opinions on a matter of policy, for reasons which I then gave and will presently quote, and because I was determined that that congress should not adjourn until slavery had been abolished at the national capital."

"I did not want to appropriate a million of dollars from the national treasury to pay the slave owners of the District of Columbia for their slaves, because I was opposed to officially recognizing property in man, and for the additional reason that I was confident that before the close of the war slavery would be abolished without compensation. And I believed then, and believe now, that at least two-thirds of all the so-called "loyal slave owners" in the District of Columbia who applied for and accepted compensation for their slaves, would at that time have welcomed Jefferson Davis and his government in Washington with every demonstration of joy."

"On the 12th of March, 1862, by direction of the Committee for the District of Columbia, I reported the bill to the House as it had been agreed upon by Mr. Morrell and myself, with the approval of Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Chase and others."

"On the 11th of April, 1862, the bill, as amended by the Senate, passed the House by a vote of 92 for to 38 against, and at once received the signature of the President."

“In the speech which I delivered that day I said: ‘I do not believe that Congress has any more power to make a slave than to make a king,’ and added, ‘If then there is, as I claim, no power in Congress to reduce any man or race to slavery, it certainly will not be claimed that Congress has power to legalize such regulations as exist to-day touching persons held as slaves in this District by re-enacting the slave laws of Maryland, and thus do by indirection what no sane man claims authority to do directly. \* \* \* If I must tax the loyal people of the nation a million of dollars before the slaves at the national capital can be ransomed, I will do it. I will make a bridge of gold over which they may pass to freedom on the anniversary of the fall of Sumter, if it cannot be more justly accomplished.’”

“As the nation had been guilty of riveting the chains of all the slaves in the District, and Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Chase, and so large a majority of the friends of the Union desired the passage of this act, believing that it would aid them in holding the border slave states, I yielded my own opinions, and voted to pay the loyal owners of the District for their slaves, and thus aided Mr. Lincoln in initiating emancipation by compensation. But events were stronger than men or measures, and this was the first and last of compensation.”

“On the 14th of December, 1863, I introduced a proposition to amend the Constitution, abolishing slavery in all the States and Territories of the nation, which on my motion, was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. In a speech during that session of Congress urging the submission of such an amendment, I said: ‘I advocated from the first the emancipation of all slaves, because I believed ideas more formidable than armies, justice more powerful than prejudice, and truth a weapon mightier than the sword.’”

“The fall of Vicksburg and the great victory of Gettys-



burg had solidified the Union men North and South, and assured them of ultimate success.”

“The crushing defeat of Hood at Nashville by Thomas, the investment of Richmond by Grant, and Sherman’s triumphant march from the mountains to the sea, was an announcement to the world that all armed opposition to the government was approaching its end.”

“It now only remained that the statesman who had provided for and organized our great armies should crown their matchless victories with unfading glory, by engrafting into our National Constitution a provision which should make our union inseparable by removing forever the cause of the war, and making slavery everywhere impossible beneath the flag of the republic.

“On the 15th of June, 1864, the House voted on the proposed constitutional amendment, and it was defeated by a vote of 94 for it and 64 against it. I thereupon changed my vote before the announcement was made, as I had a right to do under the rules, and my vote was recorded with the opposition in order that I might enter a motion for reconsideration.

In the Globe as the vote stands recorded it is 93 for to 65 against. This vote disappointed but it did not discourage me. Had every member been present and voted it would have required 122 votes to pass the amendment, whereas we could muster but 94, or 28 less than required.

“On the 28th of June, 1864, Mr. Holman, of Indiana, rose in the House, and said ‘that he desired to know whether the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Ashley) who entered the motion to reconsider the vote by which the House rejected the bill proposing an amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery throughout all the states and territories of the United States, proposed to call the motion up during the present session.’ In reply, I said that I did not propose to call that motion up during the present session; ‘but as the



record had been made up, we would go to the country on the issue thus presented,' and I added: 'When the verdict of the people shall have been rendered next November, I trust this Congress will return determined to engraft that verdict into the National Constitution.' I thereupon gave notice that I would call up the proposition at the earliest possible moment after our meeting in December next. (See *Globe*, June 28th, 1864.)

"Immediately after giving this notice, I went to work to secure its passage, and it may not be uninteresting if I outline to you the way I conducted that campaign.

"The question thus presented became one of the leading issues of the presidential campaign of 1864.

"The Administration, the Republican Party, and many men who were not partisans, now gave the measure their warm support.

"Knowing that Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland, and Frank P. Blair, of Missouri, would vote for the amendment whenever their votes would secure its passage, I went to them to learn who of the border state members were men of broad and liberal views, and strong and self-reliant enough to follow their convictions, even to political death, provided they could know that their votes would pass the measure.

"The following is the list of the names of the border-state men, as made up within two weeks after the defeat of the amendment, in June, 1864: James S. Rollins, Henry S. Blow, Benjamin F. Loan, ex-Gov. King, S. H. Boyd, Frank Smith, George H. Yeaman, Brutus J. Clay and Lucius Anderson of Kentucky; John A. J. Cresswell, Gov. Francis Thomas, E. H. Webster and Henry Winter Davis of Maryland; Kellian V. Whaley, Jacob P. Blair and William G. Brown of West Virginia and N. B. Smithers of Delaware. Of the 19 thus selected 13 voted for the amendment, and marched to their political death.

“After conferring with Reuben E. Fenton and Augustus Frank of New York, I made up the following list of liberal Northern Democrats, whose votes I hoped to secure for the amendment:

“Moses F. Odell, Homer A. Nelson, John A. Griswold, Anson Herrick, John B. Steele, Charles F. Winfield, William Radford and John Ganson, of New York; S. S. Cox, Warren P. Noble, Wells A. Hutchins, John F. McKenney and Francis C. LeBlond of Ohio; Archibald McAllister and Alex. H. Coffroth of Pennsylvania; James E. English of Connecticut, and August C. Baldwin of Michigan.

“Of the 17 Northern Democrats thus selected, eleven voted for the amendment, two were absent, and one who had promised me to vote for it and prepared a speech in its favor, finally voted against it. Of the 36 members originally selected as men naturally inclined to favor the amendment, and strong enough to meet and repel the fierce partisan attack which were certain to be made upon them, 24 voted for it, two were absent, and 10 voted against it.

“Every honorable effort was made by the Administration to secure the passage of this amendment.

“At my request Tuesday, January 31, 1865, was the day fixed for the vote to be taken on the amendment.

“A faithful record of the final act of the 38th Congress on this question will be found on pages 523 to 531 of the Congressional Globe.

“The Speaker stated the question, and announced, ‘That the gentleman from Ohio was entitled to the floor,’ which under the rules gave me one hour in which to close the debate.

“Never before, and certain I am that never again, will I be seized with so strong a desire to give utterance to the thoughts and emotions which throbbed my heart and brain.

“I knew that the hour was at hand when the world would witness the complete triumph of a cause, which at the be-

ginning of my political life I had not hoped to live long enough to see, and that on that day, before our session closed, an act, as just as it was merciful to oppressor and oppressed, was to be enacted into law, and soon thereafter became a part of our national Constitution forever.

“The hour and the occasion was an immortal one in the nation’s history, and memorable to each actor who voted for the amendment.

“Every available foot of space, both in the galleries and on the floor of the House, was crowded at an early hour, and many hundreds could not get within hearing. Never before or afterwards did I see so brilliant and distinguished a gathering in that hall, nor one where the feeling was more intense. The Judges of the Supreme Court, the members of the Cabinet, the Vice-President and Senators, most of the foreign Ministers, and all the distinguished visitors who could secure seats, with their wives, daughters and friends, were present to witness the sublimest event in our national life.

“You will readily understand that this was an occasion to inspire any man of my temperment with a strong desire to speak, and yet it was beyond question my duty to yield all my time to gentlemen of the opposition, who had promised to vote for the amendment, and desired to have recorded in the official organ of the House the reasons for the vote which they were about to give.

“The first gentleman to whom I yielded was the Hon. Archibald McAllister of Pennsylvania, an old fashioned democrat of the Jackson school. He was not a speaker, and the brief ‘statement,’ as he called it, which he sent to the Clerk’s desk to be read for him as he stood on the floor, with every eye in that great hall fixed on his tall form, is so characteristic, and withal expresses so tersely the reasons which impelled him and thousands of other loyal and conservative men to demand the immediate abolition of slavery, that I quote what he said entire.



“I will read it to you, and repeat what he said, as nearly as I can, with the same intonation of voice and manner as he read it to me in my committee room that morning, a few minutes before the House convened.

“He said: ‘That it was due to his constituents that they should know why he changed his vote, and that he could not make a speech, that he was so nervous that he dare not even trust himself to read what he had written, and asked me if I would yield him the floor long enough to allow him to send to the Clerk’s desk, and have read what he desired to say to his constituents.’ I never was more anxious to yield the floor to any man than I was to him, and answered, ‘Certainly, I will be glad to yield you all the time you ask.’ He then read me this short, and now historic speech, and I said to him then, as I say to you now, that it was, under all the circumstances, the best and most eloquent speech delivered in the House of Representatives in favor of the Thirteenth Amendment. This is the speech, and the way he read it to me:

“ ‘When this subject was before this House on a former occasion, I voted against the measure. I have been in favor of exhausting all means of conciliation to restore the Union as our fathers made it. I am for the whole Union and utterly opposed to secession, or dissolution in any shape. The result of all the peace missions, and especially that of Mr. Blair, has satisfied me that nothing short of the recognition of their independence will satisfy the Southern Confederacy. It must, therefore, be destroyed, and in voting for the present measure, I cast my vote against the cornerstone of the Southern Confederacy, and declare eternal war against the enemies of my country.’

“As soon as he had finished reading it, I grasped his hand with enthusiasm, and heartily congratulated him, and said, ‘Mr. McAllister, that is a better and more telling speech by far than any which has been made for the



amendment, and I believe that it will be quoted hereafter more than any speech made in Congress in its favor.'

"When the Clerk of the House finished reading this brief speech of this plain, blunt man, it called forth general applause on the floor and in the galleries, and when I afterwards read it to Mr. Lincoln, Chase, and others, they were then as pronounced in its endorsement as I am now.

"To the end that there should be no pretext for 'filibustering' (as I knew the amendment might be defeated in that way), I determined from the start to so conduct the debate that every gentleman opposed to the amendment who cared to be heard should have ample time and opportunity.

"After the previous question had been seconded, and all debate ordered closed, there could be but two roll-calls (if there were no filibustering) before the final vote.

"The first roll-call was on a motion made by the opposition, to lay my motion to reconsider on the table. Such a motion is generally regarded as a test vote.

"Hundreds of tally sheets had been distributed on the floor and in the galleries, many being in the hands of ladies. Before the result of the roll-call was announced, it was known all over the House that the vote was *Two* less than the necessary *Two-Thirds*, and both Mr. Stevens of Pennsylvania and Mr. Washburne of Illinois excitedly exclaimed: 'General, we are defeated.' 'No, gentlemen, we are not,' was my prompt answer. The second vote was on my motion to reconsider, which would bring the House, at the next roll-call, to a direct vote on the passage of the amendment.

"The excitement was now the most intense I have ever witnessed; the oldest members, with the Speaker and the reporters in the galleries, believed that we were defeated. When the result of the second vote was announced, we lacked one vote of two-thirds, whereupon many threw down their tally sheets and admitted defeat. I now arose and stood,

while the roll was being called on the final vote and said to those around me, that we would have not less than four (4), and I believed seven (7) majority over the necessary two-thirds.

“As the roll was completed, the Speaker directed that his name be called as a member of the House, and when he voted he announced to an astonished assemblage, ‘that the yeas were 119, and the nays 56, and that the bill had received the two-thirds majority required by the Constitution.’ It was a moment or two before the House or the galleries recovered from their surprise and recognized the fact that we had triumphed. When they did, a shout went up from the floor and galleries, and the vast audience rose to their feet, many members jumping on their desks, with shouts and waving of handkerchiefs, and gave vent to their feelings by every demonstration of joy. It was a scene such as I had never before witnessed, and can never be witnessed again.

“Mr. Ingersoll, of Illinois, said: ‘Mr. Speaker, in honor of this sublime and immortal event, I move that this House do now adjourn,’ which motion was carried.”

In calling up the motion to reconsider on Jan. 6, 1865, Mr. Ashley showed a full consciousness of the importance of the occasion, and gave utterance, during a speech of considerable length, to the following:

“Mr. Speaker, the year which has just closed has been a year of anxiety and also a year of joy. The ordeal through which as a nation we have passed, has been a terrible one. I speak of the ordeal on the battle-field and at the ballot-box. We have presented to the world a sublime spectacle. We have tested our strength, and know the constancy and courage of our men. Such disinterestedness, such heroism and devotion to our country, the world has never witnessed. Consecrated by a dispensation of fire and blood, the children of the republic have grown to the full stature of manhood.

Standing here, in the nation's council halls, in the beginning of a new year, on the threshold of a new era, and in the presence of such events, let us comprehend the duty of true statesmen, and while legislating for the present, legislate also for the generations of men which are to succeed us. The eyes of the wise and good in all civilized nations are upon us. The men who embrace and defend the democratic idea in Europe are patiently and anxiously waiting to have us authoritatively proclaim to the world that liberty is the sign in which we conquer; and henceforth freedom is to be the animating principle of our government and the life of our Constitution.

“Mr. Speaker, while the Union soldier fights to vanquish the enemies of the government, the duty of the true statesman is to provide that the enemy, once vanquished, shall never again for the same cause be permitted to reorganize and make war upon the nation. Pass this joint resolution, submitting to the people for their ratification or rejection this proposed amendment to the national Constitution, and I am sure the nation will adopt it with shouts of acclamation, and when once adopted, you know, sir, and I know, and the enemies of this government know, that we shall have peace, and that no such rebellion will ever be possible again. Pass this amendment, and the gloomy shadow of slavery will never again darken the fair name of our country or tarnish the glory of democratic institutions in the land of Washington. Pass this amendment, and the brightest page in the history of the Thirty-eighth Congress, now so near its close, will be the one on which is recorded the names of the requisite number of members voting in its favor. Refuse to pass it, and the saddest page in the history of the Thirty-eighth Congress will be the one on which is recorded its defeat. Sir, I feel as if no member of this House will ever live to witness an hour more memorable in our history than the one in which each for himself shall



make a record on the question now before us. I implore gentlemen to forget party, and remember that we are making a record, not only for ourselves individually, but for the nation and the cause of free government throughout the world."

It was a far cry from assisting in the escape of single slaves on the underground railroad, by stealth and with peril of the penitentiary, in 1855, to a majestic measure of law, freeing millions of slaves at once and forever, in the short space of a decade. The painful march of public opinion towards the only real solution of the disease of the body politic is one of the most instructive things in human history, and while the slow but sure movement of opinion must confirm our faith in the democratic idea, yet we must in humility admit that the progress was but slow, and that had we been more intelligent, more moral, and more courageous, all this might have been accomplished much earlier, with far more orderly and beneficial results, and without the catastrophe of a long and terrible war, the scene of infinite calamity, costing us a large part of the best blood of the nation, and leaving in its train a huge mass of deplorable results which will be seen for generations to come.

Gov. Ashley regarded his part in the adoption of the thirteenth amendment as the summit of his life. Years of hope, ambition, and effort, had preceded it, during which it must have seemed little short of impossible that so great and comprehensive a measure could be enacted. It is given to but few men who cherish a grand ideal to see it realized in their own lifetime and to take an active part in the realization.

While many, bewildered by the rapid current of events, and by the multitude of clamorous interests and passions around them, did not understand the magnitude of the thing they were doing, his large mind fully comprehended the greatness of the issue for all future generations. He look-



ed upon this event precisely as the historian looks upon it now, and as he walked home that evening his mind must have been filled with a splendid ecstasy such as is the lot of few mortals to experience.

## CHAPTER V. LATER YEARS IN CONGRESS.

Within three months from the time of the adoption by the House of Representatives of the Thirteenth Amendment, the rebellion collapsed by the surrender of General Lee and, swiftly following, the assassination of President Lincoln in the hour of his success deprived the country of his great heart and brain. A new era opened with Andrew Johnson as President, a man of large natural ability, but of little education and of violent passions and intemperate habits both in speech and drink. Seldom are events of such great importance so crowded together.

During the summer of 1865, Mr. Ashley journeyed to the Pacific Coast and made important speeches at San Francisco, Sacramento and other points. One of the first signs of the coming storm between Johnson and the Republican Party lay in the former's removal of the collector of San Francisco for presiding at the meeting at which Mr. Ashley spoke.

Evidently the tact and energy shown in piloting the thirteenth amendment through the House of Representatives gave Mr. Ashley considerable prestige among his fellow members, for he was placed in charge of important measures of reconstruction in the following Congress. But with these he did not have the same success. The difficulties inherent in giving suffrage to the freed men of the South, the fears of the virtual re-establishment of slavery if this were not done, the uncertainty as to President Johnson's views which seemed to undergo rapid changes in the early part of his term—all these rendered it well nigh impossible for Congress to agree upon a satisfactory and comprehensive plan of reconstruction; which was actually accom-

plished little by little and state by state during a period of several years.

In brief, Mr. Ashleys' view of reconstruction was this: That the rebel states had, by abandoning their place in the Union as states become practically territory belonging to the United States and that Congress could therefore enact such legislation as it chose regarding the qualifications for suffrage and mode of government in such territory.

The Johnson-Democratic view was that the states in rebellion were still legal states; that they were entitled to immediate and unconditional representation in Congress; that on all votes on constitutional amendments by states the southern states must be included in estimating the legal majority; that the existing congress was a "rump" congress and that its right to legislate as the whole congress was questionable.

Neither view prevailed in its logical completeness. The State of West Virginia forever stands as a witness of the prevalence of the former view, and Congress, rightly or wrongly, assumed the right to lay down the terms on which it would admit Representatives and Senators from the states formerly in rebellion. Yet, in the end, the states were again admitted to their former relations with the Union, under their old names—"just as if nothing had happened." But as a condition of this, they were required to agree to the recent constitutional amendments.

This result was attained during continuous political fighting for about five years. Had Mr. Lincoln lived the same struggle would have taken place between him and the radical republicans as took place between them and Johnson; but with Lincoln the inevitable struggle, already indicated during the war, would have assumed a mild phase. Mr. Lincoln's tact would have brought about the results ultimately reached with comparatively little friction, for he

know how to yield and how to conciliate and his "plain good intention" was of no mean force in public affairs.

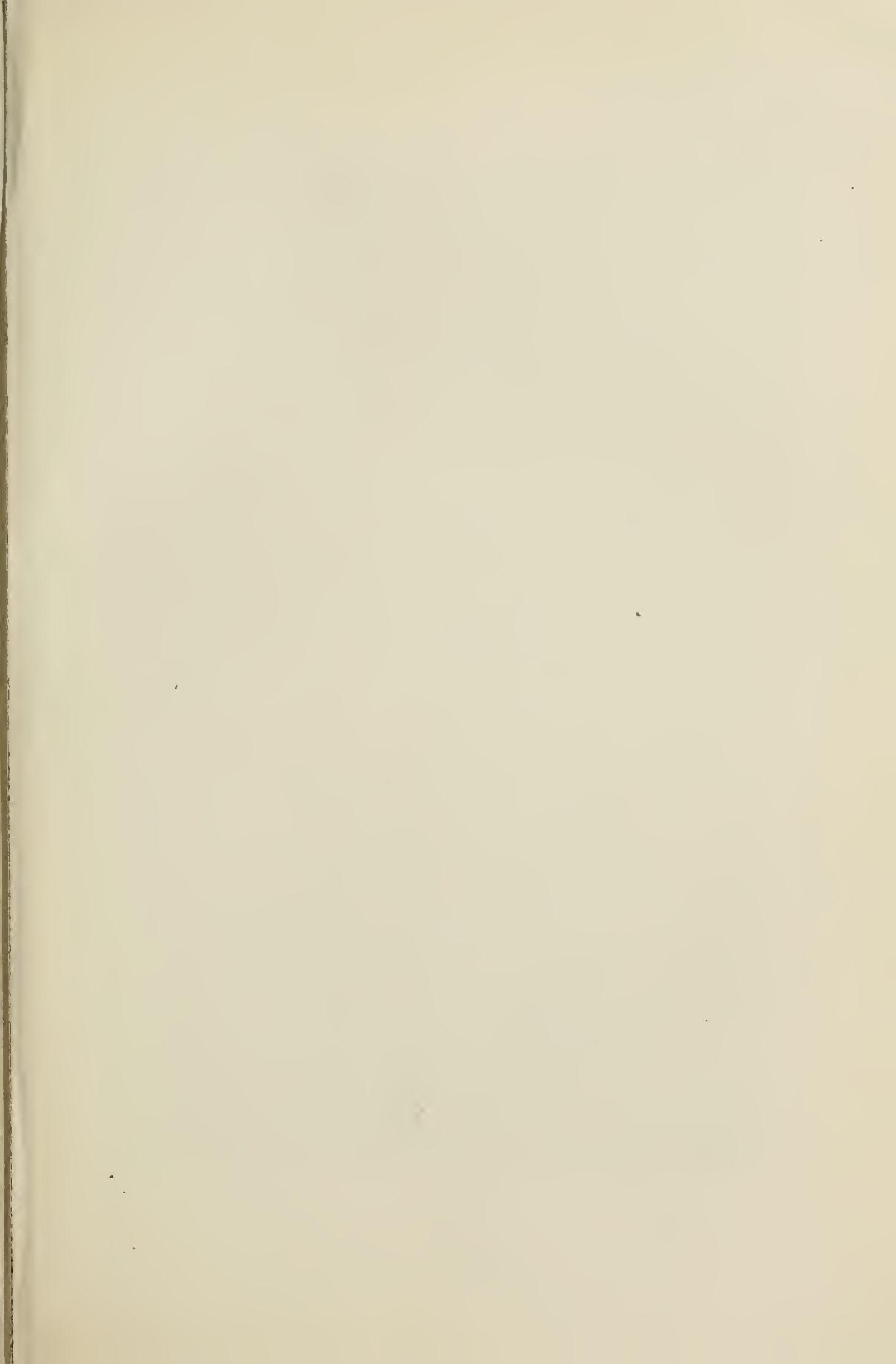
On January 7, 1867, Mr. Ashley moved resolutions for the impeachment of President Johnson. These were referred by a decisive vote (himself concurring) to the Judiciary Committee, which on March 2d reported to the House that they had taken a great deal of testimony relative to the subject and that in their opinion "sufficient testimony has been brought to its notice, to demand a further prosecution of the investigation;" but that owing to the lateness of the session it was impracticable to make further progress. It was not until the following year that the House impeached the President upon his attempted removal of Mr. Stanton from the office of Secretary of War regardless of the Tenure of Office Act which Mr. Johnson claimed was unconstitutional. The defeat of impeachment by a single vote in the Senate was the real death-knell of radical republicanism as a controlling factor in Congress and in the country.

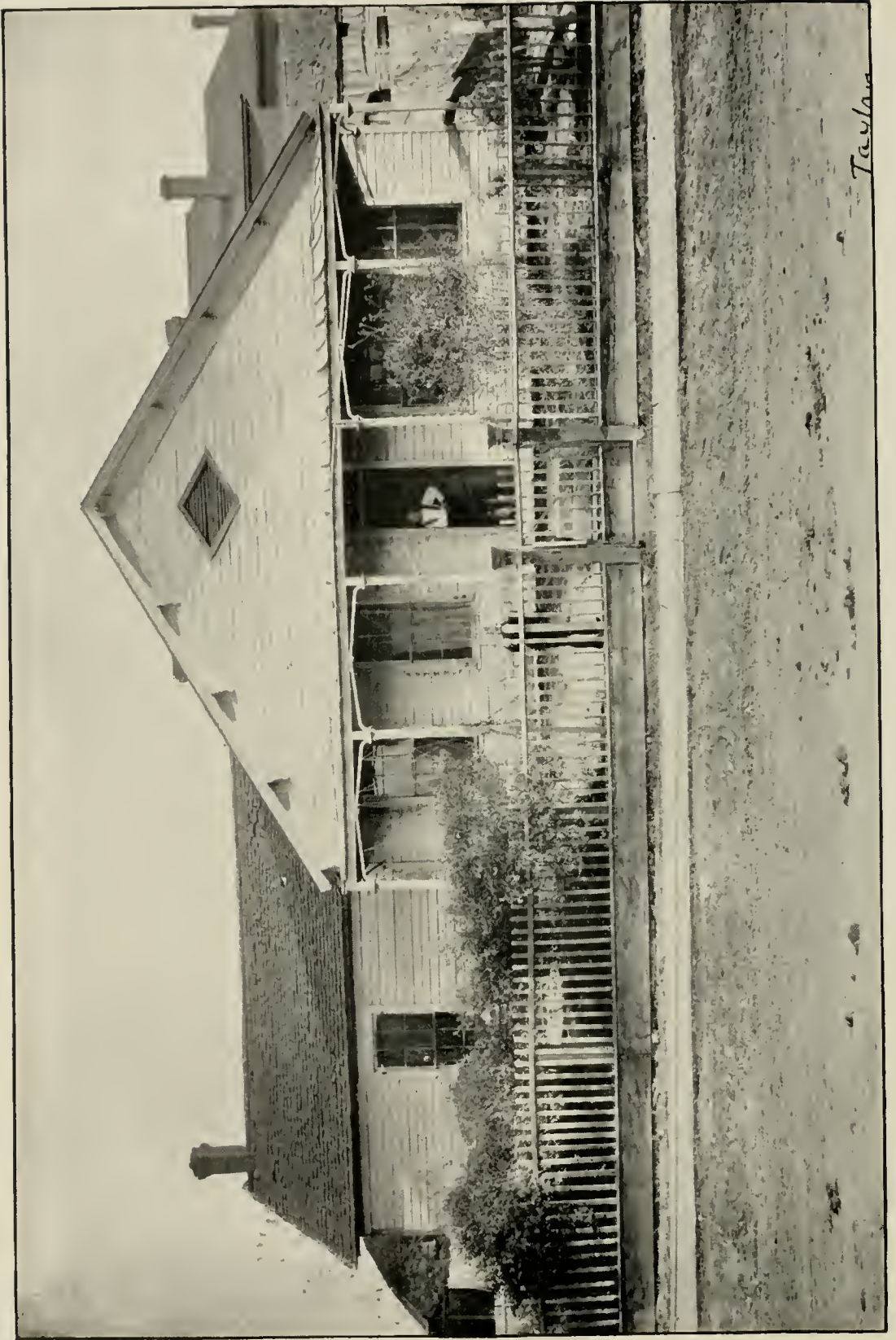
In the following year Mr. Ashley was again nominated for Congress, after some show of opposition, but in the ensuing October election he was defeated by several hundred votes. It is said that there was a great deal of fraudulent voting against him, and many imported voters; and many arrests were made. But the real truth is that the country had grown tired of men of the tremendous reforming energy of the anti-slavery leaders and wanted a rest. Benjamin F. Wade, so long a strong radical senator from Ohio was succeeded shortly before by Allen G. Thurman, democrat. Carl Schurtz also lost his seat in the Senate, and many other men of the same type disappeared from prominence. The anomaly was presented of a set of men coming to the front and administering the government who had little or no sympathy with the great measures which had been adopted. The measures prevailed; but the men who had forced them through were largely retired.



Stated in another way the result is not so anomalous. It was simply this: The body politic needed certain measures and the men to put them through. The men came, the measures were passed, the work was done, and there was no further need of the men. No case better illustrates this than that of Mr. Ashley; for at the election of 1866 while the conflict with Johnson was going on, Mr. Ashley received the votes of many men in Toledo who were really reluctant to vote for him, such as conservatives of the type of M. R. Waite, afterward Chief Justice; while in 1868 these same men, seeing the imminent election of Gen. Grant as President, and that men like Mr. Ashley were no longer absolutely needed for the preservation of the fruits of the war, followed their natural bias and voted against him.

In the last hours of his congressional life, Mr. Ashley, true to his constitutional radicalism, and heedless, if he was aware, of the craving for rest in the public mind, brought forward fresh constitutional amendments, abolishing the vice-presidency, limiting the veto power of the president, and for the reorganization of the supreme court. It was well understood that there was no chance for affirmative action on these at the time. It was said of the charge of the Light Brigade that "it was magnificent but it was not war." So we may say of this passion for reform, "It was magnificent but it was not politics." Instead of conciliating the public in the time of his defeat by a dignified silence which he could well have afforded, he in effect followed the example of Socrates after his conviction, and proclaimed by his acts that not he, but the public, were in the wrong. It is easy to imagine the feelings varying from amusement to disgust with which this persistence in his natural line of action was received by his opponents in Toledo.





GOV. ASHLEY'S RESIDENCE IN HELENA.

## CHAPTER VI.

## GOVERNOR OF MONTANA.

Soon after the inauguration of President Grant he sent to the Senate the nomination of Mr. Ashley as Governor of Montana. Owing to the reaction throughout the country following the adoption of the constitutional amendments—particularly that forbidding disfranchisement on account of color—the Democrats were very strong in the Senate and party sentiment acute. Having been very active in bringing about these amendments, and also in endeavoring to impeach President Johnson, Mr. Ashley's nomination was for some time held up and vigorously resisted to the last by the Democrats in the Senate. He was, however, at last confirmed, and left for Montana soon afterward.

The capital of Montana was then at Virginia City, but its removal to Helena was considered certain, and Governor Ashley took up his residence in the latter city. He was followed in September, 1869, by his family who went West by railroad as far as Ogden, Utah, thence took a stage coach ride of about four hundred miles to Helena—an experience which anyone who has passed through it will not forget. The writer, who was then a boy of five years, well remembers being squeezed in between two grown persons on a seat far too narrow, while his brothers were seated on trunks outside, from which one, becoming drowsy, fell off.

A large part of the population of Montana in 1869 was Southern, Anti-Negro, and Democratic, and Governor Ashley had a hard time in trying to bring about harmonious relations with the legislature. His appointments were held up and litigated. It does not appear, however, by his public messages or papers which now remain that any bit-



terness was excited in him by these circumstances. On the contrary, these papers breathed good humor and a conciliatory spirit.

Governor Ashley made a journey around the infant territory and endeavored to become acquainted with its character and needs. Believing that the Northern Pacific railroad would soon be built, he made every effort to attract attention to Montana by writing letters to the New York Tribune and other Eastern papers. He entered thoroughly into the needs of the pioneer community, and exerted himself with very great energy to supplying them. He was thoroughly in sympathy with Western life, and probably much more at home there than he would have been in any eastern community.

One of his most interesting experiences was connected with an old fashioned western lynching. A miner near Helena had "struck it rich," and brought his gold into town to exchange it for greenbacks. This done he went to the nearest saloon and proudly exhibited his roll, with the natural result that he was followed from the saloon to a quiet spot outside of the city and there assaulted and robbed. He lived long enough to give a description of his murderers. These were soon apprehended by a vigilance committee and brought to trial in the most public way—in a large hall in Helena. Governor Ashley knew of this, but recognizing the absolute necessity of protection being afforded the miners, who for the most part lived in lonely cabins, and knowing the lack of a secure jail to hold criminals for a long time which the regular process of courts allow the criminal on trial, and also aware of his inability to cope with the vigilantes, even if he so desired, he did not try to interfere. At this juncture a New England lawyer appeared on the scene, whose name, according to the writer's best recollection, was Judge Gillette. The judge was horror struck at the idea of any man being tried except by the

regular course, like most other New Englanders who have gone a long ways from the recollection of the Boston Tea Party, and other similar informal events that took place in good old Massachusetts, and it was hard for him to imagine that any state of affairs admitted of any departure from the strict rules of the law. He, therefore, called upon Governor Ashley and made a typical academic law and order speech. The Governor suppressing his strong tendency to laugh, made a rejoinder with all earnestness.

"Now, Judge," said he, "you must see how helpless I am. I have no force capable of dealing with these vigilantes, and if I should go down to the hall and make any attempt to stop the proceedings, it would simply result in a disgraceful showing of contempt for my authority; but I know these people are liberal, and that they would be willing to hear what anybody has to say on the subject. Now, suppose you go down to the hall and ask to be heard, and make them the same kind of a speech you have made me. I think they will listen to you, and we will see what the result is." Gillette thought the suggestion a good one, obtained a hearing and made a speech. After he concluded his stirring appeal for law and order there was a moment's silence and some man in the rear yelled out: "Judge, that's a damn fine speech. *Go on with the trial!*"

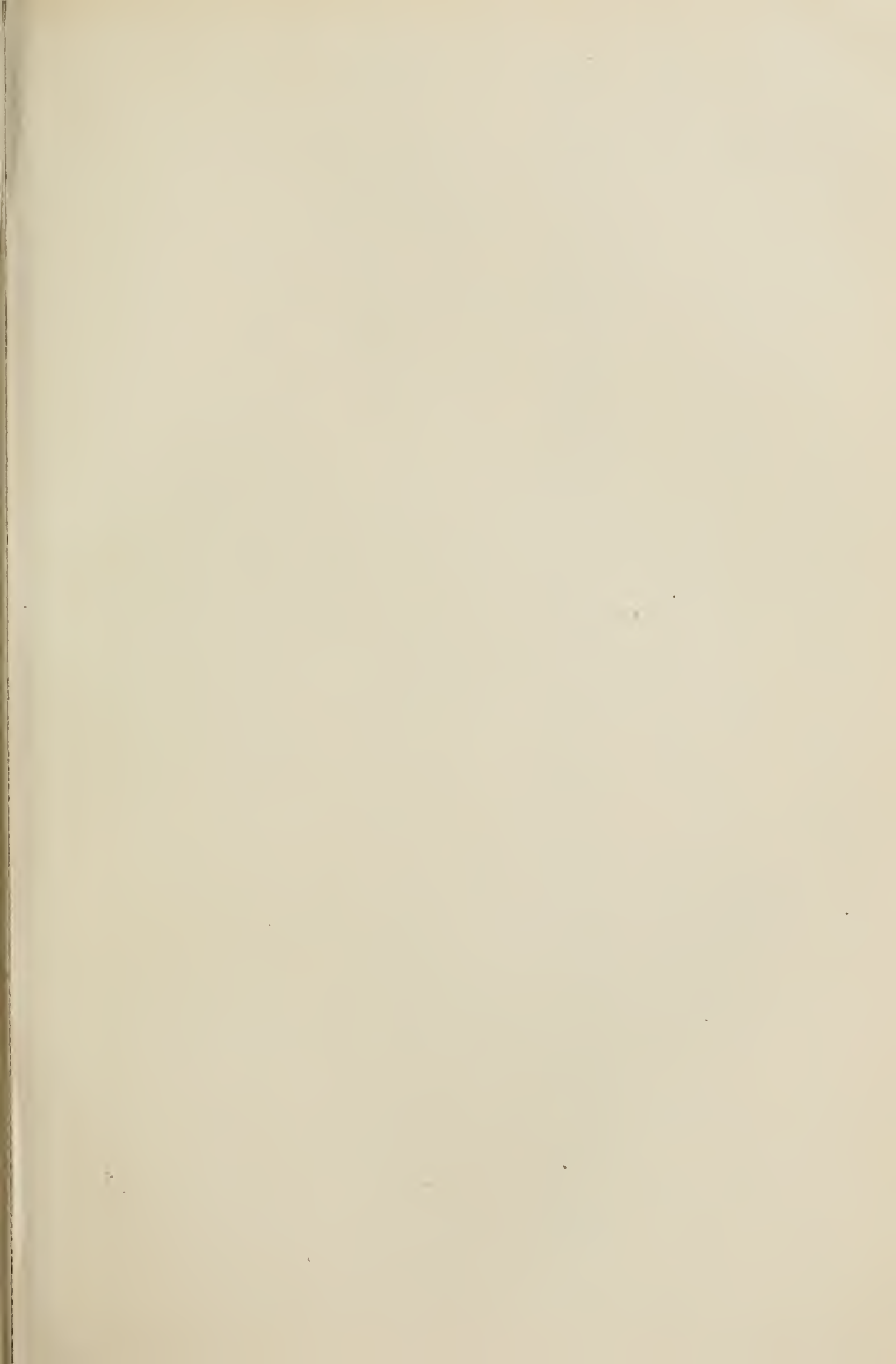
The next morning the Governor became aware that something exciting was going on across the gulch which lay in the rear of his house, and emerging from the kitchen door and shading his eyes, he looked across and saw hanging from "Hangman's Tree" the bodies of two men, while a large concourse in the vicinity were indulging in foot races and other amusements. After uttering a slight exclamation the Governor turned around, went in the house, and the affair was a closed incident so far as he was concerned.

Not long after this and when he had only been Governor for a short time the President sent in the name of Mr. Potts

to succeed Mr. Ashley as governor of Montana. No reason for this was publicly assigned so far as the writer is aware. One of the reports relating to it charges that Ashley was opposed to negro suffrage—a most absurd charge, for he had, in truth, exerted himself most conscientiously to obtain the right of suffrage for the negro race. It is also said that he made criticisms on the administration; and there may have been some basis for this, for he was, in fact, not much of an admirer of President Grant, and was in full sympathy with Senator Sumner in the differences which had cropped out between the Senator and the Administration. It may be that he was removed because he was a friend of Senator Sumner. The Senator made a very hard fight against Governor Ashley's removal, and the confirmation of his successor, and the matter was held open for a considerable time through the efforts of Sumner and other senators. At length, however, Potts was confirmed. The supposition that Governor Ashley was removed because of his friendship to Senator Sumner seems confirmed by the subsequent removal of John Lothrop Motley as Minister to Vienna for the same reason, and in Senator Sumner's deposition from the chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Relations in the Senate. Among some of Governor Ashley's friends, the idea prevailed that he was nominated for Governor, induced to go to Montana with his family, and then removed in order to cripple him financially and destroy him politically.

Certain it is that Governor Ashley had been counting on staying in the West, and had been confident of a satisfactory career there. He was building a pleasant home at about the time he was removed from office, and evidently planned to spend the rest of his life in Helena. Thoroughly in sympathy as he was with the liberality, energy and activity of Western life, he had found it very congenial at Helena.

After his removal he went East, leaving his family in





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OLD TICKET IN STAGE DAYS.  
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the new house, but later sent for them to come east, and they left in the summer of 1871, going by stage to Fort Benton, through a country infested with Indians on the war path. Arriving at Fort Benton the family took a large row boat called a "Mackinaw" to go down the river to a point where the steamer could be met—the river being too shallow for it to ascend so far as Fort Benton. The alarm in the little family group was great when the eldest son came to his mother and said that about as much whiskey had been put on board the "Mackinaw" as food stuffs; but there was nothing to do except to join the men who controlled the boat and who, with their rifles, afforded needful protection. Mrs. Ashley's apprehensions, however, were soon quieted in the most complete manner. A space in the middle of the boat was fenced off for her and a lady companion with trunks, and during all the long voyage down the river not an oath was heard nor the slightest discourtesy shown. In fact, had Mrs. Ashley been a princess and these rough men faithful subjects, they could not have been more thoroughly courteous, considerate, and kind, and it has always remained a bright spot in the the memory of Mrs. Ashley and her family.

At length, after a journey of several days and nights the "Mackinaw" reached a place where the steamer was expected, and the family were soon aboard and began their three weeks' journey down the Missouri River, in whose shifting sands the steamer was often stuck. They disembarked at Sioux City, and proceeded thence by rail to Yellow Springs, Ohio, where the family resided for the next four years, the older children attending Antioch College at that place.

## CHAPTER VII.

Building of the Ann Arbor Railroad—His removal as Governor of Montana practically closes political career—Supports Greeley in 1872—Tilden in 1876—Returns to Republican party—Goes in Railroad Business in 1877—Slenderness of Means—Procures aid along the line—Interests J. B. Alley—Buys Alley Out—Indebtedness to Hale—Extends Road North—Howell War—Reaches Lake—Builds Ferries in 1890—Relinquishes control of Railroad Company—Its failure in 1893—His Methods.

Mr. Ashley's removal as Governor of Montana was a decisive signal that the era of boldness, moral courage, and humanitarian zeal had passed; that their work was fulfilled with the abolition of slavery and the suppression of the rebellion, and that the time had come for acrobatic, time-serving politicians like Mr. Sherman, who could be free-traders in one year and high-protectionists after "a decent interval;" fiat money men when an exigency or the public seemed to warrant and then hard money men; who could oppose compulsory silver coinage in 1878, favor it in 1890, and oppose it again in 1893; and especially for men who could be sycophants to General Grant and become part of the army of grafters and flatterers with which he was surrounded in political and private life. Other men of the same general class as Governor Ashley—men like Charles Sumner, Carl Schurtz, George W. Julian, and Horace Greeley—experienced in a greater or less degree the same shock. He would no doubt have liked to stay in public life, for he had never been interested in anything else to the same extent. But it is clear that this was impracticable. His character, experience and temperament, his boldness, broad views and enthusiasm alike led him to the precise part he played when he stood up in the House of Repre-



sentatives on January 30, 1865, and managed the passage of the thirteenth amendment; and this done, they found no further sufficient occupation or usefulness in public affairs and therefore failed to maintain him as a public man.

But this was, no doubt, hard to see at the time, and he continued to be interested and at times active in public affairs all his life; but he was, as it were, in an environment foreign to his nature. In 1872 he took an active part in the Cincinnati Liberal Republican Convention which nominated Greeley; afterward going to Baltimore to try to bring about the nomination of Sumner instead by the Democratic party. Much disheartened at the failure to bring this about, he nevertheless supported Greeley actively in the ill-starred campaign of 1872. In 1876 he made a few speeches for Tilden, but a political connection with the party which he had so actively opposed during the war was always distasteful to him and he silently rejoined the Republican party soon afterward. In 1890 and again in 1892 he was nominated by the Republicans of the Toledo district for Congress, but there was no issue which really invited a man of his nature, and his attempt to force issues like minority representation, election of senators by the people, and other organic changes met with little response, and his lack of harmony with his new political environment was manifest. Had he been elected it would no doubt have been a personal gratification to him, but his defeat left otherwise little for regret on the part of his friends.

Meanwhile, in 1875, he removed his family to Ann Arbor, Michigan, where the children attended school—the two eldest the law school and the academic department of the Michigan University, and the two younger the common schools. It was while waiting at a railroad junction on his way from Toledo to Ann Arbor that he was reminded of an old project, partly carried out, to build a railroad from Toledo to Ann Arbor and northward. After ascertaining



that the right-of-way was still intact, that a great many ties and much material still remained, and that these could be bought at a low price, he went East to see if he could interest capital in it. At first he did not succeed. The profound depression which rested on the business of the country rendered it very difficult to get financial aid. It is worth noting that the Pennsylvania railroad people would have nothing to do with the project; that about ten years later they were ready to buy the completed property at nearly twice what it would have cost them to build it; and that a few years subsequently they changed their minds again and would not consider an offer to sell it. So true it is that the hour is important in business.

Subsequently he interested Mr. John B. Alley of Boston in the scheme. Mr. Alley had been in Congress with him during the war and had since acquired great wealth. Their relations were interesting. Ashley gave mortgages on his Toledo real estate amounting to \$114,000.00—the real estate at that time being worth about that amount—as additional collateral to the entire issue of stock and bonds of the railroad company. The right-of-way was nearly all graded and supplied with much material as above stated, so that the original cost of completing the railroad, to them, was probably about \$5,000.00 a mile, or \$250,000.00 in all. This cheap construction it was that rendered possible any personal success on the part of Governor Ashley, for during the first few years of its existence the earnings were indeed light. The enterprise was helped out, however, by several circumstances. In the first place a considerable sum—though much smaller than publicly believed—was raised in the way of donations. This probably amounted in actual cash value to about \$50,000.00. Next foreseeing the boom of 1880, Alley and Ashley bought a large amount of iron rails above their requirements, and these were sold out at a large profit. But still more fortunate were they in a deal with

the Pennsylvania which is worth relating, not only for its own sake in connection with the life of Gov. Ashley, but for the sidelight it affords upon the management of one of the world's greatest corporations. The Pennsylvania at that time owned a railroad line extending from its terminal in the city of Toledo to the Michigan state line. Alley and Ashley bought this for \$80,000.00, giving some of their own bonds for the purchase price. Not only did this purchase by bringing their railroad well into the city of Toledo, put their enterprise fully upon its feet, but the revenue they derived from renting track privileges to the Michigan Central for its coal traffic with the Columbus and Toledo railroad (which also used the Pennsylvania terminal at Toledo) was sufficient to pay a large interest on their purchase price from the start, and soon on a sum several times as large. Thus they practically got a very valuable terminal for a good deal less than nothing. We are in the habit of supposing that a high order of ability is shown in the management of this great corporation, but in this instance the Pennsylvania people needed a guardian. Yet, perhaps, worse remains to be told. They sold the property by effecting a legal consolidation of the Toledo and State Line road with the Ann Arbor, which Governor Ashley assumed to be correct in his usual easy-going way, "supposing it was all right." Some time later he was requested to call at the Pennsylvania office in Philadelphia, which he did, accompanied by Mr. Alley. They saw a lot of gentlemen sitting around and looking as if something was the matter. There was considerable beating about the bush, and finally one of the Pennsylvania officials cautiously asked: "Governor, when you bought the State Line road, what did you suppose you were getting?"

"Why," said he, "I supposed I was getting a railroad from the Michigan state line to your depot grounds."

"Did you examine the records or have your lawyers examine them to see what the State Line road owned?"

“No, sir, I did not.”

“Well, Governor, if we by mistake conveyed a large part of our depot grounds in Toledo, would you be willing to reconvey it?”

“Why, certainly—if such is the case.”

And then, after receiving the thanks of the Pennsylvania officials, Alley and Ashley left the room, Alley remonstrating with his associate for his ready promise. The reconveyance, however, was made.

Thus we see here a business matter of considerable importance in which the Pennsylvania road sold a property for almost one-fifth of its true value, and in conveying it conveyed by mistake a large amount of its Toledo terminal property in addition to the property bargained for.

Notwithstanding these instances of good fortune, the early stages of the railroad enterprise were depressing. Scarcely had the road been completed to Ann Arbor before the Michigan Central became Vanderbilt property, and the new road did not get the large coal traffic with corresponding return which it would have received had this railroad continued independent. Mr. Alley was old, timid and grasping. He had Mr. Ashley's notes for all he had put in the property, had all the stock and bonds issued, and had mortgages on practically all of his associate's real estate. Yet he was in continual terror of loss. It was impossible to raise money from any other source because Alley held all the collateral. He was very slow to appreciate the necessity for more money as the work proceeded and soon a large floating debt existed both for supplies, and still worse, for labor. At one time the payrolls were six months in arrears. Mr. Ashley was thus placed between the upper millstone of Mr. Alley continually in fear of loss and always unwilling to put up the money when needed, and the lower millstone of the labor and other creditors. Evidently with his own property mortgaged and all these embarrassments he was in a very critical state, and the writer well remembers how, while still



a young boy, the situation so impressed him that he went a whole summer without spending a single penny for candy, base ball or other boyish pleasures.

Such a situation could not last long. Mr. Alley wished to sell the property, and made a bargain with Calvin S. Brice, afterward a senator from Ohio. As Brice separated from Alley and Ashley, however, after a talk on the subject, he made a remark that changed the history of the parties. "You know," said he, "that with me *nothing is done till it is done.*" Mr. Ashley was puzzled by this remark and said, "What do you suppose he meant by that?"

"Simply this—that he does not consider himself bound by anything said thus far, unless he wants to take advantage of it."

After a pause and reflections on the part of both, which no doubt were of a serious character Mr. Ashley said:

"Now, Mr. Alley, if Brice is not bound *neither are you*; and I want you to give me the same offer you have given Brice."

Mr. Alley readily agreed to this and Mr. Ashley made a loan sufficient to take up the railroad securities from Mr. Alley's hands almost immediately and thus for the first time acquired the real ownership of the property.

Still his tenure of it was but slender and precarious; for he pledged the railroad securities to a Mr. Hale for \$300,000.00 to raise the necessary funds. Mr. Hale intended to get control of the property, and so sure was he of doing this that he himself built a railroad—the Pontiac, Oxford and Port Austin—designed to connect with the Ann Arbor. Payment of the \$300,000.00 was duly demanded and on the last day when payment could be made without default—when at three o'clock Mr. Hale intended to go through the form of selling out the collateral for the purpose of himself buying it in—Mr. Ashley walked into his office at 2:45 p. m. with a certified check for the money. Hale turned pale from



the shock of getting his money when he did not want it, but was obliged to surrender the notes and bonds and stocks. He soon afterwards fell ill and died of disappointment over the ill-success of his scheme, it was said.

Taken together these things will perhaps suggest that if Mr. Roosevelt wants more of the strenuous life than he has already had, let him try to build a railroad on insufficient means after finishing his struggle with the trusts and the United States Senate.

Mr. Ashley raised the money to pay Hale by a loan from old "Commodore" Garrison. The Commodore did not take a collateral note, but said: "You leave with me 400 bonds. If you pay me in a year I'll give you the bonds. If not I'll keep them. *You hear that?*" he called to his clerk. Before the year was out, however, the old Commodore died, and Gov. Ashley had no evidence of this very informal agreement available, as the clerk was not, for some reason, to be found. Characteristically enough, Gov. Ashley was so profoundly grateful for the assistance rendered that he made no attempt to get the bonds back, although these had by that time gone to nearly par in value, and he consequently suffered a considerable loss.

In the meantime the road had been extended from Ann Arbor to South Lyons, and at last began to pay by exchanging a southbound lumber traffic for a northbound coal traffic with the Detroit, Lansing and Northern railroad. It was, however, no part of his plan to terminate the railroad at this point, and in 1883 he sent his eldest son James to build a road from Owosso to St. Louis, Michigan—a link on the projected line from Toledo to Lake Michigan. A separate corporation was organized, a right-of-way and some donations secured and the existing railway company guaranteed the bonds of the new corporation. In this way sufficient credit was obtained to build the new link. When, however, the time came to connect these two roads by a

line from Owosso to a connection north of Ann Arbor, the Detroit and Lansing railroad people resisted a crossing being made near Howell, having, like Mr. Hale, reached a conclusion that they too could use the Ann Arbor in their business. A condemnation of the right to cross was made in probate court and before the Detroit and Lansing people had time to appeal, Ann Arbor employees took possession of the junction, and put in an underground crossing by force. Thereupon a railroad crossing war resulted in which both sides utterly disregarded laws, court injunctions and each other's rights. Finally, of course, things quieted down, the general manager of the Detroit and Lansing easing off his temper by taking a large force of men up to a northern point on his line and tearing out somebody's dam; the net result being that the dam was at once restored and the railroad compelled to pay damages. Such is the elevated, intelligent and civilized way our railroad business is often conducted. The fascination of being able to fight and punish somebody they don't like with other people's money is too severe for many railroad managers, and brings out the meanest qualities in human nature. It is an odd circumstance that the manager at this time of the Detroit and Lansing, John B. Mulliken, had thirty years before been a clerk in the drug store of Mr. Ashley in Toledo. The fight on the other side was managed by James M. Ashley, Jr., and it was said at the time that no doubt Mulliken had often dandled young Ashley on his knees and that (no doubt) he now wished he had dropped him!

In 1886 Gov. Ashley projected a railroad line called the Toledo, Saginaw and Muskegon Railway, and interested David Robison Jr., William Baker and John Cummings, all of Toledo, in the enterprise. They built a line nearly a hundred miles in length from a connection with the Ann Arbor road to the city of Muskegon. Mr. Robison acted as president of the company and held the laboring oar. The

four associates put in considerable money and jointly incurred obligations for a great deal more. An interesting illustration of the way they did business is found in the fact that there was no written agreement between them. Gov. Ashley said to Mr. Robison, "David, I'll sign any note on account of this matter that you will," and some time after the enterprise was wound up Mr. Robison found and destroyed a bunch of notes so signed but which were never used. After completing the railroad the associates sold it, and had a strenuous time collecting the purchase price which was only done after a hard law suit. Thereupon one Lyman G. Mason of Muskegon who had assisted them as had many others along the line, by personal work, but who had never put a dollar into the enterprise, nor signed a note (save one which was discounted at his own bank) put in a claim to be considered an equal partner, and moreover being favored by a skillful attorney, John E. Parsons of New York, made good his claim to the satisfaction of a majority of the court of appeals of New York. Such are some of the fearful and wonderful things done by our courts. The associates, however, divided a fair profit in spite of the enterprising Mr. Mason and Gov. Ashley's main object—that of building a "feeder" for the Ann Arbor road was also attained.

About the same time Gov. Ashley interested gentlemen from Saginaw, Mich., in building a connection of the Ann Arbor road from Durand to Saginaw and Bay City, Mich. At first he had an interest in the enterprise, but he soon disposed of it. The road, however, was built as designed.

During all this time there were many a hair-breadth escape from the financial rocks; many a time when the money to meet expenses and bond-interest was lacking. Once he inserted an advertisement of the payment of the bond interest when there was no money on hand to make it and no certainty of getting it; but the money was found in some



way just before the day of payment. A railroad nominally completed has usually to be reconstructed after it is put in operation—so many changes of line and grade, so many sidetracks and line—and motive power equipment are found desirable. In its beginning the Ann Arbor road was laid with 50-lb. iron rails. In 1890 the line was laid with steel rails of 56 and 67-lbs. The early equipment of little cars and engines had to be replaced by much larger ones to keep up with the railroad progress. Curves had to be reduced and grades lowered. In the case of every fresh extension there was a long waiting time before actual paying traffic could be secured. The one thing that made it possible to endure these strains was the “watered bonds and stocks” which are so much complained of by those who have never gone through with the actual stress of such enterprises. Gov. Ashley’s practice was, in organizing new extensions to take a contract to build them in consideration of all the bonds and all the stock. Perhaps the actual average cash expense of construction per mile was \$12,000.00 whereas the bonds and stock issued were each \$20,000.00 per mile. He sold the bonds at prices ranging from 75 up usually with a bonus of stock, and when there was a deficit in the money required for operating expenses or interest, he sold off or pledged his remaining securities to whatever extent was necessary. To market these securities and make the necessary loans he kept his office in New York in the midst of the most cunning, scheming and unscrupulous people on earth. Many a time when he wished above all things to sell some bonds he felt obliged to deny it, because he feared that the inquirer was merely prying into his condition to see if it were practicable to “make a raid” on Ann Arbor, i. e., to sell its securities short in the hope of depressing their price, having the loans called and making money on the consequent decline and wrecking of the company. He wished to sell; yet if he admitted it, and thus showed that



he needed money it might bring on such a raid, and the hard problem before him was to accomplish what he wanted without exposing himself to attack. In this he was successful, although such attacks were made; but they failed of their intended effect.

Thus in 1886 the railroad extended from Toledo to St. Louis, Mich., a distance of about 150 miles. By similar means it was extended to Mt. Pleasant, to Cadillac, and finally to Frankfort, a port on Lake Michigan. This was reached in 1890. The same year the novel experiment of building car ferries large enough to breast the storms of Lake Michigan was made and carried out successfully under the management of James M. Ashley, Jr. This was really a notable event in the railroad world. The Russians profited by this experience and put on similar ferries for their Trans-Siberian railroad at Lake Baikal.

The way Gov. Ashley regarded the completion of this project was illustrated by his frequent remark that whoever else might or might not profit by it, the people along the line certainly would, for it increased the value of their lands more than the cost of the road. His restless idealism found vent in devising a plan of profit-sharing for the railroad employees which the rest of the directors adopted out of deference to his wishes, although few if any of them had any belief in the scheme. Inasmuch as there were not profits to divide, some considered the scheme ridiculous. But he himself took it seriously on the ground that *the principle* was the important thing. Industrial co-operation was an ideal with him; believing as he did that mankind had evolved out of a state of slave-labor into the wage system and was destined to evolve from the wage system into one of industrial partnership or co-operation. Many others agree with him in theory, but are content to let the evolution take place when it will, while he was full of zeal to "push it along," and impatient of the obstacles imposed by poor human nature, dull, slow, and corrupt as it is.

Gov. Ashley was now nearly sixty-eight years of age. For fourteen years he had been on a heavy and continuous strain. His health was threatened, and he was thoroughly weary. While the railroad company owed a large debt on short time or demand paper, on all of which he was an endorser, he felt in fairly good financial shape. About this time he could have sold his interest to the Pennsylvania for a large sum of money. Instead he determined to lay down the reins of active management and to take a trip to Europe—his first one. He did so, returning late in the fall, in time to take some part in the congressional canvass. He never resumed active control of the railroad. In 1893 a combination of blows came. First was a strike of locomotive engineers, which seriously crippled the property for several months, and cost it a good deal in both damaged property and loss of business. This was the occasion of one of the first of the labor injunction suits and of actions for \$300,000.00 damages against Chief Arthur of the engineers, reputed to be a wealthy man, and Chief Sargent of the firemen. Arthur eventually paid \$3000.00 and costs to have the damage suit settled. No sooner was the strike over than snows of depth almost unprecedented obstructed traffic in Northern Michigan, followed by floods having the same effect. Then came the panic of 1893 rendering it impossible to procure loans. At this juncture some one who knew or guessed the situation sold enormous blocks of Ann Arbor stock short in the New York market, hammered the price from 40 to 10 in a few hours, and thus caused all the company's loans to be called. It could not of course respond. A receiver was appointed, the property sold for \$2,627,000.00, less than half its bonded debt, and Gov. Ashley's equity was wiped out. A few years afterward the railroad had a market value of \$12,000,000.00, or twice the old bonded debt, showing that could he have tided over this crisis, the railroad property would have made him very wealthy.

The loss of this fortune itself affected him but slightly. He cared little for money. But he loved success, and the fame of success, and the failure of his road hurt him deeply for this reason. Still he said little and complained not at all, receiving the buffets of fortune with the same fortitude he had shown in surmounting the dangers and difficulties passed through in construction. The warm regard and constant respect and friendship of some of his old employees were very dear to him, and the report of the re-organization committee experts that they could find no instance in which he had feathered his own nest at the expense of the corporation he controlled, that even when failure was inevitable he had refrained from taking any money or property from the corporation in satisfaction of money admittedly due, (and afterward, in a small measure paid by the new owners) but that on the contrary he had continually endorsed the corporation's paper, bought property for it on his own credit or by selling his own securities, and sold the same to the company without payment or security therefor—all this was no doubt consolation to him, for he liked to be thought well of—"the last weakness of noble minds." Still it was a sad thing that after passing his three-score years and ten he should have had to see the wreck of what he had built up by so many years of labor, thought and hazard, and the inward bleeding of this aggravated the complaint from which he was suffering, and was to be in no long time the cause of his death.

As we look back over this record of achievement we see the same strong characteristics that appeared in his political life. A sublime optimism—a confidence that business would come, that obstacles could be overcome—possessed him. Careless of details, lax in his methods, he was yet bold in his conceptions, and strong in his grasp of controlling factors. A business man of the old school, his books were mostly kept in his head, and he had no secretaries or

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even stenographers. Some men could only see in him these short-comings, and could see no way to account sufficiently for the fact that, with very slender means, and when well past the meridian of life, he had entered a line of business new to him and created a great property. This, in fact, was only to be ascribed to the rare qualities of courage, address, and judgment which enabled him correctly to estimate remote results, and to pursue undaunted by dangers and failures the hard, toilsome and perilous paths by which they were reached.



## CHAPTER VIII.

## PERSONAL TRAITS AND FAMILY LIFE.

Gov. Ashley enjoyed an unusually fine physical constitution. In young and middle life he was exactly six feet in height. A sprained ankle, due to his jumping off a railroad train in motion prevented the activity natural to him for many months, and was the cause of his taking on a good deal of flesh. His general appearance was handsome and striking, and he always attracted attention wherever he went. He wore his hair, which was abundant and curly, and never wholly gray to the time of his death, in a style peculiar to himself—combed up and back, so that it lay on his head in curly masses. In this and other peculiarities of personal habits we may see an illustration of Herbert Spencer's theory of the correspondence between radicalism in politics and non-conformity in manners.

His fine physique and abundant strength were often of use to him in the rough frontier communities of Northwestern Ohio. One instance of physical encounter has already been given and it is said that his appointment on the staff of Gov. Chase—whence he gained the title of general, a title always disliked by himself on account of the farcical military service of the governor's staff—was due to this or some other struggle like it, Gov. Chase giving out humorously that the appointment was made "on account of distinguished services in the field."

One tussle of this kind, illustrating the manners of the times was with Gen. Steedman, afterward a distinguished soldier, and in 1860 Gov. Ashley's competitor for Congress. Steedman was also a "good" man, i. e., a "handy man with his fists," and so imbued with curiosity as to his comparative prowess, that he is said to have fought fights

where no cause of quarrel existed, merely to "find out who was the better man." At any rate he came into the drug store at the corner of Summit and Jefferson and conducted himself in such a way that it amounted to a challenge, and Mr. Ashley came out from behind the counter, grappled with him and threw him to the floor with such violence as to satisfy Steedman's curiosity once and for all.

These rough manners were by no means confined to Northwestern Ohio. Senator Douglas of Illinois was, when a young man, a frequent participant in personal fights, in which being both light and short, he often came off but second best as a rule, yet this circumstance did not seem to abate his zeal for further experiment in the same direction. Afterward he carried this intense pugnacity into political debate where he was much more successful than with his fists.

In the congressional canvass of 1860 Steedman and Ashley had a joint debate which covered a wide moral area—from the highest topics of liberty and progress, down to personalities like this, which Gov. Ashley told with infinite gusto to the end of his life:

"I used to wonder," said Steedman "where Ashley got his title of 'General.' He has never been in the militia; neither has he been in the regular army. The matter always remained a mystery to me until one day I came across an old newspaper, published when Ashley was in the drug business. And in that newspaper was an advertisement which stated that J. M. Ashley was the General Agent of Clark's Pills."

No doubt this thrust was received with great delight by the audience, as was a similar passage in one of the debates between Lincoln and Douglas recently related by an eye witness wherein Douglas charged that Lincoln has tried and failed at pretty much every line of business—including the selling of liquor behind the bar—and now having failed

at everything else wanted *his* place in the Senate. Lincoln received this talk good-humoredly, thanked Judge Douglas for his "truthful biography" but said that "the Judge had forgotten one thing—that while he, Lincoln, was selling liquor from one side of the bar, Judge Douglas was always on the other side."

The relations between two men so prominent in a community as Gen. Steedman and Gov. Ashley are naturally interesting. The two men were never friends, and in politics were always opponents, yet there was no personal animosity. In 1864 in the midst of the congressional campaign Gen. Steedman obtained a furlough and came home to assist in defeating Ashley for Congress; and having done all he could started back to the army to use his influence with the soldiers in the same direction. The most friendly relations then existed between the Lincoln administration and Congressman Ashley, and it was probably not an accident that when Steedman got to Louisville where he could do Ashley no damage either at home or among the soldiers, he received a telegram from Secretary Stanton directing him to remain at Louisville until further orders. From a civil service standpoint this was very shocking, but it was only one instance among many of the rough expedients used in saving the Union.

Gen. Steedman was a fine soldier, but a failure in civil life, both before and after the war. At times he made a good deal of money but it soon "went." Consequently he was continually "hard up," and one day in the early times of the railroad when the prospect around Gov. Ashley was exceedingly dark, and he also was much pressed for money, the two men met on Madison Avenue and Steedman followed Ashley into his boarding house and asked for a "loan." Ashley reached in his pocket and handed out twenty dollars.

This racy story of Steedman naturally leads us to remark



on the deep humor and splendid disinterestedness of Gov. Ashley. He dearly loved to tell stories having the element of fun, and if they were at his own expense, so much the better. He was not one of those who tell a story without a smile; on the contrary the best part of his stories was the flash of his brimming blue eyes, the sound of his own hearty unrestrained laughter. He was a most charming raconteur and his fund of stories covering so long a time and derived from so many fields of experience were the delight of his friends and family, and could they have been preserved, would have added to the pleasure of a large public.

This love of humor was an offset and humanizing counter-prise to the constitutional radicalism which formed the other side of his character. It seemed to be part of his mother's contribution to him, while the other side might well have belonged to his father. The two elements never seemed perfectly fused and rendered homogenous and harmonious. One might be talking with him and see with wonder and delight the genial humorous side of his mentality when all of a sudden something might arouse the rebellious dissentient radical aspect. It is hardly necessary to say that it was the former quality that won him friends all his life and the latter that aroused hostility and opposition, even among those divided from him by a comparatively narrow degree. Sometimes, probably often, the same person would be both attracted and repelled by his public speeches, as when an old farmer who heard one of his anti-slavery speeches said: "Well, I don't go much on his nigger, but I like him."

This genial humor was aided by several other traits having the same effect. He was an exceedingly good and patient fisherman, and all his life was willing to go to great fatigue and endure a broiling sun and much discomfort to entice the shy inhabitants of river and lake. So too he was fond of all manner of sports, and was probably the best swim-



mer ever known by the writer. Many a time, when in his later years, he was in the extreme of perplexity in New York, he would go to Coney Island, swim far out beyond the limits and lie floating quietly for long periods. Once he actually went to sleep in this position. All these things added greatly to his effective strength, and saved him from falling into mere impracticability. These diverse and in-harmonious elements of his character explain the widely differing feelings with which he was regarded by those that knew him in the height of his activity. Few men had more devoted friends, and few more bitter opponents. To the one he was the impersonation of mental bigness and geniality; to the others he seemed sometimes a demagogue (for so it was easy to analyze his finer side) or a bigot as the occasion might develop.

There is perhaps a relation between this diversity in him and a certain want of discipline. It may seem incredible that one who edited a newspaper in his twenties and who was capable of making so remarkable a speech as that delivered at Montpelier in 1856, should never have learned to spell well and should always have had the vaguest notions of grammar. Yet so it was. While he could work with the most intense industry on subjects that interested him, he lacked the patience for the dry and dull work, the gnawing detail, which is often necessary for good results.

Gov. Ashley used to talk but little of religion, and that little was largely in criticism. The reaction in him from the ultra-artificial and positive theological ideas in which he was brought up was profound, and the tendency to criticism and denial was very great. For many years he habitually attended the Unitarian Church; which was, no doubt, a serious damage to him politically. It was, probably, the protesting and critical character of this church that chiefly attracted him. The pro-slavery attitude of many of the protestant churches during the anti-slavery agitation dis-

gusted him profoundly, and sharpened his attitude of dissent. Yet he never expressed any disbelief on the grand essentials of religion, and on the contrary used to quote with sympathy the religious poetry of Whittier. His attitude was that of one who does not know and does not feel that he is expected to know, but who feels somehow all is well—that the universe has a meaning far beyond our ken which sometime we may know.

Gov. Ashley raised three sons and a daughter; James, born 1854; Henry, born 1856; Charles, born 1864; and Mary, born 1866. The last became the wife of Edward R. Hewitt of New York a son of Abram S. Hewitt, in 1892. All were given college educations, James graduating at Cornell in 1876 and the others at Michigan University in 1879, 1884 and 1888. To these he was most kind and liberal. He was determined that none of them should suffer from the disadvantages of lack of education which were he thought, so great a handicap to himself. And so the three boys received their college training at times when the sacrifice in money was very serious to him. Not only were they put through college, but they were supplied with abundance of money, Gov. Ashley apparently thinking that no matter what else happened, there must be no curtailment here. At one peculiar gloomy season the question once arose whether one of the boys should go to the "Junior Hop"—the expense being about \$15.00 or \$20.00. It was debated, pro and con, the father saying nothing, but finally it was put up to him and with a "let him go!" the debate was closed. Nor was it in money matters only that he was liberal with his children. It was so in matters of belief. He did not wish to control them, but wished them to think for themselves. If one of them showed a little eccentricity he enjoyed it. He had no wish to control his childrens' opinions. Even on the all-important question of marriage he interfered but little. At one time he was exceedingly fearful

that one of his sons was going to marry a certain young lady; but the only sign he ever gave of it was when she was married to someone else, he relieved his feelings of gratitude by sending her an extravagant present! In one case, however, he did interfere and successfully, with a project of this nature, where the young lady he thought was seriously unfit for matrimony because of poor health, this being a subject on which he had strong views.

Gov. Ashley was fortunate in having a wife in complete sympathy with his general ideas, and able to assist him greatly by independent and capable action when necessary. It was she who sold the home in Toledo on their removal to Montana, and she who sold the home and other property in Helena and brought the family East after the husband had preceded them, in both cases handling these important matters very well. They used to find companionship in the reading and discussion of the larger subjects of the age. Sometimes Mrs. Ashley would be at work getting dinner and the husband would come out to the kitchen and read aloud some magazine article about evolution or woman suffrage or education while the kettle boiled and the wife went to and fro with her homely tasks. It is in such places and ways, rather than in parlors or parties that true domesticity is found; which, when seen even by a child as the writer then was is at once known as the real thing and which one loves to look back upon, as upon an oasis in the desert of life.



## CHAPTER IX.

## LAST YEARS.

Failing Health—Bearing in Adversity—Writings—Afro-American Presentation Volume—Death in 1896—Review of his Life.

Gov. Ashley's health gradually failed from 1893. A severe attack of diabetes came on during the year following and continued with varying force until his death. So strong and healthy a man as he had been, and so constitutionally restless, impulsive, and strong-willed, was naturally a poor invalid. It was hard for those about him to get him to comply with the doctor's directions as to food, rest and exercise.

Yet, after a severe illness, he partially recovered and occupied himself much with writing recollections of his past life, and upon favorite topics of public discussion, for in his old age, he lived again through the struggles of his youth and prime. Hour after hour, and day after day, regardless of heat and physical discomfort, he toiled at his desk. Hardly a word escaped him regarding his losses and he seemed determined to overlook as of no consequence both these and certain other things more painful than the losses themselves. He knew he could not remedy these things; and a fine healthy instinct kept him from irritating his pain by useless discussion.

So he appeared to become a historian and autobiographer, in memory of the stirring times through which he had passed. In 1893 a collection of his speeches was put in book form and presented to him by a negro society in memory of his services to their race. This gave him great pleasure.

All his life Gov. Ashley was a reckless giver. It seemed impossible for him to resist an appeal for help however transparent the fraud might be, and the last years were no



exception. With financial ruin staring him in the face he would frequently require the writer who then had charge of his business, to bring him money which must have been spent in that way. At length one day what he required was given him in silver dollars, at which his eyes opened wide in astonishment; but he instantly understood and said not a word. The idea was that if he was determined to give away money it might as well be in smaller amounts as larger; and it was noticed that the amounts so given him lasted longer than usual.

Yet even in these years of business reverse, political disappointment and bodily disease the healthful side of his nature asserted itself and kept him alive. He took frequent little trips and fished a great deal. He took the keenest interest in current events particularly in politics, then in the heat of the silver agitation. His constitutional radicalism continually asserted itself, and he wrote for publication several papers advocating reforms which he had cherished all his life. Nearly forty years before he had exposed in Congress the influence of the slave power upon the selection of the federal judiciary, and upon the subserviency of that body to the slave interest; and now in his last days, he published a pamphlet advocating a limitation of their term of office and power of declaring unconstitutional acts of Congress. Again he lifted up his voice in favor of abolishing the vice-presidency; in favor of proportional representation; and in favor of direct nominations and the abolition of the caucus system. There seems to be a strong tendency at the present time toward the general adoption of the latter reform as an escape from machine politics and boss rule; but while the other reforms proposed may have many arguments in their favor, they are not of the kind of which the people feel a pressing necessity; and in politics, it is only the latter or something which has the quality of staginess and strong color, which unaided by financial interest,

stands any great chance of securing support in the hurly-burly of politics.

Thus, his natural energy, constitutional radicalism and taste for healthful recreation showing undiminished, he passed the last three years of his life. In the summer of 1896 he thought himself well enough to go fishing at one of the little lakes of North Michigan. While there his diet was not what was required for his condition, and a fatal attack ensued culminating in his death at Alma, Michigan, Sept. 16, 1896. A few days later his body was buried, with no public demonstration, at Toledo.

As we pass in review this long and eventful life, we cannot but be astonished at its wide area of activity and vicissitude. First a poor boy with little schooling and no trade learned, then a steamboat laborer and clerk, a medical student, a newspaper man, a lawyer, a merchant and always, through all occupations, a man interested in public affairs and devoted to public causes. For ten years a member of Congress during the entire civil war period, and for one golden day intimately connected with the greatest event of the nineteenth century—the abolition of slavery in the United States by the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution. Then for a short time the Governor of a great infant commonwealth, to which he had given its name, and with whose young aspirations he had the most entire sympathy. At an age when most men retire from business, if able, he enters a new field and builds several hundred miles of railroad with the aid of very little capital. In all these years he probably knew no single moment of financial or nervous ease; no hour when unassailed by griping cares in business, politics or private life, or by all three—such was the truly strenuous life of this typical Western man. Would that the evening of his life had been as peaceful as the setting of a summer's sun! But his evening was as his day—the dark mingled with the bright, the sad with the splendid and

glorious. In all that he did and was we feel no cold abstraction, but a warm-blooded man and brother full of feeling, with his share of human weakness, but fulfilling with surprising strength and energy the tasks laid upon him by the times and conditions in which his lot was cast.

## APPENDIX A.

**A Few Recollections of Governor Ashley by John J. Baker, President of the Toledo Savings Bank.**

I was a delegate to the convention at Defiance in 1858, which first put Governor Ashley in nomination for Congress. We went down from Toledo in a special car and had a hilarious time. When we got to Defiance we had a parade of which I, seated on a donkey with my face toward the tail, was the grand marshal. In those days, probably, politics had more fun and jollity connected with them than they do nowadays.

Afterward when Mr. Ashley was in Congress during the war period I saw a good deal of him. He used to come down to our place and tell us sometimes that he did not have money enough to go back to Washington, and we would lend it to him on his note, Mrs. Ashley signing with him. During the war many men in Washington got rich, and I several times urged General Ashley, as we used to call him, to look out for himself and take advantage of his opportunities. I said, "General, you are a lawyer, and many men are getting rich down at Washington by representing companies having interests there; why don't you?" but I never could interest him in the matter. "Oh, John," he said, "I haven't time!"—and he was as poor when he came out of Congress as when he entered it.

During the time of the Waite campaign in 1862, when there was a three-cornered fight between Gov. Ashley, Radical Republican; M. R. Waite, Conservative Republican, and a Democratic candidate, there was a very hot time—one of the hottest canvasses I ever knew. Mr. Waite was a very popular man and a fine lawyer, and afterward became Chief Justice. Notwithstanding the extremity of



feeling caused by the civil war and the great issues depending upon it, the canvass was conducted upon a very high plane. There were no personalities between Ashley and Waite. After the campaign was over I remember these two meeting, and Gen. Ashley shook hands with Mr. Waite and said in his free jolly way: "M. R., your defeat is the best thing that could have happened to you. If you could have gotten down to Congress with the situation as it now is, you would have had no ground to stand upon, so it is a good thing for you that you were not elected—as you will some day appreciate even if you do not now."

I was in the lines in front of Petersburg, acting as lieutenant in one of the one hundred day regiments, when Gov. Ashley paid us a visit, bringing President Lincoln and another gentleman. We were behind breastworks very near the rebel line, and they were quite careless in exposing themselves until I gave them warning in this way. I said, "Sit down, gentlemen, in the trenches, and I will show you something." I then took off my cap and placing it on the point of my revolver, placed it cautiously above the top of the breastworks. There was a "pouf" and a bullet came through it. After that none of the gentlemen needed any urging about getting well down the breastworks.

When Governor Ashley began to build the Ann Arbor road he came down to the bank and told us about it, and frequently borrowed a good deal of money of us. We considered the Governor at that time to be worth very little money, but we gave him a large line of credit because he had a great deal of confidence himself in the enterprise, and made us see things in the same way that he did himself. At times he owed us as much as \$60,000.00, which was a large sum for a bank so small as ours then was. He had the same faculty of enlisting people in his business enterprises that he had in politics, but he never seemed to care for the money making end of it so much as he did for the

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achievement itself. He wanted to put the railroad through and have it as a monument.

We all thought a good deal of Mr. Ashley. He was a splendid story teller, and a most agreeable companion. He had a good many warm personal friends in the Toledo district.

## APPENDIX B.

(The following is a part of a paper written by Mr. Ashley and published in *The Arena* for Nov. 1895. It discussed the abolition of the vice-presidency.)

Observation and experience now incline me to favor such constitutional reforms as political evolution may develop and force upon us. I therefore suggest in this paper, a plan for the abolition of the Vice-President as an officer and for the election of a President, which if voluntarily adopted by the people will secure to the voters of the several States an approximation to proportional representation in the electoral college, without an amendment to our venerated Constitution, and without repealing or changing any law. To the end that I may anticipate and answer some of the objections that will be offered to this plan. I propose to recall to the reader some historical incidents, in connection with our anti-slavery and prohibition political campaigns.

Practically the old abolitionist often gave aid and comfort unintentionally and unwittingly to the slave barons against whom they were always ready at the drop of a hat to give battle. So long as they hurled their intellectual thunderbolts against slavery's fortified citadel they were formidable and dangerous antagonists because their arguments and appeals against the "sum of all villainies" were impassioned and unanswerable. As a rule, the favorite and generally the only answer of the slave barons to these appeals was an attempt to have all abolitionists silenced by brutal and maddened mobs, and by conduct disgraceful to a civilized people. But when the most worthy of our abolition friends undertook to organize politically, and act as practical men, they were in the main failures, and often gave aid and comfort to their pro-slavery enemies.

Here is an enumeration of some of the factions with which practically anti-slavery men had to deal. One small religious faction (every one of whom were anti-slavery men) would not vote because as they affirmed, "they were citizens of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, which was not of this world, and that they could not at the same time consistently be a citizen of the kingdom of Satan, which was of this world." Therefore they declined to vote with the citizens of Satan's kingdom. Then there were the several branches of the universally respected Quaker family—all of whom were anti-slavery, but a majority of whom could not be induced to vote. Another faction, more pronounced and defiant in their hostility to slavery than those just named, held that "the national Constitution was a covenant with death and a league with hell," and for that reason refused to vote or hold office, because as they declared, "they could not take an oath to support such a Constitution." There was also a small but active body of men who held, *as I did*, "that the Constitution, if honestly interpreted, was an anti-slavery instrument, and that property in men was not recognized in the national Constitution." But for the rebellion of the slave barons and the abolition of slavery by military power, the great political battle against slavery in this country would ultimately have been fought out at the ballot box, as many of us hoped it would be, by a union of all anti-slavery men on a platform affirming "*that the national Constitution if fairly interpreted, did not, nor could not, recognize property in men.*" The triumph of such a national party would beyond question have worked a change in the interpretation of the Constitution, without formally amending it.

This was my "platform" on the slavery question before I entered public life, and I have never had occasion to modify or change it.

But the wildest and most irrepressible of all the early



anti-slavery factions with which we had to deal were the men who year after year met in county, State and national conventions and nominated on an abolition platform and voted for all elective officers from presidential electors down to constable; and this without regard to the anti-slavery character of the candidates who might be running on any other ticket. At every election they fired their ballots in the air, with reckless enthusiasm which took no note of disastrous results. Their stereotyped answer to any chiding which we gave them for this kind of misdirected effort was, "We will do our duty and let God take care of the consequences."

Naturally enough the slave barons were delighted as they witnessed these factional fights among anti-slavery men, and especially when all abolition ballots were fired in the air, and they saw them go up like rockets and come down like sticks.

But for the practical anti-slavery men who voted for and elected Mr. Lincoln in 1860, this indefensible folly on the part of the abolitionist might have been going on to-day and the slave barons still be in possession of the Government, with slavery as the chief corner-stone of their Confederacy.

The election frauds in New York in 1844 could have been defeated, as the records show, by intelligent action on the part of the Whig abolitionists while maintaining their anti-slavery integrity and their party organization intact.

If 90 per cent. of the abolition party in the State of New York, which in 1844 cast 15,812 votes for James G. Birney, had printed thirty-five of the thirty-six Clay electors on their ballot and so voted (as that number undoubtedly would have done had the opportunity been given them, *because more than nine-tenths of them were Whigs*, their record as a party would have been distinct and clear, and their protest against the crime of slavery been made more

emphatic than it was made by voting as they did for thirty-six Birney electors whom they knew they could not elect. They would thus have defeated James K. Polk, the candidate most objectionable to all abolitionists, and elected Henry Clay, who stood on the slavery question about where Lincoln stood when he was elected President. In voting for but one Birney elector *and for thirty-five Clay electors*, they would have secured *thirty-five electoral votes in New York for Clay*, and this vote would have made him President. This record would have shown that the Whig abolitionists held the balance of power in New York, and, as practical men, knew how to use it.

The mean ratio in New York for a presidential elector in 1844, was 13,500 votes. As stated above, the abolitionists cast that year in New York 15,812 votes for Birney, and therefore would have been entitled, under my plan for proportional representation, to one member of the college of electors in that State, with over two thousand votes to spare; that is, provided the abolitionists had printed the names of thirty-five Clay electors on their ballots and voted the ticket, and the Clay committee had printed the name of one Birney elector on its ballot and voted for it; or the Clay committee might have stipulated that one of their electors should vote for Birney, provided the abolition vote was large enough to give them the balance of power, and their vote would have saved the State for Clay. They would thus have defeated Polk for the Presidency, instead of aiding and encouraging the ballot box stuffers, as they did, by firing their ballots in the air. But the desired result, the prevention of frauds in selecting presidential electors, especially in pivotal States, can be accomplished in more ways than one. It is an easy matter, after an election in any State in which a joint electoral ticket is voted for by party groups numerous enough to constitute a majority of the total vote, to allot to each group of voters the number

of electors to which they are entitled in the electoral college, in proportion to the total number of ballots cast by each. Of course each stipulation must, of necessity, be intelligently and carefully made before the election.

In 1884, the mean ratio for a presidential elector in the State of New York was 25,000 votes. The Prohibitionists cast that year in New York 25,001 votes, and on a joint electoral ticket would have voted for thirty-five Blaine electors and been entitled to the vote of one elector for St. John. This would have elected Blaine President instead of Cleveland. There is no question that 90 per cent. of all the men in New York and Connecticut who voted for St. John in 1884 would have preferred Blaine to Cleveland for President. More than 90 per cent. of these Prohibitionists were Republicans, and they held the balance of power in both these States, and could have emphasized their hostility to the rum-power more effectively and quite as pronounced as they did had they printed thirty-five Blaine electors on their ballots in New York and one for St. John, and five Blaine and one St. John elector for Connecticut. They would thus, while preserving their party organization intact, have defeated Cleveland and elected Blaine, and shown that as Republican Prohibitionists they had their second choice for President, while teaching all observers that they were practical common-sense citizens as well as temperance men. Of course, if there had been in New York or in Connecticut in 1844 and in 1884 ten per cent. or more of Democrats associated with the Abolitionist party or the Prohibition party (which from my observation is a violent supposition), they could, had they desired to do so, have had printed on their ballots thirty-five Polk or Cleveland electors for New York and five electors for Connecticut, and in this way voted for their second choice for President. *Had such a record been made in 1884 by the Republican Prohibitionists of New York and Connecticut, as above sug-*



*gested, it would be regarded to-day, by a majority of the American people, and especially by all Republican Prohibitionists, as the most memorable day in the history of their party.*

The truth is, that the Abolitionists and Prohibitionists have repeatedly been unwittingly used and abused by pro-slavery men and the rum interest. It is a well-known fact that from 1844 to the election of Lincoln, in all close Northern congressional districts and States, when the occasion invited and party success appeared to demand it, abolition candidates for Congress have been put in the field by pro-slavery men, and kept in the field by their contributions in money, for the purpose of defeating men of ability because of their well-known hostility to slavery, and who were therefore particularly obnoxious to the slave barons. These contributions were always so made that the abolition innocents who expended the money were as unsuspecting as babes, and could not be made to see that they were simply being used as "decoy-ducks" to give success to their pro-slavery enemies.

In like manner, the rum interests have repeatedly contributed to put in the field in close Legislative districts, prohibition candidates, in order the more certainly to defeat the men who were not wanted in State Legislatures or in Congress by the rum power. And this amazing kind of stupidity promises to go on next year, on a larger and more dazzling scale than ever before, with some half dozen or more candidates in the field and full-fledged presidential electoral tickets for each candidate, and also candidates in many States for every office from Governor down.

These several Presidential candidates may be found standing on all kinds of platforms, for a single tax or no tax; for free trade or for protection; for fiat paper money or no money; for a deluge of cheap silver with forty-eight cents of the market value of that metal in a dollar for free



circulation among the cotton-growers and farmers. And it would be quite natural and more reasonable than any of the above enumerated propositions, if the gold miners and gold dealers united and demanded that forty-eight cents in value of their gold bullion should be stamped by the Government on all gold coin and made a legal tender for one hundred cents. With such a platform, perhaps the "silver-bugs" might be induced to unite with the "gold-bugs" on a joint electoral presidential ticket, and thus, if successful, increase the circulating medium for the special benefit of the owners of gold and silver mines. If this is not enough, a legion of reformers stand ready to discover some other and newer panacea, and to assure the people that if their candidate for President is elected, the long sought for Utopia will be established, where no citizen will be permitted to toil more than *one or two hours* a day, and where everybody will be happy without work or worry.

In these several groups of political salvationists will be found many well-known champions and noisy cranks whose opinions are not of the slightest consequence to anybody on earth. These reformers will be found marching with banners, brass bands and fireworks, so that old-fashioned people may see how self-important each reformer looks and acts, and how defiant they all can be, as they shoot their ballots in the air while piously calling on God "to take care of the consequences."

The reader will comprehend from what has been written above that it was no easy task for the great body of anti-slavery men who voted for Fremont and Lincoln to get on with these earnest and honest Abolitionists, or for practical temperance men to work with impractical prohibitionists who often unwittingly aided the ballot-box stuffers especially as they did in New York in 1884, when they caused Blaine's defeat.

I present these familiar historic facts and personal

reminiscences for the considerate judgment of the several groups of earnest, honest men who are to-day engaged in the organization of new parties, or who are representing old minority organizations, like the Prohibitionists. Scores of such parties have been born in the last third of a century, and have given up the ghost, leaving a record of stupidity and folly which must to-day amuse and annoy the actors, and yet newer and wilder so-called reform movements are being repeated every year, and draw into them new and enthusiastic converts.

Such parties have heretofore been powerless for any practical purpose, and will continue to be powerless as long as they fire their ballots in the air, while such action may work a positive injury, as the wild voting of the old Abolitionist often did. After the experience which the American people have had with the abolition party and with a score or more of smaller and larger party groups, intelligent and thoughtful men must in time learn that a well-organized party which represents a living idea and holds the balance of power in any county, district or State, is more formidable for practical political work, if intelligently directed, than a party of many times its number.

## APPENDIX C.

(A paper on Proportional Representation, written in 1895.)

**THE REPRESENTATIVE PRINCIPLE IMPERILED,**

The danger which menaces representative government in this country is a *reality* and not a *theory*. From my point of view the danger signals are in sight on every hand. The tendency of the turbid political current is unmistakably all in one direction. The representative branch of the government is deliberately, steadily and cunningly assailed and ridiculed, as if the men who do so, believed in Monarchy or in one man power in government rather than in a Democracy. Witness the general exclamations of satisfaction which are everywhere voiced by the press of all parties when Congress or State Legislatures adjourn. To this general rejoicing may properly be added the efforts being made to have all legislative bodies meet but once every *two* or *four years*.

It is now a common thing to hear the President say, when the representatives of the people assemble in Washington, "that he has Congress on his hands," which means that he regards himself as embarrassed when that body is in session, and that he would be able to administer the government much easier and better without them. If such a President could have appropriations made by Congress for a number of years in advance to meet the needed supplies for the army and navy, and for the current expenses of the civil administration (as has been done in more than one nation claiming to have a representative government), and then have Congress adjourn, *subject to his call*, the legitimate and logical result of the attacks made on the representative principle in our government would be attained. So general and pronounced is the tendency in favor of *one man power*



in the government that it has become the fashion to designate the President as "our ruler." In a recent five minute after-dinner speech made in England by our Ambassador at the Court of St. James, when speaking of the President, he used the expression, our "Chief Ruler," and "Our Governor" four times inside of four minutes. I quote his exact words: "I feel grateful," said Mr. Bayard, "for the cordial reception which you have given the toast to the 'Chief Ruler of the country' which I have the honor to represent." (Cheers). Again he said, "I tell you plainly that it takes a real man to govern the people of the United States." (Cheers). "Fortunately," he adds, "in this case, there is a real man to govern the people of the United States." (Cheers). In another half minute or less he declares, "that there is not a man, woman or child in the United States that does not in his or her heart respect the man who is their 'Chief Ruler.'" (Cheers). In a speech at a Boston dinner a few days before Mr. Bayard sailed for England, he said, when describing and eulogizing Mr. Cleveland, that he was "*the steel-ribbed ruler* of a violent and contentious people, too much disposed to have their own way," which means that we need a strong government and one-man power to govern us, as against a Congress which represents a "violent and contentious people, too much disposed to have their own way."

A President who believes this, and a partisan press which re-echoes it, will naturally enough join in pious chorus, and "thank God when Congress adjourns," so that "Our Ruler" may not be embarrassed by the presence of the people's representatives in Washington. It might occur to some that since the birth of the convention system, the nation's representatives in Congress have had a number of Presidents on their hands of unsavory memory, whom the people would have rejoiced to see relieved from continued service in that office, if it could have been done in a legal and orderly manner.



If the constitution had clothed the House of Representatives with the power to remove any President or Judge of the Supreme Court by a two-thirds vote of all the members elected and qualified, there would have been less of the one-man power in the practical administration of the Executive Department, and less assumption of unwarranted authority on the part of the Supreme Court, and a clearer recognition of the representative principle in government.

When scholarly men who know the meaning of words, deliberately and publicly designate the President as "Our Chief Ruler," and "Our Steel-Ribbed Ruler," and the Supreme Court as "Our August Tribunal" and "Our Supreme Tribunal," it has to me an unpleasant significance.

After the principle of representative government shall have been fully recognized, no man elected or appointed to any official position, whether President or Representative in Congress, or to a place in the Cabinet or on the Supreme Bench, will be conceded to have a *vested right* in the office to which he may have been appointed or elected. He will simply be regarded and treated as an *agent* for the people, with the right reserved to them to instruct, suspend or recall such "agents" whenever they may think proper, provided it is done in strict conformity with law. If a President or Senator or Representative *betray* or *mis-represent* the men who elected him, they ought to have the power under the constitution to instruct or to recall such agents at pleasure. It will be conceded by all observing men that the representative branch of the government is steadily becoming more and more subordinate to the Executive and Judicial departments. When the Executive and Judiciary are united (as they uniformly will be), they are practically the government.

In a true representative government an intelligent people need no protection against themselves. Above all they do not need the protection of a Presidential veto, nor a veto

by the Supreme Court. *The only protection required against themselves in a representative Democracy to check hasty and inconsiderate legislation, is an unfettered press, a free ballot and an appeal to the "sober second thought of the voter at the next election."* In this way a true Democracy is educated and trains itself. It thus learns, as all men have learned by practice and experience. When so trained and governing itself, (as it must under any practical plan of proportional representation), it can safely dispense with the veto power of the President or the Supreme Court.

Our dearly-bought experience has taught us that the present caucus and convention system is not only opposed to the plan of proportional representation, but that it is the recognized foe of individual manhood and the ally of every political trickster and pretender. And until every constituency is authorized to select its political agents, as it selects its doctor or lawyer or business manager from any part of the State or nation, without the intervention of the "convention machine," we shall have men without ability or experience to represent us in Congress and in all legislative bodies, both State and city. Under the single district and convention system many men of ability degenerate into mere party hacks in their well meaning efforts to *stand fair* with their party in the county of their residence. Many estimable gentlemen have learned that it is no easy task for a man of character and ability *to surrender* to the dictation of the "machine," and the kind of political "boss" which the convention system invests with absolute power.

I will give two striking instances in which the convention bosses were able to defeat for Congress two of our most distinguished statesmen.

After Thomas H. Benton had been Senator from Missouri for thirty years, he was defeated for re-election by a combination of pro-slavery conspirators, who were even then

preparing to force Missouri into the proposed Confederacy. The Union voters of St. Louis took Mr. Benton up and elected him to the House of Representatives. The convention bosses thereupon determined that he should not again be returned, and, in order to add to the humiliation of his defeat, they nominated and elected a nondescript individual, who has never been heard of since. The other distinguished citizen to whom I refer, was Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio. Like Mr. Benton, he had been defeated for re-election to the United States Senate. While on a visit to Toledo soon after his defeat, I suggested to him that he stand as a candidate for Congress. He answered "that he could not seek the nomination, but that if tendered to him on a platform hostile to the extension of slavery, he would accept it and make an aggressive campaign." I went to Cincinnati at once (then the home of Mr. Chase), and interviewed our leading anti-slavery friends, all of whom responded heartily to the proposed movement. When we called on and conferred with the convention bosses, we were informed that the "slate" had already been made up, and anyway if it had not been, they said that they could not think of nominating so pronounced and prominent an anti-slavery man. A man was nominated and elected whom no one can now remember. I need not say that there were at that time many anti-slavery constituencies in this country, who, had they been permitted to do so, would have been glad to secure both Senators Benton and Chase to represent them in the National Congress.

When Mr. Gladstone and other great statesmen of England, have for any cause been defeated, as they have been, other districts have taken them up and elected them, and in this way their continuous services have been secured to the nation.

The enlargement of the right of each voter to select his representative in Congress from any locality in his State,



and his emancipation from the despotism of the caucus and convention system can be secured by the adoption of the plan of proportional representation which I advocated when in Congress. This plan can be made approximately perfect, provided the voter can be granted the right to take the *initiative* in all nominations. But the *initiative* must be secured to voters in the nomination of candidates as a condition to the working of any plan of proportional representation, whether it be the Swiss system or any other.

The recent national conference of the advocates of proportional representation which I attended at Saratoga, N. Y., endorsed the plan of voting now used in the Republic of Switzerland, and commended it to the people of the United States, with such modifications as after discussion might be determined upon.

The opinion which found most favor in the Saratoga conference touching the number of candidates for whom any one constituency might vote, either for Congress or other representative bodies, was *seven*. A constituency must have the right to vote on one ballot for three or more representatives in order to secure the privilege of cumulative voting.

Under the plan which I prefer, States entitled under any apportionment to eight representatives in Congress, would be divided into two congressional districts, of four members each, in each of which every voter would be entitled to vote for four candidates, or he might cumulate his vote and designate on his ballot the number of votes he desired to have counted for any *one* or *more* of the four candidates. If the State was entitled to *nine* members, this plan provides that the additional member shall be nominated and elected for the State at large on the same ballot with the four members in each district. An elector in a State entitled to nine members, would thus be authorized to vote for five members of Congress, or if he so elected, he could cumulate his vote



and have them all counted for the candidate for the State at large, or for any one of the four candidates in his district. In a State entitled to eleven members, each district would have five members and one member for the State at large, and each voter in such State would be authorized to vote for six members. This plan is favored because it secures to each elector as near as may be in our large and small States an equality of political power. Such an apportionment would destroy the political gerrymander, and secure to each elector the right to vote in any State entitled to elect *eight* congressmen, or *more than eight*, for not less than *four*, nor *more than seven members*. In States entitled to *more than ten members*, each district would have *not less than four nor more than five members*, and at no time more than *three* members for the State at large. If four members are apportioned to each district, and three for the State at large, each elector would be authorized to vote for *seven members*. If a State were entitled to *seven* members, or to less than *seven*, the State would not be divided into districts, and each elector would be authorized to vote for all *seven* candidates for the State at large. If a State had but *one* member, of course cumulative voting could not be adopted.

It is generally conceded that the people must adopt some plan that shall abolish the present disreputable and corrupt mode of making party nominations, and a large number of the clearest thinkers in the nation favor some such plan as I have here outlined. A modification of the veto power and the appointing power of the President as proposed in my "Arena" article for November, and a reorganization of the Supreme Court as suggested in the October number, would be a long step in the direction of representative reform. But the crowning glory of this reform would be the adoption of a constitutional amendment, securing to the people the principle of proportional representation, with the right to take the *initiative in all nominations for officials*

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*who are to be elected by popular vote.* The triune foe of democratic representative government in this country lies in the steady encroachment of the Executive and Judicial departments, and in the domination of the caucus and convention system, a system unknown to the constitution and never contemplated by its framers. The moral and political degradation of our public life, is the legitimate outgrowth of that system, and a successful reform can only be secured by its total abolition.

JAMES M. ASHLEY.

## APPENDIX D.

(Written in 1895.)

**The Convention System Must Be Abolished, and the Initiative in Nominations,  
Secured by Law. To All Citizen Voters.**

The caucus and convention system was born in the days of Jackson and Van Buren. Innocent and inviting at its birth, it was welcomed by the people as the best plan then devised for collecting and formulating their opinions and wishes. Instead of representing and reflecting the opinions and will of the people, it early became their political master. It promptly relegated recognized statesmen and men of ability to the rear, and in their places thrust men of small caliber and unsavory records. It craftily persuaded the people to accept the political yoke, known as the caucus and convention, and then compelled them to bow down before the political "Idol" which had been invented and ingeniously fashioned for them. The political boss, by an adroit and unscrupulous use of this party machine, has developed into a full grown political dictator, and to-day this "convention machine" absolutely rules the people, and the party boss dictates all nominations. Practically, the people are powerless in the presence of this political machine. As a consequence, not ten per cent. of the voters in either of the great parties in any State attend the primary caucuses, and if they sometimes do, when there is an unusual excitement, they are promptly voted down, unless the bosses determine that it would be better policy to make a few well-known "anti-machine men" delegates, in which event they are each deliberately sandwiched between a half dozen or more "reliable" machine statesmen, so as to render them powerless in any convention, and thus compel them (if they attend the convention), to accept the platform adopted and support the candidate nominated. This sleight-of-hand perform-

ance has been repeated over and over again. Solomon, in his book of "Proverbs," says, "Surely, in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird." It is admitted that Solomon was a wise man, as also an inspired prophet, but it will be conceded that when he uttered the above wise proverb he did not foresee nor comprehend the capacity and skill of our American political bosses when spreading the modern "political net." Year after year the same political net is spread in sight of the American voters. Into this marvelous net the American voter marches every year to the music of fife and drum, deposits his ballot, as directed, and retires with his political wings clipped, so that he may be more easily corralled and marched back next year, and be driven into the very same net, to repeat the same political performance. True, the people may vote at all general elections, but they must vote, if they vote at all, with this political net surrounding them, and as the "machine" and the convention boss of their party commands. And so long as the caucus and the convention system dominates, the political boss of each party will rule it, and the candidates nominated by the "machine" will ride into power, booted and spurred on the backs of the people.

The plan herein proposed will change all this. The justice and practicability of proportional representation must in time commend itself to all fair-minded men, because it is a simple and honest plan, which will enable the citizen of a State or district, holding opinions in common on any public question, to combine and vote for the nomination and for the election of candidates in such a way as to make every vote count. Thus, if any party or group of electors have a sufficient number of voters in any State or district to equal a ratio for one representative, they can secure one member in the House of Representatives for the State at large, or for any district entitled to elect four or five members. But in no event can any party or group of voters elect a repre-



sentative to Congress unless they cast a number of votes, sufficient to equal a ratio for one member. This plan of proportional representation, makes impossible the process of gerrymandering, and defeats that kind of corrupt and disreputable scheming, and all other dishonest plans for deliberately disfranchising and defrauding a large body of citizens.

With the adoption of proportional representation, and the continued use of the "Australian ballot" groups of electors, by cumulating their vote against any one or more candidates, on any ticket, specially objectionable to them, would be able to defeat them, and thus teach the political boss and machine candidate a much needed lesson. But without the *initiative* in making nominations the "Australian ballot" would simply secure to the voter a negative power, for the reason that an elector under our present system for making nominations cannot cumulate his vote, either at a nominating or at a final election.

No group of electors in any party, numbering one *fourth* or one *seventh* of the voters can now secure a candidate to represent them or any party ticket, as made up by political bosses in our modern nominating conventions. The bosses would simply nominate all the candidates authorized, whether four or seven, or any other number. Under our present "machine rule" if the bosses can secure a majority in any caucus or convention, they appoint all the delegates without scruple, and nominate all candidates without a blush. For this reason the right to *initiate all nominations* must be secured to the voters, as I propose. When that right is granted, the modern caucus and convention with its offensive bosses, will disappear. Nominations would then be initiated by a public discussion, through respectable and responsible newspapers touching the character and business merits of all candidates. This publicity would defeat all secret schemes of corrupt cliques, to nom-

inate shams and tricksters. If a candidate, or his friends for him, claimed a nomination on the ground that he was a liberal cash contributor, or that he resided in this or that county, or because his part of the State or district had not for many years been honored with a candidate, or for the reason that the political bosses had promised him the nomination at the last convention, on condition that he withdraw in favor of his chief competitor, he would probably learn, when the ballots were counted after each nominating election, that the people had weighed him in the balance and found him wanting, for the reason that a man who makes so offensive and shallow a plea for nomination, proclaims his own unfitness for any responsible position. If a lawyer, or doctor, or business man should make such a plea for support, no one but an ass would employ him, and the great body of electors, with a ballot in their hands, will seldom prove to be such an ass as to select such a candidate.

Our political campaigns must of necessity call the attention of thoughtful men to the growing evils of such a system as we now have for making all party nominations. Not faithful service for city or state, not ability or fitness of candidates now determines the question of the nomination of the average candidate, but a claim that he resides in this or that county and that he has the necessary wherewith to grease the "machine," and demands that the rotation rule, adopted years ago by the convention bosses, shall be enforced in his behalf.

Under such an appeal all political bosses can respond "that it is now the next man's turn." And if the new man has the cash and is liberal with the "machine" managers, he is certain to get his turn. In this way our representative bodies are now made up, whether for City Councils, State Legislatures, or the National Congress. What wonder then, that so large a number of new and inexperienced, not to say incompetent, men thrust themselves in almost unbroken

rotation into our Legislative assemblies; some for what they can make out of it, and others to gratify a restless vanity and personal ambition, with the result of having them strut in official robes for a brief period on the political stage, as an object lesson to their astonished countrymen. If the voters could see a photograph of each candidate and read a truthful history of their lives, they would be both amazed and amused at such an exhibition of venality and vanity. Uniformly there is a pledge exacted and given that the candidate nominated will, at the end of two or four years, give way to an ambitious man from the next county, with a like share of push and brass. And so long as our present "political machine" is tolerated by the people, it will thus grind out wild-eyed statesmen to order, and give birth to an endless procession of noisy cranks and offensive demagogues, who every two or four years will continue to appear and disappear, until their acts and their memory go like the "baseless fabric of a vision."

"Glimmering through the gleam of things that were,  
A school boy's tale, the wonder of an hour."

From this view of the situation, it will be seen, that our convention system often makes the manager of the machine a more important man than the candidate whom he nominates.

If any legitimate private business was conducted in like manner it would soon end in disaster and disgraceful bankruptcy.

Adopt the plan of proportional representation, as suggested, and practical voters will as a rule, select competent and practical men to act as their agents in all legislative bodies. Proportional representations, with the *initiative for making all nominations*, would beyond question, soon end the swaggering career of the convention boss, and the political life of the Legislative dead-beat.

All nominations must be made as follows:



At each initial or nominating election, the officers duly qualified to conduct such elections must act, and the result of the ballot be returned by them to the regular election boards in each city, county or state, as may be directed by law. Under this plan all tickets for use at nominating elections must be printed and distributed at the expense of each party or group of voters, but the officials at such elections, and of each of the election boards, would be paid out of the public treasury. And the law ought to prescribe that each party or independent ticket voted at all nominating elections, should be printed on plain white paper, and a duplicate, as near as may be of the official ballot, as it would appear, when each ticket nominated, was printed on the Australian ballot, for the final election.

No minority party group of voters could have the name of a candidate printed on an official ballot, unless they cumulated their vote, and polled a sufficient number at the nominating election to equal a ratio for at least one representative, either for Congress or a State Legislature.

The official ballot must be made up to reflect the wishes of each party or group of electors as represented by the vote cast at each nominating election. The general result of such a ballot would probably require that not less than *three distinct party tickets* should be printed on the official ballot, with an occasional *independent ticket*. Each party or group of voters would in this way be able at all nominating elections, to make a reliable record of their numbers, and thus preserve their organization intact while making their public protest against any existing law or custom, and in favor of any reform they desired. Such a record and protest would be quite as valuable to themselves and as instructive to the public, as the record and protest which is now made by minority party groups at any general election, under our present law, with the additional advantage of having a *vote at the final election for their second choice*



of any of the candidates nominated, which they cannot now have under our present plan of voting.

The following is a sample copy of two tickets for the nomination of a President, a United States Senator, and seven Representatives in Congress.

Each party or group of voters must prepare, print and distribute its nominating tickets in its own way and as the law may direct.

Republican Ticket. Nominating Election.	Democratic Ticket. Nominating Election.
For President.	For President.
Richard Roe, of Montana. X	John Doe, of Kentucky.
For United States Senator,	For United States Senator,
Moses Nimrod, of.....County,	Jeremiah Abednego, of.....County.
For Representative in Congress, State	For Representative in Congress, State
at Large,	at Large,
1 Abraham Nimrod.	1 Isaiah Abednego.
2 Aaron Nimrod.	2 Obediah Abednego.
For Representatives in Congress, 2nd	For Representatives in Congress, 2nd
District.	District.
1 Isaac Nimrod.	1 Danial Abednego.
2 Jacob Nimrod.	2 Ezra Abednego.
3 Nehemiah Nimrod.	4 Josiah Abednego.
4 Ezekial Nimrod.	4 Israel Abednego.
5 Zachariah Nimrod.	5 Hezekiah Abednego.

On such a ballot, each elector would be authorized to vote in a presidential year for the nomination of a candidate for President, and *one* candidate for United States Senator, and *for seven representatives in Congress*, or if he so elected he could cumulate his vote for any one or more of the seven representatives, as hereinbefore explained. The democratic and republican parties would probably be numerically strong enough in a majority of States and Districts to nominate all the candidates whom they are authorized by law to elect, without cumulating their vote. But if either party was not strong enough in any district or State, such minority party could cumulate its vote and nominate as many candidates as their vote would give them. Other minority party groups, by cumulating their vote, might be able, when there are *four* to be elected, to nominate *one* candidate, or possibly to nominate *two* candidates when *seven* members were to be elected on one ballot. If the prohibitionist and other minority party groups were not numerous enough to make

a nomination in any State or district, they could *cumulate their votes* at the general election and *defeat the candidate most objectionable to them*, and *aid in electing one or more candidates as their second choice*. In this way the independent voter would demonstrate the practicability of the proposed plan of making nominations, and cease to fire their ballots in the air, as minority party groups now do, because they cannot cumulate their vote and express their second choice.

Under our present plan of conducting elections, minority party groups, often aid in electing by a *plurality* vote, the man most obnoxious to them.

Adopt the Swiss system of proportional representation, or any other practical system, including the plan above outlined for making all nominations, and the evolutionary forces which it will put in motion, must ultimate in securing a complete divorce of all national elections, from state and municipal elections. The nomination and election of the President, by direct ballot, and all Senators of the United States and Representatives in Congress under national law, would be the crowning glory of our national life. The officials authorized to conduct such national elections must of necessity be residents of the states and districts in which they act, and *be nominated and elected* in conformity with the plan of proportional representation herein outlined, and as Representatives in Congress are to be nominated and elected, by citizens of the United States, duly qualified by law to vote, without intervention on the part of the officials in any state or municipal government. *This, with full recognition of the representative principle in government, and a modification of the Presidential and Supreme Court veto, as proposed, would secure to us a democratic republic without the despotism of one man power; national unity and solidity without confusion, and a decentralization of national authority without danger of State and National conflict.*

My object will have been accomplished in writing these articles, if I can induce a general discussion of the reforms proposed and thus contribute to the organization of a practical working force which shall be strong enough to demand and ultimately to secure their enactment into law.

J. M. ASHLEY.

## APPENDIX E.

(Following is a letter written by Mr. Ashley when Governor of Montana, intended to encourage immigration into the territory.)

**THE HELENA DAILY HERALD, MARCH 7, 1871.**

**Advice from Governor Ashley—Montana offers Free Homes to the Homeless.**

To the Editor of the New York Tribune:

Sir—In nearly all of the Eastern States and all of the large cities there are thousands of sober, industrious men and women without homes and without employment, many of whom obtain after a fearful struggle, a precarious subsistence, and at the end of each year find themselves older and poorer. If all such would seek homes in the great and growing West they could not fail to better their condition, especially if they went in colonies, as did the settlers at Greeley in Colorado. In Montana all kinds of labor is remunerative for men and women. There the sober and industrious will be welcome, and free homes and health and a bright future invites them. No more desirable country can be found for women who are dependent on their own labor for support, than Montana. Men command from \$3 to \$5 a day as miners or common laborers, and from \$5 to \$8 as mechanics.

Now that Jay Cooke has taken hold of the financial department of the Northern Pacific Railroad, early completion is assured. It will pass through the richest agricultural and mineral districts of Montana. Valuable locations in valleys, through which or near which the road must run, can now be obtained by actual settlers under the homestead or pre-emption laws. I need not add that the earlier the immigrants are on the ground the better their opportunities for making good selections. All the water power needed for



mill or manufacturing purposes can be had in every valley. Montana is three times as large as the great state of New York. About one-fourth of this immense Territory may be classed as timbered lands. The greater portion of the table and bottom lands are prairie. The foothills and mountains afford the best of pastureage. No state or territory west of the Mississippi is so well watered by large lakes and rivers as Montana. The climate of Montana in winter and summer is pure, dry, exhilarating and healthy. There is no fever or ague in Montana, and none of the diseases incident to the damp and changeable climate of the Eastern States.

Last winter brick and stone masons laid brick and stone without interruption, except three days in January and a few days in March. I did not wear my overcoat more than one-fourth of the entire winter, and there was no fire needed or built in our churches for a number of Sundays. I believe Montana to have one of the most healthy climates on the globe. The soil of Montana is a dark vegetable mold, and of a great richness and fertility. Experience has proven its great productiveness. At our Territorial Fair for 1869 and 1870 the premium for the best acre of winter wheat was awarded to Major Forbis in 1870, the yield being 82 bushels and 32 pounds. In 1871 the premium was given for 87 bushels and some pounds. I do not remember the farmer's name. Oats, barley, rye and all small grain and root vegetables yield enormously. Montana is, beyond all question, to become the great stock raising State of America. With a wide range of pastureage, free for the use of all stockraisers will have unsurpassed advantages for many years to come. Horses, mules, cattle and sheep not only subsist all winter without being fed or sheltered, but no finer beef can be found, than the cattle slaughtered in Montana in winter. I have seen cattle slaughtered in February, that never fed half a grain, which were too fat for table use in the States.

Nine out of every ten who wish to immigrate fear the Indians. I wish to assure all that life and property are as safe in Montana as in New York City. In all portions of Montana opened to settlement, life and property are as safe as in Kansas or Nebraska. Of course, settlers are not permitted to go on the Indian Reservations. I desire especially to remind all who think of going to Montana, that pioneer life in that Territory has few of the dangers of or the hardships or uncertainties incident to pioneer life in Western New York or the northwestern states. Today the settler will find all the comforts and many of the luxuries of an older civilization. The great natural highways of Montana are a wonder in themselves. It costs but little to keep them in repair, and many of them are as good as our turnpike roads in the States. In Montana we also have daily newspapers, daily mails and daily despatches from all parts of the world. We are thus as near the great centers of thought as though we resided in New England. Let those who desire to go to Montana, organize themselves into colonies, and thus secure cheaper transportation and by settling together as in the Greeley colony, increase the value of each other's property by joint effort, and secure stability to the new settlement by co-operation and union. It will give me much pleasure at any time to aid in the organization of such a colony.

J. M. ASHLEY.

New York, Feb. 9, 1871.

## Message of Governor Ashley.

HOUSE JOURNAL, 6TH SESSION, 1869-70.

PAGE 14.

The Governor was introduced by the President, and then delivered the following Message:

Gentlemen of the Council and House of Representatives:

You have been commissioned by the electors of Montana to discharge an honorable and important trust.

In pursuance of what a majority thus commissioned believe to be an imperative duty, you have met at the capital and organized both branches of the Legislative Assembly.

Concurring with those who hold that so much of the act of the Legislative Assembly approved January 15th, 1869, as provides for biennial sessions, is void, because in conflict, at the time of its passage, with the Organic Act, I regret that I have been unable to concur in the opinion that there was such a necessity for the meeting of the Legislative Assembly this winter as to make it obligatory on me to convene you in extraordinary session. The fact that Congress made no appropriation for the ordinary expenses of the Legislative Assembly of Montana for the present fiscal year, is the best evidence which I can offer that such meeting was not contemplated by the body. In addition to this, the secretary received instructions from Washington not to issue vouchers for any part of the expenses of such a session. All the expenses of this session must, therefore, be paid by the people of the territory, unless Congress can be induced to come to our relief.

In view of these facts, and the very general expression of the people of all parties that no session of the Legislative



Assembly was necessary, I did not believe until Monday that a quorum of the two Houses would convene without a proclamation from the Executive.

Anxious to prevent an increase of the territorial indebtedness, and to save the people from additional taxation, I declined to issue a proclamation calling you together, preferring, if such a result should follow, to have our legislative functions lapse, rather than increase our already large indebtedness, and of necessity impair the value of our securities in the market.

Leaving to the judicial department of the territory the question of the legality of this unexpected session, and waiving the discussion of questions which will suggest themselves to all as to the practicability or necessity of this meeting of the Legislature, I recognize the fact that a quorum of the gentlemen chosen by the electors of Montana as members of the Legislative Assembly of the territory are in session and organized.

#### TERRITORIAL OFFICERS.

Soon after my arrival in the territory, my attention was called to the fact that the Territorial Auditor and Treasurer were holding their offices in pursuance of an act of the Legislative Assembly which was in conflict with the plain provisions of the Organic Law. The act of the Legislative Assembly creating the offices of Territorial Auditor, and Treasurer, and Superintendent of Public Instruction, approved Nov. 16, 1867, is as follows:

Section 1. There shall be elected or appointed in the territory of Montana the following officers, to-wit: 1st, one delegate to Congress. 2nd, members of the Council of the Legislative Assembly. 3d, members of the House of the Legislative Assembly. 4th, one Territorial Treasurer. 5th, one Territorial Auditor, who shall be ex-officio librarian. 6th, one Superintendent of Public Instruction. 7th, one District Attorney for each judicial district.



Section 3. The Territorial Treasurer, Territorial Auditor, and Superintendent of Public Instruction, shall be elected by the qualified voters of the territory, and be commissioned by the Governor, and shall hold their office for two years, and until their successors are elected and qualified.

Section 4. The Treasurer, Auditor, and Superintendent shall be elected by the Legislative Assembly as soon as practicable after the passage and approval of this act, in joint convention assembled, to be commissioned by the Governor, who shall hold their offices until the general election in the year A. D. 1869, when they shall be elected according to the provisions of section 3 of this act.

Section 7 of the Organic Act reads thus:

Section 7. And be it Further Enacted, That all township, district, and county officers, not herein otherwise provided for, shall be appointed or elected, as the case may be, in such manner as shall be provided by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the territory of Montana. *The Governor shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council, appoint all officers not herein otherwise provided for; and in the first instance, the Governor alone may appoint all said officers, who shall hold their offices until the end of the first session of the Legislative Assembly, and shall lay off the necessary districts for members of the Council and House of Representatives, and all other officers.*

The present executive having drawn the act for the organization of the territory of Montana, has no question as to the true interpretation of this section.

In the discharge of my duty I have been compelled to regard so much of the act of the Legislative Assembly as provides for the election of these officers, either by joint vote of the Legislative Assembly or by the people, as void, because in violation of the plain provisions of the Organic Act.

The gentlemen at present discharging the duties of Territorial Auditor and Treasurer, having been elected by the Legislative Assembly in joint convention, have been recognized by me as officers *de facto*, and not *de jure*.

Some weeks prior to canvassing the vote on the question of removing the Capital, and the vote for delegate for Congress, I intimated to gentlemen whom I supposed to be the personal and political friends of the acting Auditor and Treasurer, that I should not count the vote for Territorial Auditor and Treasurer, and Superintendent of Public Instruction, which had been returned to the Secretary in conformity with the act of the Legislative Assembly just read. I also intimated that if either of the gentlemen, claiming to have been elected in pursuance of that act would apply for and obtain, on a full hearing of the case, a writ of *mandamus*, either from the Chief Justice or from one of the Associate Justices of the United States District Court for the territory, directing me to count the vote, and give certificates of election as required by act of the Legislative Assembly, and that I would cheerfully obey such writ, and issue the required certificates, setting forth in each the facts, provided the Court would make an order, which should be recited in each commission, that if on appeal to the Supreme Court of the territory the judgment of the District Court should be reversed, that the gentlemen thus commissioned should forthwith deliver over the books and papers of said offices to the person adjudged by the Supreme Court of the territory to be legally entitled to receive them. This seemed to me the most direct and less expensive mode of testing the validity of the act in question.

No such proceedings having been commenced by either of the gentlemen claiming to have been elected, and the time prescribed by law for canvassing the vote of the territory having nearly expired, there was no alternative left for me

but to appoint and commission men whom I believed to be qualified for each of the offices, in order to test before the United States District Court or the Supreme Court of the Territory, the legal points in controversy. I therefore appointed and commissioned, "subject to the advice and consent of the Legislative Council at its first regular session," James L. Fisk, as Auditor, Leander W. Frary, as Treasurer, and James H. Mills, as Superintendent of Public Instruction. Mr. Mills subsequently declined the appointment.

After the appointment of Messrs. Fisk and Frary, I requested them to file their bonds with the Secretary as required by law, and demand of the incumbents the books and papers of said offices, and in case either or both refused, to apply to the Chief Justice for a writ of *quo warranto*, requiring them to show by what right they continued to possess said offices. Messrs. Fisk and Frary filed bonds as requested, which bonds were approved by the Secretary. They then demanded of the incumbents, Messrs. Rodgers and Barkley, the books and papers of the offices named, which these gentlemen declined to surrender. Application was then made by Messrs. Fisk and Frary to the Chief Justice for a writ of *quo warranto*.

The case came up on demurrer, and after argument the demurrer was overruled. The defendants then asked and obtained ten days to file an answer to the complaint of plaintiffs.

On the full hearing of the case, the Court passed upon and overruled every point made by the defendants, and fully sustained the authority claimed for the Executive to make these appointments.

The whole question is thus removed beyond the pale of partisan discussion, and my purpose to vindicate the paramount authority of Congress and the prerogative of the Executive has been accomplished.

I take pleasure in calling your attention to the judg-



ment of the Chief Justice, which will be found appended to this message and marked "A."

### OUR ELECTION LAWS.

In canvassing the result of the late territorial election, the entire absence of anything in the form of a certificate from one county, and the informality of returns from others, impressed me with the necessity of additional legislation, in order to secure in the future election returns free from such irregularities.

I therefore suggest, that the Secretary of the Territory and clerks of the several counties be authorized and required by law to have prepared printed blanks in proper form for election returns, and that the Secretary transmit by mail, prior to each territorial election, duplicate copies of said blanks to the clerk of each county, for the use of county canvassers; and that the clerk of each county be required to transmit to the clerk or some proper officer in each voting precinct of the county, duplicate blanks, to be used in preparing certificates of the result of any election in the several precincts of each county. This would secure uniformity in all election certificates hereafter made, whether returned to the Secretary of the Territory or to county clerks, and take from boards of territorial or county canvassers the power, which they now claim, of passing upon and rejecting such returns as they please for informality, even when they know they are free from fraud, and intended by the returning officers to be in conformity with law.

I also recommend that the county clerk of each county be required within twenty days after each territorial election to forward by mail, in a letter registered as required by the regulations of the postoffice department, and directed to the Secretary, at the capital, one copy of the certificate of the board of county canvassers of the result of any election required by law to be transmitted to the Secretary, and that each county clerk be required to preserve on file in his office a



duplicate copy of each certificate duly authenticated by the signature of the canvassing board of said county, which certificate shall, on the written requisition of the Governor, be delivered by said clerk to any person authorized by him to receive it, and that the clerk be required to preserve in his office a copy of the certificate delivered to any person on the requisition of the Governor.

In case the county clerk of any county shall neglect or refuse to forward to the Secretary a certificate of the result of any election, as required by law, or shall refuse, on demand of the Governor, made in writing or by telegraph, to deliver the duplicate certificate of any election on file in his office, to any person authorized by the Governor to receive the same, it is recommended that the Governor be authorized and empowered to remove said clerk and to appoint and commission a trustworthy and competent citizen in his stead, who shall serve until the next annual election in said county, and that the clerk thus appointed be authorized and required to prepare forthwith from the precinct returns on file in his office, a certificate of the election in said county, and transmit the same to the Secretary as required by law, or deliver it to any person authorized by the Governor to receive it. If there be no returns from the several precincts of the county, preserved and on file in said office, then, that it be made the duty of the clerk thus appointed, within twenty days, to demand of the clerks of the several election boards in the county a duplicate copy of the returns of said election made by them and forwarded to the county clerk prior to his removal.

If some such authority as is here suggested is not vested in the executive, the clerk of any county may, and often will, have it in his power to defeat the fairly expressed will of the people, in any county or district of the territory, by neglecting or refusing to comply with the plainest provisions of law.

If these suggestions meet your approval, the time in which the board of territorial canvassers should be required to perform their duty ought to be fixed at not less than sixty days after each territorial election.

The functions of county and territorial canvassing boards, it appears to me, ought to be made by law purely ministerial. I am clearly of the opinion that such boards ought not to be clothed with the discretionary power of rejecting the vote of any precinct or county, when returned to them in conformity with the spirit and intent of the law. It ought rather to be made the imperative duty of each canvassing board to examine the certificates returned to them by the proper officers, and audit and declare the result.

I also suggest that on every precinct election board in each county, and on each board of county and territorial canvassers, there shall hereafter be appointed, or elected in such manner as the Legislative Assembly may by law direct, at least one competent and well known citizen, to act as a member of each of said boards, who shall not be of the same political party with those who constitute a majority of either of said boards. This would secure the minority a member of every board.

Before dismissing this subject, permit me to call your special attention to the necessity of providing by law the manner and the time within which all questions touching the validity of any county, district, or territorial election, may be heard and summarily determined before the district court, with the right of an appeal to the Supreme Court of the territory, and that the court be clothed with authority to put the person entitled to any office, in possession, during the pendency of any appeal, so that neither fraud nor perjury, nor a careless disregard of the election law on the part of any clerk, or canvassing board, nor a continuation of the case on appeal until the official term has expired, shall suc-

cessfully, and with impunity, defeat the fairly expressed will of the people at any election.

BIENNIAL SESSIONS.—LEGISLATIVE APPORTIONMENT.—MINORITY REPRESENTATION.

The following amendment to our Organic Act, approved March 1, 1869, will demand, and I doubt not, receive, your early and considerate attention:

“Be it Enacted, Etc., That hereafter the members of the House of Representatives of the Territory of Montana, shall be elected for the term of two years and the stated sessions of the Legislative Assembly shall be biennial. And the said Legislative Assembly, at its first session after the passage of this Act, shall provide by law for carrying this act into effect.”

In providing for the biennial sessions of the Legislative Assembly, it also will become necessary to provide for biennial elections.

So intimately connected with the organization of the Legislative Assembly is the question of apportionment and representation, that I deem it to be my duty to call your attention to the fact that a large minority of the electors in this territory have been without adequate representation in the Legislative Assembly since its organization.

If representation had been equitably provided, it would have secured to both parties in each branch of the Legislative Assembly, a distribution of political power, in exact proportion to the number of votes polled at each election; instead of which the minority in the territory have been practically disfranchised.

Without an equitable distribution of political power in the Legislative Department, whether national, state, or territorial, there can be no just recognition of the democratic idea of government.

Equitable representation, therefore, in every Legislative Assembly, is the only safe basis in a republic.



In providing for future representation in the Legislative Assembly of this territory, I have to urge upon you a full and complete recognition of this just principle. Its adoption in Montana may pave the way for its adoption throughout the nation. Wherever it is adopted, it will secure a government administered by the consent of all, in the interest of all, and with representation for all.

I wish to see this system adopted, not only in Montana, but by the national and state governments, because it recognizes more fully than any system now in use, the democratic idea that every legislative body should reflect the sentiments and convictions of the whole people which it is chosen to represent.

Our state and territorial governments are organized upon the theory that the laws enacted are the embodied will of the entire voting population of each, while in truth the system in use practically excludes from participation in the enactment of laws a large minority, and not unfrequently a majority have been successfully excluded for years in a number of states of this union.

This is accomplished by unfair apportionments, or by "gerry-mandering," as it is familiarly called. Counties which give large political majorities to one party are grouped together in districts with small representation, while other counties, with small political majorities, and often with less population, are organized into districts with large representation. In this way one elector is clothed with more political power than another, the minority disfranchised, and often the majority. It will be admitted that there is something radically wrong in a system capable of such gross abuse.

That system which best collects the deliberatively expressed will of a whole people, and enacts it into law, is the one which fulfills more completely than any other the theory of an absolute democracy.



The mode of alternate and cumulative voting presented by John Stuart Mill, and other leading statesmen and thinkers, to the people of Great Britain, while, perhaps, the fairest suggested for securing an equitable division of political power, in a republican commonwealth, is so complicated that I doubt whether its adoption can be secured in this country, at least for many years. With all its complications, however, it is infinitely better than our present system.

Joseph Medill, Esq., one of the editors of the Chicago Tribune, has presented for the consideration of gentlemen elected members of the constitutional convention of Illinois, a plan to secure minority representation, which is worthy of your serious attention. I will take pleasure in laying this article before any committee which you may appoint to take charge of this subject. Mr. Medill's plan provides that the entire voting population of Illinois shall enact their laws by voting through proxies. The political power of the state would thus be represented in the Legislative Assembly by the number of votes cast by each party in the state—no more, no less. This proposition has the merit of proposing a radical change in our present indefensible system, and substituting in its stead one incapable of such abuses.

Time and reflection have confirmed me in the belief that the period has arrived in our history when the system of representation so long in use in our National Congress, and state and territorial legislatures, must be changed.

While a member of the House of Representatives at Washington, I proposed a plan for securing minority representation in Congress and in state legislatures, which I now take occasion to present for your consideration, with the single remark, that if you can devise a plan which will secure a more equitable representation in the Legislative Assembly, and give the people of the territory a more direct

voice in their government I shall be glad to co-operate with you in enacting it into law.

The plan which I suggest provides a modification and continuation of the district system, while it secures to every voter in the territory equal political power. By adopting the cumulative plan of voting, the minority, if they number one-third of the electors in the territory, can secure one of the three members of the Legislative Council which I propose to have elected for the territory at large. If they number one-sixth of the electors, they can secure one of the six representatives in the House, which I also propose to have elected for the territory at large. In each district for the Council and the House, the minority may, by adopting the cumulative system of voting, secure their proportion of the members of the Legislative Assembly; and in no event can they secure a greater number than they are entitled to for the number of votes they cast. This system makes all gerrymandering impracticable, destroys all motive for illegal voting, and clothes each elector with equal political power.

Of the plans named, perhaps all are open to objection, but each is far preferable to the present system. Perfection is not to be expected in any plan which may be adopted. It is the province of true statesmanship to devise and apply the best possible remedy for existing abuses, and the admitted defects of our present system.

The plan which I suggest, provides that each elector shall vote one ballot. On that ballot he must name his choice for delegate to Congress, and for each county officer, as now. There being but one delegate to Congress to elect, also but one county clerk, or sheriff, or other county officer, alternate or cumulate voting cannot be secured. Only where an elector is authorized to vote for *two* or more candidates for the same office, such as members of the Legislative Assembly, can the system of cumulative and alternative voting be applied.

The system which I favor, recognizes in the national, state, and territorial governments, the absolute supremacy of the legislative department; abolishes in each the veto power, and authorizes Congress and the legislatures of states and territories to prescribe by law the manner in which all ministerial officers shall discharge the duties of their respective offices, where they are not clearly defined by the organic law.

If the electors of this territory had secured to them an equitable representation in the Legislative Assembly, I should not, while Governor, make use of the veto power, a power which I regard as kingly and despotic, and with which no man, however able or trustworthy, ought to be clothed in a Republican government.

The present territorial apportionment for members of the Council and House of Representatives, confers greater power upon one elector in one district than another. For instance, two Council districts have *four* members each—and one district but two members. Two Representative districts have five members each, while *two* others have but *one* each. I do not now refer to the question of population—but to the fact, that an elector in one district is authorized to vote for *five* representatives, while the elector of another district can vote for but one representative. The apportionment which I propose, places each elector in the territory on an equal footing, as to the number of members of the Council or House of Representatives, for whom he may vote. It also secures to the minority in the entire territory the right, by cumulative voting, to secure *one* member of the Council and *two* members of the House if they number one-third of the electors. If they number but one-sixth, they can secure one member of the House, and thus have a hearing in one body.

In the districts, as I propose them, the same right is secured, so that in a majority of districts thus organized, as also in the territory at large, the minority may, by uniting,



secure an equitable representation, substantially in proportion to the number of votes which they cast.

No fraud can be practiced in voting this ballot. If an elector desires to give to one person all the votes he is authorized to cast for members of the Council or House, he can do so, by erasing every other name on his ballot, and adding: "I cast my three votes (or my six votes, as the case may be) for Mr....." If by any attempted fraud, or by mistake, an elector should designate a larger number of votes for any one person than he is entitled to cast, they would not be counted. I believe the adoption of such plan as I have suggested would commend itself to the great body of electors of both parties in Montana.

Its adoption would do much to abolish the baneful spirit of party, destroy the motives which now exist for the corrupt use of money at elections, and prevent the deliberate frauds which are becoming so alarmingly frequent every year.

It is for you to determine whether any change shall be made in the apportionment of members of the Legislative Assembly, and whether the minority shall have a voice in enacting laws which all must obey, and in the administration of government in which all have an equal interest.

Whatever may be your final determination, let us remember that no system of representation is defensible which defeats the fairly expressed will of the majority, or which fails to secure to the electors of the entire territory an equitable representation in both branches of the Legislative Assembly.

Adopt almost any plan for securing minority representation, which has been suggested by the thinkers of Europe or America, and it will be a vast improvement upon our present system. You will also relieve, in a great measure, every citizen from the despotism of party caucuses and party conventions. So long as the present system is maintained, the citizens of both parties will often be compelled



to vote for men to fill important and honorable positions who are nominated by fraud and practices offensive to honorable men.

Should you determine to appoint a committee to examine and report upon the question of minority representation, I will be glad to co-operate with them in perfecting the proposed change, by adding to it such provisions as will secure the practical abolition of all party nominating conventions.

#### FINANCIAL REPORTS.

A modification of the law requiring the Territorial Auditor, Treasurer, and Superintendent of Public Instruction, to make their annual report to the Legislative Assembly *while in session*, will also be found necessary. The collection and disbursement of the public revenues, is a matter of such importance to the people of the territory that they will doubtless prefer to follow the custom long in use among all successful business men, of making annual exhibits.

I therefore suggest that at the close of each alternate year, the Auditor, Treasurer, and Superintendent of Public Instruction, be required to report to the executive, and that he be required to publish, officially, so much of said report as he may deem necessary to inform the people each year of all matters touching the organization of the public schools, and the financial condition of the territory.

I invite your special attention to the report of the Auditor and Treasurer:

The total amount of property returned for taxation this year is .....	\$8,069,076.00
The Treasurer's report shows the total outstanding indebtedness of the territory to be	119,600.00
Balance to sinking fund for the redemption of bonds, June 1, 1870 .....	10,339.77
	<hr/>
Total indebtedness .....	\$109,261.23

#### REVENUE AND LICENSE LAWS.

A careful revision of the revenue and license law is rec-

ommended. In its practical working it has been found very oppressive.

I recommend the repeal of Section 12, concerning licenses, which imposes a tax of one dollar on each head of cattle, horses, mules, or asses, and twenty-five cents for each head of swine or sheep brought into this territory, and that instead of such an act of prohibition, that a small sum be placed at the disposal of the Secretary to be expended in premiums for the best horses, cattle, sheep, and hogs, brought into the territory within the next two years, as breeders. I suggest that such premiums be awarded under the joint authority of the Secretary and officers of our annual territorial fairs.

I also recommend the repeal of Section 20 of the act concerning licenses, which impose a tax of *fifteen* dollars, quarterly, upon all *male* persons engaged in the laundry business. It is admitted that this section is oppressive, and was intended to compel Chinamen to pay an unequal and unjust tax.

I shall elsewhere refer to the fact that such exactments are in conflict with our national obligations. What we ask for our own citizens residing in China, we cannot honorably refuse to concede to her citizens residing here. I am informed that this tax averages fully twenty-five per cent of the gross earnings of these Chinese laundry-men. Of course such a tax is utterly indefensible.

Your attention is called to the fact that almost every county and city has incurred an indebtedness which all will concede ought not to be increased.

I therefore suggest that you prohibit, by law, the commissioners of counties, or the authorities of cities, from hereafter incurring a debt for any purpose, which shall exceed, in any one year, one-half of one per cent on the valuation of the whole property returned for taxation in such county or city. Only by such means can we pay off the present indebtedness and reduce taxation.

## IMMIGRATION.

After my appointment, and before coming to the territory, I visited the city of New York for the purpose of acquainting myself with the means which were being employed by a number of states to secure a portion of the desirable immigration which is voluntarily coming to this country every year from the civilized nationalities of Europe.

I found that Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, and a number of western and southwestern states had appointed commissioners of immigration; that each were engaged in collecting, preparing, and publishing authentic information as to the climate, soil, productions, and topography of their several states, and sending the facts thus compiled and published to the country whose people they regarded as the most desirable for American citizens and for permanent residents of their respective states.

I learned that the young state of Minnesota had succeeded in securing a large immigration of Norwegians, Swedes and Germans—a population industrious, frugal, and admirably adapted to her rigorous climate and long winters; men and women fitted by intelligence and education to become worthy American citizens, and valuable residents of such a state. I am pleased to learn from sources deemed reliable, that she will probably secure this year between fifty and sixty thousand of this very desirable population.

Anxious to promote the best interests of Montana, I selected before leaving New York, Benno Speyer, Esq., to act as Commissioner of Immigration, and requested him to prepare from such material as I gave him, a circular to be used in Europe at once, and advised him that as soon as I could obtain the requisite authority I should want him to translate and publish in German and Norwegian, and perhaps in one or two other languages, such facts touching the mineral and agricultural wealth of Montana, as any person duly authorized might furnish him.



I informed him of the fact that I had no means at my disposal to pay the necessary expenses of postage, translating, and printing, but that I confidently hoped to secure the co-operation of the Legislature and an appropriation sufficient to lay the foundation of an immigration movement commensurate with the wants and unsurpassed advantages of our territory. He at once prepared circulars and sent them to Europe and to the several lines of railroads leading from New York, Philadelphia and Boston westward. With the information obtained by answers to his circulars, he expected at the proper time to make advantageous contracts with railroad and other transportation companies and be prepared to send immigration over the best, safest, and cheapest route to Montana.

After reaching the territory, I was advised there would be no meeting of the Legislature this winter; for this reason I have not requested a written report of Mr. Speyer, and am, therefore, unable to advise you of the progress he has made.

As the expenses incurred were made at my request, and without authority of the Legislature, the territory is not responsible for them.

Experience has demonstrated the practicability and importance of well directed immigration organizations. It is estimated by those who have given this subject thoughtful attention, that the number of immigrants which have arrived in the United States this year from the Christian nations of Europe, will number nearly half a million, and that next year the number will exceed half a million. Of this valuable population, the Scandinavian and German constitute more than one-half, and the Irish, at least one-fourth.

Believing in the adaptibility and non-adaptibility of climate to races, and that in our own country, as well as among the civilized nations of Europe, there are those better adapt-



ed to the climate, productions, and wants of Montana, than others, I have sought to pave the way for the introduction of that class of immigrants which I regard as the most desirable for this territory. I believe it will be conceded by all practical men who have given this subject any thought, that Montana is better adapted to the hardy races of men and women from Great Britain and Northern Europe than to any race from a tropical climate, whether white or black.

To secure stability and prosperity to our territory, it has been my purpose to bring such European immigrants to Montana as may properly inter-marry with Americans and form a homogeneous and thrifty population of civilized Christian men and women, better qualified than any other to aid in laying broad and deep the foundations of an American Commonwealth.

The active and well directed efforts of several states to secure their proportion of the European immigration, is the best evidence of its value. If we desire any of this population as citizens and permanent residents of Montana, the advantages and inducements offered to settlers in this territory must be truthfully and authoritatively placed before them prior to their departure from Europe. To do this, will require some care in the compilation of such information as would naturally be sought after by those intending to seek homes in a new and comparatively unknown country.

If you concur with me in the opinion that immigrants from the countries named are desirable for Montana, I respectfully recommend that a small appropriation be made for the purpose indicated.

The subject of immigration and cheap labor is attracting such general attention that I deem it not inappropriate, in this connection, to say that I am opposed to the introduction into Montana or into the United States, of laborers who are apprenticed for a term of years, no matter from

what country they may come. I am also opposed to the importation of laborers from any of the barbarous or semi-civilized races of men, and do not propose to co-operate in any scheme organized to bring such laborers into Montana, or into any part of this country.

#### CHINESE COOLIE TRAFFIC.

The history of the importation of Chinese coolies into the colonies of Great Britain, France, and Spain, and into the United States, under the pretext of necessity for cheap labor, is a history of enormities and crimes only equalled in treachery and atrocity by the horrors of the slave trade. So utterly infernal did this execrable commerce become, that the Congress of the United States was compelled, in deference to public opinion, to denounce against it the severest penalties of the law. The importation of Chinese coolies into the United States to-day, is in violation of the spirit, if not the letter of our law.

The repeated revolts of these poor wretches on the high seas as soon as they comprehend their true condition, is the best evidence which can be adduced against this indescribable villainy.

On the shores of China these cheap laborers are induced by false promises to sign contracts, the contents of which they do not understand; after which they are persuaded on shipboard by their captors, and there retained by fraud and force until the vessel is completely packed with its cargo of human chattels. After a passage at sea which rivals in brutality the enormities practiced in the palmiest days of the slave trade, they are landed on our shores. The Chinese "merchants," to whom they are consigned, in anticipation of their arrival, make contracts for their labor, as slave masters formerly made contracts for the labor of their slaves; they also furnish a majority thus brought over, with the scanty clothing and provisions upon which to subsist; and collect their wages from those who employ them,

as slave masters formerly conducted the wages earned by slaves. This is the kind of labor which the selfishness and cupidity of capital are seeking to introduce into this country, especially into the southern states, under the pretext that "the great want of America is cheap labor."

As I do not believe cheap labor to be the first nor the greatest want of Montana, nor of the United States, I do not propose to aid in the introduction of any race of men into this country with the sole purpose of securing cheap labor. It should be our purpose rather to aid the working men of Montana and America to escape the consequences of a competition with such laborers as Chinese coolies; a competition which can only be disastrous to them, and advantageous to capitalists and monopolists.

The importations of a large number of cheap laborers from China, or any country whose male adult population can be apprenticed for a term of years and treated as slaves, will, beyond question, reduce the price of labor in this country, and affect injuriously every working man in the nation. Especially will this be the case in the southern states, where such labor can be more profitably employed than in the North. This competition will be felt more immediately and severely by the black man of the south, in the cultivation of rice, sugar, and cotton, than it can be in this territory, or in any northern state.

The American laboring man, whether white or black, is expected to live as a civilized man, and to support and educate a family, and, if need be, fight to maintain the honor and integrity of his country. His necessities and expenses are, therefore, greater than those of these cheap coolie laborers with whom he must compete. The coolie laborer has no family to support or educate; he has no interest in our society or government, and does not expect to become a citizen, and until he does he cannot be forced to enter our army.



The importation of such persons, or of barbarians from any country, or criminals, or diseased persons, or laborers of any race, whose adult population can be apprenticed for a term of years, and transported and treated as slaves, on condition of receiving the wages of slaves, is an offence against civilization, and a crime against free government.

The workingmen of America, who constitute the glory and strength of our nation, and are the bulwark of our civilization, are called upon, by erratic philanthropists, not only to welcome, but to aid in bringing to our shores millions of these *quasi* slave laborers and barbarians, in order to secure what they proclaim to be the great want of the country, "cheap labor," and not only so, but they are patronizingly invited by those engaged in this abominable traffic to co-operate with them, and assist in their own degradation.

Fortunately for the best interests of our country and mankind, the practical men of the two great political parties have pronounced against the introduction of coolie labor, or apprenticed labor, or any labor which can be secured by force or fraud. There is a wide distinction between voluntary and involuntary immigration.

No state or territory of the Union, thus far, has made an organized effort to bring so undesirable a population among us. On the other hand many of the states and territories have appointed commissioners of immigration—such as I have recommended—and have expended large sums of money to aid in securing a fair proportion of the valuable immigration which is *voluntarily* coming every year to our shores from the civilized but overcrowded countries of Europe.

The citizens of every nation with whom we have a treaty of amity and commerce, have secured to them the same rights and privileges in this country which are secured to citizens of the United States who may be temporarily or permanently domiciled in that country. For this reason,



if no other, the citizens of China, who are now in the country, and all who may hereafter come, have the same rights secured to them which we demand for our own citizens while residing in China, in the pursuit of any lawful employment.

It is the duty, therefore, of every state and territory to see that neither the letter nor the spirit of our treaty with that country is violated. In view of this fact, and because the law operates unequally and unjustly, and is a violation of every democratic principle, I have recommended a repeal of Section 20 of the license law, which was designed to discriminate against Chinamen, by taxing them fifteen dollars per quarter for the privilege of washing and ironing. Equal and exact justice, no less than good faith on our part, requires that all subjects of China residing in our territory, should be taxed as our own citizens are taxed—no more, no less. Any attempt to evade this just requirement, by “unfriendly legislation,” is inconsistent with the dignity and the character of the American Government.

While advocating and laboring for a complete recognition of the rights of all men, of whatever race or country, and claiming for all, whether citizens or aliens, who may be temporarily or permanently domiciled among us, the equal protection of the law, let it be distinctly understood that, when *inviting* and *aiding* immigration to our territory, for permanent settlement, that we have a preference as to the character of that immigration, and that we propose to invite and aid those only whom experience has taught us will make the most valuable citizens, as also the most desirable friends and neighbors.

I shall be glad to co-operate with you in the passage of any act designed to secure such an immigration to Montana from the civilized and Christian nations of Europe.

#### PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

To preserve the inestimable blessings of civil and religious liberty, and to teach, practically, the equality of all men

before the law, it becomes the duty, no less than the interest, of every citizen of Montana to aid in providing and maintaining an efficient system of free education for all children within our territory.

Ignorance is the hand-maid of vice, and wherever ignorance and vice dominate in a territory or state, a just government, "protecting all, and granting special favors to none," becomes impossible, and a government of force becomes a necessity. Universal education is the evangel of peace, order, and law, in a republic. It is the best weapon of protection and defense which civilized society can have. By it the minds and hearts of men are prepared to enforce the law of right, rather than the law of might. Believing that an efficient school system will do more to advance Christian civilization, and preserve a truly Democratic Government than all other agencies combined, I invite your early and considerate attention to this the most important of all the interests committed to your care.

The gentleman who, for the past two years, has been acting as School Commissioner, having removed from the territory before my arrival, I am not in possession of such statistical and other information touching the condition of our schools as to justify me in making specific recommendations. Representing as you do, every portion of the territory, you are more familiar with the wants and necessities of our schools than I can be, and I am confident you will supply all the legislation which their fostering care demands.

Before passing from this subject, in which I feel a deeper interest than any other likely to come up before you, I may be pardoned if I make a single suggestion.

Confident that our school system is founded on wisdom and justice, and that it cannot be overthrown by the voluntary act of a free people, I am nevertheless not without anxiety as to the operative causes which may impair its usefulness. The strength of our school system is in the

fact that it is free from sectarianism and the baneful influence of party. To maintain the vigor and efficiency of our public schools, it is necessary to guard against building up partisan or select schools. In proportion as denominational and select schools are strengthened our public schools will be weakened. The opponents of our public school system long ago learned the most vulnerable point of attack. They made their appeal to the rich and the fashionable, and especially to those who are earnestly sectarian. They assume that denominational and select schools are more genteel, more efficient, and above all more religious; while they allege that the daily intercourse of the children of the rich and fashionable with the children of the poor in our public schools is demoralizing and morally dangerous. They declare that our teaching is inefficient and superficial, and in antagonism to true religion. I maintain, on the other hand, that the crowning glory of our school system is the fact that the children of the rich and the poor sit side by side in all our public schools, and that the child of the poor man is at the head of his class oftener than the child of the rich man; that it leaves to the family, the Sunday School and the Church, the religious training of all, and carefully excludes from every school all party and sectarian instruction; that in this daily contact of the children of all classes, each is better qualified for the practical duties of life, and their responsible duties to the state; that they learn with every lesson to respect intellectual and moral worth rather than riches and position, and thus at the very foundation of our political structure, the youth of our land are taught that the American Government recognizes neither class nor caste; that no citizen has any special advantage, the one over the other, by reason of law or usage; and that the teaching of sectarianism is no part of the duty of a free state.

Every independent school, whether select or sectarian, is



necessarily a rival of our public schools, whether intended by their patrons and friends to be so or not, and however earnest and conscientious the supporters of such schools are, and as I know many of them to be, I am fully persuaded that the highest and best interests of all demand that neither denominational nor select schools shall be fostered at the expense of our public schools. I therefore urge upon you the adoption of such measures as will strengthen and make more efficient the free schools of our young territory; that you will provide ample compensation for teachers and a sufficient fund for building suitable and substantial school buildings, with modern improvements, in every locality demanding them. Let us make our school houses more comfortable and commodious, and their surroundings more attractive than the haunts of vice, and we shall thus publicly recognize the fact that children have rights as well as men.

#### SPECIAL LEGISLATION.

In 1864, Congress, representing the sovereignty of the nation, organized a territorial government for the protection of its citizens residing on the public domain within the boundaries which now mark Montana. In conferring upon its citizens authority to organize local civil government, it provided, "that the legislative power should extend to all rightful subjects of legislation consistent with the constitution of the United States, and the provisions of the Organic Act."

An examination of the acts of the Legislative Assembly of this territory since its organization, is well calculated to raise the question, whether the protection afforded the citizen by its local government compensated for its legalized oppression.

I do not now refer to the unnecessary and oppressive taxation which has eaten out the substance of the people and paralyzed the business interests of the territory; nor to the immense sums of money collected and ex-



pended by county and territorial officials; nor to the extraordinary indebtedness entailed upon the people by county and territorial authority. I may say, however, in passing, that the gross amount of money thus expended, when added to the gross amount of our indebtedness for all purposes, surpasses anything in the history of local civil government with which I am acquainted, for extravagance and reckless expenditure.

It is well known that but a small per cent of the proceeds of the territorial and county indebtedness, and of the vast sums collected and disbursed for the past five years, have been expended for property which is now owned by any city or county, or by the territory.

From all the information I have been able to gather, the entire property of all kinds and descriptions owned by cities, counties, and the territory, would not, in the aggregate, be valued at twenty per cent of the gross amount collected and disbursed since our territorial organization. This would leave something like 80 per cent of the entire amount collected, to be expended "for other purposes." Of the extraordinary amount thus collected and expended, but a small portion has been paid out to improve the streets of cities, or the public highways, or to build bridges; on the other hand, almost every public highway and stream within the territory has been committed, by special act of the Legislature, to the guardian care of a favored few, who have voluntarily imposed upon themselves the convenient occupation of living at the public expense.

An examination of the laws of Montana discloses the astounding fact that prior to the amendment by Congress of our Organic Act, which prohibited the Legislative Assembly from granting special charters, a majority of all the acts, memorials, and joint resolutions, passed by the several Legislative Assemblies of this territory, were of a private character.

A large majority of these private acts conferred extraordinary privileges on a few individuals, and, of necessity, excluded from their enjoyment the great body of our citizens. And I speak with moderation when I say that many of these so-called laws authorized persons to do acts which were little better than legalized highway robbery. The whole territory was shingled with special franchises, so that travelers, and packers, and freighters, found in every canyon, on almost every water-course, and on many broad and level plains, a toll collector, who demanded, as a condition to the passing of each, from *one to three* dollars. The smallest amount demanded at any toll-gate, as a rule, is *one dollar*. At rickety bridges, which are often unsafe for man or beast, from one to three dollars.

It is generally conceded that not more than one day's work to the mile, in any year, has ever been put on a majority of all these roads by the parties collecting toll on them. The greater portion of the road from the Capital to Corinne, Utah, which is the depot for Montana on the Pacific Railroad, was used by immigrants and freighters, and a daily line of stages, before charters were granted for a toll road over its entire length. It is also claimed that the stage and express companies expended more labor on this route, than those who hold the franchise. A team going to or returning from Corinne, Utah, to Helena, is compelled to pay over *forty dollars toll* for the privilege of passing over one of the remarkable natural highways in the world, and on which it is claimed that there has never been expended on each mile of the road, by persons claiming it, the labor of one man for one day in each year. For every ton of freight which passes over this road from Corinne to Montana, the people of this territory are compelled to pay a tax of at least twenty dollars. It remains for you gentlemen to say whether this legalized plunder of the people shall continue.

I deny that the granting of such franchise is a "rightful subject of legislation." I also deny the right of the Legislative Assembly to grant special franchises over lands to which the Indian title has not been extinguished.

Every act of special legislation, which enables one man to obtain a living without labor, is an unjust and oppressive tax upon society. Every law which gives one man an advantage over another is an outrage upon justice, and a violation of the democratic idea in government. In a country of equal rights, there should be equal laws, so that no man could take from another a single dollar without returning him a fair equivalent. No man who has passed over any of these toll roads will pretend to claim that he received anything like an equivalent for the toll which he was compelled to pay.

The first and highest duty of the legislature is to protect the laboring man from the grasping avarice of capital. I have looked in vain for any general or special act of the Legislative Assembly, from its organization to your present meeting, to secure the benefit of association or organization to any class of laboring men. Nowhere a single act to promote the agricultural development of the territory, save one, which authorized the organization of a Territorial Agricultural Society, graciously permitting it to exist by paying tax of *one hundred dollars a year*. Instead of protection to labor and encouragement to agriculture, I find, in every edition of our statutes, every conceivable form of legislation which the ingenuity and cupidity of man can devise to aid, by special franchises, a few to secure a living at the expense of the many. If labor cannot be helped by legislation, it has, at least, the right to demand that it shall not be taxed for the benefit of a favored few.

In view of the wholesale plunder to which the people of the territory have been subject by legislative authority, I earnestly recommend the repeal of *all* special charters grant-



ed by prior Legislative Assemblies, and that such companies or associations whose continued existence you may regard as indispensable to the public welfare, be permitted to reorganize within one year, under our general act of incorporation, under such rules and regulations as you may prescribe. I also recommend that you prepare a memorial to Congress, asking for the abolition of toll roads from Montana, through Idaho, to Corinne, Utah.

Your attention is specially directed to the fact that county commissioners are authorizing persons to erect toll gates and build toll bridges and collect enormous tolls; thus assuming to grant special franchises, an authority which Congress has denied to the Legislative Assembly. Your familiarity with this matter will enable you to adopt the legislation needed to defeat this new usurpation of authority.

I recommend the passage of a general law providing for the municipal organization of cities of the first and second class, with such safeguards as shall more effectively secure the rights of persons and property in cities and towns. I also suggest that you prohibit the mayor or councilmen from receiving any compensation for their services.

I suggest that the Territorial Auditor be directed to fix the amount of toll which may be collected by all roads, bridge or ferry companies, which you may authorize to reorganize, basing his estimates of the value of each road, bridge or ferry, on the returns made by its owner for taxation, and the owners of all roads, bridges, and ferries be required to keep an account and report quarterly to the county treasurer of each county the number of teams and animals passing over any bridge, road or ferry, and the amount of toll collected. And that no greater toll shall be collected than will secure twenty-five per cent annually on the value of the property as returned for taxation. And that for every violation by the claimant or keeper of any toll bridge, toll gate, or ferry, of any of the provisions of



the law you may see proper to enact, that the person so offending shall, on conviction, forfeit and pay a fine of not less than fifty dollars, or be imprisoned in the county jail thirty days, and fed on bread and water, or both, at the discretion of the court.

I also specially recommend that it be made by law the duty of all district attorneys to defend all citizens arrested at the instance of any party claiming to own or collect toll at any bridge, or toll gate, or ferry, for refusing to pay any greater sum as tolls than those fixed and published by the Territorial Auditor.

#### NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILROAD.

It affords me pleasure to be able to say that the early completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad may now be regarded as a fixed fact.

The recent examination of the proposed route, by the party under the direction of Thomas H. Canfield, Esq., from Puget Sound, through Montana, eastward as far as the Yellowstone or Bozeman pass, established to the satisfaction of the gentlemen composing that party the practicability of the entire route.

Had the company which built the present Pacific road been familiar with the country through which the Northern Pacific is to pass, that road would undoubtedly have been built through Montana. Here we seldom have snow sufficient on the proposed route to impede the ordinary speed of a railroad train. Up to this writing (Dec. 8th) we have had no snow on the entire route through the territory. Not a mile of snow sheds will have to be built in this territory over the Northern Pacific, while the road will pass in Montana, through agricultural and timbered lands of more value than all the land on the Central road, from the Missouri river over to the Pacific ocean. In addition to this, there is more coal and iron in Montana than in Pennsylvania, more valuable pine timber than in the states of Maine, New York

and Pennsylvania, or in Michigan and Wisconsin; more rich agricultural land than in Ohio, besides millions of acres of grazing lands which are not equalled on the continent, and on which horses, mules, cattle, and sheep subsist and fatten in the winter months, without other food or shelter.

Our gold, and silver, and lead, and copper mines, equal in richness and are far more extensive, and eventually will prove more valuable, than those of Nevada and California. When our numerous, but undeveloped material resources come to be known, and the fact that we have a climate vitalizing to health and more desirable than the climate of northern Ohio, Indiana and the adjacent states in the north and west, northern capital will promptly lead in the early completion of the Northern Pacific, and immigrants will pour into Montana, as they never have before.

#### FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT.

I congratulate you upon the fact, now conceded, that the National Constitution will soon be amended so as to conform to our new condition as a nation. The great privilege of the ballot will thus be secured by national authority to every citizen of the United States of mature years, whether native or foreign born, white or black. This welcome consummation secures the triumph in our government of the true democratic idea. In conferring the privilege of the ballot, the equal rights of all men are recognized, and the government becomes the agent of the citizen, instead of his master. Every citizen thus enfranchised, has placed in his hands the most formidable weapon of protection and defense known to the republican government. Experience teaches us that the ballot gives every man dignity and power, and all know that its proper use will secure him justice and a government administered in the interest of civilization and peace. It becomes our duty to conform our laws to the National Constitution. I therefore recommend that our election law, which prescribes the qualification of electors, be amended

by copying the exact words of the fifteenth amendment. Whatever difference there may be as to its true interpretation, it will eventually be judicially determined, and thus all exciting questions touching the qualification of citizen electors in states and territories will practically pass from the political arena.

#### INDIAN TREATIES.

The citizens of Missoula County, residing in the Bitter Root Valley, have called my attention to the fact that a treaty has recently been made with the tribe of Flathead Indians, whereby a large reservation is proposed to be set off to said Indians, about the center of the valley, and extending from the summit of the mountains on the west, across the valley to the summit of the mountains on the east. The people residing in that valley, now numbering about seventy families, are justly alarmed at this proposition. A majority of the settlers own improved farms, and many of them are of great value. They have resided on them without interruption for eight or ten years. They have built school houses and churches, and are surrounded with all the requirements of civilization. To make these improvements has required the labor of years.

The establishment of an Indian reservation now in the very heart of this valley, will be an injustice for which there can be no shadow of excuse. It will, therefore, give me pleasure to unite with you in any proper protest and memorial to the Senate of the United States against the ratification of this treaty, or the ratification of any other treaty with this or any of the numerous tribes or bands of Indians which are roving over all parts of the territory.

The time has come when the people of the western states and territories ought to demand that henceforth the national government shall refuse to recognize the right of any tribe or band of wandering savages to make war or peace at pleasure. Treaty-making with all Indian tribes ought



to cease, as also the policy of providing them with reservations as large as a number of our states, from which explorers and miners are excluded, and citizens denied the right of passage, while bands of Indians are permitted to roam at will over the entire territory.

The practical working of our Indian policy from the organization of the government to this time, has been an offence against civilization. As I have but little hope of seeing a change in our Indian policy while an Indian survives, I make no suggestions touching Indian affairs. The Indian Superintendency for Montana is committed to the care and management of an able and experienced army officer, whose familiarity with frontier life among Indians entitles him to our confidence. Major General Hancock, commander of this military department, and General De Trobriand, commander of the district of Montana, have both written and assured me that no effort shall be wanting on their part to protect the lives and property of our citizens who are exposed at isolated points to the plundering attacks of roving bands of Indian thieves.

#### INDIAN WAR DEBT.

In the spring of 1867, the settlers of the Gallatin Valley were threatened with an attack from a roving band of Sioux, assisted by Blackfeet and Crow Indians.

After laying waste a large portion of Minnesota, and massacring hundreds of citizens of all ages and sexes, this band of Sioux moved southward, committing depredations through Dakota, Wyoming, and a part of Colorado, and finally united with the hostile Indians in the valley of the Yellowstone.

It is well known that the Sioux are the most dangerous and formidable of all our Indian tribes. So war-like and savage are they, that the very name of Sioux is a terror alike to the friendly Indians and whites in the eastern part of Montana.



From the Yellowstone into the valley of the Gallatin, by the Bozeman Pass, access is so easy that this roving band of hostile Indians were not long in their new quarters, before they showed unmistakable signs of hostility. Able as these savages were to muster on short notice a well organized force of experienced and successful warriors, the settlers of the Gallatin were in a constant state of anxiety and alarm.

It is now believed that had these Indians at that time known the defenseless condition of the territory, they would have laid it waste by the torch and tomahawk, as they did in Minnesota. On the appearance of the Indians near the Bozeman Pass, a number of families left the valley and never returned.

Those who remained gathered their families and effects together, and after consultation, determined to remain if they could procure aid. They therefore dispatched couriers to Helena, one hundred and twenty miles, and to Virginia City, seventy odd miles, for assistance. General Meagher, then the acting Governor, telegraphed the Secretary of War, at Washington, and General Sherman, at St. Louis, for authority to raise a regiment to go to the protection of the Gallatin settlements. After obtaining such authority as the acting Governor thought sufficient, he issued a proclamation calling for eight hundred volunteer cavalry. Hundreds of our brave and generous citizens responded with alacrity, and were at once enrolled, armed and equipped, and marched through the valley of the Gallatin to the Yellowstone.

Though the Indians did not make the anticipated raid, it is now believed that but for the prompt appearance of so large and formidable a military force, the scenes enacted in Minnesota would have been repeated.

The expenses incident to calling out these troops have never been paid by the government.

I have made such inquiry touching the matter as satisfies me that the exigency which required them, was of such a character as to justify it.

Property to a large amount was furnished in good faith by citizens, on the supposed credit of the government. My attention has been called to the fact that many citizens of the territory, in their zeal and public spirit, advanced almost all their entire means, on the assurance of the Governor that they would be paid. A number of these citizens are greatly embarrassed to-day, because of the failure of the Government to pay them. I will take pleasure in transmitting such joint memorial to Congress as you may deem proper to pass, asking for an appropriation to pay so much of this indebtedness as on examination may be found just.

A memorial asking Congress to authorize the President to appoint a commission to consist of two officers of the regular army and one citizen of the territory, with authority to examine each claim, and pass upon and pay such as they find to be just, will meet my approval. The appointment of two officers of the regular army acquainted with frontier life, and the cost of arming and equipping men for such an expedition, would be satisfactory to the citizens who hold these claims against the Government.

With such a commission in the territory, authorized to take testimony, and with full power to pass upon and reject every account, I feel confident the honest claims could be easily separated from those alleged to be fraudulent and unauthorized.

#### APPROPRIATION FOR RIVERS.

In my recent trip in a small boat down the Flathead river and Clark's Fork of the Columbia, I was pleased to find a river which, with a small outlay, can be made navigable for at least one hundred miles above Thompson's Falls. Below the Falls there are now two fine steamers, recently built, in anticipation of a large immigration to that country.

One of these boats has recently made a trip from the cabinet up to the Falls.

It is contemplated to put a steamer on above the Falls at an early day.

The recent Pacific Railroad party report that their measurement of the water at Thompson's Falls gave six times the volume which flows in the Ohio at Wheeling, Virginia, at an ordinary stage.

I recommend that a memorial be prepared asking Congress for a small appropriation to remove obstructions from the Missouri river, below Fort Benton, and if on examination it be deemed necessary, that Congress be asked to declare the Clark's Fork and the Flathead river, and the Missouri, above the Falls, navigable rivers.

The territory has not secured titles to the land or lots on which are built the territorial arsenal in this city (Virginia) and Helena.

In case the cities of Helena and Virginia do not donate the land thus occupied, before you adjourn, I recommend that an appropriation sufficient to pay for the same be made, and that the Secretary be directed to file the necessary papers at once, and perfect for the territory title to said property.

#### AGRICULTURAL AND MINING INTERESTS.

I am not in possession of any statistical information touching our mining or agricultural interests.

Of the number of gold and silver quartz mills erected and the number being erected, I am unable to speak; nor am I able to give you any information as to the number, extent, or value of our placer mines, or the amount of bullion taken out this year.

It is generally alleged that owing to the entire absence of snow last winter, and the consequent deficiency of water, the amount is less than usual.

The number of miles of ditches built this year is said to



be greater than ever before, and with a fair fall of snow in the mountains this winter a prosperous mining season is confidently predicted.

Our agricultural resources exceed my most sanguine hopes. I have passed over the greater part of the settled portions of the territory, and I never saw finer crops growing. The productiveness of the soil exceeds that of any of the old states in which I have resided.

At our territorial fair, Major J. F. Forbis, now one of the members of the House from Lewis and Clark county, was awarded the premium for the best acre of winter wheat. Eighty-two bushels and thirty-eight pounds was the yield, and the entire field averaged over fifty bushels to the acre. I have been shown a number of fields from which seventy-five and one hundred bushels of oats to the acre have been harvested this year. In another year Montana will import no more breadstuffs, and in five years she will export largely of all cereals.

Almost everything grown in New England, New York, Canada, northern Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa, will yield a greater crop in Montana.

In the Auditor's report you will find that 207,042 $\frac{5}{8}$  acres are under cultivation this year.

The number of acres of land entered and pre-empted by agriculturists this year, exceeds that of any other. This is the best evidence which can be presented of the permanent growth and future of Montana.

Congratulating you on the bright future which, under proper administration, awaits the territory, I welcome you, the chosen guardians of its interests, to the Capital, and am now prepared to co-operate with you in the enactment of such laws as, on a comparison of views, may be deemed necessary to secure the continued prosperity of her people.

JAS. M. ASHLEY.



## Presbyterian Church History.

By Rev. George Edwards.

In the following pages we shall, as far as possible, let the pioneers of the Presbyterian Church tell in their own words the part they took in laying the foundations of Christianity and morality in Montana.

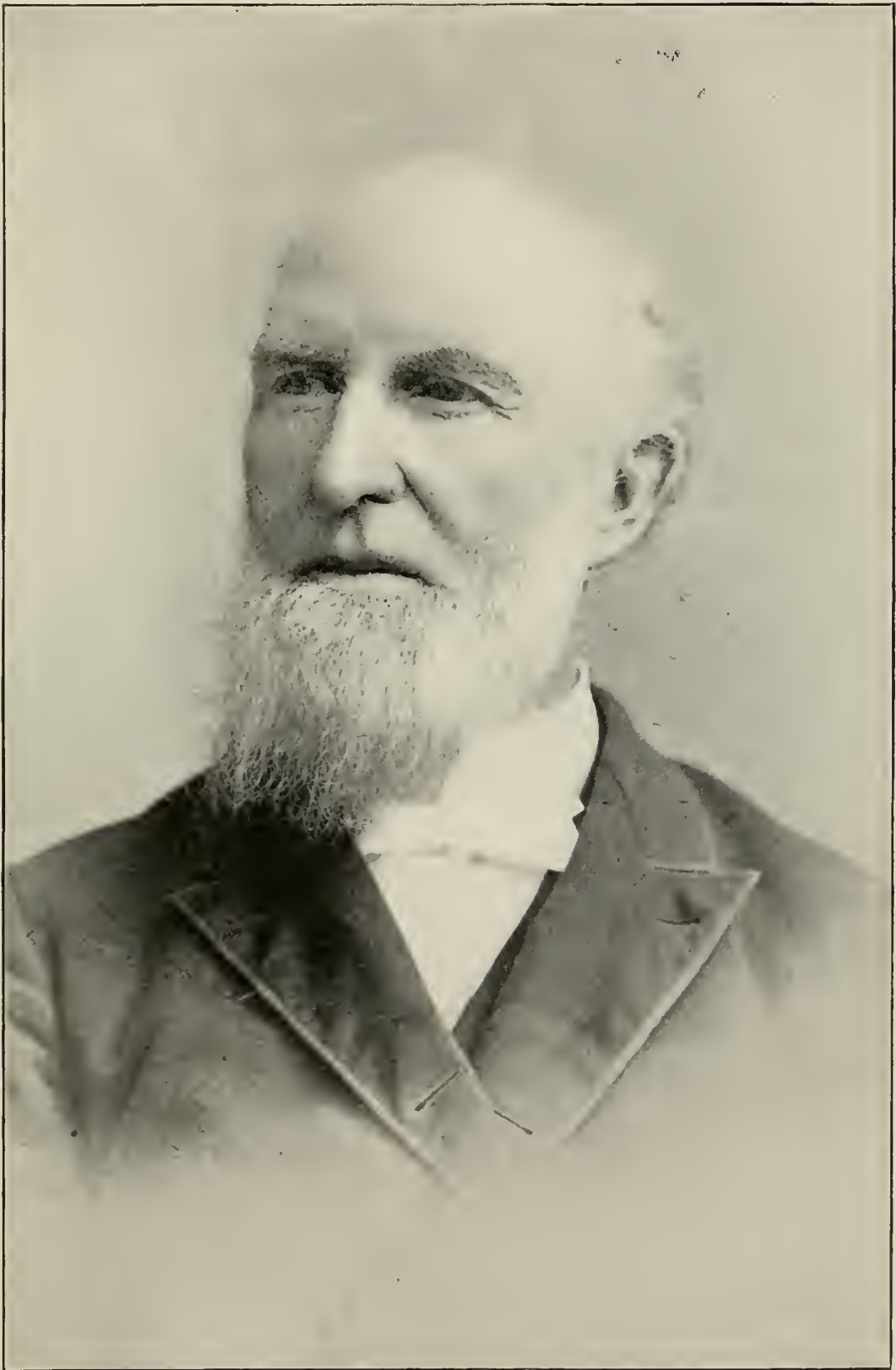
### THE EARLIEST PIONEERS OF THE CHURCHES.

The earliest religious work in Montana was done under the leadership of Father De Smet, who began work among the Flathead Indians in 1840. He was followed by Father Ravalli and his associates in 1844. They established the St. Mary's Mission in the Bitter Root Valley.

The earliest Protestant missionaries in the Northwest, the Lees of the Methodist Church in 1834, the Whitmans and Spauldings of the Presbyterian Church in 1835, went beyond the present boundaries of Montana to labor among the Indians of Oregon, these missions being the direct result of the search that had been instituted by the Flathead Indians for the great book of the White Man.

In 1857 a Presbyterian minister and his wife came up the Missouri River to Fort Benton for the purpose of establishing a mission among the Indians. In July, 1897, when Rev. Thomas V. Moore, then pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Helena, was preparing his "Sketch of the Beginnings of Presbyterianism in Montana," he received letters from two old-timers who lived in Montana in the 50's. Mr. Jacob Schmidt, then living near Browning, Teton County, wrote:

"I knew the person to whom you refer. He was a Protestant minister and came up the Missouri River with me



REV. GEORGE GRANTHAM SMITH.\*  
\*Deceased November 30, 1898.



in 1857, with his wife, as far as Fort Benton, to do missionary work.

“He did not stay long, only about ten days, and his wife got homesick, so they sold the furniture they had and went back by Walla Walla, Oregon, as they did not want to take any chances by going back on the Missouri, as the Indians were very treacherous.

“He was a man about 5 feet 6 inches in height, blue eyes and sandy mustache. He was a German, as he talked with me on our trip and he was a very pleasant, jolly man. Every one liked him that met him. I have forgotten his name. The people who came on the boat at the same time were Father De Smet, Mr. Dawson, General Warren, and Mr. Kipp, father of John Kipp of Blackfoot, and the rest of the people were all young and I did not know any of them.”

I had a talk with Mr. Schmidt at Shelby on February 26, 1907, and he confirmed the above statement in every particular. Four days later, March 2nd, Mr. Schmidt died at Choteau, having lived in Northern Montana for fifty-two years.

Mr. George Steell wrote from Browning, Montana:

“I have your letter of July 2nd, and would have replied ere this, but have been very busy turning over my charge here as Indian agent. In reply to your inquiries, I will state that I came to Fort Benton, August, 1857. Upon reaching there I learned that a Presbyterian minister and his wife had left Benton that spring, going down the river. In those days I knew the name of the gentleman, but can not now recollect it. I have had an interview with Charles Chouquette upon this matter. He cannot give his name, nor can he say where he came from. He states that he came upon missionary work, that he was about 35 years of age, and his wife was probably 25 or 26 years of age, that he accomplished nothing as a missionary.

“I know this by what I learned after my arrival. The



talk then was that the Indians said that he was the same as other men, as he had a wife. Apparently up to that time they had not come in contact with any minister, having only met the Catholic priests."

These letters from Jacob Schmidt and George Steell are preserved in the archive box of the First Presbyterian Church of Helena with other historical documents.

In an interview with Mrs. Wilbur F. Sanders about the early religious history of Montana she said that in the fall of 1863, while she and her husband had their home at Bannack, a Methodist exhorter was preaching in that place, using for a meeting house an octagonal block-house, built for protection against the Indians.

During the year 1864, we find four regularly ordained Protestant ministers in the mining camps of Montana. There may, of course, have been others whose work has not come to the attention of the writer.

Rev. Jonathan Blanchard, D. D., president of Wheaton College, Illinois, accompanied by his son, Charles A. Blanchard, visited Virginia City early in the summer of 1864. Letters received from Rev. Charles A. Blanchard, D. D., in 1897, then having succeeded his father as president of Wheaton College, give the following account of this trip. The letters are in the archive box of the Helena Church:

"In 1864, my father, Rev. President Blanchard, of Wheaton College, Illinois, being broken in health, visited Montana, going by wagon via Omaha, Kearney and Bridger's Cut-off. He returned via Salt Lake and Denver, preaching in all places where opportunity offered.

"He was at the time a Congregational minister. He began his ministry in the Sixth Presbyterian Church, Cincinnati, preaching there nine years, leaving to become president of Knox College, Illinois, in 1846.

"I was with him on that trip and attended the meetings which he held in the rough board court house at Virginia



REV. JONATHAN BLANCHARD, D. D.\*  
\*Deceased 1892.



City. He took the trip chiefly for his health, though he had a commission from the American Missionary Association to explore mountain regions and report to the society. In pursuance of his report the First Congregational Churches of Denver and Salt Lake City were organized. At the time we were in Virginia City there was no church of any kind and no religious services regularly held. We met in the court house and had a little company gathered while the streets were crowded with thousands of men, the gambling shops, saloons, and auctioneers doing their work on every hand. We did not remain in Virginia City long, perhaps two or three weeks. My father, I think, preached every Sabbath while there. We then left by wagon over the mountains for Salt Lake City."

Permanent work was not undertaken by the Congregational Church in Montana until 18 years later in 1882.

Mrs. W. F. Sanders relates that when they moved to Virginia City in February, 1864, Rev. A. M. Torbet of the Baptist Church was the only minister in the mining camp. He is described as a fine Christian gentleman, about 55 years of age, and a regularly ordained minister, though probably not working under any mission board. Mr. Torbet preached the funeral sermon of Jim Slade, at the request of his wife, when he was hung by the Vigilantes of Virginia City. He opened his discourse by saying: "I have preached the gospel for thirty years and have never been accustomed in a funeral discourse to refer to the life of the deceased. I shall not depart from that rule at this time."

Information as to the work of the other two Protestant ministers of 1864, Rev. George Grantham Smith, of the Presbyterian Church, and Rev. A. M. Hough, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, is much more abundant. The Montana Post of October 29, 1864, says: "We are happy to notice the arrival of Rev. Hough, who will, we understand,



make his home among us." This fixes the date of Mr. Hough's arrival.

REV. GEORGE GRANTHAM SMITH. THE PIONEER  
PRESBYTERIAN HOME MISSIONARY IN  
MONTANA.

Rev. George G. Smith arrived at Bannack in June, 1864, and labored principally at Bannack and Virginia City during the two years following. Rev. Thomas V. Moore, D. D., in his "Sketch of the Beginning of Presbyterianism in Montana" writes:

"The work of Rev. George Grantham Smith marks the real beginning of Presbyterian Missions in Montana. Mr. Smith, a member of the Third Presbytery of Philadelphia, a graduate of Princeton College and Auburn Theological Seminary, was sent out by the Presbyterian Committee of Home Missions (New School) of which Dr. Kendall was then secretary, as the first regularly commissioned Protestant missionary for Montana. Mr. Smith intended to go to Gaboon, Africa, but finding that it was easier for the Board to get missionaries for West Africa than for Montana, he chose the latter field."

Under date of March 3, 1902, Rev. P. H. Brooks, D. D., stated clerk of Lackawanna Presbytery and who prepared the obituary of Mr. Smith for the Necrological Record Book of that Presbytery, furnished the following facts in reference to Mr. Smith's life and work:

"Rev. George Grantham Smith was born January 31, 1833, in Philadelphia, Pa. He was graduated from Princeton College, N. J., in 1861, and very soon after was licensed by the Third Presbytery of Philadelphia, and was at once appointed and served as a chaplain for the Grand Army of the Republic. On his return from this service he entered Auburn Theological Seminary. He was ordained by the Third Presbytery of Philadelphia in May, 1864, and went out at once under the commission of the Presbyterian Board

of Home Missions as our Presbyterian missionary to Montana.

“In 1866, on his return to the east he married Miss Anna M. Swift, on the 9th day of August, in Methuchen, N. J., and in that year began his work in Buffalo, N. Y., preaching in a mission chapel, supported by the First Presbyterian Church. After the first year the mission was organized into a church. He remained in Buffalo about six years. After this he served two other churches. He came into the Presbytery of Lackawanna in November, 1884, and said: ‘If you have any fields where the work is most difficult, send me there.’ He labored in Bowman’s Creek Church and Lehman about four years. In October he began his work in the Newton Church. In 1894, on this field the Bethel Church was organized. After eight years on these fields of abounding labors he closed his active ministry and retired to Clark’s Summit, Pa., where he lived about two years and after a lingering illness of paralysis passed peacefully away, November 30, 1898. His wife and two children mourn his loss.”

We will let Mr. Smith tell his own story of missionary life in Montana in the sixties in the following extracts from letters written to Rev. Thomas V. Moore, D. D., in 1897. He writes:

“I reached Bannack in June, 1864. My work in Montana was confined to Bannack, Virginia City and adjoining camps and ranches. There was no Presbytery, no church, no Sabbath when I entered Montana. It was hard ‘prospecting’ in those days.

“I was sent out as an exploring missionary to look over the entire field and preach at as many points as possible, report the needs of the field and prepare the way for other men to follow. I took the stage at Atchison, Kansas. Was allowed only 30 pounds of baggage on the coach. Had to leave my trunk to come by freight, which reached me eigh-

teen months after arrival. So that I was in my first parish for eighteen months with no book save my small English Bible without note or comment; and I had the most intelligent and wide-a-wake congregation I have ever ministered unto.

“On my arrival at Montana I soon learned that my \$1200 legal tender would secure me but twelve weeks’ board instead of twelve months.’ I was a young man, an entire stranger, no letters of introduction to a living soul. I created a storm of applause (or something else) by unloading an umbrella. It never rained in that country in those days, and ‘tenderfoot!’ and ‘pilgrim!’ were shouted in all directions; and above all, I had on a ‘biled’ shirt, and everything to correspond. I was assigned to private apartments at the leading hotel in Bannack City, in the office, with bar, gambling table, gamblers, and highwaymen, every man clothed in buckskin and adorned with a pair of navy revolvers and bowie knife in the bootleg and Mexican spurs and dangles on the heel. My bed was the boardless floor of this public office, and bed clothing my blankets. This was the introduction to a life of strange vicissitudes and marvelous experiences. In some respects I was the most unfitted man in the world for such a life. I had seen little of the world, was simple-hearted and true and believed everybody the same; had a very poor opinion of myself and unbounded confidence in everybody else.

“I began my work in Bannack, then the seat of government, the home of the governor and the territorial officers, especially the “road agents.” Virginia City had even then come to the front, and was rapidly depleting Bannack, and before the year had run, Bannack was well nigh deserted. I was obliged to retire from the high places and sumptuous fare of ‘swine belly’ and ‘hot doe’ and seek more lowly quarters and humbler fare. I rented a log cabin 12x18 (feet) with one window, a pane of glass 10x12 (inches). A



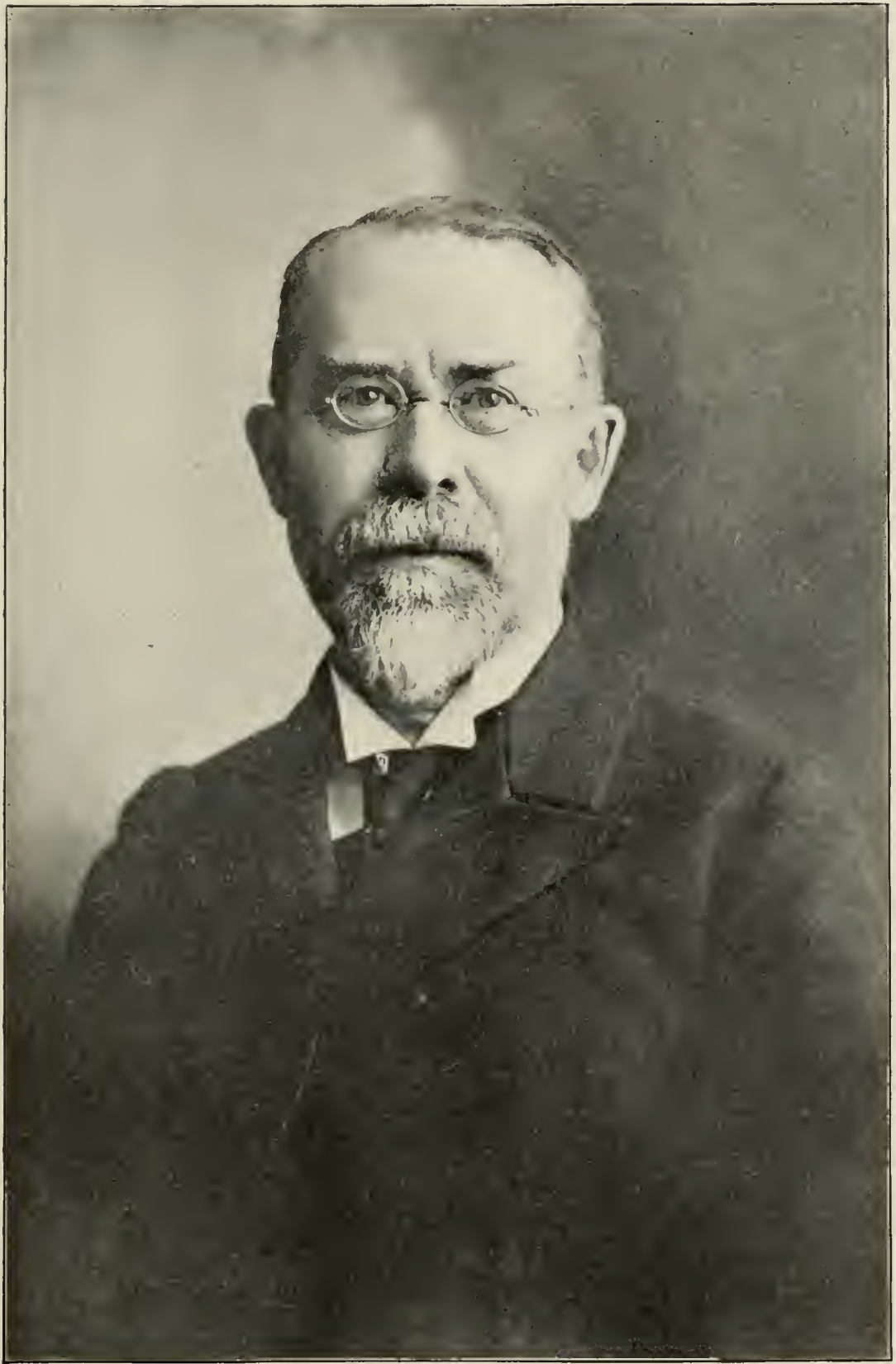
store box was table, cupboard and study desk and smaller boxes were chairs and conveniences for storing my much goods and valuables laid up for many days. I paid \$28 in my money for coarse factory sufficient to make a bed tick and pillow, which I filled with dried grass for a bed for myself and the mice that would steal a march on me and insist on bunking in with me. I did my own cooking, washing, ironing and mending. I was host, hostess, servant, guest, and got along magnificently until the fall when speculators laid hands on all the flour in the country and set the price at \$1.00 a pound in gold or \$2.50 in my money, or \$500 per barrel. Then I had to become 'Big Injun' and live on 'meat straight.' Had a tremendous longing after the leeks and onions of America. Just then I sat down to the banquet of my life. A neighboring miner had somewhere secured a few pounds of corn meal and invited me to share a corn cake with him. On my arrival I paid \$2.00 in my money for the washing of a linen duster. The garment cost me \$1.00 in the states. I began preaching in an empty storeroom, organized a Sunday School and commenced regular Sabbath services with good and attractive audiences.

"I soon ran over to Virginia City to look over the ground and report to the Home Board, at New York. I was entertained at Col. Sanders'. I secured a room for Sabbath services and posted up notices around in public places. At the postoffice I got into an obscure corner to see what impression the announcement would make on the crowd. One fellow read it and shouted. The crowd gathered and he read it again, aloud, and they all shouted. They wanted to know what a preacher was, what his business, and what was a Presbyterian preacher. Some fellow, evidently an oracle among them, explained, and said they were a religious sect and very high-toned. Another fellow said they were blue Presbyterians and he would bet the preacher had a



blue stripe down his back. They proposed to catch him and see. Some one exclaimed, if he had been a Methodist ex-hauster he would not have been surprised, but a regular starched Presbyterian in that country was an anomaly, and Barnum ought to have him, and concluded by saying: 'Let's all go around and hear the animal.' At that day Sunday was the big day. Everybody was in town. Bedlam was let loose. Business and sin were at their very worst. Next door to my preaching apartment was a large gambling hall with full band of brass, and my preaching that day was certainly attended with much sounding brass and tinkling cymbals. In the midst of my sermon the band struck up a lively dance tune and the hob-nailed miners began to beat time with their feet upon the bare floor. I was completely thrown out, and stopped and folded my arms. Just then the ringleader, a long, lank, lean fellow in buckskins, called out, 'Boys, never mind the music. The elder has the floor. You listen to him. Elder, go on. You shall not be disturbed again.' And I was not. I was patiently listened to until I said Amen. My text was I Timothy 4:8, 'Godliness is profitable unto all things.' I made it eminently practical and tried to show them whatever good and profitable was in anything, was in godliness. Still my subject was scarcely grave enough to keep me from laughing when I dismissed the congregation, for the seats of the pants of those men, who had not laid aside their American trousers and come into the full-fledged native buckskin, were patched with all the varied brands from flour sacks, such as 'Superfine,' 'I. X. L.,' 'Superior,' 'Excelsior' or 'Gilt Edge.'

"One day I said to one of the 'vigilantes,' as I supposed, 'Are you not afraid of hanging some one unjustly by hanging men so unceremoniously, without judge or jury.' His answer was: 'Do you suppose it is possible to hang any man unjustly in this country?' They even suspected me of being a highwayman—a wolf in sheep's clothing. I was



REV. SHELDON JACKSON, D. D.



told that a detective was at my heels day and night for six months; and had I done anything derogatory to the character of a Presbyterian clergyman, I would have been strung up.

“There were no regular preachers in my day save the M. E. man at Virginia City. I think he did not come till '65. I did not organize as I did not expect to remain longer than two years, and the expense of reaching the field and living when there was more than any Board could sustain. It cost me \$425 stage fare from the Missouri River to Bannack; \$500 to Virginia City, and \$5,000 was as little as a man could live on there. I organized the first public schools. There were no schools when I reached there and many children. I took the first census of the place and reported the number of schoolable children and organized schools for them, opened Sunday Schools, and prayer meeting, married and buried the people, and was instrumental in closing all business on the Sabbath. I left Montana in 1866, passed through Helena on the way to Fort Benton, and down the Missouri to the states.”

#### EARLY ORGANIZATION.

In the year 1897 the First Presbyterian Church of Helena celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of its organization. On that occasion Rev. Thomas Verner Moore, D. D., who had been pastor of the church since April 6, 1883, delivered an address on “The History of the First Presbyterian Church of Helena and the Beginning of Presbyterianism in Montana.” The address was issued in pamphlet form the following year. We quote from Mr. Moore’s address condensing where possible:

“No permanent results of a visible nature remained of the labors of the first preachers. The Rev. Sheldon Jackson, D. D., is the father of organized and permanent Presbyterianism in Montana. April 29th, 1869, he was appointed Superintendent of Missions for the Western Territories.



His field embraced the vast region included in Western Iowa, Nebraska, Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Utah and Colorado. For the first year he raised the money for his own salary and expenses, and in part also for those of several missionaries placed by him in the field.

“It was during this year, in July, 1869, three years having elapsed since Mr. Smith left Bannack for the states, that Mr. Jackson arrived in Helena. On August 1st, 1869, he gathered twelve persons here to organize a Presbyterian church. It was, indeed, a lonely little flock. There was not another church (except Indian Missions) of the same denomination in a region stretching westward to Portland, Oregon, southward to Cheyenne, Wyoming, eastward to the churches of Minnesota, and northward to the pole. Dr. Jackson wrote at the time that there was not another Presbyterian Church within a thousand miles of it.

“The members of this First Presbyterian Church in Montana were: Mrs. James L. Fisk, Mrs. John R. Deal, Mrs. James King, Mrs. Annie E. Cuthbert, Mrs. A. C. Woolfolk, Mrs. P. H. Ray, Mrs. T. H. Kleinschmidt, Mrs. Elizabeth O’Connell, Mrs. Lucy Watson, Mrs. Mary R. Williams, Mrs. West Travis and J. E. Witherspoon—eleven women and one man.

“No man was found to act as ruling elder, yet this was the real beginning of the First Presbyterian Church of Helena and of Presbyterianism in Montana. The reason that it did not continue steadily forward from that day was a failure to obtain a minister. This failure was doubtless due ultimately to the divided state of the church at that time, not only the Old School and New School branches, but the schism into North and South caused by the civil war.

“In 1872, Mr. Jackson again sought his scattered sheep. In the meantime great changes had taken place in the states. On Friday, November 2, 1869, in the city of Pittsburgh, the Old and New School branches of the Church were joined



## CHURCH WORK IN MONTANA IN 1872.

(The following is a part of an interesting paper prepared by Rev. James R. Russel about the year 1880.)

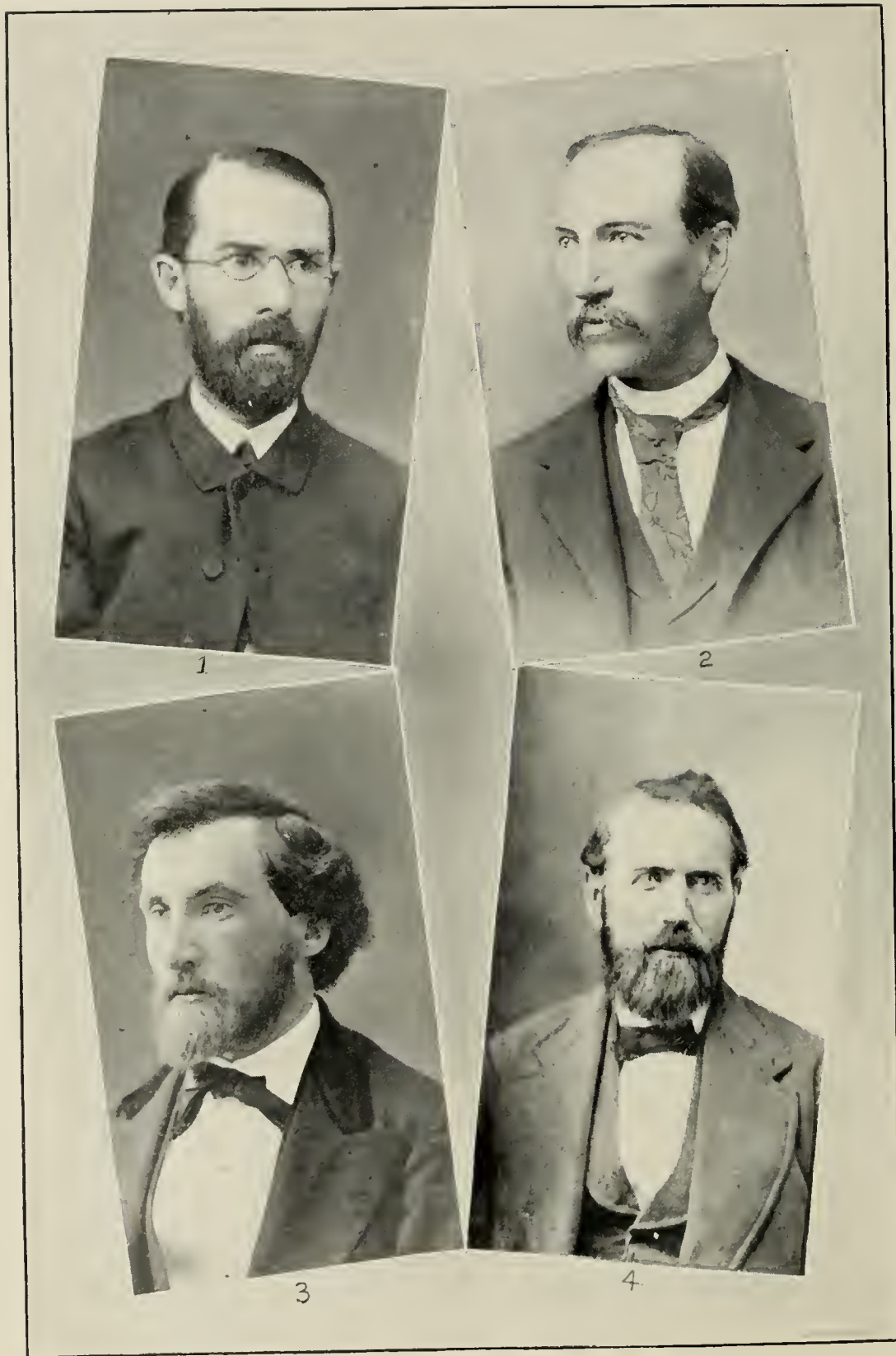
To the Methodists belongs the honor of being the first Protestant body to begin sustained Christian work in Montana. A minister was sent in 1864, soon after the organization of Montana as a Territory, to Virginia City. He was soon followed by others who were sent to Helena and Diamond City. In June, 1864, Rev. George G. Smith, of the Presbyterian Church, arrived in Montana, and preached in Bannack, Virginia City and adjoining camps. Mr. Smith left Montana in 1866, preaching as he passed through the Territory at Helena and Fort Benton.

Quite a number of Presbyterians had come out to Montana but nothing had been done toward organizing a church until, in 1869, Rev. Sheldon Jackson, then Superintendent of Presbyterian Missions, on invitation of a number of Presbyterians, visited Helena. He called a meeting of those that favored the organization of that church in Helena and about thirty gave their names towards joining and sustaining a church, provided he would send them a minister. When Mr. Jackson returned to the states he tried to secure the services of several ministers for work in Montana, but for one and another reason, those who promised to come were providentially detained at home, or sent to other fields that seemed more accessible than this.

It was not until February of 1872 that the promise of one who could and would come was obtained. Mr. James R. Russel on arriving in Denver, at that time, was asked by Mr. Jackson to come out to Helena and at once agreed to come. At the request of Mr. Jackson, Mr. Russel then remained in Colorado until Mr. Jackson could go back to the states and secure other ministers also for Montana. He succeeded in getting Rev. William C. Rommel and Rev. William S. Frackleton to promise to come in May, 1872.







THE PRESBYTERY OF MONTANA, 1872.

1. Rev. Sheldon Jackson, D. D.  
2. Rev. James R. Russel, Ph. D.

3. Rev. William S. Frackleton.  
4. Elder Alexander T. Williams.\*

\*Deceased January, 1877.

Messrs. Frackleton and Russel were ordained by the Presbytery of Colorado in Denver and the next day after their ordination set out with Mr. Jackson for Montana.

The Presbytery of Montana was organized at Helena, June 17, 1872, in accordance with an order of the General Assembly held in Detroit that year. Rev. Sheldon Jackson, Rev. James R. Russel, Rev. William S. Frackleton of the Presbytery of Colorado, Rev. Josiah Welch of the Presbytery of Wyoming, Rev. Lyman B. Crittenden of the Presbytery of Pittsburgh, and Rev. William C. Rommel of the Presbytery of Elizabeth, together with the Presbyterian churches of Montana and Utah were by that order to constitute the Presbytery of Montana.

Messrs. Jackson, Frackleton and Russel met in Helena, June 17, 1872. Mr. Jackson preached in the court house to a large audience. At the close of the sermon Mr. Jackson called the Presbytery of Montana to order and opened it with prayer. A recess was taken until morning. It would perhaps be interesting to some to know what was done at that meeting, and a brief synopsis of the proceedings might not be out of place. The next morning the Presbytery met in Mr. Russel's room in the International hotel and was opened with prayer. Rev. Sheldon Jackson was chosen Moderator, Rev. James R. Russel, Stated Clerk. Mr. Jackson reported that he had organized seven churches, as follows: Gallatin City, Bozeman, Hamilton (Gallatin Valley), Virginia City, Deer Lodge, Missoula and Helena. On motion these churches were enrolled. Mr. A. T. Williams was enrolled as the elder representing the Helena church. Standing committees were appointed on Home Missions, Church Election, Publication and Education. Much conversation, it would hardly be called discussion, was had on the work to do and how it would best be done. It was finally settled that Mr. Frackleton should work in what was then the eastern part of the settled portion of Montana with

Bozeman as headquarters, and Mr. Russel should take the western part of Montana until help could be obtained and the field divided.

In the latter part of September, 1872, Rev. William C. Rommel and Rev. Lyman B. Crittenden with his family came to Montana. Mr. Crittenden settled in Bozeman and with his daughter opened a select school, preaching, as he had strength and opportunity, in Bozeman and several settlements in Gallatin Valley. Mr. Rommel settled in Helena, where the work under Mr. Russel had made good progress and where steps had been taken to begin the erection of a house of worship. Mr. Russel then moved over to Deer Lodge.

At this time in Helena, the Methodist Church had a house of worship completed. The Methodist Church, South, had a house so far completed that they could hold services in it. The Catholics had a church building. The Episcopalians had a strong organization. The Baptists had a brilliant minister, Rev. L. B. Woolfolk, who divided his time with Deer Lodge. The Disciples held services every Sabbath, but had about that time no regular minister. The Methodists, both North and South, were making efforts to obtain a foothold in Deer Lodge. The Episcopalians had a minister and a good membership there, but no house of worship. The Catholics had a church building.

In Bozeman, the Methodists had a church building and a strong membership. The Episcopalians had an organization, but no church building and no minister.

In Missoula, the Methodists, North and South, had organizations and resident ministers. The North Methodists had a church building in process of erection. The Catholics had a school.

At Hamilton, in Gallatin Valley, and at Gallatin City the two Methodist denominations were both represented with memberships that numbered four or five to each church in each place.







ELDERS ORDAINED IN THE SEVENTIES.

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|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. J. Hopkins Taylor,* Bozeman.      | *Deceased March 21, 1901.    |
| 2. John E. Pyle,** Helena.           | **Deceased Sept. 18, 1879.   |
| 3. Joseph J. Davidson,*** Hamilton.  | ***Deceased Sept. 18, 1902.  |
| 4. Hon. Cornelius Hedges,**** Helena | ****Deceased April 29, 1907. |
| 5. Ferd Kennett, Missoula.           |                              |

This was the religious outlook when the Presbyterians entered Montana. The Congregationalists did not enter the Territory until 1882, when Rev. D. A. Leonard, Superintendent of Congregational Missions in Utah, and Superintendent Simmons of Dakota, both entered about the same time.

The Baptists came to Montana to stay and organize their work about the same time as the Congregationalists. They have sent some excellent men to this field.

The second annual meeting of the Presbytery of Montana was held in Bozeman, in February, 1873. Messrs. Crittenden, Frackleton, Rommel and Russel were the ministers present. Elders J. J. Davidson, J. H. Taylor and D. B. Sturgis represented the churches of Hamilton, Bozeman and Willow Creek. The latter was a church organized in the fall of 1872 by Mr. Frackleton, and its history is short. In less than a year the elder moved away to take a course in the theological seminary and the other members, six in number, soon after moved to other places.

Messrs. Rommel and Russel came to the Presbytery by coach, the thermometer ranging as low as 40 degrees below zero. The night of their arrival in Bozeman the weather moderated and a deep snow fell. This was a royal opportunity for the church at Bozeman, and most hospitably did they improve it. The meeting was held in what was called the Union Church (Methodist Church). The members were taken to and from the church in sleighs and at the night service sleighs were provided for the entire congregation. At this meeting the work was again thoroughly discussed. A Superintendent of Missions was asked from the Board of Home Missions in order that he might prepare new fields and obtain ministers for them.

## THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF BOZEMAN.

This church, organized June 2, 1872, celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of that event on Sunday, May 30, 1897. In order to have a suitable celebration of the anniversary committees had been appointed on correspondence, arrangements, music, decoration, historical sketch, entertainment and a booklet, which should give a report of the proceedings. It is from this beautiful, illustrated booklet of 92 pages that we gather the history of this church, appropriating what is most suitable to our purpose and omitting anything that would cause repetition. At the morning service a "Historical Sketch" was read by Mr. Peter Koch, and Rev. Davis Willson preached an appropriate sermon from the text Psalm 48:12-14. In the evening the pastor, Rev. John Norman Maclean, preached from the text Exodus 14:15, and letters of greeting from former pastors and other friends were read by elders Edward M. Gardner and William W. Wylie.

## HISTORICAL ADDRESS ON THE FIRST PRESBY- TERIAN CHURCH OF BOZEMAN.

(By Elder Peter Koch.)

Twenty-five years ago there was no organized Presbyterian church within the limits of the then Territory of Montana, though Presbyterian ministers had done pioneer missionary work in the Territory.

On June 2, 1872, the Bozeman church was organized, making it the oldest existing Presbyterian church within the bounds of the State of Montana.

The organization was effected by Revs. Sheldon Jackson and William S. Frackleton. Mr. Frackleton came on May 28th and was joined by Mr. Jackson on May 31st. On Sunday, June 2d, service was held in the old building of the Methodist church, standing on Main street about where Mr. Hanly's tin-shop now is, and as the record reads: "After



preaching by Mr. Jackson, the following persons at their own request were organized into 'The Presbyterian Church of Bozeman, Montana:'

J. H. Taylor, from the Presbyterian Church of Canton, N. Y.; Mrs. Melinda Rich, from the Presbyterian Church, of Canton, N. Y.; Miss Alice Leonard, from the Presbyterian Church of Canton, N. Y.; Mrs. Emma Willson, from the Second Presbyterian Church, Albany, N. Y.; Mrs. Mary E. Perkins, from the Presbyterian Church of Onarga, Ill.; Mary J. Davis, on profession of faith and baptism; John Craig, from the United Presbyterian Church of Rochester, N. Y. Mr. J. H. Taylor was elected, ordained and installed ruling elder for one year. (This was the first Presbyterian elder installed in Montana.) The first minister was Rev. William S. Frackleton."

Of these seven charter members of our church four are still at the head of our membership list: Mr. J. H. Taylor, Mrs. M. M. Rich, Mrs. Emma Willson and Mrs. M. E. Perkins. Miss Alice Leonard, now Mrs. Laughorne, has moved to Helena; John Craig died in the harness as an active officer of the church; one has drifted away.

The history of our church during these twenty-five years divides itself naturally into three periods.

1. The first period lasted from 1872 to 1877. It was a day of small things, a mere "holding the fort," as Mr. Richards expresses it, and the garrison holding it was a weak one; but all honor to that little band, who through all discouragements clung steadfastly to "the faith once delivered to the saints." By simply waiting they were surely doing God's work; for when in His providence the time came for moving onward, they were ready "with their lamps all trimmed and bright" to lead in the forward march.

During these five years the pulpit was supplied by Rev. W. S. Frackleton from June 2, 1872, to April 1873, when he went east to attend the General Assembly and did not



return. He was succeeded by Rev. Lyman B. Crittenden. Father Crittenden, as we all affectionately remember him, had come to Bozeman in September, 1872, from Utah and with his daughter opened a private school. When Mr. Frackleton went away, he took his place, and although in September, 1874, he moved into the valley and opened an academy at Hamilton, he continued to supply our pulpit. All this time the church had only one monthly service, and that was, through the courtesy of our Methodist brethren, held in the Methodist church.

2. The second period embraces the ministry of Rev. Charles L. Richards from August 9, 1877, to March, 1883. It was a period of activity and growth, in which the patient waiting of the faithful little band bore rich fruit. In an address, delivered by Mr. Richards on the tenth anniversary of the organization of this church, he thus paints its condition on his arrival: "There were thirteen resident members, having one elder, no deacons, no trustees and nothing to trust them with, no Sunday school and no prayer meeting. Father Crittenden had not been able to visit them for three months. In the families of the members there were only six children, and only three of these were old enough to attend Sunday school. Of the church property the following is the invoice in 1877: One silver communion set, donated by the Presbyterian church of Cazenovia, N. Y., one sessional record book and about three dozen old hymn books. Willing hands and prayerful hearts composed the one element of worth."

The time, however, was ripe for an advance movement. Business was reviving after the depression, following the panic of 1873. There were prolonged vacancies in the pastorate of the other churches in town. Of this Mr. Richards writes as follows: "There is yet another matter, connected with the season of 1877 and the two subsequent years, which both duty and gratitude require to be mentioned. We had

no church home of our own. We were feeble, and we could not buy or build. Then it was that our Episcopal brethren opened their doors to us and let us in. The Episcopal rector left Bozeman within forty-eight hours after my arrival and the Methodist minister left about six months later. Both of their societies gathered with us in one house of worship, and our band of thirteen appeared to be a band of fifty. We worshipped for two years in the Episcopal church and for fourteen months in the Methodist church. We had their help, their sympathy, their prayers, their purses and their homes to aid us, until we entered our own home. May we ever remember their love and kindness to us."

I may add that we all have very pleasant memories of the cordial relation of our church to Bishop Tuttle during those early years. He took as much interest in Mr. Richards as if he had been one of his own "boys," and it was through his kindness that we were permitted to occupy the building of the Episcopalians. In turn we were always ready to give up our own services and flock to hear the Bishop preach on his annual visit.

Mr. Richards at once started a Wednesday evening prayer meeting with a rule that two made a quorum to transact business. Once or twice it was actually held with that number; but the pastor and the people persevered, and now for nearly twenty years it has been one of the most potent factors in the spiritual upbuilding of our church.

During the early years we had joined with the Methodist brethren in their Sunday school, but that school was discontinued in the summer of 1878. This left an opening, of which our church took prompt advantage. We organized at 2:30 P. M. on September 15, 1878, in the Episcopal church building, 32 children and 9 adults being present. Mr. Davis Willson was made Superintendent and Mr. M. H. Sanders, Secretary and Treasurer. It is of record that

during the first four years the Superintendent was absent but two Sundays, once being kept home by sickness and once having gone to Hamilton to preach. Our Sunday school has always flourished, because it has always been a bible school, and because it has been the school of the whole church, not of the children only.

The next step forward was building a church. On June 9, 1879, a congregational meeting was held, at which Messrs. John P. Bruce, J. L. Patterson and Davis Willson were elected trustees, and it was decided to move towards building a church. A building committee was appointed, of which M. H. Sanders was chairman, Mr. A. D. McPherson and the above mentioned trustees the other members. It began active work at once, and Mr. Richards himself was untiring, not only in raising money and arousing the laggards and timid ones, but in doing actual, manual labor as carpenter and painter on the building. It cost about \$5,000.00. A Ladies' Aid Society was organized. Ice cream and strawberry festivals, baked beans' suppers and church fairs were more of a novelty in those days than now and brought better returns, and they raised some \$2,000.00. A like amount was subscribed in cash, labor and material. The Board of Church Erection gave \$800.00 and \$200.00 were raised by friends out of town, chiefly among the officers of the Fort Ellis garrison.

The first service in the new building was held October 24, 1880, and the church was opened free of debt.

Meanwhile the church had grown slowly in numbers, but considerably in strength and influence in the community.

On December 5, 1880, a congregational meeting was held for the election of additional elders and deacons. Messrs. Edward M. Gardner and William W. Wylie were elected elders, Messrs. Davis Willson and John Craig deacons. They were ordained and installed into office March 1, 1881.

In March, 1883, Mr. Richards left us. He had done a







PASTORS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF BOZEMAN.

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|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Robert M. Stevenson, D. D. | 4. David S. McCaslin, D. D.   |
| 2. Joseph W. Sanderson, D. D. | 5. John Norman Maclean.       |
| 3. William M. Jack.           | 6. Robert M. Donaldson, D. D. |

good work. The church had grown to a membership of 77, and where he had found a feeble folk, homeless and almost without organization, barely "holding the fort," he left a strong, active church, owning its home, active in different lines of church work, a spiritual prayer meeting, a strong Sunday school, and above all, a church closely knit together and self reliant. This was shown during the next four months, while the pulpit remained vacant, and yet the officers kept up the regular services, setting an example which the church has followed ever since, whenever it became necessary.

With the arrival of Rev. Robert M. Stevenson in July, 1883, the third period of the history of this church begins. Up to this time ours had been a home mission church, that is, a part of the salary of our minister had been paid by the Home Mission Board. Mr. Stevenson encouraged the church to become self-supporting, and this was voted, probably at the same congregational meeting which on October 14, 1883, called Mr. Stevenson as the first regular pastor of this church.

He was not installed until February 2, 1884, and at the same service Dr. J. M. Waters was installed and Mr. Davis Willson ordained as elders and Mr. George H. Highsmith as deacon, their election having taken place the previous day.

April 2, 1885, George H. Willson was elected deacon and ordained the following Sunday.

During Mr. Stevenson's pastorate the church flourished. The membership soon reached 100. A parsonage was built in 1884, and on March 19, 1884, the church was incorporated as "The First Presbyterian Church of Bozeman, Montana," Messrs J. H. Taylor, Davis Willson and J. D. Radford being the first trustees. In 1883 the Women's Home and Foreign Missionary Society was organized and has led an active and vigorous life ever since.

In 1883 the Bible Correspondence Class was formed under

the leadership of Mr. Wylie and has been an important factor in training many of our members in a better knowledge and understanding of the Bible.

During Mr. Stevenson's pastorate began also the system of regular and liberal contributions to the boards of our church which have been faithfully kept up ever since in spite of hard times, vacant pulpits and other discouragements.

In 1889 the Society of the King's Daughters was organized, and also the Y. P. S. C. E., the resolution authorizing it being passed by the session of February 13. It may have been with doubt as to its wisdom that the session passed this resolution, the effect of these young peoples' societies being still untried; but in our church certainly it has had good results only and during its existence it has been probably the most important factor in the growth and development of our church.

Mr. Stevenson left us in October, 1889, his resignation being accepted at a congregational meeting held September 8, and he, like Mr. Richards, had fostered the spirit of self-reliance in the church, training the members to work, so that during the six months' vacancy that followed the church was well held together and all the regular services kept up. In this work we missed one who had in the past been chiefly relied upon, Mr. Davis Willson, who on October 13, 1889, was ordained to the ministry and therefore ceased to be an elder in this church. But although no longer on our rolls as a member and an officer he has never ceased to be one of us, and as long as he lives among us, although he be pastor of two churches and pope of the Gallatin Valley, we still call him brother member and officer and still call on him for help as freely as if we had never lost our hold upon him.

January 24, 1890, Deacon John Craig died and was mourned not only by the church but by the whole com-



munity. Faithful and active as a church officer, radical and outspoken in his opinions, always standing undaunted for the right, as he saw it, his humble life was a moral force in this community. He is the only officer of our church who has died during its twenty-five years.

On April 20, 1890, Rev. Joseph W. Sanderson, D. D., began his ministry. On July 2, he was called as a pastor and installed shortly after, remaining with us a little more than two years to July 20, 1892.

On June 4, 1890, T. F. Stevenson and Peter Koch were elected elders and J. D. Radford, F. J. Nesbitt and E. B. Martin deacons, the ordination and installation taking place June 22.

In November of that year the deacons were requested to join in the regular monthly session meetings, and this has been found to work admirably in unifying the temporal and spiritual interests of the church.

On October 17, 1892, a call was extended to Rev. Robert M. Donaldson who began his pastorate December 19, 1892, remaining to April 1, 1895.

In the spring of 1893 steps were taken looking towards the building of a new church. Lots were secured, but the panic coming on, it became a struggle to meet even the ordinary expenses and the matter was dropped for the time.

In 1892 the Junior Endeavor Society was organized, in 1894 the Men's League, and in 1895 the Macedonian Society.

From March 19 to October 20, 1895, the pulpit was supplied by Mr. William M. Jack, a recent graduate of Princeton Seminary.

Rev. David S. McCaslin, D. D., served as stated supply from October 27, 1895, to August 30, 1896.

After the departure of Dr. McCaslin the church remained vacant for eight months. By the help of Rev. James Reid and occasional visits from other ministers, the officers kept up all the regular services except Sunday evening services.



After several vain efforts a call was at last issued to Rev. John Norman Maclean of Vaccaville, California, which was accepted, and Mr. Maclean preached his first sermon on May 2 of this year, being installed as pastor on May 16. Before he arrived preparations were in progress for celebrating the quarter centennial anniversary of the organization of the church and his pastorate was auspiciously opened by this celebration on May 30, 1897.

Counting Mr. Maclean, this church has, during its twenty-five years' existence, had eight ministers, four of them installed pastors, four of them stated supplies.

It has had seven elders, all of whom are still among us.

It has had nine deacons. Of these, one, John Craig, died; one, Davis Willson, was elected an elder, three having moved away, and four are now serving.

One hundred and seventy-five members have been received on confession, 198 by letter from other churches. Eighty-seven have been dismissed to other churches, 26 have died. Our present active membership being 167, this leaves 93 unaccounted for. Some of these have joined other churches in this city without taking letters from us, some have done so elsewhere; but many, too many, have simply drifted away. Where have they gone? And while they were drifting where were our life lines?

During these 25 years the church has raised altogether \$47,564.00, \$30,852.00 for congregational expenses, \$8,038.00 for miscellaneous objects, the greater part of which would probably be counted as congregational expense; \$357.00 for Presbyterian assessments and \$8,317.00 for the Boards of the Church. This includes about \$2,400.00 raised for the support of the academy. Leaving this out, our average contributions to the beneficences of the church have been during the past twelve years \$356.00. They were last year \$585.00.

Fifty-four adults and 105 infants have been baptized; but this record is probably incomplete.

We reported this spring a membership of 167 and a Sunday school of 215. This is a slight shrinkage from the last two years; but this shrinkage is largely due to a closer revision of the membership lists, greater care being now taken to embrace only active, resident members.

A LETTER FROM REV. SHELDON JACKSON D. D'  
*Washington, D. C., May 5, 1897.*

Elder J. H. Taylor.

Dear Brother:

In accordance with your request I send you some account of my early experiences in Montana at the time of the organization of the Presbyterian churches.

In May, 1872, the Rev. J. R. Russel, Rev. William S. Frackleton and myself took stage at Corinne, Utah, for Helena, Montana. After reaching Beaver Head we found bridges gone and every ravine (usually dry) a roaring mountain torrent, high water everywhere. At length, two or three days behind time, we reached Helena. Leaving Mr. Russel at Helena, Mr. Frackleton and myself took the coach at three o'clock in the morning from Helena for Bozeman. At Gallatin City I stopped off to reconnoitre the land at the "crossing," while Mr. Frackleton continued on to Bozeman. On Thursday, May 30, two printed posters were put up in different parts of Gallatin City and on fence posts along the road leading to the country. A boy was started out on horseback to notify all the ranchmen in that section that there would be preaching that evening in Gallatin City. A congregation of 50 were gathered together and among them were five communicants of Presbyterian churches in other parts of the country, including Mr. Isaac A. Dick, who had also been a ruling elder in the States. This small company was organized into a Prebyterian church and Mr. Dick was duly elected and installed ruling elder. The next morning, leaving my satchel to come by stage, I started on foot and walked to Hamilton, about 18

miles (if I remember right), in order to have a little time to look around that neighborhood before the arrival of the stage for Bozeman. This I succeeded in doing and arrangements were made for preaching on the following Monday evening. Late in the afternoon the Helena stage came along and I took passage for Bozeman. Owing to the high water and the consequent bad roads in places we did not reach Bozeman until towards morning. The following Sabbath, June 2, divine service was held in the Methodist Episcopal church, which had been kindly offered for our use. Although the day was ushered in with a cold, drizzling rain, yet a goodly number gathered together to hear the preaching, after which the Presbyterian church was organized with Mr. J. H. Taylor as ruling elder and the ordinance of baptism was administered to Miss M. J. Davis, who united with the church upon her profession of faith.

On Monday, June 3, in company with Mr. Frackleton, I went down the East Gallatin Creek to the ranch of Judge Street, where divine service was held and the church of Hamilton was organized with J. J. Davidson as ruling elder. Owing to the swollen condition of the stream preventing fording, Mr. Davidson was compelled to go a long way around, leaving home at half past two in the morning to enable him to reach divine service at 11 o'clock.

Resuming the coach at 2 o'clock on Tuesday morning and riding through the overflowed bottom lands, once or twice swimming the horses, we reached the crossing of the Madison for breakfast, and a sorry breakfast it was; the landlord was absent from home and the landlady had been drunk all the preceding night. Soon after leaving the breakfast station a horseman galloped up announcing that both the bridge and ferry across the Jefferson had been washed away. By making a long detour we were able to reach Virginia City that night.

On Wednesday night, June 5, a small church was organ-



ized at Virginia City with William H. Rodgers as ruling elder. Being disappointed in securing a regular minister for that section of the territory, the church eventually died out. From Virginia City, crossing over to Deer Lodge, a church was organized on the following Sabbath, June 9, with Thomas Aspling and J. E. Smith ruling elders. From Deer Lodge I took the stage to Missoula, where the commencement of a church was made with J. W. Cunningham ruling elder. Failing to secure for the place a minister, that church also died out and had to be afterwards reorganized. Upon my return, taking the stage at three o'clock in the morning at Missoula, I reached Deer Lodge at eight o'clock in the evening; arriving at the hotel I was informed by a committee that they had made an appointment for me to preach at the Court House that evening. Without waiting to wash off the dust of the one hundred mile stage ride or to get supper, I at once went to the Court House and preached. The next morning at six o'clock I was again in the stage enroute over the divide to Helena, where on June 16 the Presbyterian church, which had been organized by myself in 1869, and had lapsed for want of a missionary, was reorganized with John E. Pyle and A. T. Williams ruling elders. At eight o'clock on the 17th of June, in the Court House at Helena, by order of the General Assembly, Messrs. Frackleton and Russel and Elder Williams and myself, met to organize the Presbytery of Montana, the sermon being preached by myself. The business sessions of the Presbytery on the following days were held in my bed room at the International Hotel. At the close of the Presbytery a reception was given to the members of the Presbytery and the Church at Helena at the residence of Hon. R. E. Fisk, editor of the Helena Herald.

Hoping that you may have a pleasant time at your twenty-fifth anniversary, and the Church be encouraged to take



hold of the work of evangelizing Montana with increased vigor and zeal, I remain,

Very respectfully yours,

SHELDON JACKSON.

A LETTER FROM BISHOP TUTTLE.

Mr. E. M. Gardner,

May 9, 1897.

“Committee on Invitation,”

Bozeman, Montana.

My Dear Sir:—I am in receipt of your most kind letter of April 30th, inviting me to be present at the “Silver” Anniversary of the First Presbyterian Church of Bozeman, to be celebrated on May 30th next.

You have introduced a phrase in your letter which goes to my heart. You say, “One of our members recently said, we always looked upon Bishop Tuttle as the people’s Bishop and felt that he was one of us.”

First, let me thank you and the people of your church most heartily for thinking of me and asking me to come. Most sincerely I wish I could come out to be with you, but urgent duties at home utterly preclude.

Next, let me try to tell you how, as I sit down of a Sunday afternoon to write this letter, my mind and memory travel over past years and place me in thought in Bozeman again.

I first entered Bozeman from Virginia City at the end of June, 1868, and stayed nearly a week at Tom Coover’s house near the mill. On Sunday morning, July 5th, I preached in the building which did service as a “Union Church” and a “Court House.” Through the week a famous trial before Judge Hosmer had been going on, wherein I think Col. Sanders and Col. Thoroughman were in their usual positions of opposing counsel. Leg-furnished slabs were seats. Sawdust of sufficient thickness to help mother earth to the decent concealment of generous expectorations made the floor. Almost nobody of my own Prayer-Book

Church was there. But all, whether born or bred Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist or Roman Catholic, joined in and helped me carry the service through. And all, miners, ranchmen, lawyers, witnesses, traders and sporting men took a hand in making the collection liberal and large.

This statement is typical of all early preaching services in Montana. Everybody helped. Everybody was kind. And I, in turn, tried to call on everybody, meet everybody as I came around.

God bless all the dear, kind, generous friends of those days! Tears of gratitude will not keep back when the loving message is now sent on to me, "We always looked upon Bishop Tuttle as the people's Bishop."

\* \* \* \* And now all humbly I beg to commend you and your brethren to God's grace and Christ's love and the Holy Spirit's guidance. By whatever ways of His appointment may He bring us all HOME with Him at last!

Faithfully and gratefully yours,

DAN'L S. TUTTLE,

Bishop of Missouri.

#### A LETTER FROM REV. CHARLES L. RICHARDS.

(Mr. Richards supplied the pulpit of the Bozeman church from August, 1877, to March, 1883. He is now the pastor of the Presbyterian church of Poynette, Wisconsin.)

Baraboo, Wisconsin, May 19, 1897.

Bro. Willson:—According to promise I will write you some thing which you can use in connection with your 25th Anniversary. How I wish we three could be with you! \* \* \* Well, I have resurrected my tenth anniversary address, printed in the Avant Courier on June 8th, 1882. I send it on to you, as a gift to the Church. It can be stowed away in some tin box and trotted out 25 years from now.

What a flood of memories sweep over me! Thursday night, August 9th, 1877, at nine o'clock I rode into Bozeman. Sitting outside, with the stage driver, from Cock-

rill's bridge, I kept track of the north star, determined not to get "turned around" and be uncomfortable all my Bozeman days.

That morning General Gibbon exchanged compliments with Nez Perce Joe in the battle at Big Hole, Montana. That night as we rode into Bozeman, and down Main Street, from Major Pease's residence, we heard the fiddle and the dance over the saloon next to the Northern Pacific Hotel. At J. H. Taylor's store the mail bags were thrown off, then on to the Laclede Hotel and back to the Northern Pacific, where George Wakefield and wife entertained wayfarers.

After registering, the first person to call me by name was Mr. McCaman, then County Treasurer.

The next day I went forth to spy out the land,—no, not to spy out but to inspect, and that night I entered it on my journal: "Shall it be in vain that I have come out here?"

Well, Mr. Taylor came around and invited me to tea. At his house I was satisfied I had not travelled beyond the bounds of culture and civilization. He sat at the north end of the table and his wife at the south, towards the kitchen door. Opposite me on the west side, were Mr. and Mrs. Davis Willson.

I was certainly conscious that I was being measured all over, and every utterance well weighed by my new acquaintances.

I had this satisfaction: I could use my eyes while they used theirs, and I could be just as non-committal as they.

Mrs. Willson gave me a centre-shot at the table and I tried to return it. She said: "We prayed and prayed, that the Lord would send us a minister; and it did seem as though our prayers would never be answered. Finally we heard one was coming, and then we began to dread lest he might be just like some other ministers Bozeman had been afflicted with; and so we began to pray for him that he might be just the kind we want, and not one that would disgrace us!" It took me a second or two to recover from



that, and then I remarked: "And now that he has come, you had better keep on praying for him."

That evening Bishop Tuttle called at the hotel to see me, the first of many kind attentions and courtesies I received from him. How nicely he solved my first problem for me, when he instructed the Episcopal wardens to let me have the use of their Chapel! And for two years we enjoyed their fellowship.

On Sabbath morning I went over to hear Bishop Tuttle preach and worship with them in their Chapel. They then had some old-fashioned settees which belonged to the county.

How often we carried those long seats from the hall, over the saloon, next to the Pacific Hotel, where Court was held, and when every show that came to town was sure to want them! Of course both court and show would want them on Saturday, making it necessary to do an hour's work on Sunday morning!

Well, I sat about half way up the church, and while waiting for the people to come in and the Bishop to open the service, the time was fully occupied as strangers always occupy it in any church. Soon a spruce, well dressed gentleman, with gray hair and whiskers, accompanied by his wife in a black silk dress, entered and sat in front of me. They greeted friends in the seat before them as they sat down. Then, in tones loud enough for my ears I heard this civilized statement: "This is the first time I have been in a church for a year." I made a personal inspection from the rear, determined to know who was the gentleman of Bozeman who had not been to church before for a year! If Col. May is still in Bozeman he will without hesitation assent to my testimony.

One week from that time I stood before a Bozeman congregation for the first time. The Methodist minister was at Chico—over the range—and I had the town to myself, or what little of it cared to go to church, and what more of it



went out of curiosity. Col. May broke his record by being there again. The next day I called at the Blue Front and exchanged courtesies with him. During our conversation he assured me I had the largest congregation the day before at the morning service I would ever have in Bozeman. Knowing from his own lips what his past record had been, the statement seemed quite reasonable. There were 65 present in the morning and 17 in the evening. However, the Colonel soon came to be a faithful attendant at the morning service, and so assisted in spoiling his own prediction. On November 11th, the attendance reached 80, and on January 13, 1878, it was over 100. Occasionally it was larger.

When Rev. F. B. Lewis came, we divided the congregation between us, and after Rev. Mr. Comfort came I divided again with him.

The Bozeman ministers had had hard work building up the prayer meeting. Discouraged, it was abandoned. It was no use to try. My decision was quietly made. Two should constitute a quorum, and I was sure one of them could do the janitor work if it was necessary. From a humble birth it lived and grew and God blessed it. Only once did it drop down to two present, Mrs. Agnes Taylor and myself; and to her surprise the prayer meeting was held as usual. One stormy night, when the snow was over a foot deep, Mr. Wylie and another met me in the large brick M. E. Church and we held our meeting.

Probably no work or enterprise proved more helpful to our little church than the services conducted by the elders and deacons while I was down the valley once per month, when sermons from Talmage, Spurgeon and others were read. Then the time came when the mid-week prayer meeting was likewise conducted by the laymen. About the same time a conspiracy arose against the pastor being janitor too, and six men agreed to serve for two months each, while





THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF BOZEMAN.

1. The Building of 1880.  
2. Deacon John Craig.\*

3. Elder Edward M. Gardner.  
4. Elder William W. Wylie.

\*Deceased Jan. 24, 1890.

Mr. Sanders agreed to saw the wood, in place of the pastor doing it.

Well! Well! How I would like to go on. But I cannot write one-tenth the memories that ask for recognition. Our church building, small, but pretty; I saw the first stake driven and the first sod taken up. How I crawled all over it, and painted all over it! Yes, on the south side of the roof, about eight or ten feet from the tower, I slipped on the shingles and spilt some paint. If I were there I would look for the spot on the roof. It was not the only slip and spill and spot I made; but long ago I asked the Heavenly Father to blot them all out and overrule for His own name's sake.

What a heartache it was to see the new church, not yet finished, falling apart! I had been away for a week, and upon my return, I went over to the church to see how it was prospering. It was raining hard and the shingles were not all on. Way up next to the rafters I crawled among the secondary rafters, and to my dismay noticed that only one-fifth of the collar beams had been put in. The very part most necessary for a self-supporting roof was slighted. This I reported to the building committee and the contractors, but nothing was done. After the inside braces were removed the walls began to bulge out. Then an extensive amount of truss work was done, and collar beams put in, but the parts had given way, and nothing would do now but iron rods.

From the centre of the arched ceiling a rod came down to the horizontal rod, and then from that another hung for the chandelier and lamps. Canvass and paper, and no plaster, formed walls and ceiling in those days. Those stained windows from Buffalo, New York; that whale for a weather van! Is it there yet? Then that tremendous hood for the front chimney! Long ago rust and creosote took that off, I suppose! The trees were set out. I hope they



are large and thrifty now. And the faces in the congregation, how they must have changed! Some are not, for the Lord has called them home. What a sad day that was when Mrs. Agnes Taylor was buried, and later when her boy followed her! \* \* \* My wife joins me in love to the Church and its members, and we pray for your spiritual and eternal welfare. Like the brook that Mrs. Willson used to sing about, may its Christian power and influence go on forever and forever.

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

C. L. RICHARDS.

Monday Evening, May 31st, 1897.

The congregation and friends again assembled in the church. Dr. J. H. Featherstone presided. After music and prayer, report was made by the church treasurer, Mr. E. B. Martin, that the anniversary offerings toward clearing the church of debt for the new building lot amounted to about \$500.

Sentiments were then proposed, as given herewith; and responses were made, of which the substance is better preserved than the aroma. The exercises were interspersed with songs by Mrs. Willson and Miss Van Tassel.

#### THE CHARTER MEMBERS.

(Response by Mrs. M. M. Rich.)

It seems very strange tonight, as it has all through these delightful anniversary exercises, as we have gathered in such numbers, to think of the time when there was no Presbyterian Church in Bozeman. Remembering that small beginning, and comparing it with our present proportions, it seems so very little that we did towards the organization and maintenance of a church, that I can only exclaim, "What hath God wrought!" The few years that passed in this new country before the church was organized, seemed very long ones, as all years do in a new place, amidst new and strange scenes, and I don't know but we almost





EARLY WORKERS IN THE BOZEMAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

1. Mrs. Henry Fielding.\*
2. Mrs. John M. Waters.
3. Mrs. Emma Willson.
4. Mrs. Melinda M. Rich.

5. Mrs. William W. Wylie.
6. Mrs. Mary E. Martin
7. Mrs. Walter Cooper.

\*Deceased Jan. 15, 1903.

forgot that we were Presbyterians. We had associated so pleasantly with the Methodist people, and were so much attached to Bishop Tuttle, whose yearly visits were always glad seasons to us all, that we hardly knew what church we did belong to. So it is no wonder if we did not feel so very anxious to assume the responsibilities and duties of a separate church organization. If we had dreamed of such an event as a 25th anniversary we should no doubt have made an effort to preserve every possible detail of that occasion for the interest of this.

It is not possible to think of that time without looking back of it to the experiences of the very first year or so of pioneer life. Many pleasant recollections have been awakened by the cordial letters received from Sheldon Jackson, Bishop Tuttle and Mr. Richards, and memories not so pleasant have also come crowding in. Back of everything else is a confused picture in which are prominent mule trains, and ox trains, emigrant wagons and cow boys, with bucking horses, and the welcome arrival of the stage coach that brought to us the letters which told us of all the dear ones left behind in the old home. Not unfrequently numbers of Indians would camp near town, coming every day, to the dwellings, standing outside with noses flattened against the window panes. At times whole tribes passed through, the chiefs in advance often dismounting to visit the stores. Squaws and papooses followed, mounted upon all sorts and sizes of horses, which were otherwise laden with pots and kettles and other articles belonging to the household, with lodge poles trailing behind.

The sounds of murderous pistol shots were often heard at midnight, or in the small morning hours, the measured tread of the feet of men as they bore some dead or wounded body away from the place of midnight revel. The deadly thing that usually instigated the murders and the angry shouts and curses which so often rang out upon the midnight air, was dealt out at 25 cents a drink in low board



houses bearing the names "Kan Kan," "Kiyu," etc. These have been displaced by more pretentious buildings, but the work done inside is of the same sort.

Our plain little church with its tasteful decorations seems quite elegant when put in contrast with the room where we first held service, with its rusty box stove, wooden benches and sawdust floor. But we have had good singing from the very first, which was a great comfort, although we robbed the Second Presbyterian Church of Albany to get it. In our staunch and stalwart brother, John Craig, we had an element of strength and sturdy faith that has been of lasting benefit. He was ever at his post of duty at the right time, whether it was the Sunday service, the weekly prayer-meeting, or the shoe maker's bench, never afraid to express an honest sentiment, let it hit whom it might. The stone of Scotch granite that now marks his resting place on the hill side, bears the simple, fitting inscription, "He was faithful."

The stage coach and the emigrant wagon each brought to us gradually an increase of population, and when it was whispered around that another Presbyterian family had come we had a little time of rejoicing, and so the little church has grown and prospered year by year, having an honorable standing among the churches of Montana, and I am sure we who are permitted to take part in this anniversary celebration feel honored in being charter members of the First Presbyterian Church of Bozeman.

#### THE LADIES' AID SOCIETY.

(By Mrs. Davis Willson.\*)

I had only one fault to find with these beautiful decorations \*\*, and that was the date of the organization of this society --it was a working force so long before that. But the society, I think, has always been stronger in works than in words. Certainly it has been neglectful in written words, for there are no earlier records than 1883. It was a money-making

power long before any thought of organization suggested itself. I believe its first work was done in 1877, the week after Mr. Richards came, when we women gathered up the meagre furnishings of a sleeping room for "the preacher." The first money earned was by ice-cream, made in tin buckets, cans and various vessels, by packing in ice and then stirring with spoons and shaking in the ice; these processes being alternated throughout the entire day. The product was not "Mrs. Martin's ice-cream," but it sold.

At an early day we resolved on a great speculation—a Strawberry Festival! No berries were then raised in the valley, and we sent to Helena for them. They came in the night, and in the early morning were opened at Mr. Taylor's house, which was headquarters for all church work. Then messages of distress went forth, and the faithful were summoned to a council of war. The berries were ruined! Not being properly protected in the boot of the coach, the boxes were heaped brown with the dust of 100 miles! You can imagine the consternation, for they cost a fabulous sum. But you know emergencies call for heroism. Soon every woman was supplied with a dish of water in which one by

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\* Mrs. Davis Willson died while this history was in preparation. The following statement is condensed from the Bozeman Chronicle:

"Miss Martha Van Allen, born September 19, 1846, in Canton, N. Y., was married to Mr. Davis Willson in Virginia City, Montana, May 18, 1874, by Governor B. F. Potts. The bride had come by rail and stage some three thousand miles to meet her promised husband. She died on November 19, 1906, at the home of her son Professor Frank G. Willson, in Urbana, Illinois.

Mrs. Willson was a faithful member of the Presbyterian church, a teacher in the Sabbath-school, an active member of the missionary society, being president of that organization at the time of her death. When nearing the end she said: 'Isn't it pleasant to think my last meeting was a missionary meeting.' Mrs. Willson was no drudge in her service; all was with dignity, efficiency and cheerfulness. She was strictly human and had the saving grace of humor. She would have been sincerely amused if some friend had suggested that she was a saint."

Mrs. Willson's practical Christian character is manifested in her paper on "The Ladies' Aid Society."

\*\* The legend which formed a striking part of the decoration of the church at the anniversary exercises and to which Mrs. Willson refers, reads as follows: "HITHERTO HATH THE LORD HELPED US, 1872-1897. SUNDAY SCHOOL, 1879; LADIES' AID, 1881; MISSIONARY SOCIETY, 1883; CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR, 1889; KING'S DAUGHTERS, 1889; JUNIOR ENDEAVOR, 1892; MEN'S LEAGUE, 1894; MACEDONIANS 1895."

one the berries were swished about till free from dust and then spread on platters. One of these helpers here tonight says she can recall distinctly the look of those platters of mushy berries. But the festival was a great success financially; and the berries were a success, though they were a trifle gritty and made the cream on them a little cloudy. But those were primitive times. The following year we obtained strawberries nearer home, Mr. Richards making a circuit of the valley to procure them; and we had conveniences for ice-cream making—that is, we had a one-gallon freezer in which we froze all the cream, packing it in buckets and pails. We could never make enough to supply the demand, even when we froze all the evening; and sometimes our patrons sat at the tables and waited while the freezer was rushed in the back of the room. Often, to our dismay, the material ran short, and many of us have heard how some one, looking at the thick rich, creamy dishwater, said, "Oh, freeze that; it'll sell!" One of the speakers yesterday told us of subscriptions and contributions for the new church, and added, "Ice-cream and strawberries did the rest." A suggestion only was sufficient to remind him of his error. Various ways and means were used to raise money. A maple sugar festival, at which we had to cultivate a taste for that sweet, and teach people how to "sugar off" and eat "wax on ice," seemed very funny to us eastern folks.

There was Mrs. Jarley's waxworks, with improvised scenery, and costumes composed out of anything available, in which our staid and dignified people fiddled and jerked and creaked in obedience to the crank, and then "ran down" in a most grotesque way. Also a Mother Goose entertainment by the children, and Cantatas; the Haymakers by our gentlemen and ladies, and the Flower Queen, by children of the town, who were trained so beautifully that they just reaped the dollars for us.



Then, when our church was built, it must be lighted; and a society of young ladies, the V. D. O. N's—Vast Deal of Nonsense—most of them now mature matrons in our city, came to our rescue with an entertainment, and procured the lamps and chandeliers we used so long. Then fairs, pantomimes, tableaux, broom drills, fan drills—all matters of hard work under the easiest circumstances, but with our disadvantages I am amazed at the courage which attempted, and the genius which made them creditable entertainments. I am sure no participant in those scenes can recall them without a grateful thought of our faithful ally, Scotty Craig. We always knew that he would be the last to leave the hall; he always locked up, carried the baskets that must go home that night, and saw the last tired woman safe home. Poor Scotty, his sympathies were so large, and his life so lonely here, my heart always aches when I think of him.

Those were days of hard work and self-denial, but they had their compensations. Their good comradeship and merriness, loving fellowship, are not surpassed by the more systematic church work of the present time.

The future of this society looks very bright. It is well organized and officered, made up of bright, hopeful women who will, I predict, soon be enthused with the purpose of building a new church edifice.

(Other themes considered at this Monday evening meeting were: Our Christian Endeavor Society, by Mr. George Willson; The King's Daughters, by Miss Maud Martin; Junior Christian Endeavor, by Miss Haunson; The Men's League, by Mr. Stevenson; The Macedonians, by Miss Blanche Cleveland; The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, by Mrs. Peter Koch; The Supernumerary Pastor, by Rev. Davis Willson; The Sister Churches by Rev. O. F. McHargue, pastor of the Christian Church; Our St. Cecilia, (Mrs. Emma Willson), by Mrs. John M. Waters; and The Pilgrims, by Rev. John N. Maclean.)



## THE BOZEMAN ACADEMY.

(By John M. Waters, M. D.)

The Bozeman Academy was opened in 1887 with Prof. A. M. Matoon, principal, and three lady assistants. Its beginning was largely owing to the efforts of Rev. E. P. Linnell, superintendent of home mission work in the Presbytery of Montana, and its purpose was to prepare students for col-



THE BOZEMAN ACADEMY.

lege, or for active life, by instruction somewhat broader and more advanced than that in the public schools.

Three courses of study were announced: Classical, Scientific, and Normal. General control of the Academy was vested in the Presbytery of Montana, but its management was unsectarian.

The first year's enrollment was 84, counting no names twice. At the end of five years, in the spring of 1892, the attendance was 103, without music pupils, who at first were a considerable part of the enrollment. The Academy's work and its patronage were satisfactory. It is believed that





THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF HAMILTON (GALLATIN VALLEY).

1. "The Stone Church."

2. Rev. Davis Willson.

3. Elder Edward M. Davidson.

(The Seminary Buildings to the left)



ELDERS OF HAMILTON CHURCH, GALLATIN VALLEY.

- |                            |                           |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Franklyn L. Stone.*     | 4. Thornton A. Street.    |
| 2. William D. Bell, Sr.    | 5. Alexander Smith, Sr.   |
| 3. Samuel Bell** and Wife. | *Deceased April 16, 1886. |

\*\*Deceased April 7, 1902.





none of its students failed for admission in the best colleges, on the grade applied for, or failed in other studies to reflect credit on the Academy training.

But in 1893 the State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts was begun in Bozeman with government support and corresponding advantages too great to justify the effort to maintain an unendowed school in the same community. In view of this the Academy was closed in 1892.

### THE HISTORY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF HAMILTON.

(The following History of the Hamilton Church in Gallatin Valley is taken from the historical booklet of the Bozeman Church.)

“Hamilton, Montana Territory, June 3, 1872.

This village was first visited in the interests of Presbyterianism by Rev. Sheldon Jackson, Supt. of Territorial Missions, on Friday, May 31st, and arrangements made for a service on the following Monday.

Organization—On Monday, June 3d, Rev. Messrs. Jackson and Wm. S. Frackleton went out to Judge Street's on the East Gallatin, where, after suitable religious services, they constituted Mr. J. J. Davidson and Miss Adela Street into The Presbyterian Church of Hamilton, Montana.

Ruling Elder—Mr. J. J. Davidson was elected and installed Ruling Elder for one year.

Minister—Rev. Wm. S. Frackleton, of Bozeman.”

The above minute by Dr. Jackson records the very small beginning of the second existing Presbyterian Church in Montana; an organization which has continued for twenty-five years, through many discouragements, and now seems destined for enduring growth and usefulness.

The first recorded meeting of session was Sept. 21, 1872; and the second, March 31, 1877.

On the latter occasion eight members were added by letter, and three on confession of faith.

Mr. Frackleton, after about six months' service, returned to the east in the spring of 1873, leaving the church with three members. To him, in the summer of 1873, the Rev. L. B. Crittenden succeeded, and served until May, 1881, at which time the membership was sixteen.

In 1874 Mr. Crittenden opened a boarding school for girls in his home on the Culver ranch. He afterwards bought the farm where the church now stands, near the old town of Hamilton (a hamlet since removed to Manhattan), and added to the log dwelling a frame school room, which was occupied Thanksgiving day, 1875, as the Gallatin Valley Female Seminary. There are many homes in the valley whose matrons remember that school as their one opportunity for Christian education. For a while the seminary was also the meeting-house, and once the Montana Presbytery was entertained and held its sessions there.

In 1878 Mr. Crittenden began building of "concrete," what is known as "the stone church," or Hamilton Church. Contributions in the valley and Helena, counting work and material, amounted to \$1,300.00. A Roman Catholic family gave \$50, and Mr. Crittenden gave an acre of land. The Board of Church Erection appropriated \$500. The church stands in the edge of a beautiful cottonwood grove that borders the West Gallatin river.

The dedication was conducted by Mr. Crittenden Sabbath morning, January 19, 1879, Rev. C. L. Richards preaching from Acts 16:25. Forty-five persons were present, attendance being hindered by unbroken roads after a heavy snow.

When Father Crittenden became unable for active service, he continued to officiate occasionally until the Rev. David Walker took charge in June, 1885. During Mr. Walker's ministry of two years the net increase in members was from 18 to 28; several families having been received from the Timberline church, and other members dismissed to form the Spring Hill church.

Upon Mr. Walker's resignation, in 1887, the church sent a delegation to the Rev. R. M. Stevenson, pastor of the Bozeman church, requesting that he would induce one of his "preaching elders," Mr. Davis Willson, to ask licensure of Presbytery, and take charge of the valley work. The manner of the call seemed to Mr. Willson an indication of duty. He was accordingly licensed at Butte, March 18, 1887, and began his service the first Sabbath in June following.

October 13, 1889, Mr. Willson was ordained by Presbytery at Missoula. He was installed as pastor of the Hamilton church May 16, 1897, Rev. Alexander K. Baird, D. D., preaching the sermon, and Rev. E. M. Cavin and President James Reid assisting in the installation services. Two hundred people were present, the largest gathering in the Hamilton church. Mr. Willson began with 28 members; he has received 47, granted nine letters of dismissal and four have died, which makes a present membership of 62.

#### THE GALLATIN VALLEY FEMALE SEMINARY.

(By the principal, Mrs. Mary G. Crittenden-Davidson.)

In 1872, my father, Rev. Lyman B. Crittenden, and myself opened in Bozeman, an Academy for boys and girls—a missionary school, under the auspices of the "Ladies Home Missionary Board," N. Y. City, at that time organ for the "Woman's Home Missionary" work in the Presbyterian Church.

Our aim was to give a Christian education to the young people of Bozeman and vicinity. Aid from the Board was given not only in the way of supplement to our own support, but also in supplies of books and other school appliances, which enabled us to put into the hands of our pupils, at little or no cost to themselves, the best implements for their work, a great inducement to their attendance upon the school.

In 1873, they sent us a fine piano, and I will say in passing



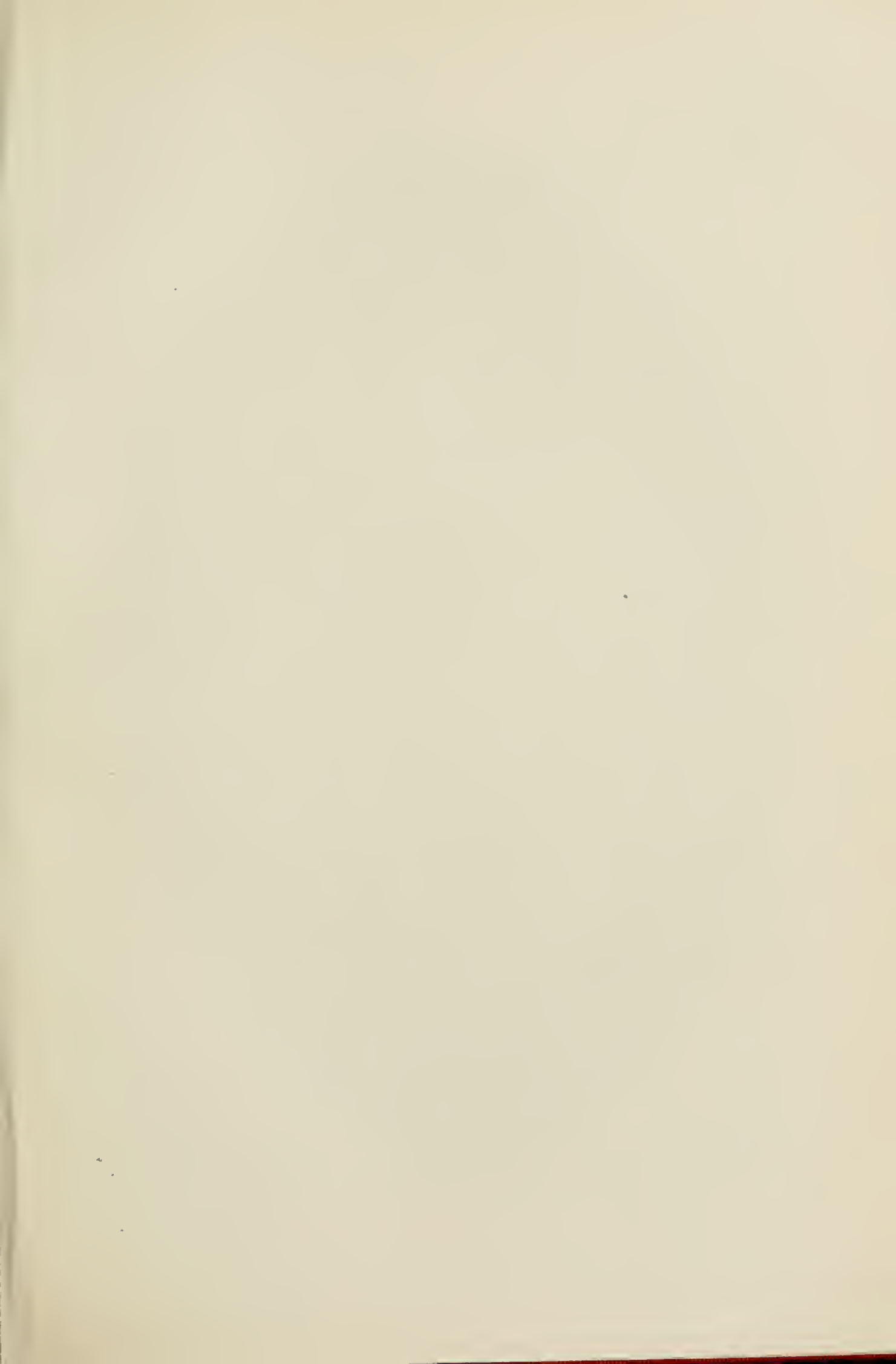
that when the school finally broke up, on the marriage of the principal to Mr. E. M. Davidson, the remaining books were given to the Presbyterian College at Deer Lodge, and the piano, by an offer of the "Ladies Home Board" to either "buy or sell," went into the hands of a daughter of one of them, whose husband was at that time stationed as an officer at Fort Ellis.

In the fall of 1874, the school removed 20 miles further down the valley to a point known as "the old Culver Place" near to the little burg of Hamilton, a typical western town, one store, a blacksmith shop, a school house, and two or three dwellings. No, it lacked one thing of being "typical,"—it had no saloon. There is a Hamilton in Montana now, but the town of which I speak many years ago gave place to another very prosperous railroad town, known as Manhattan.

At this place was opened a school for girls, known as the "Gallatin Valley Female Seminary," and it was known far and near, gathered its pupils from all over the state (or territory, for such was at that time the status of Montana.) Its daughters, found now in homes of their own in various parts of our state, bear testimony by loving words of praise and, far more effectively, by their noble Christian womanhood to character founded and advantages gained in that Christian home and school.

But when, a quarter of a century having intervened between the closing of that work and the present date, I am asked to give to the public some pages of its history, I am amazed to find how little presents itself to my mind as suitable for that purpose.

The curriculum of study was thorough and up to date, including music, vocal and instrumental, and all these advantages, owing to the missionary aid above referred to, we were able to place at such low figures that many who could not have availed themselves of more expensive school-





ing, were able to patronize the G. V. F. S. and to keep their daughters there, as many did for many consecutive terms.

On Thanksgiving Day of 1875, the school again changed homes from the "Culver Place" to one more commodious, six miles further up the valley, where the little stone church, known to the Synod, as the "Mother Church" of all the Hamilton circuit, now stands.

During all its life the G. V. F. S. furnished accommodations for from ten to twelve boarding students and about the same number of day pupils, and its numbers were pretty well filled,—the latter class coming, some on foot for two or three miles around, but more on horseback from distances of five or ten miles.

But it is in its character as a Christian home, set down in the midst of bachelors' cabins and widely scattered cabin homes, that the school exerted its greatest efforts and in that character is most fondly remembered. As an illustration of this, permit a little personal anecdote. Talking with one of my former pupils a few years ago, I spoke regretfully of the fact, that our homes were not coming fully up, in some respects, to the spiritual standard set for us in the old "Seminary Home." Her reply was, "Don't you know that your father and mother were Saints?"

That dear father and mother welcomed every girl that entered the doors of the school as a true daughter, and treated her as such during all her stay, and they were in turn regarded as true father and mother, and always remembered as such; while the two teachers are still looked upon and spoken of as dear older sisters by those who were in those days their pupils, but regarded by them in many things as younger sisters and companions, as together teacher and scholar met the joys and trials and varied experiences, domestic and social, of their daily home and school life.

Our daily routine was as follows:

Breakfast at six; family worship at 6:30, where the scrip-



ture lesson was always followed by a sacred song, accompanied by the piano, generally by one of the teachers, but very frequently by one of the pupils, (it was the ambition of each music pupil to reach that point in her studies where she might be called upon to perform this service), the long busy day in the school room, where we gathered at 9:00, repeated our motto text for the day, always placed upon the board in readiness to greet the first pupil to enter the room, read our short scripture lesson and committed ourselves to an All-Father's guidance for the day. The noon luncheon, partaken of by day scholars and boarders together in the school room, thus giving them the noon hour for chit chat, the family gathering at the table at 5:30, recreation hour till 7, study in school room till 9, then the reunion in the parlor for evening worship, with its scripture, hymn and prayer. The Sabbath with its invariable "Safely through another week," for morning hymn, its many times simple home service in the school room, and other times, when some kind neighbor, (we remember especially in this connection, the kindness of that well known pioneer farmer, Henry Hceb), would bring wagon or sleigh and load us all in,—pastor (the school-father was also the pastor of the people scattered over thirty miles), the school-mother, teachers, pupils; and the little portable melodeon, to be used by one of our number in helping out the song service, and take us over the prairies, singing as we went, to some little country school house, where the bread of life was dispensed to waiting souls,—then home to a cheery family meal, and evening spent in sacred song, while we stood about the piano, our arms linked or circled about one another.

Wednesday afternoons all the day and boarding pupils laid aside the routine of ordinary duties and gathered in the parlor, plying busy needles on their loved fancy work, under the direction of dear Miss Aylesworth, while one of their number was often called upon for

a song or a reading, and never allowed to refuse, unless for a good reason. Friday evenings were devoted to home amusements, in which the whole family joined, music and conversation, often varied by the presence of a few invited,—still more frequently self-invited,—guests, for all knew our customs and the Seminary was “Our Seminary” to all within its reach.

What these things meant in a time when there was scarcely any available amusement but dancing and card playing,—when the Sabbath had but little to distinguish it from other days,—in a country whose magnificent distances forbade the forming of clubs, benevolent or other societies, for mutual benefit or enjoyment, and the homes were possessed of but few means of culture and refinement, can hardly be realized in our present state of advanced civilization.

Perhaps the influence of this pioneer Christian home in one direction cannot be better illustrated than by a young farmer of that time who said, “When I haul hay on Sunday, I’ll go two or three miles out of my way rather than drive past the Seminary.” And what it was to the girls themselves is partially told by one of them in a letter, replying to a request that she would assist me in preparing this sketch. Among other things she says, “I fancy that most country-bred children experience at some time a sort of mental thralldom, particularly if living much apart from others, as we were. It was the Seminary that first brought an awakening to me, so you can imagine that incidents, calculated to interest the outside world, have been of minor importance in my recollections.”

The Seminary “Faculty” consisted of Rev. L. B. Crittenden, Superintendent, Mrs. L. B. Crittenden, drawing teacher and sometimes assistant in other branches, but pre-eminent-ly “School Mother,” Mary G. Crittenden, Principal, and Miss Ella Aylesworth (now Mrs. Edsall), instructor. For a few months at one time, in Miss Aylesworth’s absence,

Miss Mabel Russel, now Mrs. Alfred Myers of the Sweet Grass country, acted as assistant teacher.

At one communion season during a meeting of Presbytery which held its sessions in the Seminary school room, seven of its daughters took upon themselves the vows of Christ's followers. So far as I have known all have proved faithful, "witnessing a good confession."

The dear old Seminary was a seed sowing institution; the harvest can be estimated only in eternity.

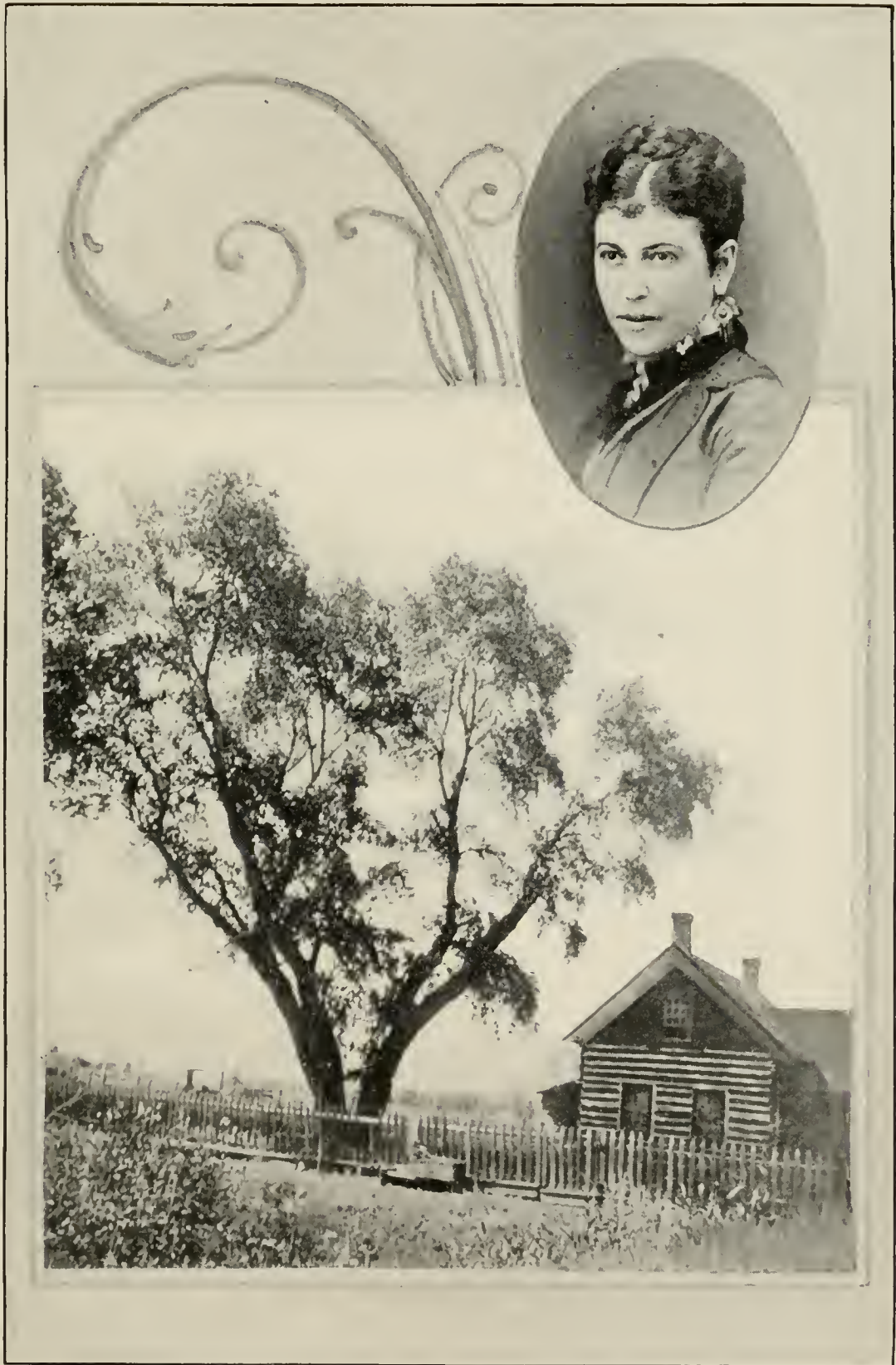
(In Dr. Sheldon Jackson's Montana Scrap-book we find the following announcement: "Married—On the 26th day of June, 1878, at the Gallatin Female Seminary, by the bride's father, Rev. L. B. Crittenden, Edward M. Davidson, Esq., to Miss Mary Gertrude Crittenden. Attendants, H. J. Wright, Miss Ella Aylesworth. The ceremony was performed under the shade of a large tree (shown in the picture of the 'Seminary Home,') near the residence and was witnessed by a large concourse of the friends of the happy parties, who had come from various parts of Gallatin and other counties. A very interesting feature of the occasion was the large number of young ladies, pupils of the bride, who were present to cheer her on the happy journey in life.")

Another writer in the same Scrap-book says, under date of 1876: "No church in Montana is so blessed in spiritual things as this school; no church can point to so many hopeful conversions in its membership. Mr. Crittenden is not what would be called a popular minister, but he is devout, earnest and sound. He is far more useful than he would be were he to attempt the modern 'popular style.'")

## THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF HELENA.

Part of the Anniversary Address delivered by the Rev. Thomas V. Moore, D. D., on June 20th, 1897.





THE GALLATIN VALLEY FEMALE SEMINARY.

The Seminary Home.

Mrs. Ella Aylesworth—Edsall.

The tree under which Miss Mary G. Crittenden and Edward M. Davidson were married on June 26, 1878.





THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF HELENA.

1. Rcv. Thomas Verner Moore, D. D.
2. Mrs. T. V. Moore.
3. Rev. Samuel A. Harlow
4. Rev W. Scott Stites.

5. Elder George Clinton Swallow.\*
  6. Elder Ebenezer Sharpe.\*\*
- \*Deceased April, 1899.  
 \*\*Deceased April 19, 1901.

## THE ORGANIZATION OF 1872.

The way was prepared for the organization in Helena in 1872 by the Rev. J. R. Russel coming two weeks before the organization and preaching in the Methodist Episcopal church and the court house. Mr. Russel was met from the first with good audiences, and with considerable interest on the part of the people in the organization of a Presbyterian church. Twenty members instead of twelve were found to join themselves together. Of these, six of the former organization remained: Mrs. D. H. Cuthbert, Mrs. A. M. Woolfolk, Mrs. A. O'Connell, Mrs. T. H. Kleinschmidt, Mrs. John R. Deal, Mrs. J. J. Williams. The other 14 names were: Mr. and Mrs. John E. Pyle, A. T. Williams, Mrs. Koenigsberger, Mrs. Samuel Neel, Mrs. E. J. Taylor, Mrs. W. F. Sanders, Mrs. Fenn, Mrs. A. M. Walker, Mrs. R. E. Fisk, J. C. Walker, Mrs. H. M. Parchen, and Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Lovell. These met in the old court house on Saturday evening, June 15th, and organized by the election of Messrs. J. E. Pyle and A. T. Williams as elders, and Messrs. R. E. Fisk and A. M. Walker as "temporary trustees." Of these there still remain with us today four: Mrs. D. H. Cuthbert (a member of the first organization in 1869), Mrs. Pyle, Mrs. Sanders and Mrs. Parchen.

The next day, Sunday, June 16th, Rev. Sheldon Jackson preached in the Methodist Episcopal church morning and evening and held a communion service for the new congregation in the afternoon at four o'clock, at which the elders elect were ordained.

We may distinguish four periods in the life of this church. They may be called: First—The Period of Early Growth—seven years, extending from the organization in June, 1872, through the labors of Rev. J. R. Russel, Rev. W. C. Rommel and Rev. J. D. Hewitt, down to the spring of 1879.

Second—The Period of Vicissitudes—six years, from the

departure of Mr. Hewitt in 1879 through the labors of Rev. George G. Smith (not the one previously mentioned), Rev. W. Scott Stites, Rev. William B. Reed, Rev. Samuel A. Harlow and up to the second year of the present pastor's work, in the beginning of 1885.

Third—The Period of Expansion—seven years, opening with the great revival in the beginning of 1885 and extending to the occupancy of the present edifice in March, 1892.

Fourth—The Period of Consolidation—five years, from March, 1892, unto the present time.

#### PERIOD I. EARLY GROWTH.

(June, 1872, to the Spring of 1879.)

This was in many respects the most important and happy stage of the church's life. These were the days of beginnings, always so fascinating to contemplate. The first regular Sunday services, as a separate congregation with its own minister and its individual future before it, were held for three months in the old academy on South Rodney Street, where Mr. Reinig's store now stands, and afterwards in the Odd Fellows' hall on Main Street, upper story of the Dunphy block, above the Cruse bank. The first week-night prayer meeting was begun November 7th, 1872 at the home of J. C. Walker, shortly after the coming of Mr. Rommel. The first Sunday school of our own was begun in the autumn of 1873, after the church services had been removed from Odd Fellows' hall to the court house, previous to which time the Presbyterians had remained in the Methodist school and worked with them.

These were also days of peace. Days, too, when all seemed to share in the enthusiasm of the new enterprise. They were marked by the two longest periods of service that any ministers have rendered until the present pastorate; that of Rev. William C. Rommel, of four years, a man greatly beloved by the entire community, who exercised the strongest influence of all this church's ministers, whose name is best



remembered today, and whose work will always abide; that of the Rev. J. D. Hewitt, next to Mr. Rommel the minister who is oftenest spoken of and who seems to have left the next deepest impression. Then too the first church was built, at a cost of nearly \$12,000, and dedicated, free of debt, August 13, 1876, under Mr. Rommel's pastorate, and furnished complete, even to hair cushions, under Mr. Hewitt's. An energetic Ladies' Aid Society, which still survives, was established in 1874, to raise money for building a church. It was a time of struggle for existence, and the



THE OLD PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF HELENA. BUILT IN 1876.

raising of money was a prominent part of church activities. But there was no little earnest spiritual work done by the ministers; there were conversions to Christ in considerable numbers in Montana in those days, and at least one time of distinct revival when special services were held for a week by Mr. Hewitt, beginning May 13, 1877, and several united with the church. The church increased its gifts and



by the end of this period seems to have reached the point of nominal self-support; at least where it became independent of the Board of Home Missions. This was certainly a great length to progress in seven years, starting from the bottom and in such circumstances.

This period was not without its serious difficulties. Prominent among them was the task of welding together the heterogeneous elements which composed the membership of the church itself. Those who were now gathered together in one church had come from widely separated places, and had had the most diverse church training and customs. The first membership came from England, Ireland, Canada and fourteen different states of the Union. The bitter feelings of the civil war were still fresh and both sides were strongly represented in the church as well as in the town. Then also these people had not all been Presbyterians, but many of them members of other denominations up to this time, as is generally the case in western churches.

Outside the church itself the obstacles were also great. Probably the general atmosphere of a community in which, as Mr. Rommel reports, some of the ladies could seriously propose a dance to raise money for it and two gentlemen could engage in a "lively scrimmage" which "threatened pistols" in a discussion over the minister's sermon on, "Blessed are the pure in heart"—such an atmosphere probably was less favorable to Christian growth and the obstacles greater in the way of church work than at any time since in the history of Helena.

Two great fires swept the town, the first on August 23, 1872, which destroyed more than sixty houses and put an end for the present to the incipient enterprise of building a church, and the second, still more disastrous, in January, 1874. The depression and exodus two years later in 1876, took away members who could ill be spared. In the very midst of this general depression, during the week following

the dedication of the new building, in August, 1876, the beloved pastor, Mr. Rommel, was compelled on account of ill health to leave, and the church remained for more than six months without a pastor, while even the two original elders, Mr. Pyle and Mr. Williams, were both absent. But in spite of all this the church held bravely on and responded quickly to Mr. Hewitt's efforts when he did arrive. The church was united and harmonious and remained so through this period.

## PERIOD II. VICISSITUDES.

(Spring of 1879 to January, 1885.)

Would that this happy condition might have continued! But here the church enters upon a period which, as a whole, it is never pleasant to contemplate, in spite of some very bright features in it.

The resignation of elder, deacon and trustee at the congregational meeting of December 16th, indicate that trouble seriously affecting the inner life of the church had arisen. What this trouble was, or who the parties were, or what connection it had, if any, with the events of the next few years, I am unable to say. I mention it because it was ominous of what was to follow.

The church suffered more than can be estimated by frequent changes of ministers, who followed one another in quick succession until five had ministered to it in less than three years and a half. No set of men, however able, could do either themselves or the work justice in such short terms. And every change meant a check, if not a loss, to the church. Even the most deeply interested and devout ones became discouraged, some almost ready to give up. At the opening of this period, also, in 1879, the two original elders had died, leaving the church for a year with but one living elder, Judge Cornelius Hedges.

Here let me pause to record the tribute which history renders to the fidelity in these times of one man in the

church. The records show that for many months at a time after his election in 1876, Judge Hedges was often the only available elder. During the long absence and illness of brothers Pyle and Williams, and for a year after Mr. Pyle's death, the responsibility of the eldership rested practically upon him alone. Amid general discouragement, through many vicissitudes and great troubles, let it ever be remembered to the honor of our present senior elder,\* that he never despaired or refused to stand in the place to which the church had called him.

This period, however, is not without its bright side. For the most part the church was happy in the character of its ministers. Faithful, devoted, able men, Rev. George G. Smith, Rev. W. Scott Stites, and Rev. Samuel A. Harlow ministered to it and all did good work, which still abides. Substantial advancement also marks the time. A parsonage was built in 1882. The beginning of the work at the Northern Pacific depot was made, resulting in the establishment of a promising church there of now 82 members, with flourishing Sunday School and a minister of its own. The work began very humbly. When the railroad came through Helena in the summer of 1883, I began going down to the station Sunday afternoons, accompanied sometimes by Robert Russell, one of our deacons, or Dr. Thomas Eckles, then an unbeliever but always ready to help in the good work. He went to sing. Services were on the platform and in the waiting room; and not infrequently passengers from a passing train would join us and thank us for spiritual refreshment by the way. In December of that year the railroad company offered us two lots where the Oakes Street Methodist church now stands, provided that we would build a \$600 church within a year. But our own church had a debt of over \$2,000, and there was no organization in that part of town; the lots also were considered too far out, and they passed from us.

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\* Note—Judge Hedges passed away April 29, 1907.



In February, 1884, the Woman's Missionary Society was organized, largely through the inspiration of Mrs. Charlotte O. Van Cleve, of Minneapolis, who visited us for this purpose.

The church also received during this period a number of valuable and permanent additions to its membership from the people who were coming from the east in increasing numbers, among whom I may name without invidious distinction, one who is now an elder, and who from his arrival among us has been helpful and active, especially in evangelistic and Sunday School work, Mr. E. Sharpe.\*

### PERIOD III. ENLARGEMENT.

(January, 1885, to March, 1892.)

The beginning of the next period is sharply defined. Among those who came among us in 1884 were Col. Charles Bird, an army officer, and Rev. T. A. Wickes. These were earnest laborers for Christ and thorough believers in prayer and personal work. They at once joined hands with the workers already here, particularly in the Sunday School. In the autumn of that year a young men's prayer meeting was held in a very informal way in Col. Bird's office Friday evenings. The Week of Prayer of 1885 was a time of more than usual interest. But none of us knew all that God was working for us in the secret places of men's hearts. The Sunday following the Week of Prayer I was confined to the house in the evening with a severe cold. Instead of the usual service, therefore, a praise and prayer meeting for young people was held by Mr. Sharpe, Col. Bird and Mr. Wickes, at which all who desired to accept Christ were asked to say so. A young man rose whom no one knew was ready to take the step, and spoke a few words. Then one after another a number of young men and girls followed. The brethren were taken by surprise. A Pentecostal quickening had descended upon us. I well remember the breathless eagerness and joy with which these brethren came

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\* Note—Mr Sharpe died April 19, 1901.



around to the manse when the service was over to tell me the glad news and confer about a continuance of the meetings. It was, of course, decided to go on. And when, Tuesday, it became evident that I could not conduct them, Rev. R. M. Stevenson of Bozeman, was called by telegraph and was with us by Wednesday evening. Brother Stevenson proved a powerful evangelist, and at the end of two weeks of nightly preaching, more than fifty persons came forward, one Sunday, in response to his invitation to indicate that they had found Christ in these services.

This, however, was but the beginning. One by one the other churches joined us. The blessing spread. Meetings were held in their places of worship. Evangelist Munhall was asked to come and help us in the spring, and he held union services in the opera house for three weeks. After his leaving these meetings were still continued three times a week in the different churches. For four months, from January until late in May, special meetings were thus held. It was a time of wonderful power, such as Helena has not seen before or since. The whole town was quickened. Numbers were added to all the churches. A strong Young Men's Christian Association was organized and maintained for several years, chiefly by members of this church. Our own church received 88 new members in the years 1884 and 1885, 64 of them on confession of Christ. Among them was our beloved Dr. Eckles, afterwards Sunday School superintendent, and other still valued members. Our membership rose from 95 in the spring of 1884 to 158 in the spring of 1886, and by 1889 to 232. The whole church was lifted to a higher plane and entered upon a new era of fuller life, broader activity and more vigorous growth. It has been a different church ever since.

Now first the church became really self-sustaining. It is true, it had long since ceased to ask aid from the Board of Home Missions. Nevertheless, it remained dependent.

There was a regular annual deficit, which was often made up in part by a miscellaneous appeal to Main Street. The church now came to depend upon its own members and upon those really in some way connected with it, or interested in it.

The regular system of benevolent contributions, still maintained, to all of the Boards of the Church and other causes was instituted at this time. The mission work at the Northern Pacific depot, was assumed by the church, and February 19, 1889, E. D. Sniffin was appointed by the session to take charge. He rented a hall and fitted it up at his own expense. Later in the same year two lots and a neat chapel were acquired on the north side of the Northern Pacific railway. In the summer of this year a minister was obtained for this field and an independent church organized, to which, however, we continued for a long time to send helpers. Three other mission schools were carried on in this period; the Bethany, begun in October, 1889, in the southern part of the city, with W. F. Cummins as superintendent; and the Chinese Sunday school, held in our room in the Denver block in the summer of 1891, with Mrs. Mason as superintendent.

On May 17, 1886, a young people's social club was organized, which on February 28th, 1887, assumed the specific form of a Society of Christian Endeavor. My impression is that this was the first Christian Endeavor Society organized west of the Alleghany mountains.

Early in 1886 also the idea of building was first suggested. It originated chiefly in the needs of the Sunday School. Our old church, once the source of so much pride, had in ten years become dilapidated and draughty. The building, too, had become quite inadequate for the Sunday school. It was overcrowded at that service. The stiff benches were trying to both teacher and class. The ever vigorous primary department, of which Mrs. W. A. Chess-

man has been out of mind the most efficient and devoted head, was not in those days to her a source of unalloyed pleasure during the Sunday school hour. They were confined to the gallery, which had a low rail in front, over which adventurous and energetic infants of inquiring minds were continually straining and balancing, to the imminent peril of their necks and the infinite anxiety of their solicitous superintendent. After many remedies had been proposed, including repairs, additions, remodeling and enlargement of the structure, the congregation finally decided to rebuild. A committee consisting of Col. W. F. Sanders, T. H. Kleinschmidt, Col. Bird and the pastor was appointed, July 19, 1888, to recommend a suitable lot, and the present site was chosen by the congregation. Plans were adopted in September for a new church of two stories, with a parsonage attached.

But here matters dragged. The old church was not sold until November, 1889, nor the foundation for the new building laid until the spring of 1890. But in that year, under the energetic leadership of Judge McConnell, president, and the new board of trustees, elected November, 1890, the matter was pushed forward. The plans were so modified as to reduce the church proper to a one story building, abolish the parsonage and put the present Sunday school in its place. The corner of the Sunday school was laid August 5, 1891, and the first service held here March 13, 1892. For nearly two years preceeding we had been worshipping Sundays in the district court-room and Wednesday evenings in our cozy church parlors, first in the Grandon and then in the Denver buildings, which we still remember with delight.

This period ended, as it had begun, in a remarkable revival under the leadership of Francis Murphy, the noted gospel temperance worker, who came here in the summer of 1891.\*\*\*\*



## PERIOD IV. CONSOLIDATION.

(March, 1892 to June, 1897.)

The five years we have worshipped in this building, since March 13, 1892, I have called the period of consolidation.

Three new organizations of the greatest importance have been added to the machinery of our church work in this period. On April 6, 1892, a work was begun among the smaller children in the form of a Mission Band, which a



THE HELENA PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH. DEDICATED IN 1905

year later was changed into the Junior Society of Christian Endeavor, under the efficient leadership of Mrs. J. W. Common, who has been in charge of it ever since. On January 10, 1895, the Helping Hand Society was organized, and has ever been a most valuable assistant to the pastor in his pastoral work, especially in visiting strangers in the city and new members of the church. The third organization was the Finance Committee. This was formed under the leadership of Mrs. George K. Reeder, ably supported by several other ladies and gentlemen, in the summer of 1894 for the purpose of providing the pastor's salary.\*\*\*\*



Complete statistics of what our church has done in these twenty-five years are not obtainable. But partial statistics show that there have been gathered into our membership at least 641 persons, 257 on confession of Christ and the rest by letter; 77 adults and 233 infants have been baptized. And the church has contributed in the same twenty-five years: to congregational purposes about \$90,626, to beneficences about \$10,613, a total of \$101,239.

(Rev. William N. Sloan, Ph. D., succeeded Mr. Moore as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Helena on November 1st, 1898. Under his leadership and with modified plans the church building project has been carried to completion. The dedication services were held on October 29, 1905, Rev. Robert F. Coyle, D. D. of Denver, Colorado, preaching the sermon.)

#### EARLY REMINISCENCES.

(An address delivered by Judge Cornelius Hedges at the Twenty-fifth Anniversary celebration of the First Presbyterian Church of Helena.)

In undertaking to write a sketch of the First Presbyterian Church of Helena for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary, after much research among my diaries and all accessible means for reliable information possessing sufficient definiteness and accuracy to deserve the name of history, I find myself incapable of doing the subject justice, and had I realized my ignorance sooner, should have declined the task. I am not an original Presbyterian. I was reared a Congregationalist, and my first church connection was with the college at New Haven, and next in my native town of Westfield, Massachusetts, where all my ancestors and relatives were Congregationalists. For a time in Iowa, before coming to Montana, I was connected with a Presbyterian church at Independence, but later resumed connection with the Congregational Church in Southington, Connecticut, my wife's native town, and it continued until 1873, after the organiza-



THE SESSION OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF HELENA.

1. Harvey W. Garrett.
2. Daniel Butcher.
3. Charles H. Pratt.

4. Charles F. Ellis.
5. J. Miller Smith.
6. David Smith Hodge.

7. Rev. William N. Sloan, Ph. D.
8. Cornelius Hedges.\*
9. John M. Goudie.

\* Deceased April 29, 1907.



tion of the Helena church. So I am not one of the first members of this church, and others still living and present with us can tell you more of its beginning. I have lived in Helena about from its first settlement, arriving here in January, 1865, with Brother Wilcox, when Helena was only a mining camp, with out a school or church of any kind, and when Sunday was distinguished from other days chiefly by greater activity in business and amusements of decidedly unorthodox kinds.

The first attempt at anything like religious observance of the Sabbath was on Sunday, March 26th, 1865, when a few were assembled on a vacant lot on the corner of Bridge and West Main streets, where there was a large pile of logs intended for the erection of another gambling house. Rev. E. T. McLaughlin preached a short sermon and brother Wilcox and Justice Miles led the singing. Brother McLaughlin was a Methodist, but church connections went for little then and all contributed to build him a church. It was of logs and stood on the corner of Joliet and Cutler streets. Sawed lumber then was worth 20 cents a foot. Every thing about the church was home-made, but was considered fine in those days. It was Rev. McLaughlin who officiated as chaplain at the first execution by the Vigilance Committee when one gambler was hung on the old pine tree for shooting another. The preference of the condemned for spiritual influence of another kind on that occasion led to a suspension of the benefit of clergy in subsequent executions. In that first log house I had a bible class till I went to the states in the fall of 1866, and after my return with my family in the early summer of 1867, we lived near by, in what was then the best residence portion of the city and attended that church. And when the new Methodist church was erected on Broadway, I gave the address at the laying of the corner-stone and contributed to its erection, teaching in its Sunday School and acting as one of the trustees. Rev. A.



M. Hough was then and for some time thereafter the pastor of the church. Another minister, Rev. Pritchard of the M. E. Church, South, was here in the summer of 1865, a very eloquent pulpit speaker and excellent man, who held services and drew large audiences to Crescent Hall on what was then Lower Main street. Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle of the Episcopal Church early began making visits in Helena and found hosts of friends and admirers among people of all denominations.

There is no conflict of authorities as to the fact that to Rev. Sheldon Jackson of the Presbytery of Iowa belongs the credit of making the first attempt to establish a Presbyterian church in Helena, and that as early as the summer of 1869. There exists a somewhat apocryphal reminiscence of that event and a list of the names of the few so-called members, including one male member, James Witherspoon, familiarly known as "Limber Jim," being very tall and with a slouchy gait, who soon after returned to Yankton, Dakota.

For some reasons not fully understood, that first attempt to establish a church of our denomination failed. Probably the prevailing reason was the uncertainty that Helena would ever be anything more than a transient mining town. There were no titles to any real estate here at that time, except possessory right, and the mining right to dig anywhere for gold was held superior to any other possessory right. During the mining era our population was extremely fluctuating. Government title to our town-site was not acquired till late in 1869, and then only subject to existing mining rights. For the first ten years, roughly estimated, Helena was chiefly a mining camp, resembling the New Jerusalem only in one respect, that its streets were paved with gold, a misfortune in our case, for this paving was torn up and run through sluice boxes. By the end of the first decade, Helena had become the de jure as well as de facto capital and other

interests in the city had become permanent and paramount and population was settled.

The purpose of establishing a Presbyterian Church in Helena, though it had slumbered for three years, had never been abandoned. Rev. Sheldon Jackson returned in the summer of 1872, better equipped than on his former visit. We know by early experience of the church that even when Paul planted, it needed an Apollos to water. Especially in an arid county like Montana, morally as physically, the watering was full as essential as the planting. Rev. James R. Russel, now of Butte, accompanied Mr. Jackson, when the First Presbyterian Church of Helena was organized June 15, 1872, Mr. Russel was left in charge to nourish and water it. I was not personally present at the organization in 1872, and will leave to others who were, to speak of what transpired. I was at the time one of the trustees of the Methodist Church and had a bible class in their Sunday School, as I had ever since 1865, though my church connection was in the East, and remained there for a year or two more after the organization of this church. My denominational feelings were never strong, and as I now recall my sentiments of that distant date, I doubted the wisdom of trying to sustain another separate church organization. My family went east within a few days after the organization and remained away a year, and my duties as Superintendent of Public Instruction kept me away much of the time.

At the organization, or soon after, Brothers A. T. Williams and J. E. Pyle were chosen elders, and through the kindness of our Methodist brethren the use of their church was granted for the services of completing the organization, June 16, 1872, by Rev. Sheldon Jackson preaching a sermon, ordaining the elders, and holding communion service. Therefore, according to church canons, the First Presbyterian Church was an organized entity. But its members were

few, a very little leaven in a very large lump, with no place of meeting and dependent upon the Home Mission Board for the main support of a minister. There were no Pentecostal outpourings at the time as when the apostle Peter preached in Jerusalem and thousands were converted in a day. Nor was the general inquiry, "What shall I do to be saved?" but, "How can I make my pile and get back to God's country," as the country east of the Mississippi was then generally called.

Meetings were sometimes held in the Rodney street school house, which stood on ground now occupied by Mr. Reinig's residence. I find in my diary a memorandum that on August 15, 1872, there was a meeting of the Presbyterian church committee at my office, when it was voted to buy a lot for a church and Lockey's corner was chosen, at a price of \$400. The site is now occupied by the Chessman Block on Ewing street, corner of Sixth avenue.

I find also noted that on Sunday, September 20, 1872, I attended services conducted by Rev. W. C. Rommel in Odd Fellows' Hall in Dunphy and Bentley's Block on Main street. Mr. Rommel had come to take Mr. Russel's place, who was called to minister to the church at Deer Lodge.

Sunday, November 7, 1872, Rev. W. S. Frackleton, whose field was Bozeman and the whole of Gallatin and Madison Valleys, preached for us. He was one of the three young graduates from theological seminaries that Mr. Jackson had induced to come to Montana. Prayer meetings were held at the residences of members and on November 10, 1872, I find that I attended prayer meeting at the house of Mr. Walker, the first for several years, and the attendance was quite large. These meetings continued to be held weekly at the houses of the members.

During the year 1873-4 any historical facts are very scarce. Mr. Rommel continued to preach and grew in favor and influence steadily. He did not confine his labors exclusively



to Helena, but frequently went to Unionville and other places. Meetings continued to be held in Odd Fellows' Hall, the use of which was generously tendered on condition that the carpet should be protected by a covering, which was done by the good ladies. We think a church organ must have been secured, for Mr. Koenigsberger was organist.

The Sunday School was not organized till services began to be held in the old court house, nor were there evening services at Odd Fellows' Hall.

The record book of the trustees is unfortunately very incomplete, but it furnishes a memorandum of a meeting of the church members in December, 1873, at which Col. Sanders, B. H. Tatem, Joseph C. Walker, T. H. Kleinschmidt, E. W. Knight, D. H. Cuthbert, and myself were chosen trustees. Also a meeting held March 31, 1874, when Messrs. Samuel Neel, R. E. Fisk and Elder Pyle, with Mr. Koenigsberger subsequently added, were chosen as a committee to select a location for a church edifice. And on April 21, 1874, at a joint meeting of the trustees and building committee, after much discussion it was voted to buy the lot at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Ewing street of I. W. Stoner for \$500 on which to build the church. I was not present at the time, having gone to the states and did not return till the middle of the summer, and after that was busy with a congressional canvass.

The great fire January 9, 1874, which destroyed almost all the business portion of the city, crippled everybody and all the resources that anyone could command were devoted to rebuilding business places. Just when the foundation of the new church was laid I do not know, but it must have been in the autumn of 1874, for I find that on March 29, 1875, there was a children's sociable in the new church building, and on April 11th there was a large Sunday School held there, at which 259 were present, and on June 20th, 1875, the first church service was held there with communion.



I think Mr. Rommel was east in the early part of 1875, for I find an entry of April 10, 1875, of his return. I think he secured a loan of \$2,000 from the Church Erection Fund toward the completion of the church building, the entire cost of which was about \$11,000. A large part of this was raised by the good ladies of the church by means of bazaars, strawberry festivals, and other like means, in which their genius and incessant devotion always shone to profit.

Though the church was tenable it was not completed for more than a year thereafter, for I find an entry, Sunday, July 9, 1876, "Attended services in our church, freshly painted and carpeted." Nine days later there was a strawberry festival for the benefit of the church, and on Sunday, July 30th, Rev. Sheldon Jackson preached in the church. Thursday, August 10, 1876, I was chosen an elder against my protest, and the Sunday following, August 13, 1876, was ordained as such. On that day the church was dedicated and Mr. Rommel preached his farewell sermon in the evening. Our people had become greatly attached to Mr. Rommel. He was indefatigable in his efforts to build up the church. He was universally respected and his services were in constant demand and always cheerfully rendered. But he became impressed with the idea that his health was failing and a change was necessary. He has always been remembered with loving regrets. He promised soon to send another to take his place, but it was not till March, 1877, that Rev. J. D. Hewitt came. For more than six months we were without a pastor or any stated supply, and much like a flock without a shepherd. Elders Williams and Pyle were away, and myself, besides being inexperienced and unfit for the duties of an elder, exceedingly occupied with the duties of Superintendent of Public Instruction, which took me often and much of the time away from home. The year 1876 was a very depressing one generally in the fortunes of Helena. Those who had rebuilt

after the great fire were heavily involved, and the discovery of gold in the Black Hills created almost a stampede to Dakota. It seemed as if the city was going to be deserted. The values of property declined enormously and it was nearly unsalable at any price. Our hopes of getting a railroad, so often deferred and defeated, almost culminated in despair. Our church building was a bond of union and strength at the time when so many other conditions seemed adverse.

Rev. J. D. Hewitt came to us in March, 1877. I find an entry of March 30th of that year that I went to Bozeman to Presbytery with Revs. Hewitt and Russel. Wednesday, April 25th, a church meeting elected trustees and Thomas Smiley as deacon, who was ordained the following Sunday.

On Sunday, May 6th, I find mention of an excellent sermon by Mr. Hewitt and much religious interest manifested. Meetings were held every evening the following week and union services on Sunday, May 13th. The Sunday following Rev. M. L. Cook of Missoula preached at our church and on June 3rd communion was held and seven united with the church. June 8th there was a Presbyterian concert. Sunday, June 24th, it was noted that Mr. Hewitt had returned and preached, and a Sunday School concert was held in the evening. At the services on Sunday, September 2nd, communion was held and four united with the church. Sunday, October 7th, the Presbytery was in session here and at the evening service Messrs. Richards, Cook and Russel spoke on Sunday School work.

Sunday, October 13, 1878, it was noted in my diary that the seats in the church were supplied with new cushions—getting luxurious.\*\*\*\*

My diary mentions the fact that on Tuesday, April 8th, there was a debate in the church on the respective merits of the pulpit and the bar, on which occasion Col. Sanders presided, and the congregation decided on the merits of the debate in favor of the bar.\*\*\*\*

### THE WORK OF THE WOMEN.

(A paper by Mrs. John E. Pyle, read at the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the First Presbyterian Church of Helena.)

In February, 1872, there appeared in our daily papers, I think it was the Herald, a card from the Rev. Sheldon Jackson, requesting that the names of any Presbyterians, who might be living in this country, be sent to him at Denver, where he then resided with his family.

This was more than two years after his first visit to Montana, when his efforts to establish a church failed for want of male members. Mr. Pyle immediately sent three names—all he then had knowledge of—that of Mrs. A. M. Walker, now an active member of the church at Anaconda, and his own and mine.

There were other Presbyterians here, as was afterwards discovered, men and women from sanctified Christian homes, strong, forceful people, but they were at that time worshipping, like ourselves, with the St. Paul's Methodist Church and they were supposed to be all Methodists, and they made good Methodists, assisting in all the benevolent work of the church, the Sabbath School, the Christmas festivals, charities and giving liberally to Foreign Missions.

After ten days or a fortnight, a letter was received from Dr. Jackson in which he said that these three names sent him, were the only ones sent him from Montana. It should be said in this connection, that it was a question in the minds of those early pioneers of our particular system whether it was right or wrong to multiply churches in these remote and unsettled communities, where one felt that he was away from home, a stranger, and that what he gathered of the country's wealth should go to build where his heart was. This was especially true of the women, who long looked forward to going back and as the feeling of homesickness deepened, many of them did go back. Doubtless this lack of permanency and domestication furnishes a good reason why





EARLY WORKERS IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF HELENA.

- |                            |                                     |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Mrs. Annie C. Cuthbert. | 3. Mrs. Abba Beatrice Creel Walker. |
| 2. Mrs. John E. Pyle.      | 4. Mrs. A. T. Williams-Nash.        |
| 5. Mrs. Emma Emerson.      |                                     |





so few responded to Dr. Jackson's call. However, he decided to come, and in his letter fixed a date for starting and for preaching the Sunday following his arrival in Helena. That was in staging days and one might fix a time for starting, but he should leave the rest to Providence. In this case, Dr. Jackson arrived too late to preach either morning or evening.

Mr. Pyle often went to the stage office hoping to meet him, but not until after we had gone to church and had heard the better part of a sermon by Dr. Woolfolk, did he make his appearance. Having found us away, he brought our son, a lad of eight, who had been left at home to direct him to the place of preaching. They sat immediately back of us and at the close of the services we were most agreeably surprised to be introduced to Dr. Jackson. He stayed one or two days in Helena, then went to visit Deer Lodge and Bozeman, promising in a few weeks to return.

Of the two ministers accompanying him Rev. J. R. Russel remained, preaching his first sermon June 2nd, 1872. Mr. Jackson returned on the 14th and on the 16th of June the First Presbyterian Church of Helena was organized, Dr. Jackson preaching morning and evening on the Sunday following.

Mr. Russel was placed in charge as pastor, preaching once a month at Deer Lodge, supplying the two places until such time as the Board of Home Missions should be able to secure another minister for this field. Mr. Russel, a young man just from the theological seminary, eminently genial and social, as well as of fine Christian culture, soon made for himself a place in the hearts of the people and under his leadership the little church made a good beginning.

They were then holding services in the Academy, a plain one-story building on South Rodney street. In October of the same year, Rev. W. C. Rommel came to the Helena church, Mr. Russel going to Deer Lodge. Some time during

the autumn the Odd Fellows' hall was secured in which to hold services during the winter. They were required to pay some rent, to cover the carpet with canvass and other conditions did not permit of having Sabbath School or prayer meeting at that place. As the Sabbath School had not yet been organized, it was thought best to continue with the Methodist school until spring. The prayer meetings were to be held at private houses and it was a mid-week resting place; those little "at home" prayer meetings, where talk and pleasant interchange of hopes and plans mixed in with prayer and praise, afforded to the men of our number whose families had gone to "the States" for a year, or may be two, one hallowed hour of civilized living.

At Christmas time, they gave their first entertainment, a bazaar, lasting several days and a Christmas dinner. A Christmas dinner will at once suggest to your minds an affair involving a great deal of hard work. This one would especially answer that description, a heavy snow storm having come up the day before and the mercury having fallen to twenty degrees below zero. Not a turkey within 500 miles, and fresh fruit not to be had at any price, but, nevertheless, their fame went out from that day for plum pudding, fried oysters and coffee served hot. Col. Sanders and Theodore Kleinschmidt helped to keep up the fires. From this enterprise they realized the sum of \$800. This was a nucleus for a building fund which was added to by other church benefits, a long line of every conceivable variety, but all orthodox hard work and decorum. It may be important to mention that the Presbyterians never yielded to the then popular fancy of giving balls and raffles, a custom of some prevalence at that time, and over which there had been much controversy, until Bishop Tuttle of the Episcopalian Church, everybody's guide, philosopher and friend, settled it by giving a formal opinion,—adverse opinion,—which was published in the leading papers throughout the terri-

tory. It was done with rare gentleness and sympathy, by way of suggesting better methods.

In the spring of 1873, the congregation again changed quarters, this time to the old court house where Sabbath School was then organized. I remember now that Mr. Rommel also took charge of a little Sabbath School at Unionville and rode up there every Sunday afternoon on his horse. One Sunday as he was wending his way through Upper Main street, where they were trading horses and attending to all kinds of business, our minister so far forgot himself as to stop and buy a whip for his horse. There was no Sabbath stillness to remind him of his mistake and he continued on his way.

Mr. Rommel was duly elected superintendent of the Helena school, later on Mr. E. W. Knight was made superintendent, and continued to hold the position for many years. Judge Hedges taught the young men's Bible class. Other teachers chosen at that time were Mesdames W. F. Sanders, R. E. Fisk, Jerome Norris, Emerson, and Woolfolk and Miss Guthrie, and the late Mrs. Weston and Mrs. Hard.

On the Fourth of July they gave the children a picnic at the fair grounds. The school increased rapidly and at the end of the year numbered over 200. There was at that time but one other Sabbath School in Helena, that of Saint Paul's Methodist Church. Mesdames Neel, Cuthbert, and Judge Wade, and Messrs. Charles Ellis and Armitage and others assisted in the choir. The organ was played by Mrs. Koenigsberger. Children were baptized and young people married. The first of these were Miss Nellie Cuthbert, her sister May and Day Walker of Anaconda. These young people are all now members of the Presbyterian Church. Mr. and Mrs. Broadwater were married, this being the first wedding at which our minister, Mr. Rommel, had ever officiated.

The site for a church edifice had been purchased and the necessity for raising money for building pressed heavily



upon those who had taken the cause to heart, and another of those entertainments, above referred to, was planned,—a contract with the Fair Association for keeping the restaurant during fair week. Provisions were cooked at home and taken out fresh every morning, sufficient for three meals. Everybody's kitchen was in service during the week or ten days it lasted. The women served alternate days at the restaurant, making the day at home not less a work day, but a change. After paying all expenses, there remained for the building fund another \$500. Mrs. R. E. Fisk was president of the society at this time, Mrs. W. F. Sanders general superintendent of this particular undertaking.

The different families of the congregation gave monthly receptions, called sociables then, at which the plate was passed for whatever donation or mite one felt like giving. The largest attendance, and the most money received, was at one given at the residence of Mrs. Sanders during the first legislative assembly, after the removal of the capitol from Virginia City to Helena. The mites amounted to forty dollars.

It is unnecessary to further particularize. These experiences were repeated over and over, varied by concerts, tableaux, Madam Jarley's wax works, and even Punch and Judy.

The citizens and business men subscribed liberally and were called upon more than once, but, for all that, the greater part of the ten thousand dollars necessary for the completion of the building was secured by these efforts, and it was work well done, at whatever cost, to have set in motion a great moral force in times of such disorder. At that time there were no Sunday laws, a shifting population with exciting rumors of gold discoveries in the new camps of Butte and Deadwood, causing almost daily exodus.

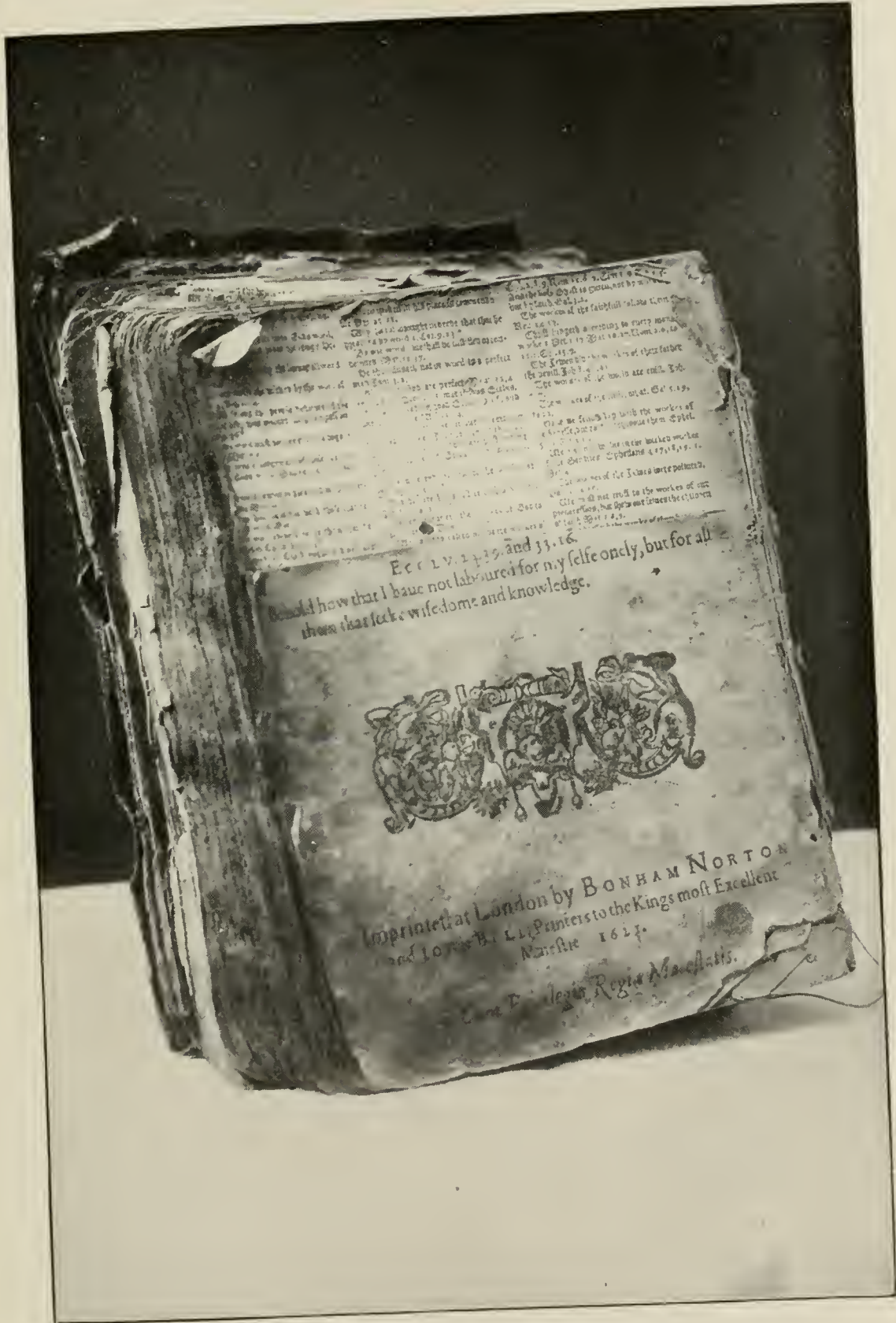
Our minister, Mr. Rommel, was under the necessity of changing his room five times in less than one year, owing





THE RUTHERFORD-WALKER BIBLE.





THE RUTHERFORD-WALKER BIBLE.





to the restlessness of the different families with whom he lived. The people were fortunate in having a man sent them by the Board of Missions who could live above environments. He was like a true pioneer, caring little for difficulties and hardships, only to succeed in the battle for results, and that he did succeed was the undivided testimony of his own, as well as all other churches in the territory, of whatever denomination.

Soon after the completion and dedication of the church, he sent in his resignation.

In 1881 the women met at the residence of Mrs. Edna Hedges and reorganized their society, electing Mrs. D. C. Wade president, and taking the name of "The Ladies' Aid Society."

Letters have been received from Mrs. Koenigsberger, Mrs. Neel and Mrs. A. M. Walker, whom we all affectionately remember.

#### THE RUTHERFORD-WALKER BIBLE.

*By Mrs. Abba Beatrice Creel Walker of Anaconda.*

The size of the Bible is eight inches by seven. It was printed at London, England, by Bonham Norton and John Bill, printers to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, in the year 1621. All through the Bible the old-fashioned printing is used with the long "s."

This Bible was brought from Scotland to Ireland; from Ireland to the United States in 1726. Its home was first in Chester County, Pennsylvania, then in Virginia, Kentucky, Illinois, Iowa, and now in the far western state of Montana.

This Bible is by some called the Rutherford Bible as the Walkers are descendants of the Rutherfords of Scotland.

In the family register given in the Bible is the name of John McKnight, born in 1627. The old names written in the Bible, more than two centuries ago, are as distinct as if written yesterday. The Bible was entailed to the oldest child.

The first record in the Bible of the ones inheriting it is

as follows: James Rutherford died April 26, 1768, and left the Bible to his eldest daughter, Jean Walker Hudson, who died October 15, 1777, and left the Bible to her eldest daughter, Margaret Hudson, who married John Walker. Margaret Hudson Walker died October 23d, 1782, and left the Bible to her eldest daughter, Jean Walker, who married Joseph Patterson.



JOSEPH C. WALKER.

Jean Walker Patterson died December 23, 1810, and left the Bible to her eldest son, John Patterson; at his death he left the Bible to his brother, Col. William Patterson. He died October 23, 1888, and left the Bible to his eldest daughter, Mary Ann Creel Patterson, of Keokuk, Iowa. She died August 15, 1898, and left the old Bible to her eldest living daughter, Abba Beatrice Creel Walker (Mrs. A. M. Walker) of Anaconda, Montana.

Her son, David Creel Walker, will inherit the Bible. He was the first child baptized in the First Presbyterian Church of Helena, his mother being one of the charter members of that church.

The old Bible has been in many lands and many names, it is now back in the Walker name, but in all of its wanderings, it has never strayed from the Presbyterian fold.

(Mr. Joseph C. Walker, a brother of Mr. A. M. Walker, now of Lewistown, Montana, was also a charter member of the Helena Church. He likes to relate that his parents were charter members of the first Presbyterian Church organized in the Territory of Iowa by a colony of Kentuckians, in 1837. Three of his uncles and four of his aunts also helped to make up the roll of eleven members of this pioneer church at West Point, Iowa, ten miles from Fort Madison. Col. William Patterson, mentioned above, was a charter member of this pioneer Presbyterian Church of Iowa.)

REMINISCENCES OF REV. WILLIAM C. ROMMEL.  
Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Helena from  
September, 1872, to August, 1876.

Cornwall, N. Y., December 29, 1905.

Dear Brother Edwards:—Your letter of information and inquiry is acknowledged with thanks, and I am glad to be of any service to you. Helena was my first ministerial charge and I have never lost my love for its people.

In August, I think, of 1872, I left Elizabeth, N. Y., after my seven years of study at Princeton University and Seminary for my work as a home missionary in Helena, Montana, with my commission as home missionary of the Presbyterian Church, signed by the good secretaries, Drs. Kendall and Dickson. At Colorado Springs I attended the meeting of the Colorado Synod in a small unfinished frame Presbyterian church; tents were in evidence and a small hotel. At that meeting I was received into the Presbytery of Mon-



tana. Thence to Salt Lake City, where I supplied our church for two Sabbaths, its pastor, Rev. Mr. Welsh, being absent in the east. Thence to Corinne, Utah, preaching, if I remember correctly, for Brother Gillespie. On a Wednesday evening, I boarded the coach of the Overland Stage Co., bound for Helena, Montana. Rev. Lyman B. Crittenden and wife and daughter, en route for Bozeman, Montana, to start a Young Ladies' Seminary, occupied the front seat of the Concord coach. A young lieutenant, fresh from West Point, and another stranger and myself occupied the middle seat. A bride and groom, a Mr. and Mrs. Smith, en route for Deer Lodge, and their friend, Miss Sims, en route to start and teach a Presbyterian school at Missoula, occupied the back seat, while some three or four others were on the top with the driver.

We were a cheerful party and had need of all our cheerfulness, for the coach kept losing time. One of the wheels froze and we took it off and poured in water to cool off the freeze. Clouds of the fine alkali dust nearly blinded and choked us. The cramped position made sleep for some of us impossible. I got six hours sleep out of the 92 hours in the not far from 500 miles of our journey. At Sandhole we stopped for dinner; sage brush tea, as black as your hat, butter, stronger than Samson, bread, heavy, sour and uneatable, a big bowl of grease with a few bits of pork swimming in it, and prunes. Our lieutenant tasted the tea and gave it up and went to the landlady and asked the price. "One dollar." "But I have eaten nothing." "That's not my fault. There is plenty. The price is one dollar." He paid it. We meekly followed suit. At Brooke's, about 50 miles from Helena, a stage station for changing horses, I got off the coach for a rest. The express messenger, who was going to Helena to guard the down treasure coach, got off also and called my attention to two men, dressed in black, walking towards the Brooke's home. "Do you know

these men?" he answered. "No. Who are they?" "Preachers!" He put so much contempt in his answer that I was not so much surprised at the volume of profanity that followed and the fearful cursing of all preachers. I did not let him know that I was a preacher, but reflected on the need of preachers in Montana.

We reached Helena at 2 a. m. of the following Sunday and when I registered, I prefixed "Rev." to my name and watched the express messenger as his eye ran over the names registered. The next morning at breakfast he came into the dining room, straight to my table. I looked up and nodded, saying "Good morning." He turned aside and the tell-tale blood mounted to his temples and I saw that "his bark was worse than his bite." Some two years after in Deer Lodge he came into a store where I was, recognized me and asked for an introduction, and while not in so many words apologizing for his vigorous reception, yet in manner and kindly speech he practically did apologize.

My first Sunday morning in Helena was a revelation. Brother Russel, now of Butte, called and about 9 a. m. we went to his residence. My hotel was on upper Main Street, a fine, well-furnished, four-story brick hotel, the International, destroyed in the big fire. As I stepped out that bright Sabbath morning I faced a large crowd of men, interested in an auctioneer selling bronchos. Just back of him to the left was a large saloon, the Exchange, wide open, with tables where men were playing faro, "bucking the tiger." The sidewalks and narrow street were filled with men, mostly young men, and all the stores seemed to be open and doing business. At the M. E. Church a small congregation worshipped. At night a union service was held at the M. E. Church, South, in behalf of the Bible cause, where I made my first address in Montana. For a few Sabbaths, beginning the following Sabbath morning, I preached in the M. E. Church. We secured a room, the Odd Fellows'

Hall, on Main Street, worshipping there Sunday mornings and evenings for a while and working in the Sabbath School of the M. E. Church. The need of a church building was plain and we went to work to raise money. Our congregation, though small, was made up of some of the best people in Helena. I never knew a better lot of church workers than the ladies of the Helena Presbyterian church, such ladies as Mrs. W. F. Sanders and her charming mother, Mrs. Fenn, Mrs. Wedger, Mrs. Roberts, Mrs. Koenigsberger, Mrs. Fisk, Mrs. Cuthbert, and her sister Miss Newhall, Mrs. Neel and her devoted mother Mrs. Baker, Mrs. Wilcox, Mrs. Hedges, but one would have to call the whole roll, and it seems invidious to mention any without mentioning all.

The Roman Catholics had raised a large sum of money, the previous year, by a Christmas bazaar and our ladies decided to have a similar bazaar and came to me full of the idea and enthusiasm. I approved cordially, but they innocently added, "And we will have dancing and raffling and will make lots of money for our church." "What!" I said, "have a dance and raffling for a Presbyterian Church!" "Why, certainly. The Roman Catholics made most of their money that way last winter." I promptly said, "That cannot be." They insisted and I at last said, "I have a valise; it is readily packed, and I will not remain in charge of the Helena church if such a bazaar is undertaken." "Oh, if you feel that way, we will not have the bazaar, but that is the only way to make any money here in Helena." "Very well, I am satisfied." Later they came penitent and said, "You were right and we were wrong. We will have the bazaar without any of the objectionable features, but we will make very little money, perhaps \$200. And the Roman Catholics are reported to have cleared \$7,000 in three weeks."

We worked with a will; had the bazaar for three days in-



cluding Christmas day. The gentlemen aided royally. Some washed and wiped dishes. At the Christmas dinner Judge Wade and others were the waiters and at the end over \$800 were netted, and all were happy, and the "boys" were astonished that they could leave the fair with any dust in their pockets and voted the Presbyterian bazaar all right.

The following Sunday night in Odd Fellows' Hall I faced a full house of men, many of them had aided us generously at the bazaar. I knew that Christmas had been a day of dissipation for many, that the coming New Year's day would be more so, as the custom of our leading families was to keep open house on that day and offer refreshments, including liquor, to their guests. With a purpose my text that night, was, "Look not upon the wine when it is red." I was young, ardent, and a convinced teetotaler. From beginning to the end of the sermon some of the men in the audience never raised their eyes from the floor. My peroration was an earnest appeal to the women of Helena not to offer intoxicants to their guests on New Year's day. Next morning as I walked up Main street, I was conscious of an atmosphere. Some would not speak to me, some acted as if their necks had been stiffened. On entering the store of one of my congregation he shook a warning finger and bade me look out for myself. I asked why. "Because of your temperance sermon last night." I had suddenly become famous, or rather infamous. The idea of preaching a temperance sermon in Helena, and such a temperance sermon! I had quoted a remark of a friend, "All Helena's drunk on Christmas day", in the sermon. This was taken up with a vengeance. For example, "Hello! Tom, I heard you were drunk Christmas." "It's a d—d lie. Who told you." "The Presbyterian preacher." "When?" Sunday, in his sermon." And the poor preacher would get another cursing. So the boys kept it up. One man said to me years after that he was present at the service, had been under the influence of



liquor on Christmas, but had helped our bazaar liberally and was so angry, he made up his mind to thrash me,—but he changed his mind. I was discouraged, feeling that I had only roused opposition. But on New Year's day I made sixty calls and in only two places was liquor served and in one of these, the International hotel, the wife of the proprietor said to me, "I heard your sermon, it was all right. My husband said that we must have liquor to-day. 'Well', I told him, 'I'll not serve it. We ladies will have our table and if the gentlemen insist on having liquors, they may go over to that table and help themselves' ". Thus loyally did the ladies of Helena, Montana, on New Year's day, 1873, respond to an appeal on behalf of their husbands, brothers and sons.

The Baptist minister, the Rev. Mr. Woolfolk, having left Helena, our congregation moved to the court house, organized a Sunday-school, and held regular morning and evening services.

An organist was a necessity for our Sabbath-school, and as none could be obtained, I determined to see if I had the timber for one. A small folding melodeon was rented for \$6 a month for practice. A stout, short German who played in Kessler's lager beer saloon was my teacher at \$2 a lesson. After ten lessons with the usual backaches, wrist-aches and headaches, I succeeded in learning how to play, "John Brown's body", when an organist was found and I realized that the timber for an organist was lacking. Only "John Brown's body", and poor enough at that, cost me \$26.00.

I taught a Bible class and one of the members, a rough bearded miner, asked if the original Greek word for baptize did not mean to dip or immerse. I wondered at such a request from such a source and found out that he had been a student for the Congregational ministry, but his health failed. Later one Monday morning he called at my house

to say goodbye, as he was going back to the states. "Why?" I asked. "Because you advised me to go." "When did I give you that advice?" "Last night in your sermon you said, if a man could not live a Christian life here, as he ought to live it, he should go back to the states, where he could live that life. I am that man. I sold my claim to my partner and have come to say goodbye." If all our hearers would take our advice so promptly and fully, preaching would be quite a different thing from now.

I became interested in a Chinaman in Helena, bought a Chinese-English book for him, hoping to help him into the light of the Lord. One Sunday morning he called at my house. "What can I do for you, Charley?" I inquired. "You lend me fifty or sixty dollar'." "I don't do business on Sunday and I don't lend money, but what do you want it for, Charley?" "You good man. Lady send me to you. You lend me fifty or sixty dollar'. I pay you back five or six dolla' every month. Heap good business." "But what is the business, Charley?" After some hesitation he said, "A little lottery business in Chinatown." My roommate was almost overcome, he laughed long and loud, and laughed almost all day Sunday. That a heathen Chinese should come to a preacher of the Gospel of a Sunday morning, to get money to start him in the gambling business in Chinatown, was too much for his sense of the ludicrous. It was too good to keep. He sent this item to the New North West, Deer Lodge: "The Presbyterian preacher of Helena, being zealous in his efforts to convert a Chinaman, suddenly ceased them when the Chinaman proposed that the preacher should start him in the gambling business in Chinatown." This item was copied into Ayer's almanac and was widely circulated.

One Sunday morning the topic of the sermon was from the text, "Blessed are the pure in heart." At dinner, after the sermon, my tenor singer remarked to me, "I am glad

that you preached that sermon this morning; it was much needed. I saw on the piano the other evening in one of our best homes a vile newspaper." His neighbor at the table shoved back his soup plate and contemptuously exclaimed, "The idea of your saying that!" "Well, sir," was the reply, "if you want your sister to read such literature, I have no objection." With an oath he answered, "My sister is a saint in heaven, I'll get a pistol and kill you." And he rushed in great excitement from the room. We simply smiled and went on with our dinner. In a moment he entered the room, flushed with rage, and standing back of the tenor singer, threatened to strike him. This roused the singer and they started to fight. They were small and slight and fought like women, making frantic passes with their fists and swearing loudly. The singer got his opponent by the throat and was choking him well, when the landlady appeared and I arose and separated them. The pistol hunter went out again to get his pistol, and though pistols then in Helena were as thick as leaves in Vallombrosa, he could not find any. The next day they were reconciled.

I was on horseback one morning and stopped in the street to talk to one of our church trustees, when up staggered a drunken Scotchman. He grasped my outstretched hand and asked when I was coming out to Ten Mile to preach to the boys there. I said that I did not know but would be glad to come sometime. Letting go my hand and trying to steady himself, he said solemnly, "Mr. Rommel, if I am nothing else in this world, I'm a pretty good Presbyterian." The next day I saw him in Helena and tried to speak to him to arrange for a preaching appointment at Ten Mile, but I could not get near him, he took good care to keep out of my way.

A wedding some twelve miles distant, required a livery team, which I secured and started on a raw, windy day for



the bride's residence. The team proved hard to drive, being seized with a purpose to run away. The residence of the bride was reached in safety, the horses put away in a half-open barn. After the ceremony I started home. The team had been chilled with the long wait, and started at a lively gait. They were hard-mouthed, young and fiery. I could hold them in a while, but getting tired and relaxing the reins, they would start on a swift trot and break into a run. It was too dark to follow the road and we were soon scouring over the prairie, going we knew not where at a frightful pace. At last the lights of Helena appeared and we struck the road and rushed into the stable. I remonstrated with the liveryman for giving me a runaway team. He said, "I let out all my other teams and gave this to you. I knew the Lord would take care of you, Parson."

Passing up Main street one day I stopped at an auctioneer's place. He was on a drygoods box, selling goods, and exciting the interest and laughter of the crowd, by his remarks coupled with revolting blasphemy. I waited till he was through and walking up to him said, when he was alone, "How is it that you swear so?" "Well, I do swear some." He was perhaps the most profane man in Helena, which is saying a great deal. "I know that I ought not to do it, and my church, the Roman Catholic, forbids it. But Mr. Rommel, I never swear before my wife." "Then you need not swear at all." "That's so," he replied, and after a moment added, "I'll make a bargain with you, Parson. If you ever hear me swear again, just come up and tap me on the shoulder." "All right," I answered. The next day I found him auctioneering as before with similar language. I waited and went up and tapped him on the shoulder. "All right, Parson, you'll never catch me again." And I never did. He broke short off.

Our Sunday services in the court-house were well attended, especially mostly men at night. Speaking of the



evils of gambling, I noticed particularly one young man who seemed deeply interested. I described a game and a quarrel and a pistol shot and a dead man. The young man dropped his head suddenly, as if he had been shot. I tried to find him at the close of the service, but he disappeared.

Outside preaching stations were at Grizzly Park and Clancy and Jefferson. The four years passed quickly. A neat brick church was built and dedicated free of debt, a large Sunday-school gathered, when the physicians advised me that the climate of Montana was too severe for me. August, 1876, I said goodbye to our beloved church and on a bright clear morning mounted my cayuse and rode away, taking the road to Missoula, and thence over the old Mullan road to Walla Walla, where I sold my outfit and going to San Francisco returned east by the Central and Union Pacific, glad that I had been able to be of some service to the Helena Presbyterian Church as its first minister from 1872 to 1876. Perhaps this will be of some service.

Cordially yours,

WILLIAM C. ROMMEL.

## THE RISE OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN DEER LODGE AND BUTTE.

By Rev. James R. Russel, Ph. D.

(Mr. Russel was one of the four Presbyterian ministers who began work in Montana in 1872. The name of no minister or elder has been on the Presbyterian Roll in Montana as long as that of Mr. Russel—35 years. At the organization of the Presbytery of Montana in 1872, he was elected stated clerk, which office he held for twelve years, until his resignation in August, 1884. The following resolution was adopted concerning his resignation:

“Resolved, That the Presbytery receive with regret the resignation of Rev. J. R. Russel of the office of stated clerk and desire here to record our appreciation of his long and efficient services. We recall that he is now the only original



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THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF DEER LODGE.

1. The Church Building of 1874.  
2. The Manse.

3. Elder Thomas W. Catlin.  
4. Elder Thomas Aspling.



member of the Presbytery; that he has kept the Presbyterial records with neatness and always orderly, so that there has never been any criticism of them by the higher courts of the Church; that he has been faithful in attending the meetings of Presbytery, often traveling hundreds of miles by stage, in severe weather at the risk of his health and even to life to attend meetings where he was about the only delegate, and this at great expense to himself, while he has never received any salary, and that he has performed all his duties, as an officer of this Presbytery faithfully, and to the entire satisfaction of Presbytery.'')

I arrived at Deer Lodge, June 6, 1872, having been commissioned by the Board of Home Missions to work in Montana. So far as I have been able to learn it was the first visit of a minister of our church to Deer Lodge in the interests of our denomination. After getting rid of some of the dust, gathered by the stage ride across the range, and having eaten supper, I started out to see if any Presbyterians could be found in the place. I soon discovered two prominent business men, members of our church in the east, who informed me that they did not see any special need of a Presbyterian church in Deer Lodge as the Episcopalians had an organization and a minister on the field. "But does that organization reach and satisfy all the people," I asked. "No," they replied, "only a few attend the services regularly and the rest of the people do not care anything about churches."

The next morning I started out and made a canvass of the town to see how many Presbyterians there were in the place. I found seven communicants and about 30 or 35 who had been either raised in our church or preferred it. That evening Rev. Sheldon Jackson, the Superintendent of Missions, arrived from Virginia City. On Saturday, we visited all those who had said they were members of the church and asked them to join in the organization of a church at



Deer Lodge. Arrangements were also made to hold services the next day, the Episcopal minister, Rev. William Stoy, courteously giving up his claim to the court house for the occasion. Mr. Jackson preached morning and evening.

At the morning service the church was organized with the following members, viz: Mrs. L. J. Sharp, Mrs. Georgiana Aspling, Thomas Aspling, F. B. Miller, Mrs. Hortense Pradeau, Miss Jennie D'Acheul, and W. Egbert Smith.

Messrs. Aspling and Smith were elected elders, but declined to accept the office. At a congregational meeting held subsequently, Mr. Smith was again elected elder. Having been elder in the church at Savannah, Missouri, he consented to act as elder of this organization until someone else could be found who would accept the office.

At the first meeting of the Presbytery of Montana, held in Helena, June 17th, I was appointed to supply, on alternate Sundays, the church in Helena and the church in Deer Lodge, until other arrangements could be made. This arrangement was kept up until the latter part of September, when Mr. Rommel came to Helena and I moved to Deer Lodge. Episcopal and Presbyterian services were held in the court house alternately, until about January 1, 1873, when Mr. Stoy was transferred by the Bishop to Utah.

About this time Mr. Blackwell, a minister of the M. E. Church, South, came to Deer Lodge, and we occupied the court house as Mr. Stoy and I had done, until near the close of 1873, when some complications arising about the use of the county house, we rented the Odd Fellows' Hall for religious services.

From the fall of 1872 to August, 1874, I preached at the penitentiary on those Sundays that I did not preach in the town and held a Sunday-school there every Sunday afternoon, being assisted by some ladies, one from one of the Protestant churches, and one from the Catholic church. I

then had to give up the work at the penitentiary on account of my health. But the Sunday-school was kept up some time longer by church members. These services seemed to be highly appreciated by the prisoners who, with but few exceptions, entered heartily into the services.

Of course it had been our intention from the first to build a house of worship as soon as practicable and we talked up the subject whenever the opportunity offered. In the spring of 1873, Judge W. D. Dance broke the ice by offering \$150 to start with. Several others then offered sums in different amounts. Early in August of this year Mrs. Thomas Aspling and Mrs. Robert Kelley started out with a subscription paper and in one day canvassed the town getting nearly \$2,000 subscribed toward the building. That was a pretty good start.

A building committee was appointed and soon a lot was purchased and contracts let for material, and for enclosing the building. The contractor was slow, however, and by March 1, 1874, had just enough of the framing and roofing done to enable a big wind storm to blow it over, at a cost of \$500 to the congregation. However, the work was promptly taken up again and within the next three months the house was safely enclosed and the last dollar of the subscription paid out.

All the inside work was yet to be done and not a dollar was in sight. It was exceedingly difficult to raise any more money by subscription, for Deer Lodge was not in a very prosperous condition, at the time. The ladies set to work in earnest. They managed to get up two or three concerts, give entertainments, prepared and served dinners and suppers, and devised other ways to raise money. I wrote to everyone I could think of back east who, I thought, would be likely to help us with money. Some of these letters secured small amounts. At last we scraped together

enough to justify the building committee in letting the contract for the plastering.

Right here it might be of interest to those who live in this latter day to learn something about the cost of building at that time. There were 500 yards of plastering. The contract was let at ninety-five cents a yard. Just as the contractor had begun to put on the plaster, it suddenly turned cold. For about two weeks the thermometer was down below fifty below zero every night and during the day did not get as high as ten degrees below zero. Two large stoves were set up in the church. The plaster was put on and allowed to freeze dry, and it was a good job. The plaster is there yet thirty years after it was done and not a break in it. There was not a piece of timber in the building that cost less than \$40.00 per thousand and from that price to \$90.00 per thousand. Not a nail was driven that cost less than 12½ cents per pound and when it became necessary to buy nails in the winter or spring, the cost was 25 cents per pound.

On February 21, 1875, the first service was held in the new church, the first Presbyterian church erected in Montana.

The Presbytery of Montana was to hold its annual meeting in Deer Lodge, April 16th of this year. At that time there were only three ministers in the Presbytery. Messrs. Crittenden and Rommel were expected in Deer Lodge on the evening of the 15th. Accordingly they left Helena on the coach on the morning of that date (Thursday). They rode eleven miles to the breakfast station and from that place to Deer Lodge walked and shoveled snow. They arrived in Deer Lodge on Saturday evening at eight o'clock, and let me say incidentally that the stage company made no reduction in the fare, ten cents per mile, and did not pay the passengers a cent for their work. The next morning communion services were held, Mr. Crittenden preaching the sermon. In the evening the church was dedicated, Mr.



Rommel preaching and Mr. Crittenden making the dedicatory prayer.

During the summer there was an epidemic of matrimony in Deer Lodge and I among the rest became affected with the disease. On July 27th, I married Mrs Fannie Irvine, daughter of Major J. F. Forbis, of Helena. She became a most helpful assistant in my work both in Deer Lodge and Butte.

During the summer and fall of this year came the first great quartz excitement at Butte. Quite a number of the members and supporters of our church at Deer Lodge moved to the new camp.

April 12, 1876, at the request of several Presbyterians, I organized a church at Missoula with ten members, Mr. Ferd Kennett, Elder.

It was in March, 1876, that I made my first visit to Butte. As there was no resident minister in Butte, it was arranged that the Presbyterians, Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal and Methodist Episcopal, South, churches should each hold services once a month in Butte until another arrangement should be desired.

From this time until I moved to Butte, the history of the church in Deer Lodge can be given in a few sentences. The town began to decline with the quartz excitement in Butte in 1875. It continued to decline until the College of Montana, undertaken by the Presbyterians, was well under way in 1883. Until that time the members received into the church just about equalled the numbers of those that moved away.

(Before continuing Mr. Russel's Narrative we will insert a few facts pertaining to the later history of the Deer Lodge church, which are furnished by Mr. Thomas W. Catlin, who has acted as the clerk of the session for over 25 years.

Mr. Catlin and Mr. Thomas Aspling were ordained to the eldership of the church, December 18, 1881, and still hold that office. Mr. Catlin being 76 years old and Mr. Aspling 86.



A Chinese Sunday-school was organized in 1886 and continued until 1899. During this time 54 scholars were enrolled, some of them attending nearly the whole of that time. The number of teachers at different times was in all 75—one to each pupil. Three of the Chinamen united with the church.

The annex of the church was erected in 1894 and the manse in 1890.

Mr. Catlin writes: "We do not care to have our report show that eighteen of our church members have been in the penitentiary, but it is a fact that eighteen convicts have been received as members on profession of faith, the result of services held in the penitentiary by our ministers. You can exercise your own judgment as to including this item in our history, or not. We are not very proud of it, though several of these convicts asked for letters of dismissal when they were discharged from the Pen." During the past thirty-three years there have been 255 additions to the membership, and only eighteen deaths; the present membership is sixty.)

Soon after I began to hold regular services in Butte the work increased so that I had to make from one to four trips a month, instead of one. The distance between the two places is forty miles. It was more convenient for me to make the trips for the most part in my buggy, as I could then chose my own time, day or night, for traveling, and not be compelled to go by coach time.

On these trips I used to pick up the first person I overtook walking. In nearly every instance the person was some poor fellow who had served his term in jail for some misdemeanor and was "footing it" back to Butte. Deer Lodge was the county seat at that time. This little act of civility on my part, without any thought of the consequences, gave me a hold on that part of the population and on the saloon men and gamblers that lasted for many years after I had

given up preaching. These men themselves sometimes attended my services and their wives and children in many instances became regular attendants at our church and Sunday-school. In many instances the wives united with our own or some other church and the children of many of these families are now substantial members of some church in Butte, or in some other place to which they have moved.

My first service in Butte was held in a little log school-house in the middle of the block where the Library Building now stands. It seemed a long distance out of the way. I think the nearest house was a livery stable where the Mantle Block now stands. But the school-house was full at the morning service and standing room was scarce in the evening. In the midst of the sermon in the evening one of the lamps fell down from its fastenings and the oil of course took fire. There was no stampede as might have been expected. Two or three men whipped out the flames with their hats and in two or three minutes the preacher was proceeding as though nothing had happened.

For several months there was no public hall in Butte and services were held in such places as could be found. The school-house could not hold the congregations and besides it was considered too far out of the way. Unfinished store-rooms were our most frequent meeting places. One Sunday I bought the privilege of preaching in an unfinished room where the Hirbour Block now stands from a man who had fixed it up for a series of minstrel shows. The rent was twenty dollars for the Sunday. I had rented the room the month before from the owner of the house for ten dollars, but the difference was this. in the first instance it was the bare room in an unfinished building, no windows, no doors, the workmen's benches and tools in the room; in the second instance there was a stage set up in one end of the room, decorated with red and white muslin curtains, and seats of rough boards set across boxes and kegs ready for

use. But both times the sermons were short and so was lessened the danger of the hearers going to sleep and falling to the floor.

About this time Fred Loeber put up a board house where the California Brewery now stands and called it "Loeber's Hall." It would hold comfortably four or five hundred people. It was a much needed improvement. Here the chief magistrate of the camp dispensed justice and here balls, parties, shows, entertainments, religious services were held. In the course of a year or two he found it more profitable to rent it for a saloon and the parties and preachers had to change their quarters to the upper floor of the brick building that had succeeded the little log school-house. The partitions had not been put in, so we had a room capable of holding about 250 or 300 people. The walls were not plastered, and the nine or ten oil lamps gave out just about light enough to enable the people to see how to get around without falling over one another. When singing time came the men would take candles out of their pockets, light them and so throw light on the hymns. And they sang with their voices as well as with their spirits. It is good yet to remember how they enjoyed the singing, for we sang only the good old hymns upon which we had all been raised.

In the spring of 1879, the Mountain View Methodist Church building was so far finished that we could hold services there, and the several denominations attended as they had been doing in the other places where services were held. The building had been enclosed and plastered but the windows were not yet in. Instead of glass, muslin was tacked over the openings, and whitewashed to obstruct somewhat the too free passage of air and dust through the room. The Methodists had not as yet a resident pastor and when one of the other ministers failed to keep his appointment I preached, so that the regular services were kept up all of the time.

On May 12, 1878, I organized the First Presbyterian







THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF BUTTE.  
Rev. Eiko J. Groeneveld, D. D. Mrs. Loretta V. Groeneveld.  
The Church Building.



ELDERS OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF BUTTE.

- |                         |                            |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Prof. N. R. Leonard. | 4. George Raff.            |
| 2. John W. Passmore.    | 5. Jesse R. Wharton.       |
| 3. Robert T. Brasier.   | 6. Alexander R. Patterson. |



Church in Butte with thirteen members. Messrs. Robert Allan and James A. Pack were elected elders and were ordained and installed the same day.

In May, 1879, following an order of the Presbytery, I moved my family to Butte. In the following September, our church began holding regular services every Sunday in the Good Templars' Hall, a log building, where the present hall now stands.

October 4th, our Ladies Aid Society was organized.

In March, 1880, the Presbyterian Sunday-school was organized.

In the summer of 1880, ground was broken for the erection of a Presbyterian Church building on four lots which had been purchased on the corner of Broadway and Idaho streets. On December 26th, we held our first service in the basement of the new church. Lack of funds prevented the completion of the new building, and it was not until December 25, 1881, that we were able to hold services in the main audience room. Even then the building was not completed. From that time for three years we had to struggle with debt. But the congregation and membership increased.

As the town grew the work also increased on my hands and under the strain my health failed, until I was completely broken down, and my physician, after a very plain talk with me, told me that I must quit work at once, or I would be dead in a few weeks. Accordingly, I resigned in February, 1884. Until November of this year, only occasional services were held in the church, when Rev. Frederick W. Flint came and supplied the church until September, 1885. Rev. D. J. McMillan, D. D., then supplied the pulpit for a year. From February, 1887, to May, 1887, Rev. Lyman E. Hanna preached to the congregation. Rev. L. M. Schofield of Stockton, California, was then called to be pastor. He came, but was not installed. He remained from May to December, 1887.



Then in May of this year Rev. E. J. Groeneveld, D. D., at that time pastor in Deer Lodge, was called to be pastor. He has remained here until now and has built the church up until it is the largest of our denomination in Montana.

### THE COLLEGE OF MONTANA.

By a Former Professor.

The alliance of the Christian Church in all her best ages and branches with higher education has been close and mutually beneficial. The Presbyterian Church has special affinities for learning and the spread of knowledge among the people. She "educates by necessity as an instinctive law of self-preservation." Wide spread wisdom and knowledge are essential to Presbyterian growth and perpetuity. Everywhere it has done a lasting work in planting schools, academies and colleges. Presbyterians are always and under all circumstances educators and the eager promoters of educational institutions.

Early in the history of Montana, the need of a school of higher education was felt by those who were affiliated with the Presbyterian Church. During the meeting of the Presbytery of Montana in Helena, August 19, 1882, the following resolution was adopted:

"Resolved, that the Presbytery authorize the Rev. Messrs. D. J. McMillan, E. J. Groeneveld, and J. R. Russel, to negotiate for and, if expedient, buy the "Montana Collegiate Institute," in Deer Lodge for the Presbytery of Montana. This Institute was a school at Deer Lodge, which owed its existence primarily, two or three years before this date, to the untiring efforts and generous gifts of citizens of the Territory, among whom may be mentioned Mr. E. H. Irvine, Hon. Conrad Kohrs, Hon. A. H. Mitchell, L. J. Sharp, Esq., Gov. S. T. Hauser, Mr. S. E. Larabie and Hon. W. A. Clark. A substantial and suitable building had been erected and the school was opened in September, 1878, being the first institution of higher learning in the Territory. This school





THE CAMPUS AND BUILDINGS OF THE COLLEGE OF MONTANA.

1. North Hall—Boarding department in basement; college parlors and music rooms on first floor; rooms for forty girls on second and third floors. 2. Heating and Lighting Plant—Built by the students. 3. Trask Hall—Recitation rooms. 4. South Hall—Print shop and electrical engineering in basement; college office and recitation rooms on first floor; rooms for forty boys on second and third floors.

was non-sectarian. But soon the sentiment began to be felt—and the Hon. Hiram Knowles was perhaps the first person to voice it—that it would accrue greatly to the advantage of the school, if it were placed under the patronage and control of some religious denomination. The first to respond to this sentiment, according to the Third Annual Catalogue of the College of Montana, published in 1885, was the Presbytery of Montana, which appointed the above-mentioned committee to correspond with the trustees of the institution, with the view of putting it upon such a basis.

A conference between this committee and the Board of Trustees of “The Montana Collegiate Institute” resulted in a conveyance, August 23, 1882, of the entire property to the committee of the Presbytery. A debt of about \$6,000 hung over the property, which Mr. Alanson Trask of Brooklyn, N. Y., a legatee of the estate of Frederick Marquand, very generously removed. Mr. Trask happened to pass through Montana and his attention was called to this enterprise by Rev. E. J. Groeneveld, and when the case was fully laid before him, and the facts stated, he quickly paid the debt, and presented the property, free of all encumbrance, to the Presbytery of Montana.

But his benefactions did not cease with this. He made other rich gifts to the struggling institution during the early years of its existence, and among the rest paid the salary of the first president for three years. The new Board of Trustees, appointed by the Presbytery, the Messrs. J. R. Russel, E. J. Groeneveld, D. J. McMillan, S. T. Hauser and J. F. Forbis, incorporated March, 1884, under an act of the Legislature of Montana, approved March 3, 1883, and adopted the name “The College of Montana.” The articles of incorporation placed the college under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church in the United States and provide that “any vacancy, that may occur by death, resignation, or by such manner as may be provided in the By-laws of this



Corporation, shall be filled by the remaining Trustees, but any choice by them shall be subject to the approval and confirmation of that Synod of said Presbyterian Church, within whose bounds the said College of Montana may be situated." It was also provided in these articles, that the "particular character of the institution shall be that of a college for the instruction of young men and women in literature, in arts, in the sciences, and all branches of learning, that may be embraced in and requisite for a liberal education."

The school was opened under the new auspices, September 10, 1883, and conducted with varying success, and in the midst of many difficulties until June 8, 1900, when it was closed. From the beginning the college grew rapidly in the favor and confidence of the public, until at one time it occupied a recognized position among the best educational institutions in the west.

However, after the Territory of Montana had been admitted into the Union as a state, and five state institutions of various nature and grade had sprung up, the patronage began to decrease, and as the income of the school was dependent entirely upon tuition and the generosity of friends, and as the school had secured no permanent endowment funds whatever, it was impossible to maintain its standing among the other schools of the state and its temporary close was decided upon by the Trustees. During the year 1899-1900, it was conducted as a Young Ladies' Seminary, but even this change could not avert the impending disaster.

During the seventeen years of its existence, the school had four presidents: Rev. D. J. McMillan, 1882-1890; Rev. James Reid, 1890-1894; Rev. George F. Danforth, 1894-5; Rev. A. B. Martin, 1895-1900. At times the institution reached a high state of efficiency. At one time the faculty numbered fifteen persons, some of whom are well known in their respective lines, and are to-day among the best



THE COLLEGE OF MONTANA AT DEER LODGE.

The Faculty of 1887:

- |                              |                                     |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Prof. Frank N. Notestein. | 6. Prof. Theodore Brantly.          |
| 2. Miss Mary B. Hill.*       | 7. Miss Lois Reat.                  |
| 3. Prof. F. D. Kelsey.*      | 8. Miss Kate Calvin.                |
| 4. Miss Lizzie Woolfolk.     | 9. Prof. Frank W. Traphagen.        |
| 5. Miss Lena Vaughn.         | 10. Pres. Duncan J. McMillan, D. D. |

President James Reid, D. D.

President Albert B. Martin.

\*Deceased.



in the teaching force of the state elsewhere. The highest number of pupils enrolled was 160. Many of the students graduated with honor, and are found everywhere in professional and business life. The "School of Mines" department was for several years the only institution of its kind in the state, and graduates and students are to-day among the leaders, as civil and mining engineers, metallurgists and superintendents in the west.

The school made a noble record while it lived, and many of its early promoters and friends are confident that its eclipse will be only temporary. When the school closed in 1900, it did so without any indebtedness whatever. Its buildings and equipment constitute an admirable plant for an educational institution, to be conducted apart from and in addition to the schools of learning provided by the state. A philanthropist, a lover of the best interests of his race and country, could find no better investment for permanent good, than the endowment of this institution. Efforts are now being made to this end, and it is hoped that they will succeed. There are many reasons why a Christian college in Montana should live and prosper. The Christian college originally set the standard of American education and has maintained it ever since. No investment of the philanthropist promises such returns, as a well endowed Christian institution.

The college buildings at Deer Lodge were leased and a private school was conducted for about two years. In July, 1906, the school was turned over to the Trustees of the College of Montana, and is again being conducted by them. Pledges amounting to \$65,000 toward an endowment fund of \$100,000 have been secured, and the outlook for its completion is most promising. High grade preparatory and full college courses will be offered next year.

The College is strictly non-sectarian in its requirements for admission and in its courses of study.



(While reading the proof of this history, word comes from Prof. L. T. Eaton, President of The College of Montana: "Our \$100,000.00 endowment is raised. We have already made plans to raise \$150,000.00 more this year, \$50,000.00 of which is to be used for buildings." G. E.)

### RECOLLECTIONS OF MONTANA.

By Rev. Milton L. Cook, the Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Missoula from May 7, 1877 to April, 1882.

In May, 1877, I took the stage at Franklin, Idaho, then the terminus of the Utah and Northern R. R. After a ride

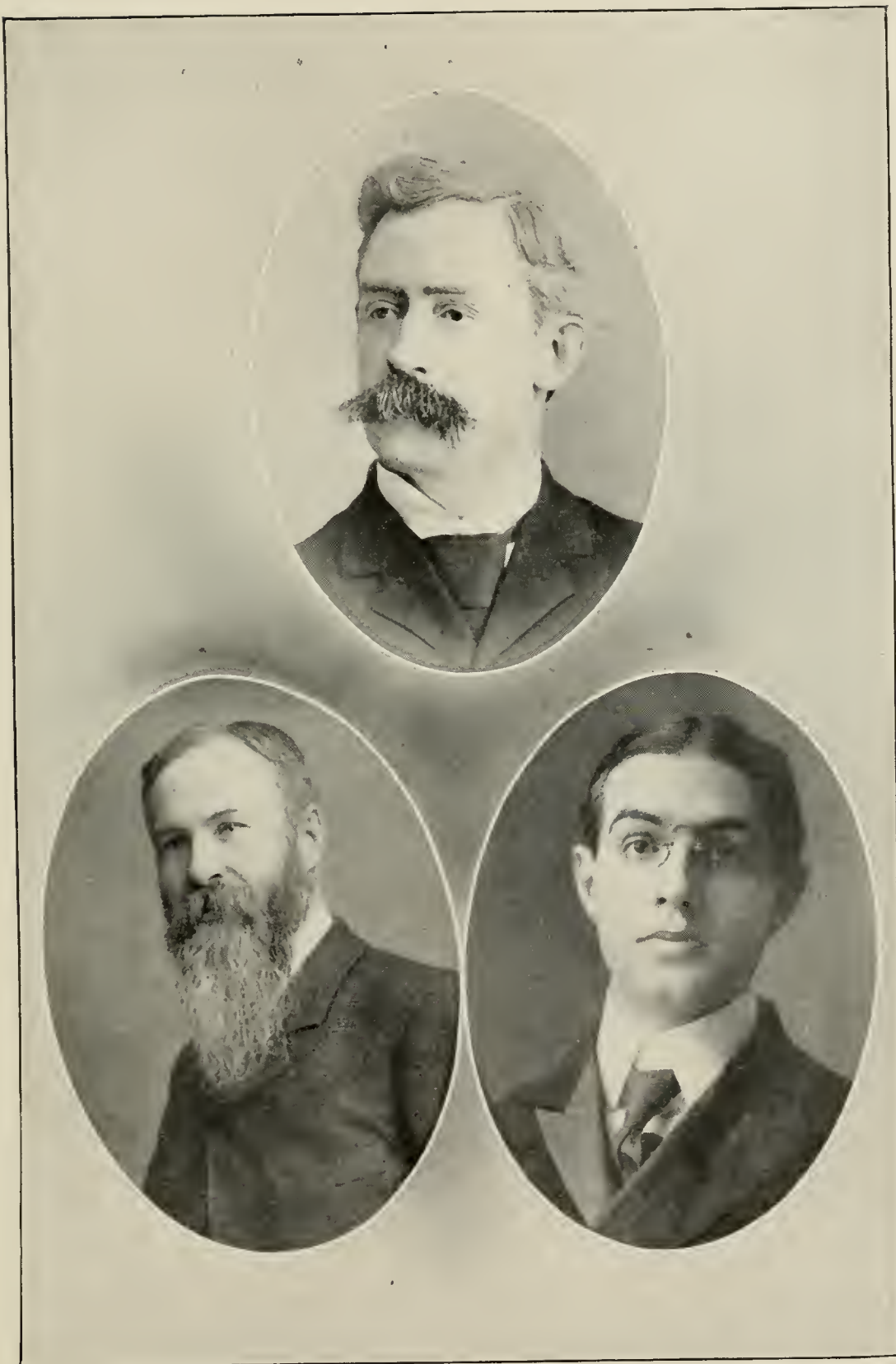


THE MISSOULA PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AND MANSE.

of five days I arrived in Helena. Three days more brought me to Missoula, Thursday, May 24th, just before sunset.

After the long ride and close shut-in canons, the valley opening out in the glow of the setting sun seemed wonderfully beautiful to me. I went at once to Kennedy's Hotel and that was my home for some time. My first sermon in Missoula was, "Christ the light of the world," on May 27th.

At Deer Lodge, I met David Carson and family, coming



THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF MISSOULA.

Rev. Hugh Lamont.\*

Rev. Milton L. Cook.

Rev. Walter Hays.

\*Deceased June 28, 1904.



from the east to superintend the Hope Mine at Philipsburg. The family were earnest christians of the Presbyterian faith. Having no services, they asked me to come and preach for them, which I did once each month during my first year in Missoula. We established a Sabbath-school there with Dr. Bowie for Superintendent. I saw some wild times



THE PHILIPSBURG PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

there. One Sabbath while we were holding services Ben Deginhash shot and killed Brouco Sam. It was while in Philipsburg that we heard of the battle of the Big Hole and knew of the death of Captain Logan, Lientenant English and others.

June 3, 1877, we organized a Sunday-school at Missoula with Ferd Kennett as superintendent, and thirty-three were present.



For a time Mrs. Thomas Andrews and D. F. Simons were the principal singers in our choir on Sunday.

June 19, the officers and men to establish Fort Missoula came into town.

Dr. R. A. Wells and wife came to the Bitter Root Valley in July, 1877. Their family was a help to our church.

In July the Nez Perces Indians came through the valley



THE PHILIPSBURG MANSE.

and the whole region was terrorized, and the citizens of Bitter Root Valley were nearly all gathered into three forts. Fort Owen and sod forts at Corvallis and Skalkaho. I went to the camp called Fort Fizzle, in the Lo Lo Canyon to meet the Indians and was on guard one morning when we expected the Indians, July the 25th and also the 26th.

In August we began weekly singing at the house of Ferd Kennett with Moody and Sanky "Gospel Hymns." This was continued for some time.

August 3d we had our first preparatory service with eight present. Communion on the fifth, at which time Mr. Ken-

nett was ordained as elder. There were present only six communicants.

The first meeting of Presbytery I attended was at Helena, October 5th. Rev. Lyman Crittenden preached the opening sermon. I was received at that meeting into the Presbytery of Montana. I think there were only three ministers of the Presbytery present to receive us at that time.

November 4th, we had our next Communion. At that time we had our first baptism, the infant son of our elder Kennett.

On February, 1878, elder Kennett and I went on horseback to Deer Lodge, to attend a meeting of Presbytery. I was chosen Moderator at that time.

The first person received into the Missoula church on profession of faith was James Wood, aged nearly 70 years. My first wedding was at Philipsburg at the home of Mr. John Caplice. William Bradshaw and Margaret Sullivan were the happy couple.

After the first year I preached in the Bitter Root Valley once a month at Carlton, Stevensville, Corvallis, Skalkaho, Etna, Victor and occasionally at other points.

May 9, 1880, I organized the Presbyterian church at Stevensville, and ordained N. B. Liter, elder.

December 8, 1881, we organized the Presbyterian church at Skalkaho, now Grantsdale, C. T. Lathrop, elder.

In February, I went to Welksville, then a wild town, and preached and looked over the ground; found a town of 300 men and only one woman, five saloons. There met with W. H. Durdorff, the only christian in the camp, and even he had no Bible. He afterwards became a minister. He had but recently given himself to God when I was there and his life wonderfully helped the preaching of the word. In a number of places I was permitted to preach the first sermon ever heard in the place.

In 1878, I was chosen commissioner to the General As-

sembly at Pittsburg, Pa., and on the way was delegate to the Synod of Colorado, meeting in Denver. In 1882, was commissioner to the General Assembly at Springfield, Illinois.

I spent five years at the beginning of my ministry in Montana and they were happy years and full of work.

(In the above recollections Brother Cook seems to have forgotten his going to Presbytery in 1879, but as his own account is embalmed in Dr. Jackson's Scrap Book, it does not much matter. He wrote. "I have just been to Presbytery! and had a long tedious trip in a severe snow-storm. Was eight hours going ten miles in the coach. Lost our way many times in the blinding storm, without road, fences, or trees to guide us. One thinks very fast when wandering several hours in the mountains without seeing any familiar object, knowing that we were lost, without food or fire, and the team worn out, and one horse down, and refusing a long time to rise. We tried it on this trip and know.

When Presbytery costs us \$50 and days of weariness, we appreciate it. We feel that it is good to take a brother minister by the hand at least once a year. We studied and reasoned together about our plans of work—how the little handful could reach the most men and do the most good. We sent Brother Russel to Butte; made Hewitt Prebyterial Missionary; elected Hewitt Commissioner to the General Assembly. We asked the Board to help pay the expenses of the man who should supply the pulpit at Helena and advised that church to make the next man they chose "pastor." For we own with sorrow that we have no "installed pastors" in Montana. In 1878, he wrote: "One evening I was called upon to visit a man supposed to be dying. He was raised in Texas, and has been on the frontier all his life. Just before his sickness he had bought a Testament, and found that he was a sinner, but that He was merciful. He told me his life of sin. Before leaving we prayed to-





THE SESSION OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF MISSOURI.

1. Nathaniel S. Little.
2. Slemmons L. Dunham.
3. Ferd Kennett.
4. Rev. Ernest W. Wright.
5. William Jamieson.





gether. I think that if anyone could have heard that prayer they must have believed that the man had faith. The language was equal to any of Bret Harte's, or Mark Twain's, as he asked in the strong western way for pardon and peace, for stronger faith and more light. Tears came to my eyes, and I came home through the frosty night feeling that it was good to walk a mile to see such faith, and hear such a prayer.'')

## EARLY HISTORY OF THE CHURCHES OF THE BITTER ROOT VALLEY.

By Rev. Edwin M. Ellis.

1. STEVENSVILLE.—I reached Stevensville in October, 1884. Rev. George M. Fisher of Missoula took me up the valley in his buggy, there being no railroad there at the time. I found at Stevensville that a Presbyterian church had been organized on May 9, 1880, in the hall over the Missoula Mercantile Company's store, then Eddy and Raymond's, I think. Rev. J. L. Henning preached the sermon. Rev. M. L. Cook, who had visited Stevensville and other valley points from Missoula for more than a year, assisted Rev. Henning. The church was organized with 12 members, N. B. Liter, elder.

In December, 1882, Rev. George M. Fisher came to Missoula and preached at Stevensville and other valley points once a month.

On my arrival there was but a thin shadow of a church, or organization then existing in Stevensville, most of the members had gone. We began services in the hall over the new school-house. Late in December, 1884, or early in January, 1885, Brother Wilder Nutting, a Methodist, and I held protracted meetings for eight weeks, during which 30 or 35 professed Christ,, nearly all of them united with our church. On January 25th, 1885, Dr. R. A. Wells, W. D. Cummings, and James Simpson were ordained as Elders;

three Trustees, the same persons, perhaps, were elected about the same time.

The Sunday-school was organized as a Union School, and was held in the school-house for a time and afterwards was held in the M. E. Church, South, though it may have been in the church from the first.

Lots were soon secured for a church building, but no further efforts were made to build until 1889. The church was dedicated in 1890, about July. Before dedication all debts were paid or provided for with 75 cents in the treasury. However, after a sermon by the Rev. James Reid of Deer Lodge, the congregation gladly subscribed enough money to get a good bell. I resigned in the fall of 1891, and took up the work of Sabbath-school Missionary, at the request of the Presbytery of Montana.

2. CORVALLIS.—In connection with the work at Stevensville, I preached at Corvallis once or twice a month. Early in December, 1884, Rev. Geo. M. Fisher and I held a series of meetings for a week or ten days there, which resulted in organizing the First Presbyterian Church of Corvallis, with 13 members. J. W. Popham, M. M. Lockwood and John F. Simpson were ordained as elders, December 14, 1884.

Soon after this organization steps were taken to build a church, the first Presbyterian church building in the valley. Money was scarce and the so-called "Bitter Root turns" were frequently made; that is, wheat, oats, hay, labor and lumber, were given in payment of subscriptions. The building cost very close to \$2,700.00 before everything was paid for.

Presbytery met November, 1886, in the new and yet unfinished church and dedicated it free of debt, by then subscribing about \$50.00. Dr. D. J. McMillan, of Deer Lodge, solicited the contributions, telling the congregation that a fine lunch was ready and waiting in a neighborhood building, but under lock and key, until the debt should be pro-



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2

3

4

WORKERS IN THE BITTER ROOT VALLEY.

1. Rev. William Cobleigh.
2. Rev. Jesse C. Wilson.

3. Rev. Edwin M. Ellis.
4. The Stevensville Church.





vided for. In a very few minutes the needed sum was raised, much to the joy of all concerned. This was on Sunday morning, and on that night, or perhaps on Monday night, the children gave many dimes with which to secure a pulpit Bible and other pulpit supplies. Those dimes were collected in a beautiful glass jug given to me by a little boy in Millville, N. J., by the name of Bennie Rumbf, a lovely little fellow, who wanted it filled with dimes for some good purpose out here in Montana. I think more than \$17.00 were thus collected.

Soon after this, sometime in 1887, Rev. William Cobleigh came to Montana. The pastor in Missoula found him and arrangements were made for him to work at Corvallis and Grantsdale.

During the building of the Corvallis church, our Presbyterian Missionary, Rev. E. P. Linnell, secured the services of Jesse C. Wilson, a young theological student, whose health had failed, to assist me in the work. Brother Wilson had been working as a sheep herder, around Miles City, and, he worked at other things also, until his health had so improved as to admit of his doing some preaching again. He had a fine Christian spirit and made many friends and was a great help to me in those strenuous days of church building.

(Before going to Corvallis Mr. Wilson preached at Great Falls where the church had just been organized. After assisting Mr. Ellis he preached for six months at Wickes and Boulder. After finishing his studies he spent eight years as a Foreign Missionary in South America.)

3. SKALKAHO AND GRANTSDALE.—The Skalkaho church on Skalkaho Creek was a well nigh vanished quantity when I went to the Bitter Root Valley in October, 1884. There were but two lady members at that time and the church was disbanded by Presbytery February 7, 1885, and the two members were transferred to the roll of the Corvallis church.

We started a Sunday-school, however, in the school-house and preached there once a month. But the Sabbath-school was of a very intermittent character; sometimes it "went" and sometimes it didn't "went."

The Bitter Root railroad had reached, or was to reach, the Skalkaho creek very soon. A man by the name of H. H. Grant had come to the valley with a few thousand dollars who laid out a townsite and called it Grantsdale, on the opposite side of the creek from the old school-house. On March 18, 1887, I organized the Grantsdale church in the old Skalkaho school-house with nine members, David Shearer, elder. Mr. Grant gave lots and a liberal subscription and a church building was soon under way and was dedicated free of debt in November, 1887. Rev. William Cobleigh preached the sermon and began regular work there about that time.

Little Bennie Rumbf's glass money jug did good service at this dedication also, into which the children dropped \$8.50.

The Sabbath-school was organized about this time, or the Sabbath-school was transferred from the old Skalkaho school-house. It was rather uphill work for the school. It was re-organized in 1890 by Rev. J. R. Russel and by myself on November 1, 1891, soon after I began Sunday-school missionary work. Rev. H. A. Bradford was present and took charge of the work here about that time.

4. VICTOR.—Revs. M. L. Cook and George M. Fisher had preached at Victor before I came to Montana. When I came on the ground there were three or four members of the Stevensville church living at Victor. I had monthly appointments there. The services were held in an old shack of a school-house, which was generally well filled. The settlers came in freight wagons and on horse back for miles around, and their teams and saddle horses made quite a display as they were hitched along the fence, which took







THE HAMILTON PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

1. The Church and Manse.
2. Rev. Joseph E. Burkhart.
3. Mrs. M. J. King-Price (charter member).
4. Mrs. Jessie Robertson (charter member).

me back to the New England Sabbaths of my boyhood. There were in town in those days one dwelling house, one small store, a blacksmith shop and the school-house.

The Sabbath-school was soon organized, late in 1884, or spring of 1885. The Sabbath-school flourished nicely and was largely attended by old and young.

After holding a protracted meeting in February, 1886, I organized the First Presbyterian Church of Victor, March 5, 1886, with 12 members. M. M. Williams, elder.

After Brother Cobleigh went to Corvallis and Grantsdale, I confined my work to Stevensville and Victor, preaching also at Carlton once a month in the M. E. Church and occasionally at Eight Mile, Burnt Fork and Etna, continuing this work until October, 1891.

5. HAMILTON.—I think that Hamilton was laid out in 1890. By October, 1891, it was a very small village, located between Corvallis and Grantsdale, on an open prairie over which I had ridden many times, little thinking that there would be the site of the largest city of the valley. I visited the place for the first time in October, 1891, as Sabbath-school missionary. The public school was being held in a vacant restaurant building. We organized the Sabbath-school November 1, 1891, in a hall over a saloon building which I rented at \$2.00 per Sunday. This was the first school that I organized as a Sabbath-school missionary. The children agreed to earn money by bringing in wood, milking cows, rocking the baby and wiping the dishes, to pay the rent of the room. When this became known there was a storm and the restaurant building, used as a school-house, which had been refused before, was speedily opened free to the Sabbath-school. When the school closed we went back to the hall, paying 50 cents per Sunday. Another hall over another saloon next a hotel was offered to us free and here the Sabbath-school met until Dr. Wishard came and assisted me in organizing the First Presbyterian Church

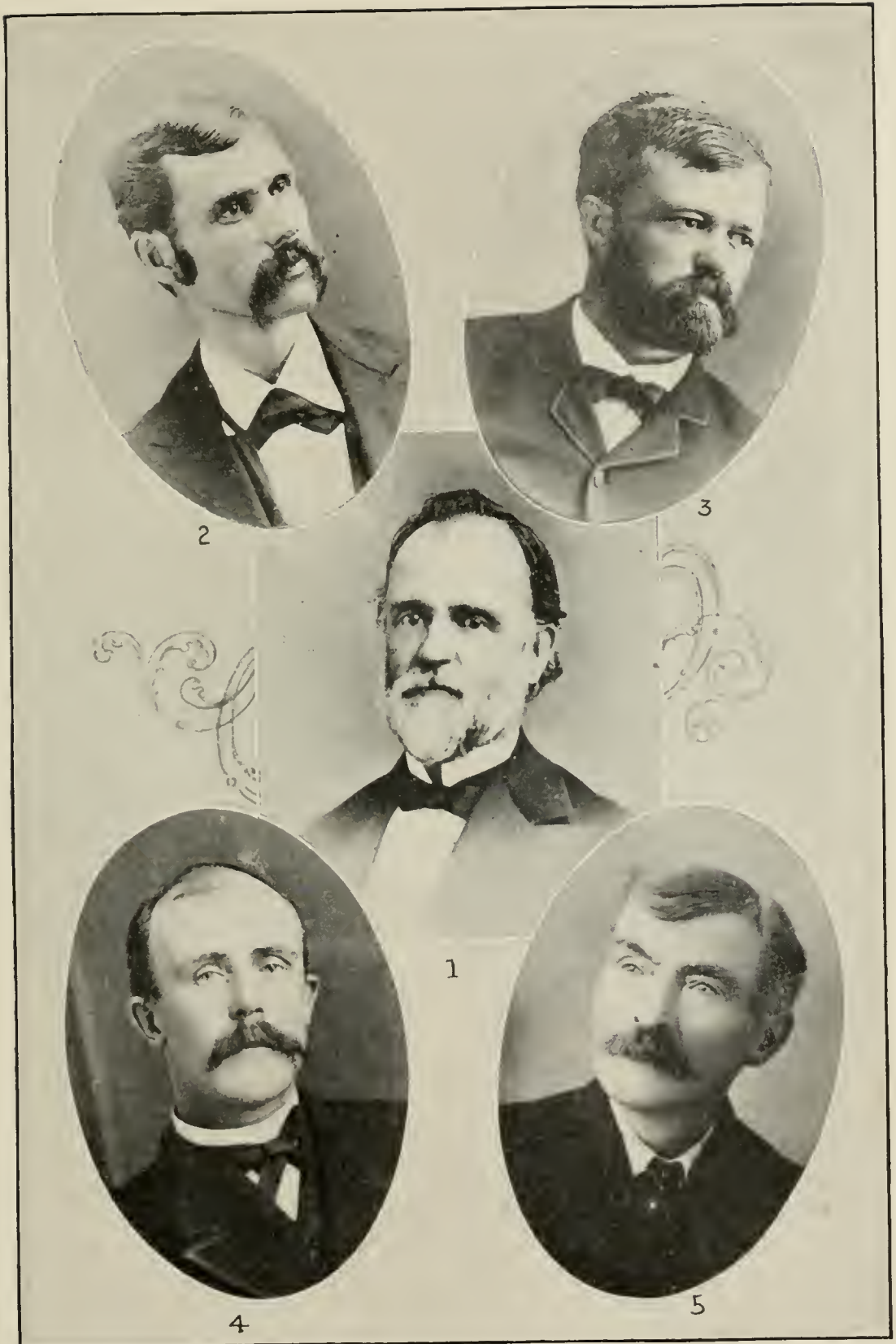
of Hamilton. The date of organization was July 3d, 1892. The Sunday-school was notified again to move on. A carpenter, by the name of Joe McLaren, offered the use of an unfinished store building, open on one side and two ends. Here the Sabbath-school met for some weeks among the shavings, blocks, boards, nail kegs, until a room was finished in the new school-house, where more comfortable quarters were found. This Sabbath-school and church were the first religious organizations in the town. Steps were soon taken to build a church, which was opened for worship in 1892.

## HISTORY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF WICKES.

By Rev. Thomas A. Wickes.

The Presbyterian church of Wickes was organized July 13, 1880, and was exceptional in several particulars and of unusual interest and singularly free from sectarianism. As a body, it simply fell into the hands of the Presbyterian denomination. It was the outcome of the Christian fidelity of one man, William W. Wickes, at that time senior elder in Dr. T. L. Cuyler's church, Brooklyn, N. Y. As president of a mining company he came to this camp, which was named for him by the Alta Montana Co., and remained there for about a year, superintending the construction of the works of the company. He studiously observed the Sabbath and held meetings in a reading room which he himself built at his own expense for the men. Subsequently he brought to the camp his nephew, Rev. Thomas A. Wickes, who had given up the ministry on account of broken health, and had his co-operation in religious work for the men. Their joint labors resulted in awakening an interest in Christian work. Ere long this sentiment resulted in the Christians of the various denominations, represented in the community, taking action, organizing themselves into a church and by unani-





THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF WICKES.

- |                           |                         |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. William W. Wickes.     | 3. Rev. Thomas N. Todd. |
| 2. Rev. Thomas A. Wickes. | 4. Rev. Lyman E. Hanna. |
| 5. Elder Herbert O. Nash. |                         |





mous vote decided that it should be a Presbyterian Church out of regard to William W. Wickes, who had done so much for the moral and religious welfare of the men before his departure.

The denominations represented in this action were Methodist, Congregational, Lutheran, Presbyterian and United Presbyterian, the representation being in the order named.



THE WICKES PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

Rev. T. A. Wickes, who was a Congregational minister, was sent as a delegate to the fall meeting of Presbytery of that year at Butte, to make request for admission to the Presbytery of Montana, which was granted and Mr. Wickes was also received as a member from the Congregational body by letter. He is still a member, being next to Rev. J. R. Russel the oldest member of the Synod of Montana.

The prosperity of the church was in keeping with the usual ups and downs of a mining camp and its end likewise. It was at one time one of the most flourishing

churches in the state, but only for a short while, for after many failures the works were removed to East Helena, and later the mine was closed down, and at last the community drifted away and in 1905 the church was dropped from the roll of the Presbytery and the doors of the building closed.

Rev. W. G. Pollock served the church as its first supply. Rev. T. N. Todd came next and was installed as pastor and while laboring there began mission work at Boulder, a town distant about ten miles, and planted the seed which bore fruit in the establishment of the First Presbyterian church of this county-seat, Boulder. Rev. Lyman E. Hanna followed him and afterwards Rev. Jesse C. Wilson, Rev. John F. Lynn, Rev. C. H. Grube, Rev. S. B. McClelland and Rev. A. P. Haydon.

During the first four years of the history of this church, Rev. T. A. Wickes added his personal services, often as the superintendent of the Sunday-school, and also preaching when the church was without a pastor. The social work carried on through the church accomplished much for the moral and religious good of the entire community which was composed of a few families and scores, sometimes hundreds of homeless men.

At first thought it might be supposed that the Board of Church Erection and Home Missions had unwisely expended money in this camp, but when it is known that during its history of about 25 years, and the most stirring days of the first ten years, that 98 were enrolled on the books, of whom 58 were received on profession of faith; that the Christian faith was most earnestly preached and lived by its members before hundreds of the people; that from this church were scattered over the state these 98 Christians to help support other churches; that among these have been those who have filled the offices of the Sabbath-school superintendent, elder, deacon, and steward, in different churches, it would be impossible to measure the ever-widening influences for good







THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF MILES CITY.

- |                              |                                  |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Rev. Edward M. Calvin.    | 5. Mrs. Helen Strevell-Miles.*** |
| 2. Elder Jason W. Strevell.* | *Deceased Feb. 27, 1903.         |
| 3. Mrs. J. W. Strevell.**    | **Deceased July 11, 1902.        |
| 4. Elder George M. Miles.    | ***Deceased July 11, 1887.       |

accomplished in that church whose doors are now closed and whose bell is now silent. Through these earnest Christians, who were scattered like the sorrowful church of Jerusalem, it was that a greater work might be done through all Montana, in that early day, when to stand as a Christian among the multitudes of godless fortune seekers was as a beacon light in the midst of turbulent breakers. If there is rejoicing in heaven over one sinner that is saved, what must be the measure of joy over 58 added unto the Lord in the brief history of the church?

#### THE EVOLUTION OF A PIONEER CHURCH—MILES CITY.

The first part of this sketch of the Miles City Presbyterian Church is from an article published in the Interior, January 1, 1903, probably written by Rev. Edward McCullough Calvin, pastor of the church from April, 1897 to July 1, 1905.

Into this typical frontier town the Presbyterian Church came as the religious pioneer in January, 1879. An upper room over a Jewish clothing store, with no furniture but a stove, accommodated the first congregation. Nail kegs and boards were used for pews and a small organ was found for the service. A Sunday-school was then organized with Mr. George M. Miles as superintendent. He had recently arrived from Massachusetts to be the civilian clerk of his uncle, General Nelson A. Miles, in command at Fort Keogh, located here. Mr. Miles is still the superintendent,—the only one the school has ever cared to have. No one could be more faithful and devoted. After serving for 25 years he was presented with a silver loving cup.

The church organization was effected October 20th, 1880, with 13 members, by Rev. W. L. Austin, who supplied the pulpit until May of the following year. Judge J. W. Strevell and Mr. M. G. Maples were elected as the first elders. Judge Strevell served in this office until his death in 1903. He always took an active part in church work, frequently

represented the church in the meetings of Presbytery and was thrice a commissioner to the General Assembly.

For 23 years the Miles City Church was an outpost of the Presbyterian Church, being the only Presbyterian organization in a stretch of 582 miles along the main line of the Northern Pacific Railway, from Bozeman, Montana, to Mandan, N. D., until the organization at Billings in 1903.

In 1899 Mrs. J. W. Strevell published a book containing nearly one hundred short religious poems, dedicated "To the Memory of my Beloved Daughter, Helen Strevell Miles." The poem read at the Fifteenth Anniversary of the First Presbyterian Church of Miles City is so closely in sympathy with the subject of pioneer religious work that we will quote it in part.

#### OUR EARLY CHURCH.

On uncongenial soil a tender plant appeared,  
 Born of the night, scarce seen, so small and low,  
 Not by refreshing stream, nor meadow green,  
 But on the desert. Can it live and grow?

Few laborers there were to till the soil,  
 Few toilers who with ceaseless care  
 Must guard its growth, and shield from harmand wrong,  
 Until its leaves of healing rise in air.

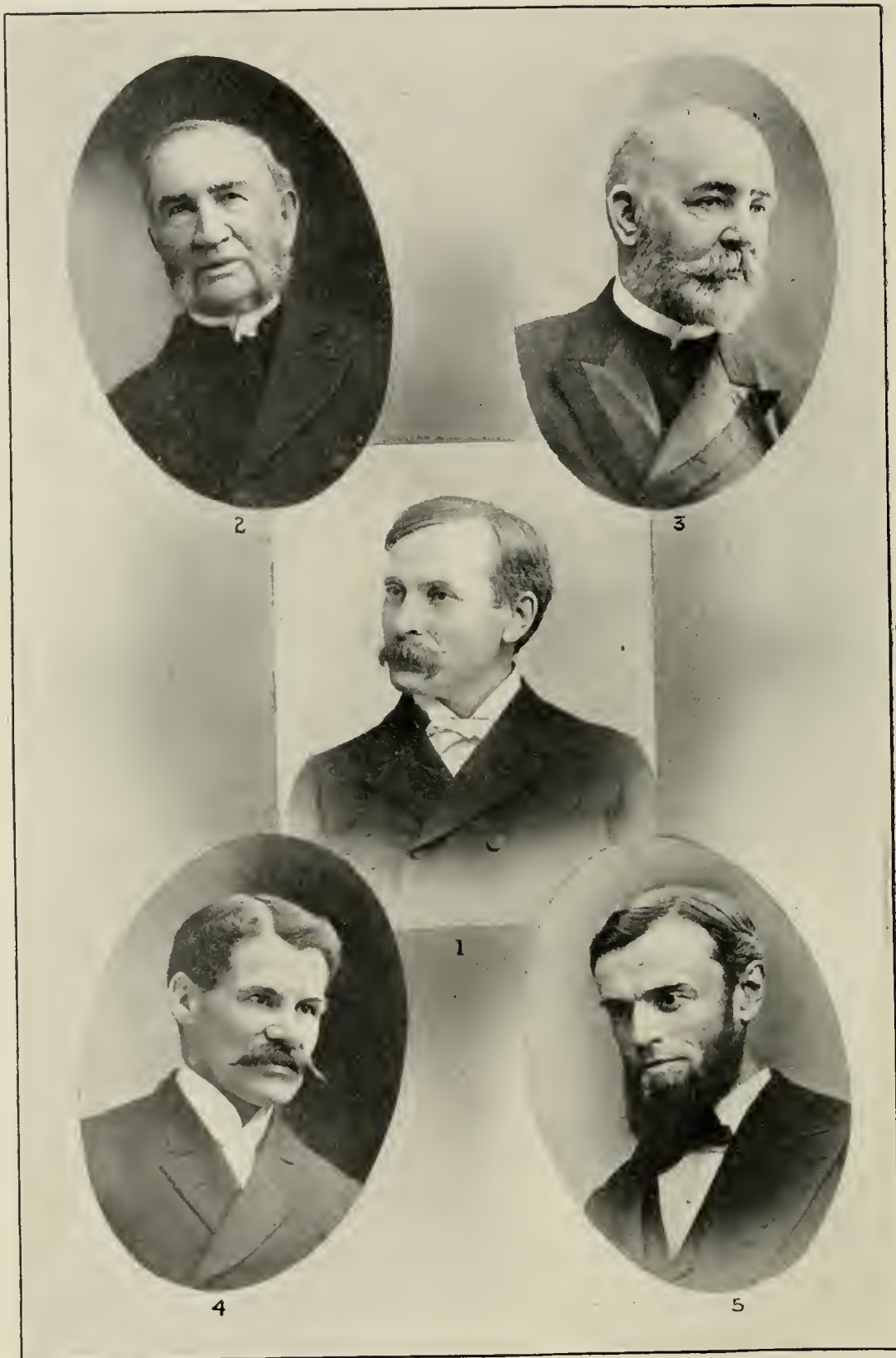
The tender plant has grown a goodly tree,  
 Its branches tending upward toward the sky.  
 A Master hand has planted and will keep,  
 When troubles rise His help is ever nigh.

Our Earthly Church. We love thy sacred walls,  
 We love the memories that cluster round  
 Of some departed, some far hence removed,  
 Of other newer friends, and later found.

Our Father, Helper, Friend, we look to Thee,  
 Spread Thon Thy wings of love our spirits o'er,  
 Destroy the tempter's power and bring us to  
 A glad reunion on the other Shore.







SUPERINTENDENTS OF MISSIONS.

1. Rev. Duncan J. McMillan, D. D.
2. Rev. Samuel E. Wishard, D. D.
3. Rev. Frederick H. Gwynne, D. D.

4. Rev. Chas. F. Richardson.
5. Rev. Edward P. Linnell.\*

\*Deceased July, 1886.

## A FEW NOTES FROM MEMORY.

By Rev. Duncan J. McMillan, D. D.

New York Presbyterian Church, January 30, 1906.

My Dear Brother Edwards:

I have a moment to spare and it has occurred to me that a few notes from memory may help you, or at least be an index.

January, 1881, I visited Dillon, a collection of tents and rough board shanties at the temporary terminus of the Utah Northern Railway, a narrow gauge road that had reached that point a few days before. I preached to a good congregation, visited every family in the village, promised to obtain a minister and organize a church. But before I could get a minister, the Methodists came in and organized. I staid away, (though repeatedly urged to return and organize), until in 1888, I was invited by the Methodist minister to come and organize and help him save the town, then grown to cityhood. I did so. I organized in the Methodist church, September 16, 1888.

From Dillon, January, 1881, I went by sleigh to Glendale. Preached, lectured and visited all the families and found that it was a Baptist community, more of that denomination than all others combined. But the Baptists had no work in Montana and the people of Glendale said, "Send us a minister. We will unite under him." I said, "No. I'll get you a good deep water Baptist." I wrote to their Board and they sent Rev. M. J. Lamb; also Dwight Spencer who went ahead and developed work in the Territory. (The work at Glendale finally merged into the Presbyterian Church of Melrose, which was organized August 16, 1903, with 21 members.)

From Glendale I went by sleigh to Butte, then a roaring mining camp. Russel was there doing grand work. From Butte Russel and I went by sleigh (40 degrees below zero) to Wickes to the meeting of Presbytery. Your Presbyterial

Records will tell you all about that meeting and that church.

I went by sleigh to Helena and Deer Lodge, and on to Missoula, preaching in those churches., Rev. M. L. Cook was then at Missoula. He and I went up the Bitter Root Valley on a preaching tour. We organized a church at Skalkaho school-house, now Grantsdale. I need not write of subsequent visits.

1882. I secured Groeneveld, a Princeton student, for Deer Lodge and Linnell from German Valley, N. J., for Miles City. I visited Miles City, terminus of the Northern Pacific Railway, that summer, stopping at Forsyth and holding the first service. There were but two houses in the town, one of these unfinished. There was no Billings then, nor any sign of a human habitation. The little frontier village of Coulson was flourishing as a stage station and landing. Billings afterwards sprang up like a mushroom.

There was no Livingston, only a ferry and a dug-out. Subsequently I returned to Livingston and placed Rev. L. E. Hanna there. He had begun services and labored but a few weeks when the Congregationalists sent Archibald to that town with instructions to stay at all events. The village was not large enough to justify two churches so much alike, and since the Congregationalists had come to stay, I withdrew our man and gave them the field.

On the first day of this year I was at White Sulphur Springs and organized a church of eight members, B. W. Badger, elder. I visited this field again in 1883.

In February, 1883, I made a perilous voyage to Fort Benton by sleigh,—52 degrees below zero. Was lost all night in the mountain pass; but we got there. Was royally entertained at Mr. Conrad's, father of W. G. and Charlie. The new hotel let us use their dining room for service. Subsequently we were tendered the free use of a store building from a Jewish firm, the most generous help I ever received from anyone, Jew, Gentile, saint or sinner. God bless

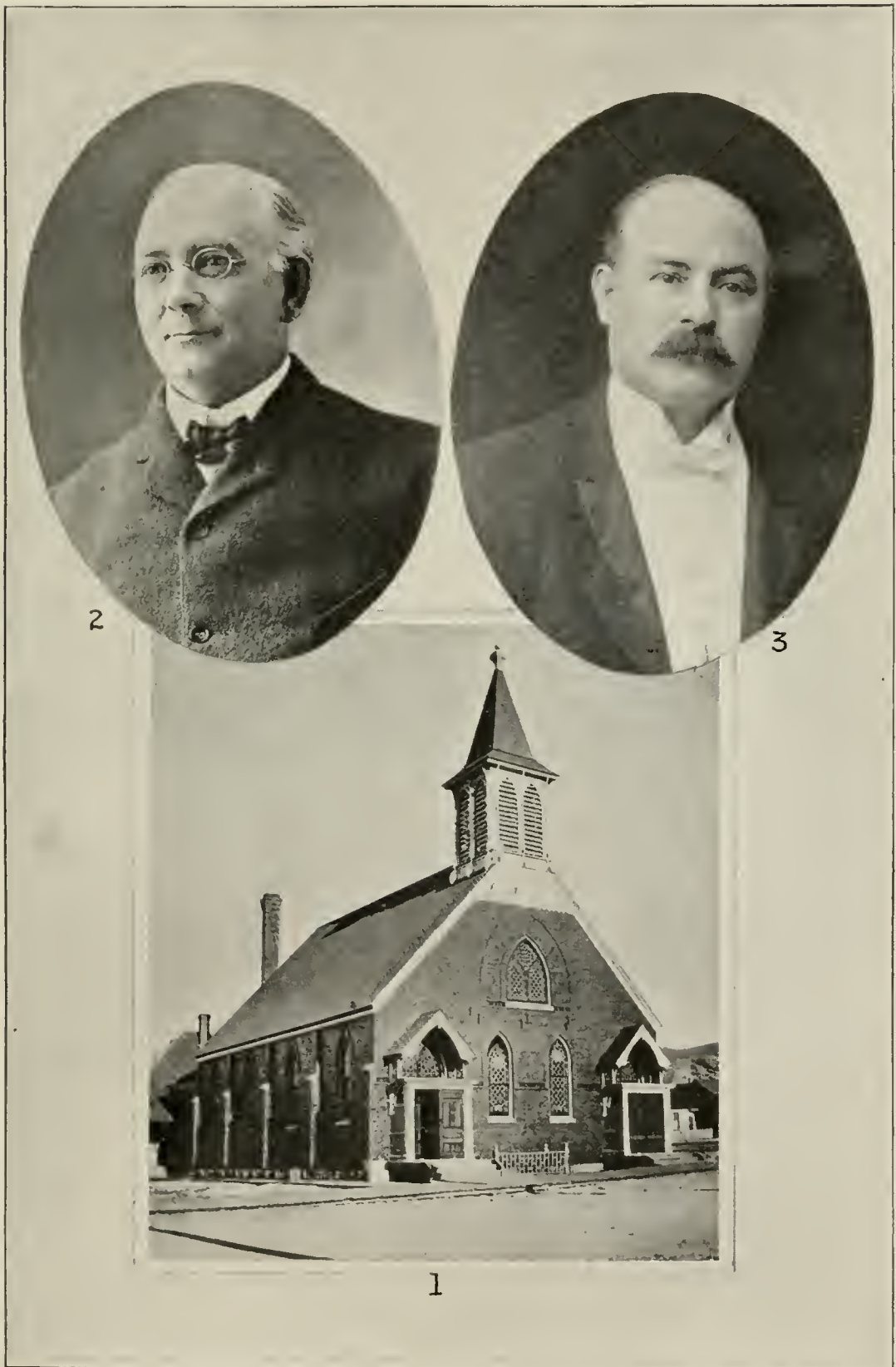






THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF MELROSE.

- |                         |                                 |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. The Church Building. | 3. Elder E. H. Harvey.          |
| 2. Rev. Hugh W. Jones.  | 4. Elder H. H. Townshend, M. D. |
|                         | 5. Elder Adolph Gortemuller.    |



THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF ANACONDA.

1. The Church Building.

2. Rev. George H. Healy.

3. Rev. Harry A. Carnahan.



those noble children of Israel. We organized in that building a young church of bright promise. The ladies got up a fair and festival and made money enough to furnish the room for church purposes, chairs, pulpit, organ, hymn books and all. I spent a week preaching every night previous to the organization, which dates February 19, 1883.

When I visited Montana first in 1881, the Presbytery consisted of six churches with "the three R's", Russel, Rommel and Richards, with the middle "R" gone east to stay. Cook was just come and Wickes had leaned over from the Congregationalists to help out. He became one of the noblest Presbyterians of them all. Rev. W. Scott Stites was temporarily supplying the Helena Church.

One fine Monday, Mr. Russel and I went over from Butte to Anaconda, when that shanty town had come into existence, and held, that evening, the first preaching services ever held in that town. The people gathered in a new unfinished board cottage by the kind invitation of the family who existed there. We might have organized, but I was about relinquishing the Mission Work to attempt the college enterprise. I had recommended Linnell as my successor and I desired him to have the honor of organizing as, at that time, there was no other prospective church for him to organize. When he was appointed, I invited him as my guest to accompany me to Anaconda, which he did, and we organized February 2, 1886.

In 1889, when I was president of the College of Montana, I visited Granite on the invitation of Mr. Thomas Weir, then superintendent of the Granite Mountain Mine. The first sermon was preached in an upper room of a rude board building. A very intelligent congregation was present. Among them six college graduates; one, I remember, from Yale, one from Union College. I do not recall the other colleges represented. After continuing the services for a time, we organized, March 16, 1889, then later erected a



church building, furnished and equipped with organ and hymn books, and then I secured Rev. Arthur C. McMillan for them. Neither the Board of Church Erection nor the Board of Home Missions was called upon for a dollar; it was self-supporting from the first by the wise management and financiering of elder Thomas Weir. At the dedication, July 28th, 1889, we took up a collection for the Board of Church erection to help weak churches to build.

I might indulge in personal reminiscences, if I had the time, but they would not be of so much interest to you in reading as to me in writing. Sleighing, staging, and private conveyance were the only possible means of travel. The times were strenuous, snows deep, winters cold, and prices high. Even after I removed from Salt Lake City to Deer Lodge it cost me \$55 to attend Presbytery at Miles City, at half fare rates. I always felt like taking off my hat to those pioneers who went before me, "the three R's."

Yours,

D. J. McMILLAN.

#### THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF FORT BENTON.

Taking Dr. McMillan's Notes as an "index" we will gather together a few facts as to the work at Fort Benton, which claims to be the oldest permanent settlement in Montana.

I have already called attention on the first pages of this history to the Presbyterian minister who came up the Missouri river in 1857 and held the first Protestant service at the Fort.

In 1872, Dr. Sheldon Jackson returned to the States by the way of the Missouri river through Fort Benton. In writing to the Philadelphia Presbyterian at that time he says of Fort Benton, "It has about 100 inhabitants, besides Indians, half-breeds, and a company of United States Infantry. So far as could be ascertained, no Protestant minister had ever preached in that place, and yet there is an open door. For some months two earnest Christian women

kept up a Sabbath service, their husbands taking turns in reading a printed sermon.”

A Presbyterian Church was organized here by Dr. McMillan in 1883, with nine members.

In the following March, Rev. C. L. Richards removed from Bozeman and took charge of the new church. We will give some of his experiences in his own words:

“A few weeks after the organization I received a letter from Dr. McMillan which decided me to move there. On March 5th, my wife and I left Bozeman, going by the stage to Helena, where we were the guests of Mr. and Mrs. Wilbur F. Sanders. Col. Sanders had shown me much kindness and hospitable courtesy in previous years.

It was a hard winter's ride, especially so for Mrs. Richards. We shall never forget some of its experiences, how the horses and stage were stuck in the middle of a stream, with ice before and behind, nor the long ride over the Bird Tail Divide. The driver entertained us with stories of mishaps to travellers. Very late at night we reached Fort Benton and put up at the hotel. We supposed we might stay there five or six years, but at the end of the third month we quietly packed up and left the town.

A most favorable corner with adjoining lots were for sale and I secured an option on the same and then made a deal to sell three strips off of it for \$500 each. By this I was to get the corner for simply working the deal. But I was obliged to consult too many parties, and so the scheme was disclosed, and the price went up to \$2,000 and I was foiled in my bargain. However, this misfortune was my good fortune in the end. The people came to the services, but everything else was wrong. The expense of living was too much for us. Our account stood an average of one dollar a day for expenses above our salary.

Then the bottom dropped out of the town. Three days after we left Bozeman the locomotive entered it. And soon

it was whistling down the valley. Freight rates took a sudden drop and Helena merchants began to order all their goods of the railway and the upper river traffic was cut off. How fortunate it was that I did not get tied up in a land deal for the church!

The crisis came on a certain Sabbath day. We placed the whole question before the Heavenly Father, asking Him to decide and let us know His will. That very Sabbath afternoon a letter was written asking me if I would accept a call from the Presbyterian Church of Superior, Wisconsin. About ten days later that letter reached us and we were satisfied that it was God's answer when we saw the date and its contents. We finished our third month and left on the steamer Helena for Bismark and the east.

C. L. RICHARDS.

March 8th, 1906, Poynette, Wisconsin."

The Fort Benton church was disbanded in September, 1889. A new organization of sixteen members was effected January 24th, 1904. Since September, 1905, this field has been in the charge of Rev. Charles F. Reed. The congregation worship in the historic old brick school-house, built in 1877, and which in former days has often served as the church home for the people of Fort Benton.

#### THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS.

The records of this church show that: "White Sulphur Springs was visited by Rev. D. J. McMillan, Superintendent of Missions, December 27th, 1881; services were held in Good Templars' Hall on the evenings of December 28, 29, 30 and 31st and on Sabbath morning. January 1st, 1882, the First Presbyterian Church of White Sulphur Springs was organized. Mr. B. W. Badger was chosen elder and was duly ordained. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was celebrated, 14 persons communing."

There was evidently a scarcity of Presbyterian ministers







EARLY WORKERS AT WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS.

- |                            |                             |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Mrs. Almon Spencer.     | 4. Mrs. Joseph E. Hall.     |
| 2. Mrs. Elmer J. Anderson. | 5. Miss Mary Holliday.      |
| 3. Mrs. Max Waterman.      | 6. Hon. James T. Anderson.* |

\*Deceased Dec. 12, 1899.



EARLY WORKERS AT WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS.

- |                                 |                           |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Rev. William E. Catlin.*     | 4. Elder Chas. B. Catlin. |
| 2. Mrs. Emma S. Catlin.**       | 5. James K. Catlin.       |
| 3. Mrs. Mary Catlin-Edwards.*** | 6. John S. Catlin.        |
| . *Deceased March 10, 1903.     | **Deceased Jan. 24, 1901. |
| ***Deceased June 2, 1890.       |                           |



in Montana in those days. This church waited nearly six years before a minister was provided. Rev. T. E. Davis, of New York, state, preached for them during his vacation in the summer of 1886; and was followed in October by Rev. George Edwards, who remained on the field for four years. During this time the Good Templars' Hall in which the church had been organized, had been purchased and transformed into a chapel. This is an historic building.



THE WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS PRESBYTERIAN CHAPEL.

It was originally built at Diamond City in 1867 by "The Union League of America", a political organization of the early days. It passed into the hands of a brewer from whom it was purchased by the Good Templars Lodge of Diamond City, by whom it was moved to White Sulphur Springs in 1880, there being a large emigration from Diamond City to the new county-seat at that time. So before becoming a Presbyterian chapel this building had served for headquarters for league and lodge, a school-house at White Sulphur Springs and a meeting house for religious and secular purposes in both towns. For some of these historical data we are indebted to Mr. Robert N. Sutherlin, editor for many years of the Rocky Mountain Husbandman, at Diamond City, White Sulphur Springs and now at Great Falls.



In 1888, lots were purchased and a manse erected. None of the original members of the church now remain on the roll. The last to depart were, "Mr. Baker W. Badger and Fannie, his wife", to use the language of the record book. Judge Badger had served the church as an elder for 25 years, when he removed to California in December, 1905. He was the active leader in Sabbath-school work during the whole of this period, generally serving as superintendent.

Judge Badger writes under date of March, 1906: "We came to White Sulphur Springs, August 29, 1880. Bishop Tuttle preached the first Sabbath. We organized the Sunday-school on the second Sunday after our arrival. We met in the public school-house which is now the Methodist parsonage. Afterwards we held services in the Good Templars' Hall, next in the court-house. It was called a Union Sunday-school. We had preaching at long intervals, only occurring when a preacher strayed our way. We had "Bible Readings" of our own in place of preaching services. Snow fell heavily over our valley in the winter of '80 and '81, and drifts used to form in front of the school-house, so that it was a usual sight that first winter for the undersigned to be seen heading his Sunday-school party with a shovel on his shoulder, to cut a channel through the drift to the school-house door."

In the spring of 1882, Rev. William E. Catlin and family came to White Sulphur Springs, having been preceded two years by the elder sons. This family was always active in the religious life of the town. Mr. Catlin was a Congregational minister and retained his ecclesiastical connection with the Congregational Association of Montana, but he and his family placed their church membership in the Presbyterian Church. For twenty years he was pastor-at-large in the community, always answering to the call in case of wedding, funeral or vacant pulpit. During the four years that the writer was pastor at White Sulphur Springs,





THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF GREAT FALLS.

1. The Church of 1887.

2. The Church of 1892.

3. The Church of 1903.



CHARTER MEMBERS OF THE GREAT FALLS CHURCH.

- |                              |                           |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. William F. Junkin.        | 3. William P. Beachley.   |
| 2. Mrs. Eliza Junkin.        | 4. Mrs. Kate C. Beachley. |
| 5. Mrs. Margaret Sutherland. |                           |





Father Catlin sat in the pulpit with him and assisted in the services. Mr. Charles B. Catlin is now a ruling elder in the church, having served since 1894.

Among the pleasant memories that come to mind in connection with my first charge as a home missionary are: the wedding at the Catlin ranch, on April 4, 1889, followed by a house warming at the manse, at which the village band furnished the music; a silver wedding at the home of Mr. Max Waterman in 1890; Father and Mother Catlin's golden wedding on April 8, 1900, and the special services at the chapel in 1890, conducted by Dr. Wishard, assisted by elder E. Sharpe and Jesse Armitage, of Helena, at the conclusion of which several of the young people confessed Christ by uniting with the church.

#### THE WORK OF REV. EDWARD PAYSON LINNELL.

Mr. Linnell was the second pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Miles City, serving from June, 1882, to December, 1885. He then succeeded Rev. D. J. McMillan, D. D., as Presbyterian Missionary. After seven months of active service, he died in the harness, July, 1886. During this time he organized the church at Boulder, December 27, 1885, and the church at Anaconda, as related by Dr. McMillan. After a trip through the Judith Basin, in the spring of 1886, he visited the theological seminaries to secure young men for new fields. I was then a senior in Princeton Seminary. In April, Mr. Linnell called at my room with map in hand and unfolded to me the possibilities of missionary work in Montana, and especially in the Judith Basin.

From Rev. T. V. Moore, D. D., who for fifteen years served as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Helena, I have received the following account of Mr. Linnell's work in June, 1886, just before his death:

"The trip on which Linnell and I organized the Great Falls Church was his last work, indeed, his last journey. We went in my buggy, drawn by two little (almost dwarf)

mules, formerly the property of X. Biedler, the old Montana Vigilante, which he had apparently left in some livery stable in Helena where they had been taken for their board bill. Helena was then Great Falls' nearest railroad point. One of us drove whilst the other wielded a large switch during the greater portion of the day in order to assist the locomotion. We worked our passage.

We first went to Great Falls where we spent a few days, including a Sunday, and organized the church, as you know. The city was then a straggling assemblage of frame houses and of tents which served as houses to many. We not only searched the town for Presbyterians, but drove out into the country for some.

Thence we went to Benton where we hunted up the scattered remnants of the former church, but did not see our way to re-organize it. Thence we drove up the river to Chouteau where we had a service on Sunday, but organized no church. We then drove back to Helena by way of Florence and the Sun River. On this journey we were lost one night near Florence and spent the whole night on the prairie, Linnell in the buggy and I on a pile of poles, without food or drink, and tormented by mosquitoes. Poor fellow! he suffered sometimes terrible agony during the journey, especially after eating, or drinking cold water. I had sometimes to stop the buggy on the prairie and he would get out and literally roll on the ground, doubled up with the intense pain.

When we reached Helena, the doctor informed me that Linnell was suffering with cancer of the stomach. I think he did not tell Linnell so plainly his opinion. From Helena he went to Bozeman, intending, I think, to actively continue his work. He never got any further, but died shortly afterwards at Stevenson's parsonage, two weeks after our return. So that the organization of the Great Falls church was his last official work."







PASTORS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF BOULDER.

1. Rev. Thomas A. Wickes.
2. Rev. John F. Lynn.\*
3. Rev. C. Howard Grube.

4. Rev. Ambrose P. Haydon.
  5. Rev. Samuel B. McClelland.
- \*Deceased 1896.

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## THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF BOULDER.

By Rev. T. A. Wickes.

The First Presbyterian Church of Boulder is entitled to a place among the pioneer churches of Montana, because of the fact that regular preaching was begun as long ago as 1881, when the county-seat was but a very small village and existed chiefly as a junction on the famous old stage lines managed by Gilmer, Salsbury and Co. The overland stages from Salt Lake City here met the coaches from the new and promising camp of Butte and carried their passengers on to Helena, the capital.

Rev. T. N. Todd was then the pastor of the church at Wickes and was able to give one Sunday a month to this place, but simply as a missionary enterprise, never thinking that it was possible that a church should be formed here, so limited was the population. Subsequently it became the county-seat, on account principally of its central location, and for that reason it began to build up. In about 1885, A. S. Kellogg and V. A. Cook with their families removed from Wickes to this place and added so much strength to this mission that it was thought wise to organize a church. Rev. L. E. Hanna who was at this time supplying the church at Wickes, consulted with Rev. E. P. Linnell of Miles City, who was acting as Presbyterial Missionary and together they counseled with the little band of 13 Christians with the result that upon December 27, 1885, the First Presbyterian Church of Boulder was organized, with Thomas Hall, formerly of the M. E. Church, South, and A. S. Kellogg, former elder of the Wickes church, as elders of this new organization.

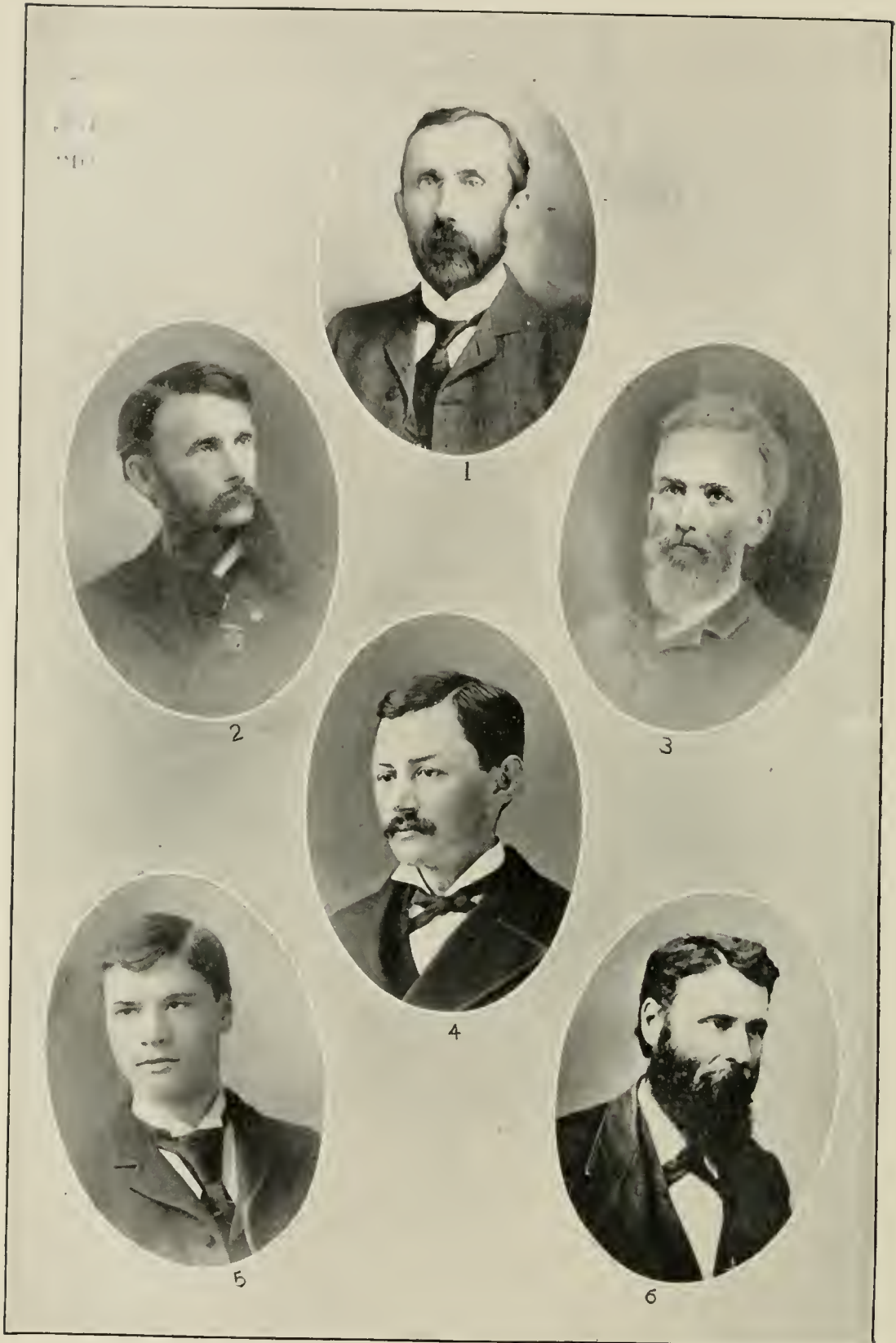
No growth was made in the church for about two years, for while these were the palmiest days of Boulder there was so much zeal manifested in the organization of all denominations that several of the members were dismissed to form these new bodies; but in November of the year 1886, the

writer, Rev. T. A. Wickes, and family located in Boulder. In the meantime Mr. Hanna had resigned his field in Wickes and his place was supplied by Rev. Jesse C. Wilson, who labored only six months at these two places and was the last minister for these two churches to reside in Wickes, owing to the fact that that camp was rapidly being depopulated. After this the writer, who was engaged in business which took him away from home much of the time, supplied the pulpit in Boulder occasionally, expecting that a man would be found ere long to supply both fields again. It was soon found, however, that unless some vigorous work was done the Boulder church would disintegrate and be absorbed and it became simply a question of the survival of the fittest.

A special meeting of the members was held at the house of V. A. Cook and after a general discussion it was enthusiastically determined to go forward with the full purpose to succeed. The writer made an offer that he would act as pastor of the church on condition that he should receive a salary of \$600 a year, and this he would place in the bank to be used as a building fund. It was decided to organize a ladies' society for the temporal aid of the church, a denomination Sunday-school and also a weekly prayer meeting. This was done and they have continued in force to the present day. This was really the active birthday of the church. A thriving Sunday-school, a spiritual prayer meeting, and a very active ladies' aid society under the direction of the acting pastor, soon resulted in much good. A lot was bought, and a building fund started which was materially strengthened by the addition of the pastor's monthly salary of \$50. In five years from this time a church and bell costing \$8,000 was dedicated free of debt, a membership of about 50 was enrolled, with a Sunday-school of about 100. The writer then resigned, feeling that it was no longer necessary to tax his feeble strength to carry the work and the people called the Rev. J. F. Lynn, who was afterwards







ELDERS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF BOULDER.

1. J. Harold Murphy.
2. Edgar I. Fletcher.
3. Vining A. Cook.\*

\*Deceased Sept. 4, 1892.

4. Henry Dildine.\*\*

5. William W. Wickes.

6. Albert S. Kellogg.\*\*\*

\*\*Deceased Nov. 22, 1890.

\*\*\*Deceased 1897.

installed and remained with the church about five years, leaving the church on account of broken health and dying about a year after.

Rev. C. Howard Grube followed and served the church about the same length of time. During his term of labor with this people, the church celebrated its Fifteenth Anniversary, the writer by request delivering the historical ad-



THE BOULDER PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

dress. In 1902 Mr. Grube resigned and removed to South Dakota but his place was soon filled by Rev. S. B. McClelland who was installed as pastor and remained with this people until the fall of 1905. After an interim of three months, Rev. A. P. Haydon accepted a call from the church and supplied the pulpit until the end of the year 1906.

In every case when the pulpit was vacated the writer was invited to take charge of the work, which he did except in

the last instance, so that the church was never without a supply from the time of its organization. It should be noted further, that before the writer resigned his first charge the church secured a manse valued at \$1,000.

After Rev. Mr. Lynn's pastorate all the succeeding ministers labored under the difficulties that so often occur in our western towns, that of a steady decline in the population of the community. The people have been gradually moving away for years. The Baptist and Methodist churches both withdrew from the town and the others have continually lost from their roll of membership by removals from the town, so that the membership at the present time is not much more than half what it was at one time. This has been discouraging to both people and pastor.

In connection with this work Mr. Lynn began work at Basin which resulted under his labors in the organization of a church there in 1894, which has ever since been joined with the Boulder church under the same pastorate. The Boulder church elected to the eldership during its history, Thomas Hall, A. S. Kellogg, V. A. Cook, Henry Dildine, Dr. E. I. Fletcher, J. A. Rightenour, J. H. Murphy and W. W. Wickes. The first named was dismissed to the M. E. Church. Elders Cook, Kellogg, and Dildine have died; elders Rightenour, Fletcher and Wickes have moved away, leaving elder J. H. Murphy still serving the church.

There have been ninety enrolled in the membership of the church, of these 47 have been added on profession of faith and 43 by letter.

There are some features in the history of this church that are of interest: Except in the three months, interim between the departure of Mr. McClland and the coming of Mr. Haydon, the pulpit has never been vacant. The church has sustained an exceptionally good choir during all these years; it has had also one of the most interesting and liberally contributing Ladies' Aid Societies in the state, and all







PASTORS OF THE GREAT FALLS CHURCH.

1. Jesse C. Wilson.  
2. John Reid, Jr.

3. Robert M. Ramsey.  
4. Ezra P. Gibney.

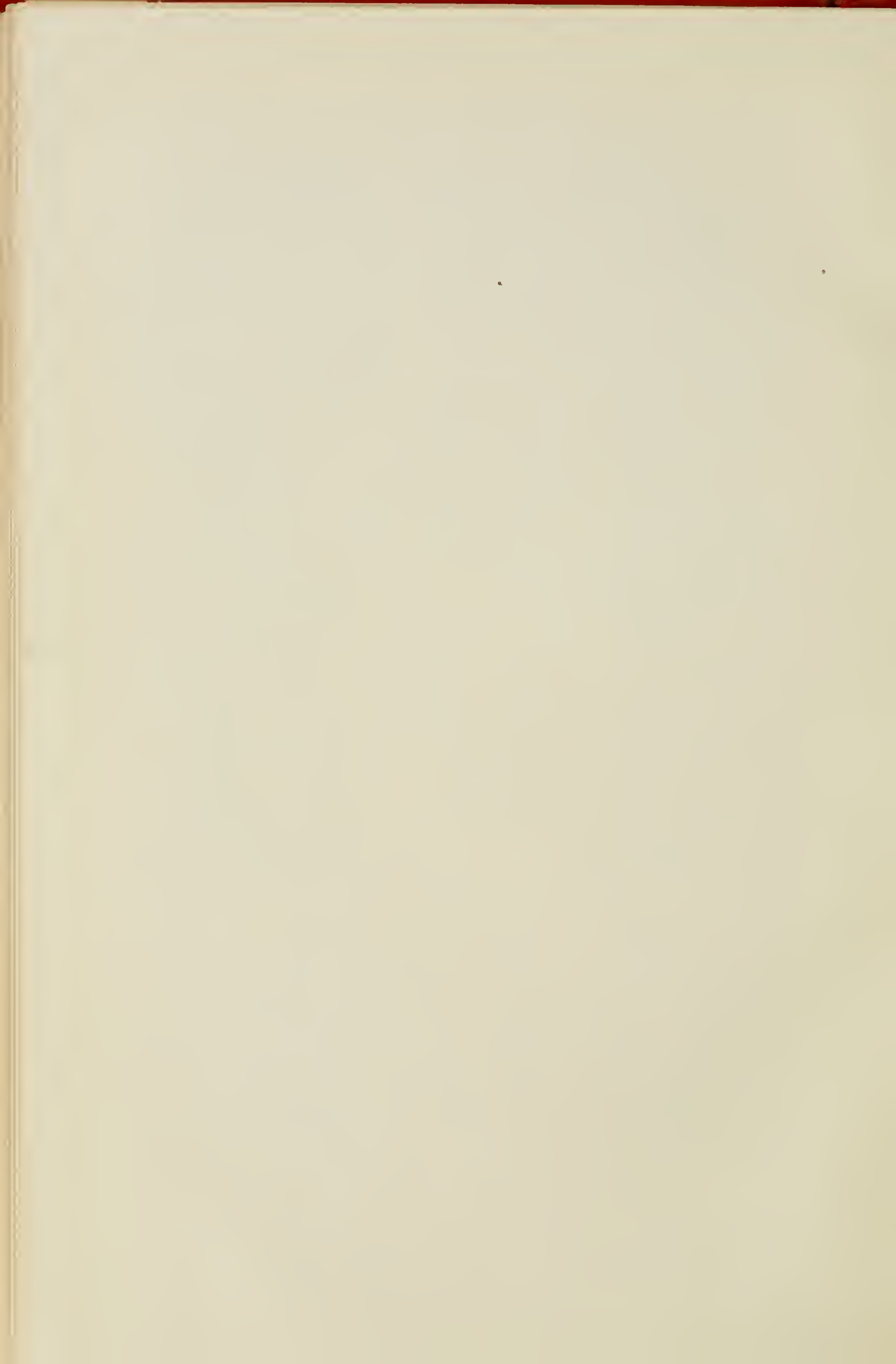
5. Fountain R. Farrand.



OFFICERS OF THE GREAT FALLS CHURCH, 1906.

- |                            |                       |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. George K. Gilchrist.    | 7. David Duncan.*     |
| 2. Harry C. Ewing.         | 8. Robert Russell.    |
| 3. Richard H. Wright.      | 9. Willard H. Leard.  |
| 4. Chas. T. Sweeney, M. D. | 10. Samuel Stevenson. |
| 5. Wm. Refior.             | 11. John Jardine.     |
| 6. Geo. E. Foster.         | 12. Edgar L. Bishop.  |

\*Deceased June 22, 1906.



the contributions to the various Boards of the church have been above the average. And while the church has not grown stronger with its years, it has sent many consecrated workers out into all parts of the state to continue the work which they so well learned to do here.

### THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN GREAT FALLS.

On July 1, 1903, at 7:45 p. m., the corner-stone of the present Presbyterian church building of Great Falls was laid. Mrs. W. P. Beachley, one of the 13 charter members of the church, assisted by Mr. David Duncan, acting for the Board of Trustees, laid the stone in the presence of a large audience, the pastors of the neighboring churches taking part. On this occasion the history of the church was read by Elder Harry C. Ewing. The following brief sketch is taken chiefly from Mr. Ewing's history.

It was not until June, 1886, that any active measures were taken to establish a Presbyterian Church in this young town. In that month Rev. Edward Payson Linnell, Superintendent of Presbyterian Missions in Montana, and Rev. Thomas Verner Moore, D.D., pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Helena, visited Great Falls and in the little school-house, which stood, and still stands, on Third Avenue and Fifth Street South, organized the First Presbyterian Church of Great Falls with thirteen covenant members. Of the original 13 members who met that day in the little school-house, there are still on the roll of the church: Mr. and Mrs. W. P. Beachley, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Junkin, Mr. and Mrs. James A. Walker. (Mrs. Walker has since died.) James A. Walker, Frank Gehring and John R. Ross were ordained as elders October 10, 1886.

As soon as the church was organized, Rev. Jesse C. Wilson, a licentiate, was sent to occupy the field and pulpit. After two months he was transferred to the Bitter Root Valley to assist Mr. Ellis. He was succeeded by Rev. John Reid,



Jr., who supplied the pulpit for seven years, until June, 1893. Under Mr. Reid, the first church building was erected in 1887; the manse in 1888; and the church was enlarged in 1892. The new stone church, begun in 1901, when Rev. Charles F. Richardson was pastor and who resigned to become Superintendent of Missions, was dedicated January 25, 1903, during the pastorate of Rev. Fountain R. Farrand.



THE FIRST SCHOOL HOUSE OF GREAT FALLS.

This old school house was built in 1885. The first school teacher, 1885-6, was Rev. James Largent of the Christian Church. He also conducted the first regular preaching services in Great Falls and superintended the first Sabbath School. He died at Augusta, Montana, June 11, 1894.

The present pastor, Rev. Ezra P. Giboney took charge of the church in September, 1904. Rev. Robert M. Ramsey and Rev. Frederick H. Gwynne, D. D. have also served as pastors for about two years each. The church reports a membership of 348. The Sabbath-school membership is about 500, including the Boston Heights and Grace Mission schools, which for some years have been carried on in connection with the Great Falls church.





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SOME PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES OF NORTHERN MONTANA.

- |                           |                          |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. The Culbertson Church. | 3. The Havre Church.     |
| 2. The Harlem Church.     | 4. The Whitefish Church. |
| 5. The Havre Manse.       |                          |

## A FEW HISTORICAL FACTS.

By Rev. Samuel E. Wishard, D. D., Superintendent of Missions.

I can only state a few facts without embellishment.

1. I went into Montana in the spring of 1890 and made my headquarters most of the season at Deer Lodge.

2. In company with yourself (Rev. George Edwards), in July, 1890, we organized the church at Lewistown, preaching five sermons during the visit. (Dr. Wishard preached



THE IMMANUEL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF BUTTE.

five sermons at Lewistown, and twelve more on this trip, at Ubet, Martinsdale, and White Sulphur Springs, a different sermon every night.)

3. In October, 1891, I organized the church at Philipsburg, preaching 13 sermons.

4. In November, 1891, in company with John Reid, Jr., we organized a church at Neihart, after preaching four sermons. (This church was disbanded September, 1898.)

5. In July, 1892, the church at Hamilton in the Bitter



Root Valley was organized. Rev. Ellis will give all the information of that valley.

6. In March, 1893, I held a meeting with Rev. I. Newton Roberts in Butte, and after eight sermons we organized the Second Presbyterian Church of Butte, now called the Immanuel.

7. On April 19, 1893, after preaching nine sermons, I organized a church at Havre.

The six churches that I have organized, or assisted in organizing, are Philipsburg, Neihart, Hamilton (Ravalli Co.), Butte Immanuel, Lewistown and Havre.

I closed my work in Montana when you divided your Presbytery into three, and organized your Synod in 1893.

These are the bones, upon which it is not now possible for me to put flesh. I am sorry to disappoint you. But the accumulation of my work makes it impossible for me to do what I would like to do.

#### THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF LEWISTOWN.

On July 16, 1905, the Lewistown Church celebrated the Fifteenth Anniversary of its organization on July 14, 1890. Three of the pastors who had served during this period were present and took part in the services, viz: Rev. George Edwards, Rev. Albert Pfaus and Rev. Henry Quickenden. Rev. Kenneth Brown, who had charge of the church for one year, 1898-99, sent a letter of greeting, as did also Rev. S. E. Wishard, D. D., who with Mr. Edwards organized the church. The papers and addresses of this anniversary occasion were fully reported by the local press and form the foundation of this sketch.

The first Presbyterian minister to visit Lewistown was Rev. E. P. Linnell, in the spring of 1886. Rev. R. M. Stevenson visited Lewistown and White Sulphur Springs in October of the same year in order to choose a field for Rev. George Edwards, who had just finished his studies at Prince-





THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF LEWISTOWN.

1. Rev. Albert Pfaus.
2. Rev. Kenneth Brown.
3. Rev. Henry Quickenden.
4. Elder Wm. C. Cort.

5. William H. Watson.\*
6. Mrs. Maria L. Watson.

\*Deceased Aug. 17, 1894.



CHARTER MEMBERS OF THE LEWISTOWN CHURCH.

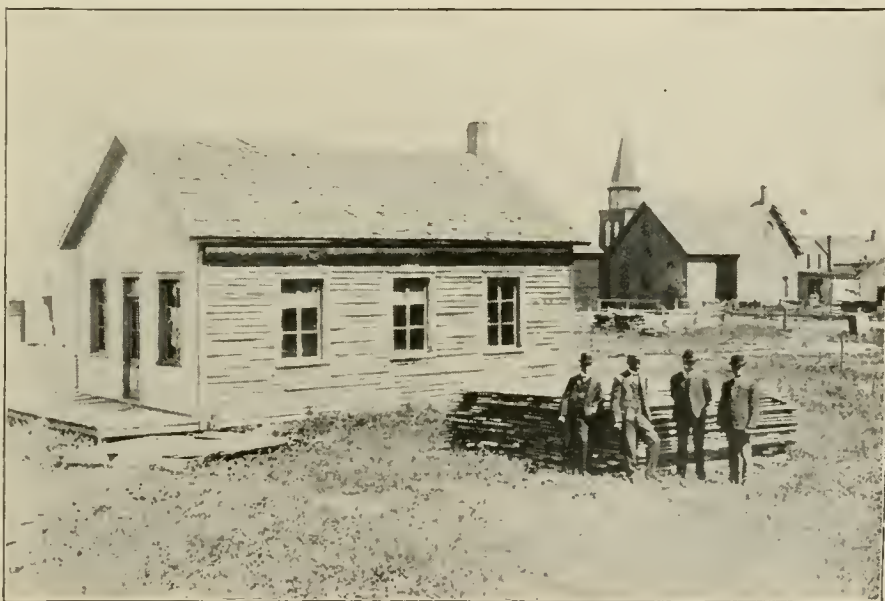
1. Wilbur F. Hanson, M. D.
2. Mrs. Mary L. Hanson.\*
3. Mrs. Malvina L. Stone.\*\*
4. Mrs. Allis E. W. Stafford.

5. John H. Williard, M. D.
  6. Mrs. J. H. Williard.
- \*Deceased Jan. 18, 1901.  
 \*\*Deceased Jan. 15, 1901.





ton, N. J. Mr. Edwards was located at White Sulphur Springs and served that church for four years. In July, 1890, Dr. Wishard and Mr. Edwards organized the church at Lewistown, after holding services for five days in the Methodist church. That fall the church was enrolled by Presbytery with 23 members. Mr. Edwards was invited to take charge of the new field, in fact, it was with that understanding that the organization was effected. Mr. Edwards borrowed of elder S. E. McNair of Utica, a freight outfit, consisting of four white horses, a wagon and trail, with



THE OLD SCHOOL HOUSE AT LEWISTOWN.

This was the first building erected for school purposes in what is now Fergus County. It was built in 1883, Mrs. Winnifred Shipman-Erickson being the first teacher. The first preaching service in Lewistown was held in this building by Rev. Jacob Mills, D. D., of the Methodist Church. Before this the Lewistown public school was held in a log cabin, the teachers in which were Messrs. Edward Brassey, Arthur Maritz and Judge D. A. Meagher, Mr. Brassey being the first public school teacher in what is now Fergus County, in the year 1881-2.

which to move his furniture and library from White Sulphur Springs to Lewistown, a distance of over 100 miles.

Miss Anna D. Edwards, Mr. Edwards' younger sister, was a co-laborer for four years. She was not only the house-keeper, but organist for church and Sabbath-school, teacher of the primary class, the leader of the Christian En-

deavor Society, and the music teacher for the community. For the first year the church agreed to raise \$250 towards the pastor's salary; in April, 1904, the church assumed self-support.

For the first two years services were held in the little old school-house, size 20 ft. by 30 ft. Here the Sabbath-school was organized November 23, 1890 and soon numbered 77 members and five classes.

The manse was built during the winter of 1890-91, at a cost of \$1,000, not counting several hundred dollars worth of donated labor. The church was built the following winter and opened for use February 19, 1893.

#### PIONEER WORK IN THE FLATHEAD VALLEY.

By Rev. George McVey Fisher.

When I was preaching at Missoula in 1886, Rev. E. P. Linnell, our Presbyterial Missionary, visited us. He said to me, "Suppose you go camping next summer into the Flathead Valley and see what the prospects are for missionary work." Mr. Linnell died that year. In September, 1886, my wife and I, who had been married by Mr. Linnell in January of the same year, started for the Flathead, camping by the way. Mrs. Fisher's two younger brothers belonged to the party.

On September 12th, 1886, I preached in the Ashley school-house from the text, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God." This was the first Protestant sermon ever preached in what is now Flathead County. The school-house was made of logs, put up by the neighbors, and designed to be school-house, court-house, dance-hall and town-hall as well as a church. During this vacation, which lasted one month, I preached at three points, Ashley, Selish and Sheldon. The next autumn I visited the valley several times and was asked to come and organize churches at Ashley and Selish. It was December 1, 1887, when I moved into a 14x20 cabin



THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AND MANSE AT LEWISTOWN.  
Miss Anna D. Edwards.









1. Rev. George McVey Fisher.  
2. Mrs. G. M. Fisher and baby Crystal  
in 1887.

3. The Fisher cabin and "Gospel  
Horse," which did missionary  
work in the Flathead for fifteen  
years.

with a mud roof and greasy walls within a half mile of Ashley. Our family then consisted of my wife, myself and one baby. We came to the Flathead in a covered wagon. The ground was covered with snow. At night we slept in Indian cabins on our own bed spread on the floor. Even with this precaution we did not escape scot free.

During our second winter in the Flathead a literary society was organized which met at Ashley. One of the principal features of the society proved to be the debate. I became an active member which proved to be a help to me as a minister. I was always prepared to take part, especially in the debate, on which I was often appointed when some of the regular debaters were absent. At first I do not believe that I was wanted as a member. There were quite a number of pronounced unbelievers in the community and several of their leaders were members of the society. As soon as they realized that I was interested in other questions besides religion the almost impassible gulf between us was bridged, and many of the unbelievers were seen in my audience on the Sabbath.

Our cabin was within one-half mile of Ashley. I was compelled to purchase a ranch, as it was impossible to rent or build upon any person's land, for nearly every cabin in the valley was at that time holding down 160 acres. To let even a preacher in was to put a temptation within his reach to lay claim to the ranch. I purchased a man's improvements on 160 acres and filed a pre-emption claim on the same. We had but one mail per week; and that was "red letter day" in truth for us.

The school-house proved to be too cold in winter, so I announced that I would be at the school-house the next day to stop the cracks between the logs with paper and rags. I had enough able-bodied men to assist me so that it became a "chinking bee" instead of a task. Many times we were tempted to leave the valley but because of the rising gener-



ation and our Sunday-schools we held on. Many of the adults were not only emigrants but the children of emigrants; to build up a church from these seemed almost hopeless. One man in Ashley said, "We have had no good luck since the preacher came; I don't know any other reason for it." And he was in dead earnest. In a mining camp the preacher visited them and billed the town for preaching services. A miner stopped and read the poster and then exclaimed, "Boys, the camp won't be worth a d—n, the preacher's come before we struck bedrock."

I quote from my diary:

April 24, 1887. "Rode on horseback from Ashley to Selish (six miles). Owing to the rain few came to preaching service. Stopped along the way and announced services. Pried open the window of the school-house and started a fire."

January 26, 1890. "Took Mary and the children to Ashley in a hayrack, which was half full of hay, started the fire, rang the bell, and chopped the wood as usual."

I often had a round trip of twenty-four miles on horseback, with two sermons and Sabbath-school. Sometimes went into the store and invited the crowd to come to services. They generally responded.

December 1, 1889. "Went to Fairview school-house on the east side, crossed the river on the ferry boat, making a round trip of twenty-four miles. Mr. Stewart and three children came just as I was leaving. We waited almost an hour, then started home and met four others coming. Could not return as I had an appointment at Ashley in the evening, so announced preaching again in two weeks."

One poor old German woman was always at these services, she understood no English except the words God and Lord Jesus, but she said that she always felt better when she came to church. I did not organize a Presbyterian church in the valley until June 2nd, 1889, which was at Ashley and con-





THE SESSION OF THE KALISPELL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, 1906.

1. Prof. Eugene A. Steere.
2. Rev. Alexander Pringle.
3. George Smith.
4. John D. McGlaughlin.
5. Jacob K. Bottorf.
6. Ernest C. O'Neill.



THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AND MANSE AT KALISPELL.





sisted of seven members. This church was afterwards merged into the First Presbyterian Church of Kalispell, which was organized with 17 members, August 13, 1891. Other points where I had Sabbath-schools or held preaching services are now occupied by the Methodists. I started the work at Brochen, Fairview and Pine Grove, which now have chapels.

I also organized a Presbyterian church at Libby, where we held the first religious services. Ashley, Kalispell and Libby are the only churches I organized in the Flathead Valley.

We once had a genuine Indian scare. In March, 1888, Judge Lynch hung two Indians to a tree on the bank of the Flathead river. At a "T" dance in Tobacco Plains some Indians got drunk and told how the fall before they had killed and burned the bodies of three prospectors on Wolf Creek. A squaw told a white store keeper of the reported crime. Two of the four criminals were hung, one escaped, but was hung afterwards by the sheriff of Missoula County for another murder of a white man on the Flathead Reservation. One of them, a boy of fifteen, turned state's evidence, when promised his liberty. His story was, "The Indians came upon the prospectors when eating dinner and were invited to eat with them, which they did. The guns of the prospectors were leaning against a log. After the meal the Indians came between the white men and their weapons and at once seized them and shot the men and burned their bodies." After this hanging bee it was feared that the Indians on the Reservation would seek revenge upon the isolated Flathead Valley. A report came one Sabbath afternoon through a freighter, whom some Indian boys scared at Dayton Creek, by telling him the Indians were going to kill him. The Indians named him, "The man with the big mouth and the little heart." He mounted one of his horses, leaving his freight, and came with all possible

speed to the valley. The news spread like wild fire and soon wagons and families were seen coming into Ashley from all directions.

The next day seventy armed and mounted men went down to the Reservation to interview the Indians which came very near precipitating a fight. The log school-house was now turned into a lodging house and dance hall. In early days there were but two occasions upon which the people failed to dance,—at a funeral and at church. During the scare every one came to town for safety, except my family and one other. I felt that there was more danger from the accidental discharge of pistols and guns than from Indians.

#### NARRATIVE OF REV. ALEXANDER K. BAIRD, D. D.

My first breath of Montana air was fifty below zero. But I know I cannot compete with our ecclesiastical old-timers in temperature and with this one reference I leave them in possession of that chestnut. Soon the chinook came and not without violence. The high chimney on the kitchen of the Helena manse lost its equilibrium and went through the roof and the doctor was in Honolulu. No, he was not doctored then, only plain T. V. Moore.

There was not a Presbyterian "D. D." in the Territory in those good old days. By the way I believe there was one, who deservedly occupies a high niche among our Presbyterian Pioneers, Rev. D. J. McMillan, D. D.

Rev. Dr. Sheldon Jackson was Presbyterian prospector and overseer from the Big Muddy to the Pacific and from New Mexico to Hudson's Bay Territory. Dr. McMillan was his successor, though I think his parish was not quite so big. He then became founder and president of the College of Montana at Deer Lodge, and also organizer, adviser and preacher in camp and clachan for a hundred miles around, until called to Gotham to supervise the Presbyterian Missions of the nation.



REV. ALEXANDER K. BAIRD, D. D.





The climate of Montana has a harsh side to it. With me, however, it has always been reasonable. My first work, beginning in January, 1888, was to visit all the churches, not a long roll. As they multiplied, my visits continued. By rail and stage, by team and foot, never on horseback, (a lame excuse for a cowboy am I), thousands of miles, over ranges and bench lands, every month of the year, and year after year, and I never really suffered from cold or heat and never was in peril or fear from any storm, blizzard or cloudburst, unless once, when under the pilotage of the father of Presbyterianism in the Judith Basin, Rev. George Edwards, we lost our way and drove hither and thither half of the night, in Egyptian darkness, amid the sound of many waters, debauching at last on the banks of the raging Ross' Fork. But the extent of the disaster was wet theology and no supper. Both doubtless blessings in disguise.

(If that Ross' Fork incident of February, 1888, is to be mentioned, the details should be more accurately recorded. In the midst of an early thaw Dr. Baird and I made a tour of the Judith Basin. Driving from Lewistown to Philbrook we reached the unbridged and bank-full Ross' Fork after sundown. In fact the treacherous stream was beyond its banks and had extemporized an island in the midst of the flood. We drove upon the island without difficulty, but when the doctor heard the rushing torrent that faced us, he showed the white feather for the only time in his life, and said, "This island is good enough for me. I'll camp right here. Go ahead if you want to, you are only an old bachelor, but I have a family back east." Now, it was miles to any ranch behind us, but the light of a cabin shone brightly on the other side, which meant a bed and supper. So Dan and Trueboy faced the angry stream and reached the farther shore, though the hind wheel swung down stream and the water overflowed the bed of the buggy. Then there was nothing to do but to go back through the waters and

pick up the doctor. Together we enjoyed the hospitality of the Lisch family. The doctor was so busy drying out his sermons that he forgets the warm supper and comfortable bed.)

It was my fortune all these years, to make my long exposed trips, just before, or just after, or somewhere, happily, in between, the wild driving storms that occasionally cause suffering and loss, even in favored Montana.

But I came to Montana after the heroic period. My work began at an unfortunate time for making interesting history. Not late enough to be in the swing and swim of the rapid and cheering progress of the past few years, and too late for the glamour of antiquarian research in the pre-historic period. The genuine pioneers and heroes, such as the traditionary Presbyterian minister who came to Fort Benton on the first steamboat and held services there, on to Rev. George Grantham Smith, who labored in Alder Gulch and Bannack, Rev. Dr. Jackson and the "three R's", Russel, Rommel and Richards, and their immediate successors, Wickes, Cook, Linnell, Crittenden, these had all passed away, or retired from the active missionary work in the field or left the Territory. The six churches and three R's which Dr. McMillan found had grown to some fourteen churches and about as many ministers. Revs. Armstrong, Edwards, Stevenson, Reid, Willson, Moore, Ellis, Cobleigh, Lamont, Groeneveld and Fisher, and it may be one or two more. The churches were Miles City, Livingston,—just alive—Bozeman, Hamilton (Gallatin Valley), Helena First, Butte First, Wickes, Boulder, Deer Lodge, Anaconda, Fort Benton, deceased, or rather in a state of trance, now revived and active, Great Falls, White Sulphur Springs, Philbrook, Philipsburg, (I had trouble founding Philipsburg Church, but doubtless it has been born, the evidence is ample), Missoula, Stevensville, Victor and Skalkaho. This church was thought to be dead, probably it was, but shortly after, it rose from

its ashes under a new name, Grantsdale, and continues in vigor and promise. How many lives a Presbyterian church has we do not know, but I know it is very hard to kill. Doubtless, the Presbyterian churches in Herculaneum, if there were any, perished, with the city. It takes just such a catastrophe to insure the reliable demise of a Presbyterian church.

The center of George Edwards' parish was White Sulphur Springs, its diameter was seventy-five miles; or, let me see, wasn't the radius about that? Davis Willson was trying his 'prentice hand in the Gallatin Valley and has been a



THE PHILBROOK PRESBYTERIAN CHAPEL.

growing power in it, and blessing to it, all these eighteen years. Thomas J. Armstrong had just gone to Miles City, a man of God, influential and beloved. R. M. Stevenson was laying foundations in Bozeman and reaching out far and wide in abundant labors. T. V. Moore was the new pastor of the Helena church and prospering with the growing city.



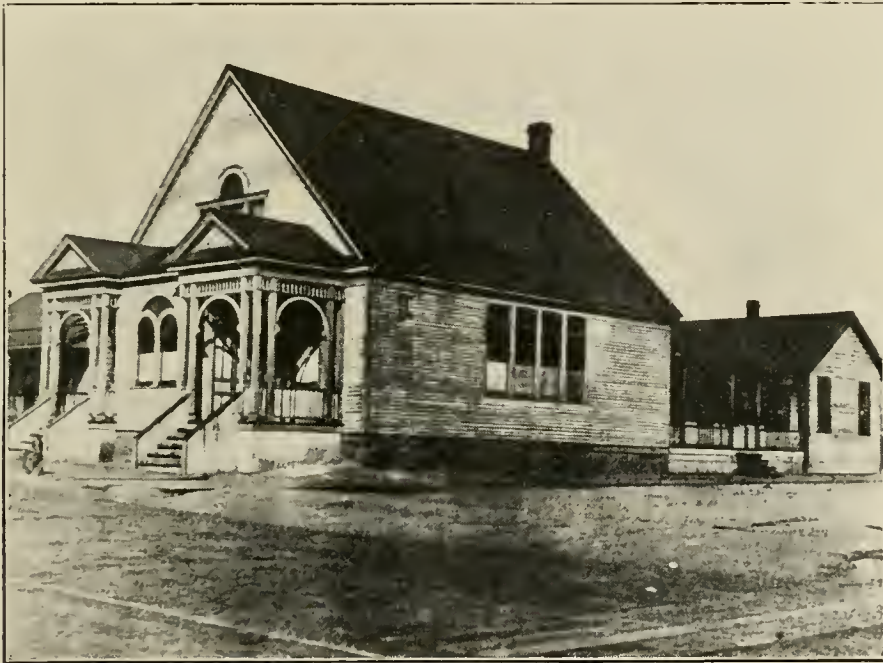
E. J. Groeneveld was closing his first pastorate in Deer Lodge and going to Butte First, where he still continues, the oldest and one of the most honored pastors in the state. Thomas J. Lamont was laying good foundations in Anaconda. Missoula was vacant. There I preached in the smallest church building I ever preached in, unless it be the Philbrook one, which Brother Edwards redeemed, disinfected, and renovated from a saloon. It was a curiosity. What hath these years wrought in Missoula! John Reid, Jr., was enthusiastically at work in the new born church of Great Falls. He showed the tenderfoot Presbyterial Missionary no little kindness. And in this he was not singular; I cannot call the roll. E. M. Ellis held the Bitter Root Valley, George M. Fisher had just crossed the Cabinet range and pre-empted the Flathead. This valley was "as the garden of the Lord as thou comest unto Zoar." But the settlers were few and scattered and not very vigorous in church work. Brother Fisher, for several years had little to show for his lonely, hard, faithful work; but he held on and the tide turned and he sees to-day a well settled valley with good towns and strong churches. He neither waited nor labored in vain. I visited all these churches and held services in many places besides, in 1888. After an interregnum of five years, during which Dr. Wishard and Dr. Wormser had the care of the field, I returned and, excepting one year of enforced absence, during which Dr. Gwynne efficiently carried forward the work, I remained until August, 1901.

From my return to Montana in the beginning of 1894, we were handicapped for a number of years by the discouraging ukase from missionary headquarters, "No new work", and one year at least with a horizontal ten per cent cut on old work. But new mines and farms were opened up, new smelters built, new water ditches dug and new blood infused into the population right along. Steadily the state





grew in population and wealth and the church could not altogether stand still. Somehow everything that has life must grow. The Presbyterian Church in Montana was living and it grew, slowly and painfully, it is true, but it grew. We lost now and then five ministers but we gained as good ones as we lost and added to their number from year to year.



THE SOUTH BUTTE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AND MANSE.

The following churches are more especially my children, or in which I labored more or less, and had some share in laying foundations; Granite, Libby, Kalispell, Chinook, Harlem, Sand Coulee, Stockett, Forsyth, Manhattan, Central Park, the Holland Churches, now gone from us, Dillon, Twin Bridges, South Butte, and Basin, and others that I had the privilege of nurturing from a very tender age, and still others that looked to me for counsel and help, in times of weakness, stress and trial. In regard to most, if not all of these, I could furnish much first hand data. But as hinted above, these all belong to the historic period, and anything I could contribute would be but a repetition of



data already on file with the historian of Synod. All the churches of Montana are dear to me and the ministers with whom I labored and whose counsel and hospitality I enjoyed, are as brethren beloved. I cannot recall an exception. I would like to pen an appreciation of everyone of them. And not of the ministers only, but of the staunch laymen and honorable women not a few, who simply would not be discouraged. But all this would be out of place. My heartfelt thanks to all the ministers, elders and workers in the churches of Montana, through all these years, to whom I, to whom ye all, owe so much.

I count myself happy in my predecessors in the mission work of Montana. Dr. Sheldon Jackson held a brief for the Presbyterianism of the north-west quarter of the United States and he honored the missive. Dr. McMillan was a Christian rough rider in Mormondom and the worthy successor of Dr. Jackson. Dr. Wishard, the Nestor of Rocky Mountain Presbyterianism, may I not say of Rocky Mountain Christianity? Mr. Linnell was a consecrated and noble minister of Jesus Christ, cut off in the midst of his days. Who could come after such kings? And also I count myself happy in my successors, Dr. Gwynne, able and indefatigable, and Charles F. Richardson, in whose hands our Church advances by leaps and bounds.

I am happy to have had a place in the apostolic succession of militant Presbyterianism in the Treasure State.

#### WORK OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AMONG THE INDIANS OF MONTANA.

By Rev. Edwin J. Lindsey, who has been a missionary to  
the Indians of Fort Peck Reservation for the  
past 17 years.

The Board of Foreign Missions began work on Fort Peck Reservation in 1881. Two ladies, the Misses Dickson and McCreight, then began a Mission School here, at Poplar. For the first two years they had Rev. George W. Wood as





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1. Rev. Edwin J. Lindsey.  
3. The Mission Chapel at Poplar.

2. Mrs. E. J. Lindsey.\*  
\* Died Sept. 8, 1906.



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NATIVE HELPERS IN INDIAN CHURCHES.

1. Elder Basil Bearfighter (sitting) and Clide Reddoor.
2. Elder Moses Merow.
3. Rev. Moses Makay.
4. Elder Chester Arthur.





superintendent of the work. After two years Mr. Wood moved to Wolf Point and opened a Mission School, or preaching station there and Rev. M. E. Chapin came to Poplar, remaining two or three years. In the pioneer work the people were taught to read and write their own language and some knowledge of English. But the great object was to instruct the people in Bible knowledge and the saving power of Christ.

There were many discouragements, as the people were always on the go, hunting buffalo and deer, or visiting from place to place. One after another the laborers quit the field, or went to other stations. For a whole year, 1889-90, the field was vacant. Most of the Indian helpers followed the white missionaries.

In the fall of 1890, the writer and his wife came. My wife is a granddaughter of Dr. Thomas S. Williamson, who spent 40 years among the Sioux in Minnesota and the Dakotas, one of the translators of the Bible into the Dakota language and one of the most successful founders of mission work among the Sioux. She had also taught among the Yankton Sioux in South Dakota. The writer was a home missionary from Iowa.

The writer did not know a word of the language. He took up the work by studying the language, holding meetings in the little log school-house and preaching to the school children, soldiers and others who chose to come, in the large government school-house.

The writer lives at Poplar and we have a church building here which cost about \$2,500, a Sunday-school, a Christian Endeavor Society and regular church services.

At Wolf Point under the superintendency of Mrs. C. D. King, we have a small boarding school which should be just twice as large, but is hampered for lack of room.

The work is now under the Board of Home Missions, the transfer having been made in 1893.

Before 1902 there were two church organizations among the Indians, viz: the Poplar church which has a membership of 40 and a Sabbath-school of 120 and the Hohay or Ash Point Church, with 32 members and 22 in the Sabbath-school.

In July 1902 a new church was organized ten miles from Poplar, near Brockton. It was called the Makaieu (pro-

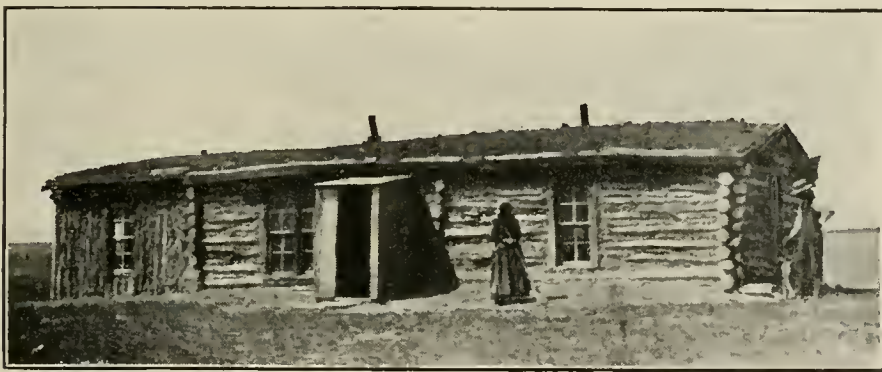


THE MAKAIKU PRESBYTERIAN CHAPEL.

nounced Makaichu), and was an offshoot of the Poplar Church. It was organized with 11 members and now has 18. Rev. Moses Makay, one of our native ministers, is the pastor. He and his wife both understand some simple remedies and by the care of the sick in a civilized way may win their way to the hearts of some.

December 15, 1904, a church was organized at Minisdah (pronounced Minishda), near the railway station of Chelsea. The membership is only 15 in full standing, yet it includes several of the most enterprising Indian families of the Reservation. Except when the missionary, or Rev. Moses Makay, can visit them, the meetings are kept up by two elders of the church, and the work is growing. Elder Basil Bearfighter is one of the Judges of the District Court on the Reservation.

On December 1st, 1905, a church was organized at Wolf Point. This is an offshoot of the Hohay church among the Assinaboine people. It is connected with the Mission School at Wolf Point, which is having a steady growth and is becoming a leavening power among the Assinaboines. We find that the smaller churches on the Indian fields reach more homes and do more good according to the number of members than the larger churches. Another station that has a nice chapel and manse will soon be organized, making six churches and as many houses of worship. Our work is



THE OLD MAKAIKU MANSE.  
(Rev. and Mrs. Moses Makay in the foreground.)

also growing on the Fort Belknap Reservation, though a church has not been organized. This mission near Harlem is under the care of Rev. Alfred Coe, a native helper.

Our aim is to teach and save the individual and through the individual the whole social fabric. "Hand plucked fruit is the best."

The following statistics are taken from the official reports for the year ending April 1, 1906:



PRESBYTERIAN INDIAN CHURCHES. FORT PECK  
RESERVATION, MONTANA.

	Poplar	Ash Point	Minisdah	Wolf Point	Makaicu	Total
Elders . . . . .	2	2	2	1	2	9
Deacons . . . . .	2	2	1	1	1	7
Added on Examination . . .	12	5	2	1	..	20
Added on Certificate . . . .	..	2	..	8	..	10
Deacons . . . . .	2	2	1	1	1	7
Total Members . . . . .	47	32	15	8	18	120
Adult Baptisms . . . . .	10	3	2	..	..	15
Infant Baptisms . . . . .	4	10	6	..	3	23
S. S. Members . . . . .	120	22	20	40	22	224
CONTRIBUTIONS—						
Home Missions . . . . .	\$24	\$27	\$18	\$13	\$20	\$102
Foreign Missions . . . . .	7	1	1	5	2	16
Other Boards . . . . .	7	1	5	36	..	49
Congregational . . . . .	174	65	25	89	25	378
Miscellaneous . . . . .	54	41	36	94	17	242

THE WOLF POINT INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOL.

By Mrs. C. D. King, Principal.

Wolf Point, Montana, is a sub-agency of the Fort Peck Reservation, situated on the north bank of the Missouri river. The Indians are Assinaboines of whom there are about 700 at this place. Their language is a dialect of the Sioux.

The Assinaboines are heathen, worshipping chiefly the Sun God and the Thunder Bird, the latter of which they greatly fear.

Mr. and Mrs. Richard King began work on this field in 1893, soon after it had been transferred to the Board of Home Missions. Mr. King died shortly after and Mrs. King has continued the work.

As the work grew a log chapel was built, the house was repaired, the unfinished rooms completed. The Hohay church was organized with 11 members in 1896.

At Ash Point, 12 miles from Wolf Point, a log chapel was



THE WOLF POINT INDIAN MISSION.

The Boarding School and Chapel.

The Workers at the Indian Mission.

1. Mrs. H. F. Smith.

3. Mr. Henry T. Smith.

2. Miss Caroline Courtney.

4. Mrs. Cynthia D. King.



built in connection with the Hohay church and the year following a log house for the native missionary.

It is with the Indians the same as with other people, the parents can be reached through the children; so a beginning was made in this direction by gathering in a few children from the agency and teaching them an hour or more each day. The next year a day school was opened with an average of sixteen in attendance. The school was held in one room of the house, with almost no school equipment.

On account of the growth of the school an assistant was granted, and in September, 1898, the school opened with 38 pupils enrolled. The chapel was the school room. Soon it was found necessary to take a few girls into the home or they would be lost to the school. Then came the cry, "We want you to take our boys." The result was that the Board granted \$1,000 for an additional building. The work was begun August 1, 1900. The parents hauled all the lumber from the railway station, brought the stone for the foundation and sand. I said, "parents", for both the men and women worked at this. The school room was ready by September 1st, and the children were received into the home October 1st. Since that time 25 boys and girls have made up the family home besides the day scholars. The principal, associate teacher and industrial teacher constitute the working force.

The children are not the only ones receiving instruction. For the parents are learning lessons in industry and to provide for themselves and families; for the parents are expected to provide fuel, food and clothing for their children. Particular care is taken to keep the supplies in a store-room set apart for that purpose. Each pupil is kept informed regarding his or her account, and is notified when more is required.

The main object of this school is to give the children Christian home training. The girls are taught general



housework, to be neat and systematic, and particularly to be economical in everything. The boys do their own dormitory work, care for the school room, do all the outside work, such as cutting wood, caring for the stock, milking the



THE GIRLS' INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENT, WOLF POINT INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOL.



THE BOYS' INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENT, WOLF POINT INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOL.









WORKERS IN THE SYNODICAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

- |                           |                             |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Mrs. Thomas A. Wickes. | 5. Mrs. Davis Willson.*     |
| 2. Mrs. James B. Butter.  | 6. Mrs. Sarah B. Whitehill. |
| 3. Mrs. R. M. Stevenson.  |                             |
| 4. Mrs Peter Koch         |                             |

\*Deceased Nov. 19, 1906.





cows. Carpenter's tools have been purchased and the boys are being taught to use them.

Comparing the condition of the people and the progress made since 1893, it can be seen that the Indians have largely given up the old customs, except it be among the remaining old people. They have increased their cattle until many have enough to provide for their wants and fairly compete with their white brothers.

(Upon a recent visit to the Mission School at Wolf Point, I was surprised to find one of the decorations in the room of Miss Caroline Courtney, the assistant teacher, to be a church letter issued to her great grandparents, "William McNishie and his Spouse, Martha Napper," on "the ninth day of July One Thousand Eight Hundred and One Years." Miss Courtney kindly allowed the certificate to be photographed for the Montana Historical Society. G. E.)

## THE WOMAN'S SYNODICAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY

By Mrs. Sarah B. Whitehill, Anaconda, Montana.

The very beginning of organized work for Missions among the women of the Presbyterian Church of Montana, was in the heart of one consecrated woman, Mrs. R. M. Stevenson, whose husband at that time was pastor of the church at Bozeman, where through her efforts the parent society was born in August, 1883.

But one month before, in July, the church had come out from under the care of the Home Board, and become one of the only two self-sustaining churches in the vast Synod of Utah which then included also the Territories of Montana and Idaho, the other church being that at Helena. Under the circumstances, it was not strange that some doubted the wisdom of organizing a foreign missionary society, but, as the leader wrote, "we went from our closet to that first meeting, God having given us a willingness to fail if it were His will." Eight ladies were there who were willing to take up the work, which has since grown and been approved of the

Lord. Before the close of the year the number increased to nineteen.

Bozeman had also the distinction of being the birth-place of the Presbyterial Society, which was formed by Mrs. Van Cleve, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Board of the Northwest, during the meeting of Presbytery in February, 1884. The members were the women of the Bozeman church, and one visiting delegate from Helena.

Mrs. Van Cleve's visit, which was in response to the cry that went up from this little band of eight, for help, was greatly blessed of God and she is still remembered with interest and affection.

The year 1894 is marked by the merging of the Presbyterial into the Synodical Society. It was with dismay that the task presented itself of dividing the Presbyterial Society, of but eight auxiliaries, into three, and constituting therefrom a Synodical organization, but the Presbyterial Officers were advanced and became the officers of the Synodical, and the three Presbyterial Societies were constituted as follows:

BUTTE—Deer Lodge, Butte, Anaconda and Philipsburg.

HELENA—Bozeman, Helena and Miles City.

GREAT FALLS—Great Falls alone, whose local officers were considered Presbyterial officers as well.

Regular meetings have been held each fall at the same time and place as Synod, the three Presbyterial Societies holding their sessions also at this time.

The contributions reported from date of organization to April, 1885, were \$379.93. For the year ending April, 1895, the contributions were \$614.50 and for the year ending April, 1902, they were \$853.36.

The women of the Synod at the present time are maintaining 17 local missionary societies. These societies contributed for the year ending April 1st, 1906 over \$600 each to Home Missions and Foreign Missions and about \$200 for







SABBATH SCHOOL MISSIONARIES.

- |                         |                              |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Rev. Edwin M. Ellis. | 4. Rev. Louis C. Wainwright. |
| 2. Rev. James Rayburn.  | 5. Rev. Samuel F. Moore.     |
| 3. Rev. George Edwards. |                              |



ELDERS "CALLED HOME" IN 1905.

1. William Fergus, Lewistown Church.
2. Marcellus B. Greenwood, Anaconda Church.

3. Walter B. Miner, Lewistown Church.

The child is Norma Ellen Ranch, granddaughter of Mr. Fergus.



Missionary work among the Freedmen. The Home Mission offerings are used to help maintain the Indian Mission School at Wolf Point, Montana. At their last synodical meeting the societies also pledged \$50 for the repair of the buildings at Wolf Point.

### THE SABBATH SCHOOL MISSIONARY IN MONTANA.

The first Sunday-school work in the early mining camps seems to have been carried on by Rev. George Grantham Smith, who had been commissioned by the Presbyterian Church (New School) to labor in Montana. He began his work in June, 1864. In 1897 he wrote that "he took the first census in Virginia City, and reported the number of schoolable children, organized schools for them and opened Sunday-schools." We know that Mr. Smith, the pioneer home missionary of Montana, was the clerk of the first school district organized in the Territory. (See *The Pioneer Public School of Montana*," Historical Society of Montana, Vol. V, page 198.) Mr. Smith held a Sunday-school in the Union church at Virginia City, which was also used for a school-house.

Frequently in the early days the modern rule was reversed and the Presbyterian Church was the forerunner of the Presbyterian Sabbath-school. The Helena church was organized in June, 1872, the Sunday-school in the spring of 1873. Mr. Rommel, the pastor also maintained a Sunday-school at Unionville. In Bozeman the first Presbyterian Sunday-school was organized in September, 1878, six years after the church. In each case the delay was caused by the lack of an independent church home.

Rev. M. L. Cook, the first pastor of the Missoula church, arrived in May, 1877. In August he reports a good Sabbath-school of 45 members, Mrs. Ferd Kennett making herself very helpful by drilling the children in the gospel hymns. This summer Mr. Cook took his gun, joined the



home guards and went out to withstand the Nez Perces raid under Chief Joseph. In January, 1878, he made a house to house visitation at Philipsburg, 80 miles distant, and established both a Sunday-school and a regular preaching station. In April he went 60 miles to New Chicago and organized their first Sunday-school with 40 members. We glean these facts from Dr. Sheldon Jackson's "Montana Scrap Book" by whom it was kindly loaned to the editor.

At the meeting of the Presbytery in August, 1880, a letter was read from Rev. J. A. Worden, D. D., Superintendent of Sabbath-school Work for the Presbyterian Church, asking for the names of all the Sabbath-school superintendents in the Presbytery. Only five could be found, viz: E. W. Knight of Helena, Ferd Kennett of Missoula, John S. Mills of Deer Lodge, Rev. C. L. Richards of Bozeman and Rev. J. R. Russel of Butte. This list probably did not include Sabbath-schools at outstations; just as the 59 Sabbath-schools reported by our Montana churches at the present time takes no account of the 150 other Sabbath-schools which are under the care of the Sabbath-school missionaries.

At that meeting of Presbytery Rev. T. A. Wickes was elected Superintendent of Sabbath-school work and he made a report at the next meeting; but his office seems to have been equal to that of a committee.

In 1884, Mr. Samuel F. Moore and Mr. G. N. Campbell were commissioned as colporteurs, in connection with which work they organized 36 Sabbath-schools, Mr. Moore continuing in the work four years and Mr. Campbell two.

They were followed by John N. Hyde and George B. Scroggin, who during the summer of 1890 organized 21 Sabbath-schools.

In October, 1891, Rev. Edwin M. Ellis was appointed the first permanent Presbyterial Sabbath-school Missionary of the state. He had come to Montana as a home missionary in 1884, and labored at Stevensville, Corvallis, Victor,





1



2



3



4

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF PONY.

- |                               |                          |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. The Church Building.       | 3. Elder Edward C. Bush. |
| 2. Rev. Thomas A. Stancliffe. | 4. Elder S. Laus Duncan. |



1. Rev. Alexander S. Kerr, Kendall.      2. Rev. Chas. F. Reed, Ft. Benton.  
3. Rev. James B. Butter, Culbertson.      4. Elder John W. Steele, Kendall.  
5. Elder George McLean, Kendall.





Grantsdale and other places in the Bitter Root Valley. At the end of seven years he resigned his pastoral work and became a Sabbath-school missionary. During the past 16 year he has devoted his whole time to the Sabbath-school work and is now Superintendent of Sabbath-school Missions for Montana. During this time he has organized about 275 Sabbath-schools, not to mention many reorganizations.

Nine different Sabbath-school missionaries have been associated with Mr. Ellis for periods of time varying from four months to five years. During 1906 Rev. James Rayburn covered the western part of the state. Rev. George Edwards the northern part, Rev. L. S. Schermerhorn the south-eastern part, while Mr. Ellis devotes special attention to the central counties.

The Sabbath-school missionaries are in a peculiar sense the pioneers of the Church, as they prepare the way for the home missionary, and the more formal religious work in a community.

Of the 42 churches organized in Montana during the past fifteen years a large majority have been the direct outgrowth of the Sabbath-schools that have been organized by these pioneer missionaries of the Presbyterian Church.

#### THE GROWTH OF THIRTY YEARS.

The growth of the Presbyterian Church in Montana, as shown by the statistics of three decades, taken from official reports:

Year.	1876.	1886.	1896.	1906.
Ministers .....	3	18	31	49
Churches .....	4	16	35	56
Elders .....	5	40	74	121
Deacons .....	..	9	26	21
Added on Examination..	9	111	333	434
Added on Certificate....	22	90	192	272
Total Membership .....	101	671	2,021	3,742
Adult Baptisms .....	4	32	134	167
Infant Baptism .....	13	41	176	168

Sabbath-schools . . . . .	3	10	53	59
S. S. Membership . . . . .	285	860	3,029	5,092
CONTRIBUTIONS:				
Home Missions . . . . .	\$8	\$307	\$1,204	\$1,481
Foreign Missions . . . . .	5	497	651	1,422
Education . . . . .	3	240	72	136
S. S. Work . . . . .	..	14	526	624
Church Erection . . . . .	..	62	169	514
Relief Fund . . . . .	19	66	205	252
Freedmen . . . . .	..	19	130	316
College Board . . . . .	..	53	777	165
Total to Boards . . . . .	\$35	\$1,258	\$3,734	\$4,910
General Assembly . . . . .	4.65	113.00	476.45	664.27
Congregational . . . . .	689	12,684	31,693	63,705

#### A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF THE WORK.

By Rev. Charles F. Richardson, Superintendent of Missions, 1901-1906.

That the Presbyterian Church is still doing pioneer work may readily be seen from the fact that during the past four years there have been organized seventeen new churches, and thirteen of these were organized in towns of from 250 to 900 population where there was no other church of any denomination and no resident minister of any kind.

In this time we have built seventeen home mission church buildings at a cost of \$34,000, and also nine manses for our home mission ministers.

To the statistical table given above we would add: We have now 48 church buildings valued at \$198,800 and 24 manses valued at \$44,200, making a total of church property in the state of \$243,000, not including the college buildings at Deer Lodge.







E. W. TOOLE.

## E. W. Toole.

Sketch by William Wallace, Jr.

I delight to recall our first meeting. In the late winter of 1880-1, a frail ninety pound youngster, entered unannounced, the office of E. W. and J. K. Toole, to find himself in the presence of a middle-aged, ruddy cheeked, compactly built man who wore a coarse-haired mustache and chin whiskers of medium length. These would have made his face ferocious, but for the kindly eyes, broad features and dome like forehead above. His greeting was accompanied by the winning smile, afterward so well known and loved. And this encouraged the youth to tell his name, his story and proffer his request to read law. Mr. Toole listened patiently in his favorite office position—standing against a tall revolving book-case, with elbows resting thereon; and at length with the deliberate drawl that always marked his calmer utterances said: “Well, Mr. Wallace, I will see my brother Joseph and see what we can do for you.” It was the first time in my life I had ever been addressed as “Mr.”; and how I rose in my self-esteem cannot be told in words. But after knowledge of his nature enables me now clearly to see, that he used it of a purpose meaning to so affect me.

Within a short time I entered the office as a student; and thence forward we were in almost daily contact, that grew into closest intimacy and endured with almost no interruption until his death.

While I would dearly love to speak of him as would a son of a father, I am aware that the incidents of that association that appeal most to me, would least interest the public. Of the unknown man—the self, so well hidden from the world

much of interest may be told. Like all strong characters he was essentially of individual mould. His own judgment was the law of his own action; and only the exceeding fineness of that judgment saved him from shipwreck. He firmly believed that his individual opinion made a good working majority on any question, and though not domineering or aggressive in his views, it was very difficult to move him from his purpose. His unflinching regard for the feelings of others moved him always to patiently hear and weigh their utterances; but those not weighted with strong reason fell idly on his ears. Gifted to have shown brilliantly in any company, he instinctively avoided all public, and most private gatherings. His timidity in the presence of women was something pathetic in so strong a man; and even his sisters formed no exception to the rule. And yet his speech of them made it plain, that his veneration for good women was like a child for angels. There was much of repression in his life and he systematically concealed the wealth of goodness in his nature.

An appeal to his charity never went unrecognized. His dread lest by refusing he should perchance deny a worthy claim, led to his being constantly imposed on. He often later discovered these impositions; but so unbounded was his belief in the preponderating good in human nature, that he yielded as readily as before to the next appeal.

A thoughtfulness, and consideration for others usually belonging only to women, was his. For a long time he was the sole support of an unfortunate brother lawyer, finally furnishing him funds to establish himself in a new locality. A former colored body servant, long out of his service and in a distant state, was seized with a lingering and incapacitating illness. Hearing of it, Mr. Toole at once arranged for his proper care, continuing this provision until the servant's death and burial. These are but solitary instances of his general and unobtrusive charity. He really suffered in



these acts if by any chance they became known to the world. He was as sensitive as he was gentle. In early manhood he became the candidate of the dominant party in the territory for Congress; made the campaign and suffered defeat. He believed, rightly or wrongly, it matters not, that his defeat was due to defection of false friends; and he never got over it. It caused him to withdraw at once and forever from politics; and in after life often said that while the law was a jealous mistress, she never deprived one of the fruits of endeavor.

He abhorred shams and trickery; always fought in the open but always fought hard. Once having determined his line of action, he was as unyielding as iron to all influences save those that addressed themselves to his sympathies. The affections were strong in him, but his extreme shyness prevented their demonstration. This phase of his nature was disclosed to me by accident. In the year 1882, on a hot mid-summer afternoon a dizziness caused me to fall and in falling my head struck the hinge of the safe. I became apparently unconscious though actually knowing everything happening. He was at my side almost as I reached the floor; raised me; bore me to a bed in the rear room, and hatless and coatless dashed off in search of a doctor. His remarks in carrying me indicated a depth of feeling I had never suspected but to his death he never knew that I had heard them. In his dress and care of his person, he was neat to an extreme, but severe and simple and anything but effeminate. A touching incident of his protracted last illness was that throughout a complete outfit of wearing apparel lay on a chair beside his bed, ready he said, to be put on the moment he felt able. That moment never came in life.

He had no commercial or money getting sense, and was such a reckless spender and lender that he would have been constantly impoverished had not the demand for his exceptional legal talent placed him under a shower of money dur-



ing the active years of his life. His one great failing was harmful to himself alone. No man could truthfully say that he wittingly unnecessarily injured any other. When yielding to the influence of this weakness he suffered an entire change of character and after these lapses was always most severe in self denunciation. (To his brother's query as to why he could not always choose gentlemen as his companions, he answered: "Gentlemen never get drunk.") Nature is said to be a great equalizer and her chief ground rule is the law of compensation. Had she relieved him of this single defect, he would have been proof of the non-existence of the rule.

He was ordinarily deliberate in action and slow of speech; of calm temperament it was almost impossible to rouse him. I can recall but two instances in which I ever saw him display temper and these occasions were never to be forgotten. He never could get on speaking terms with a telephone. For years after it came into use, when using it, he would alter his voice and speak as though he were smothering or calling through a pipe.

He could accomplish more work in a given number of hours than any one I ever knew. He never sneered at younger lawyers, but showed young and old alike the same generous courtesy always demanded for himself. He disliked trial work, and avoided it where possible, though his dominating personality made him a formidable antagonist when once engaged in trial. He delighted in brief work and the argument of law questions, and as an original reasoner on questions first suggested, and to be met and disposed of without benefit of judicial decision, I can truly say that during the active years of his life he was without an equal. He never measured his endeavor by his fee, taking many a case without hope of pay and applied himself as earnestly as when receiving the greatest compensation. He has left what is perhaps an unrecognized, but none the less distinct

impress of his personality on the ethical side of his profession. His standards of honor were inspiring and compelling to his associates, who, having profited by his example, will in turn transmit his views to those who shall succeed them. And if the Bar of the state remains exceptionally clean for years to come, it will be due in large measure to the long enduring effect of his methods. A perfect jurist, he would hardly have made a good judge, because too prone to be merciful to the frailties of others. A man well along in years, applied for examination for admission to the bar, though far from having completed the required course of preparatory study. Mr. Toole, to whom the applicant had been referred by the other members of the then District Examining Committee, speedily discovered his deficiencies and advised the candidate to better equip himself; that it would be unjust to hold him out to the public as then qualified. "Well," said the disappointed candidate, "you admitted ——" (referring to another deficient whom Mr. Toole, through sympathy, had previously accredited, and for which action he had often reproached himself.) "I know as much as he and if you had not admitted him I would not have applied." Mr. Toole said afterward this was the only real evidence of right to admission the candidate showed, but that the argument was unanswerable. He got his certificate.

His life, during its last decade, was that of a recluse, and he had always been methodical and simple in his habits. For months he would go only from his office to his room, with occasional side excursions to his restaurant, and many days he took all his meals in his room. Another, less broad minded, would have become sombre and narrow, under such a system. It did not so affect him. He read much and thought more and therefore was never lonesome in the ordinary sense of the term.

Belonging to no denomination, he would hardly be called

religious, though he grasped the moral teachings of every creed and respected the beliefs of others. He never held any man's religion up to scorn and was a generous supporter of every religious charity. Until advancing years forbid, he was a great sportsman, taking the greatest pleasure from his outings in the hills. A good woodsman, he was necessarily a keen observer of nature and her works; and beside the camp-fire or before the tent, I have spent many an interested half hour, listening to his dissertations on the operations of natural law, which oftentimes reached the height of philosophy.

He was not what you would call a magnetic man, and yet in some way, not easily sensed, he made deep impression upon all who came in contact with him, and those who knew him intimately esteemed him deeply,—so much, that at his funeral, men assembled from all parts of the state; pioneers who had not left their homes for years and whose faces were strange to the busy men of this decade, came down from their hermit homes in the hills to do him homage. And many an aged eye shed tears that day that for years had been dry: and almost every one had some incident, trivial in itself, attaching to their acquaintance that they told to others in subdued tones, indicating how deep rooted was their feeling for this man, and most of them indicating his gentleness, his goodness or his generosity. How much better the world is for having known the life of such a man can never be told in words.

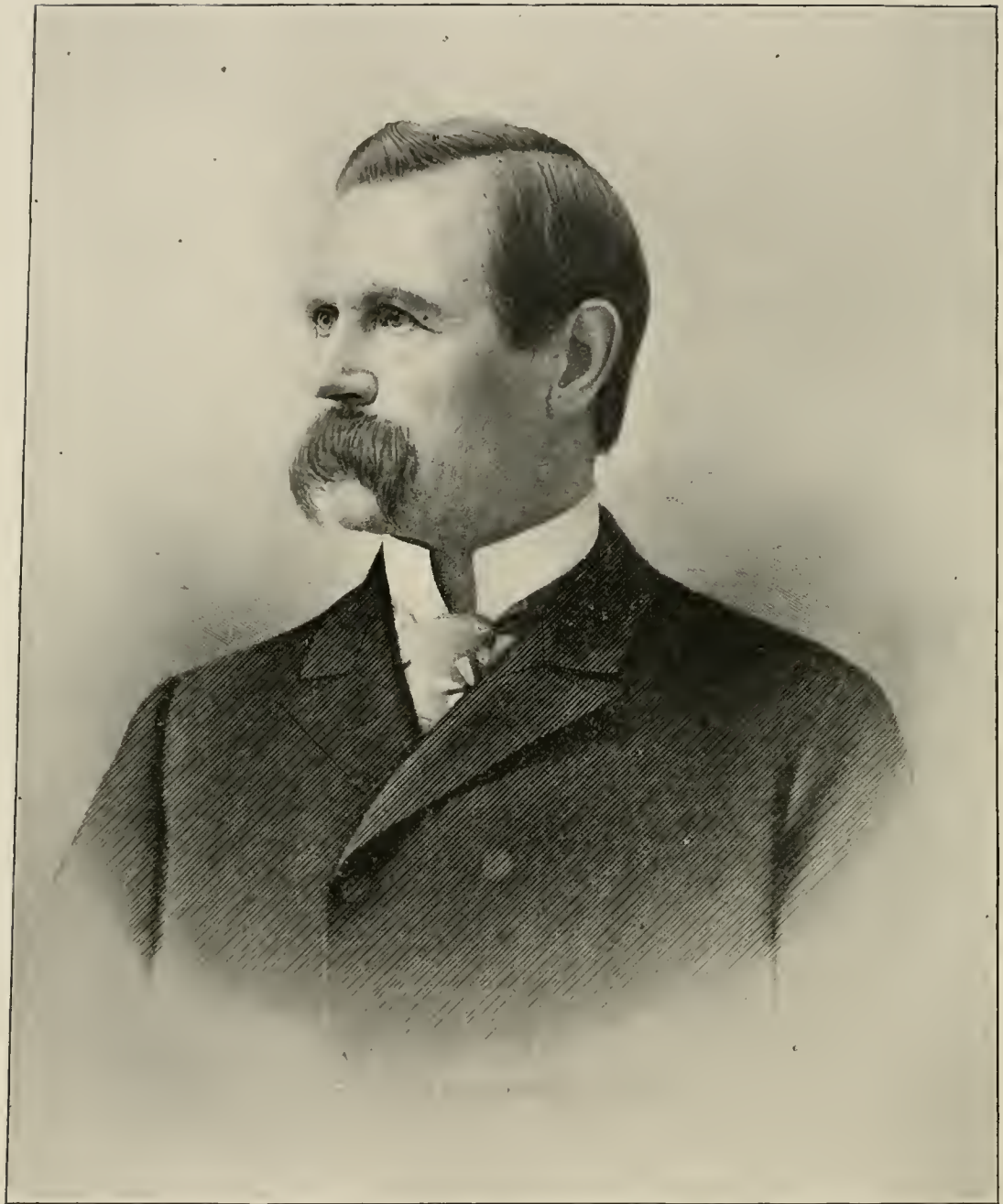




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John L. Linn

## John Caplice.

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**President of the Society of Montana Pioneers---Eventful Career of a Noted Pioneer.**

By Major Martin Maginnis.

John Caplice was born in County Tipperary, Ireland, in the year 1829, and his destiny was to see much of the world's sorrow and men's struggle for supremacy, and to win his way triumphantly and honorably through the contest. In his time he made and lost large fortunes. At the age of twelve years his parents were dead and he commenced to earn his own way in life. When he was twenty-one he sailed for America and hired himself to a farmer near Philadelphia. Four years later he moved to Illinois. He engaged in coal mining in 1855 and later, in 1856, he took up some land where Sioux City now stands. He was obliged to defend his title in the courts, lost his case, and also his money. He hired out next to a man who owned three boats on the Missouri river and within three months bought the outfit and successfully continued the business until 1861. At the time he had a large amount of cordwood banked on the levee, but it was confiscated under the emergencies of war.

When the war broke out he was a member of the Emmet guard in the state militia, which was ordered into service at Camp Jackson. But the men were divided in their allegiance to the north and south and many resigned, among them Mr. Caplice, who engaged in freighting to Denver. He delivered his last load of freight to Mr. Pullman, of palace car fame.

About this time, 1864, the Alder gulch excitement broke



out and with the keen and quick perception of the opportunities offered, he took six mules, four horses and two wagons and loading them up with merchandise, liquors, candies and cured meat, rapidly made his way to Bannack City, via the Cherokee trail. He disposed of his stock at a handsome profit, purchased a log house and began to operate extensively in merchandising and mining.

He organized a party to explore and prospect the Belt Mountains. They went far east in to the Indian country and pushed on until they reached the Judith and Moccasin mountains where the great mining operations are now carried on. They found no placer mines of sufficient richness to pay at that time and after several conflicts with the Sioux, came back over the Belt ranges, swam the Missouri and stopped in Helena which was just started. Mr. Caplice and several companions then went up Ten Mile Gulch, and made the first location on the hot springs now known as the Broadwater. They spent the winter at the point now called Rimini and discovered and located the silver lead mines of that district, which he organized. The Lee Mountain, the Robert Emmett and others were discovered and developed by Mr. Caplice. He spent a great deal of money on them before transferring them to other hands.

In 1865 he moved to Henderson Gulch, where he opened a store. The placer miners who were engaged in building a big ditch ran out of money, and as a matter of business and public spirit, Mr. Caplice pledged his credit and available capital to complete the ditch and he realized well from the venture. He conducted large stores at Emmetsburg and at McClellan. In 1869 he opened a store at Cedar Creek, Missoula County, where he did a business of \$200,000 and quit loser \$30,000. In 1874 he opened a store at Philipsburg, and in 1876 another at Missoula. He disposed of both of these and started in New Chicago, and in 1878 he settled in Butte.

Ever since that time Butte had been his headquarters and during the quarter of a century he met with varying success and failure. At one time he conducted five stores on a large scale and was the merchant prince of Montana carrying \$200,000 of credits on his books when there were no values in the state.

When the Union Pacific railroad was building many people of Butte decided that the road should not come into the city, but Mr. Caplice, who was farseeing, determined that it should come to Butte. He received \$5,000 from the railroad company and raised enough more from the citizens to purchase the right of way and the road eventually came to Butte. To show his faith in the future of Butte at that time, Mr. Caplice built the Caplice building. It was the largest structure in the state and Mr. Caplice expected that the terminal facilities would be close to his building, but in this he was disappointed, and the investment never proved profitable.

Mr. Caplice purchased a store and teams from Walker Brothers in Salt Lake, paying them \$40,000, which represented the profits he expected to realize out of a wood contract he made with the same firm.

Later he became associated with A. W. McCune and they engaged in business in Walkerville under the name of Caplice and McCune. This firm did an enormous business and became recognized as one of the most extensive enterprises in the northwest. The firm took the contracts for building the railroads up to the Butte hill and also built the road from Stuart to the Anaconda smelters. About 1884 the firm associated with Captain John Branagan, and took a contract to supply the Anaconda Mining Company with 300,000 cords of wood, for the faithful performance of which the firm was obliged to furnish a bond of \$50,000.

This big undertaking took all the available capital of the firm, but they put 650 men and hired eighty teams to work

in the woods above Mill creek. This was a vast undertaking. For two years large gangs of men were engaged in cutting and hauling wood, constructing roads and building miles and miles and miles of flumes. Before they received a dollar from the Anaconda company they had more than seventy thousand cords of wood on the dump.

They began to receive their pay in checks of \$50,000 each, when Mr. Caplice was obliged to sell his interest in the contract for less than he invested, "because" according to the recent history, "Progressive Men of Montana" "he refused to stultify his political convictions and go into the woods and demand that his men support Thomas H. Carter in the political contest then in progress in which Mr. Caplice warmly espoused the cause of Honorable W. A. Clark. This contract afterwards paid \$500,000 in dividends to those who held it."

John Caplice was married on April 2nd, 1855, to Miss Joanna Burke, a native of Ireland. Two children, a son and a daughter, were born to them. The son, Fred. W. was associated with his father in the wholesale grocery business. He died in 1898. The daughter, Mary A., was married to George E. Rockwood. She resides in the city of Butte and still retains her father's interest in the Caplice Commercial Company.

At the time of his death Mr. Caplice had disposed of many of his mining interests which were very extensive. Probably no man in the State had individually developed so many mines or taken out so many patents. Among these was the celebrated group of the Speckled Trout near Philipsburg, the Ten Mile group, many in Butte and elsewhere. These were nearly all lead silver mines and depreciated with the value of silver on the demonetization of that metal.

In religious faith Mr. Caplice was a Roman Catholic, firm in his devotion to the church and zealous in its service. He made large contributions to its needs, aiding without



stint in the erection of church, school and hospital buildings, not only in Butte, but in the surrounding country. He had always been an unswerving democrat. Purely from the standpoint that every citizen owes his country a duty, on several occasions he accepted the position of county commissioner, serving in Missoula, Deer Lodge and Silver Bow counties in this capacity.

At the time of his death Mr. Caplice was at the head of the Caplice Commercial Company. He also owned many valuable mines in the State, and very promising copper properties on the Yukon river in Alaska, besides valuable real estate in Butte and elsewhere. He was not only a most enterprising and extensive merchant, but a very liberal and generous one. He undoubtedly expended more money in prospecting and developing the mines of this state than any other individual. On his books were uncollected credits for sums advanced to miners, explorers and prospectors amounting to the sum of three hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

Under all circumstances John Caplice was a man of equitable temperament, a most philosophical and well informed mind and a most interesting writer and conversationalist. He lived a model life, religious, temperate, moral, always conscientious, upright, true and courageous. He enjoyed the fullest measure of respect and honor that it falls to any man to enjoy among his fellow men.

At the last meeting of the Montana Pioneers at Great Falls, a few weeks before his death, he was unanimously elected as president of the society.

The following citizens acted as pall bearers at the funeral of the esteemed deceased:

Active pallbearers—D. J. Hennessey, P. J. Brophy, Rod Leggat, William Scallon. John J. McHatton, Thomas Lavelle.

Honorary pallbearers—W. W. Dixon, John T. Murphy of



Helena; Andrew O'Connell of Helena; Captain John Brannagan, Judge Hiram Knowles, Dr. O. B. Whitford, Major Martin Maginnis of Helena, and Edward Cardwell, of Jefferson.

The funeral took place from his residence at No. 10 South Idaho street. Requiem high mass was said at St. Patrick's church, Bishop Brondel and Rev. Father De Siere officiating. The church and streets were filled with citizens of Butte, and pioneers from every part of the state.

A special committee of the Society of Montana Pioneers was appointed to draft the following memorial which was adopted by the Society at its next meeting in the city of Butte.

“The Honorable John Caplice, the President of the Society of Montana Pioneers died after a short illness at Butte, October 17th, 1903.

Elected at our last annual meeting he had devoted much of the two weeks during which time he held that office in maturing plans to widen the interest in and promote the welfare of the Society.

President Caplice was born in County Tipperary, Ireland, in 1829, the oldest of three children of Thomas and Mary Augusta Caplice. In 1849 he came to the United States, and in 1863 to what is now the State of Montana. Thenceforth, for more than forty years he was actively identified with the moral and intellectual life of these communities, and in the development of the great industries which have transformed an Indian wild into a majestic Commonwealth of American homes. An observant witness of this change, it is no exaggeration to say that no citizen bore a more active or honorable part in the sacrifice and labors essential to its advancement than did he.

The pursuits of mining and merchandising possessed for him a consuming attraction, and in the earliest expanding era of our settlement there was scarce a camp or cañon

where his mercantile establishment and his mining enterprises were not found. Filled with generous ardor in laying the foundations of a State, he planned and carried on great enterprises without mean or sordid aim. No Pioneer sought on a wider theatre or more pertinaciously to develop our resources and place them on secure foundations than did President John Caplice. He was never happier than when assisting some deserving miner by extending to him generous credit which he did with unsparing liberality. He assisted to open mines, to construct highways, to build churches, school houses, hospitals and cities, and his benefactions were scattered with a lavish hand over all of what for a score of years was early and isolated Montana. Nor did his generosity ever know diminution or surcease.

He was entrusted with high and responsible office in various localities, and he discharged his public duties with rare intelligence and unswerving fidelity.

He watched with intense interest the heady currents and evolutions of our industrial and social life, and brought to the solution of the complex problems which they presented such remedies as seemed to him fitting with an unswerving conscientiousness and a rare intellectual integrity. He was an ardent patriot, a most intense American.

The wrongs of others excited his profoundest sympathy, his own he uncomplainingly bore. He had a noble independence, and he scorned mean things. He sought and walked untrodden ways, but they were such only as his conscience commanded. His form was manly, his countenance benignant and his voice as musical as Apollo's lute.

Gentle, kindly, charitable, friendly and just, his memory is a precious heritage to be cherished by this Society, by his contemporaries and by succeeding generations.

The Society of Montana Pioneers by its Executive Committee adopts this memorial of its late President, and directs

that it be entered at large on its minutes and that a copy be presented to Mrs. Annie Caplice Rockwood, a daughter of the deceased.

(Signed)

MARTIN MAGINNIS,  
WILBUR F. SANDERS,  
EDWARD CARDWELL,  
J. F. BECK,  
CONRAD KOHRS,

Committee."

Helena, December 17th, 1903.







REV MAHLON GILBERT  
RECTOR DEER LODGE, BUTTE, HELENA.  
BISHOP MINNESOTA.

## Rt. Rev. Mahlon Norris Gilbert D. D.

By Bishop Tuttle.

Mahlon Norris, the son of Norris Gilbert and Lucy (Todd), was born in the town of Laurens, New York, March 23, 1848. He was the youngest of three sons, the oldest having died in infancy, and the second, Frederick, being his elder by three years and now (1906) living in Lo Lo, Montana. Norris Gilbert was a farmer and a communicant of Zion (Protestant Episcopal) Church, Morris, N. Y. His farm was six miles or more from the village of Morris, and on the hills over towards the village of Laurens. Subsequently he moved to a farm in the Butternut Valley, in the town of Morris and three miles from the village of that name. This was the Gilbert home when I came to Morris to be the assistant minister of Zion Church, July 19, 1862. And at this time Norris Gilbert was the Senior Warden of Zion parish. The Rector, Rev. George L. Foote, was paralyzed and the active work of the parish devolved upon me. Mr. Foote spoke to me of the quick intelligence and earnestness of spirit of the young lad, Mahlon; and I soon discovered for myself these characteristics as his large and luminous eyes watched me in my preaching, and when his ready answers came back in my catechising. When he was fifteen, on July 19, 1863, I presented him with twenty-two others to Bishop Horatio Potter for confirmation. Mr. Foote, who was one of the most faithful of pastors, had one day spoken pleasantly to him, placing his hand upon his head and saying, "My boy, when you grow up one of these days we want you to be a minister." Mahlon told me in after years that the thought thus thrown into his mind

by Mr. Foote rested there, to bring forth its appropriate fruit.

By and by he was reaching out for more of an education than the common school of which he was a diligent pupil afforded. Miss Harriet M. Foote, who became my wife, guided him in the study of Latin, and I lent a helping hand. Then he went to Fairfield Academy, Herkimer County, to fit for college and in due time entered Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. But in his sophomore year pulmonary troubles declared themselves and he was obliged to withdraw. In pursuit of a beneficial climate he went to Florida, becoming tutor in a family living there.

On May 1, 1867, I was made Bishop of Montana, Idaho and Utah. I kept up a correspondence with young Gilbert while he was in college and during his sojourn in Florida. In 1870, Rev. Mr. Gillogly had come to Ogden, Utah, and he desired to establish a school there after the example of our St. Mark's School, Salt Lake City. Knowing how beneficial the Rocky Mountain air would be for his physical malady I importuned Mr. Gilbert to come to Ogden and take charge of this school. Accordingly in October, 1870, he came to Ogden and for two years was the teacher of the School of the Good Shepherd there.

First an old saloon was made into a schoolhouse, and for one year he taught therein. Then an old tannery was made into a larger school house, and for another year he taught in that.

In the summer of 1871, he went with me in my visitation of Montana. He was a great help and comfort to me, for at that time I had no clergyman in Montana. Rev. Mr. Goddard had left Virginia City, and Rev. H. H. Prout did not come there till the autumn. Also the Rev. Mr. Stoy did not come to Deer Lodge till the autumn, and no clergyman was at Helena.

We had counted on reaching Virginia City at 6 o'clock on



Sunday morning, July 23rd, but the upsetting of the coach in Port Neuf Canon during the night, and some other untoward accidents delayed us for fifteen hours, so that we did not pull in till 9 P. M. The church was lighted up, but most of the people had gone away, and I decided to hold services on Monday and Tuesday evenings instead. I staid in Montana that year from July 23rd to August 28th, holding services at Virginia City, Gallatin City, Bozeman, Radersburg, Helena, Diamond, Deer Lodge, Corvallis, Stevensville, Missoula and Bannack. Mr. Gilbert was with me as a helper in all these places except Diamond. He did not then know that he was to live and work in two of them in after years, viz: Deer Lodge and Helena.

He became a candidate for Holy Orders of the Missionary District of Montana, Idaho and Utah, March 10, 1871. In the fall of 1872, he left Ogden and went to Fairbault, Minnesota, for a three years of study in the Seabury Divinity School to fit him for the ministry in the church. When his term of study was completed and in the summer of 1875, he came to be the minister at Deer Lodge, Bishop Whipple of Minnesota having ordained him deacon at my request.

Deer Lodge had had one minister of our church, Rev. Mr. Stoy, but he had remained not more than one year. The parish was by no means large or strong; but the people welcomed the leadership of the young clergyman, and soon there was almost nothing they would not do for him, he was so earnest, ardent, faithful, genial and sensible. They had been worshiping in the Court House. He decided they must have a church and a stone church too. There came a time when he had to have \$2,000 to pay off workmen and to keep credit sound. He went into the bank and said to the cashier, "Mr. Larrabie, I want \$2,000 for ninety days on my note. I don't want to ask anybody to be endorser, and I haven't any security to give. How much interest will you charge me?" Mr. Larrabie, looking at him with a queer



smile, replied, "Well, Mr. Gilbert I think any man who has the cheek to ask the cashier of a bank for two thousand dollars without proffering endorser or security for his note ought to get it without any interest. You can have it, Mr. Gilbert." Within the three months the \$2,000 were repaid. Of the sum, \$1,800 had been raised by the ladies at a fair or entertainment. Those were the days when miners and pioneers were warmly generous to help any cause appealing to heart or conscience, and which was in the hands of one commanding their confidence and winning their good will.

I consecrated the church, St. James, Deer Lodge, on July 25, 1878; Rev. Mr. Miller of Salt Lake, and Rev. E. G. Prout of Virginia City, being with Mr. Gilbert and myself. The church had cost \$4,900, all but \$1,000 of which was given by Deer Lodge and the people round about. It was all paid for at the above named date of course; else, by the canon of the church, it could not have been consecrated. About this time, I think, or somewhat before, Mr. Gilbert had accepted a call to become the Rector of St. Peter's Church, Helena.

While Mr. Gilbert was Rector of Deer Lodge, he also began missionary work at Butte. For a year or two he gave regularly one Sunday of every month to Butte. I remember well the great excitement throughout Montana over the discovery of the rich quartz deposits in and around Butte. And I recall the first visit made to Butte by Mr. Gilbert and myself and our first service held there Oct. 20, 1875. It was no easy matter for us to get a place to lay our heads. The town was so crowded with eager miners. Finally a friend told us of an empty log cabin of which he had the key. There were no beds in it. Our sleeping place was the floor. And the floor was simply strewn skins on the dust of mother earth. Here in due time, stretched in our blankets, which we always carried with us in our travels, we went to sleep. And we slept soundly, as in the mount-

ains we could always do. What was our great surprise in the morning to find eight other men lying along side us, almost like sardines packed in a box. Our friend's hospitable heart had evidently been appealed to by other homeless wanderers and he had sent them, too, to the only lodging place that he could suggest to them. An unfinished store was offered us for use. There we had our services. A dry goods box upturned was the pulpit. Planks and slabs laid on such supports as could be had were the seats. But, as everywhere, we had respectful and even reverent attention, spite of all quartz excitements. Butte was won by Mr. Gilbert as Deer Lodge had been. John Noyes and others of the pioneer miners were his fast friends. The Misses Micklejohn, two sisters of Mrs. Noyes, were married by him to their respective husbands. His earnestness, good sense, straight forwardness, unselfishness and good humor made him a favorite in all the mining community.

In the summer of 1877, occurred the uprising of the Nez Perces in Northern Idaho under their chief Joseph. I think the failure of Congress to appropriate moneys that had been promised them was the underlying cause. These Indians had been accustomed year by year to come over from Idaho into Montana by the Sweetwater and Lo Lo trails into the Bitter Root Valley and thence by the Big Hole divide into Eastern Montana for a buffalo hunt. I often encountered them when they were on these journeys. Great fear therefore arose in the Bitter Root Valley, lest pushed by opposing forces they should come over upon the people of the valley, angry and hostile, along the wonted trails. Indeed the actual event was exactly as they feared. The Indians did come hostile along the same trails where before they had come peaceful; and at the Big Hole divide on Aug. 9, 1877, General Gibbon and his Seventh Infantry, U. S. A. fought the battle of the Big Hole against them, with a loss of 3 officers and 17 men and 4 citizens killed, and 5 officers and 36 men and 5 citizens wounded.

There had been great excitement in Western Montana all through the month of July. Just a year before Custer and his troops had been massacred on the Yellowstone by the Crows or Sioux, or both banded together. Mr. Gilbert could not rest under the excitement. He bought a horse at Deer Lodge, mounted it and galloped to Missoula to offer himself for help in any impending fight. Any lack of wisdom in such action was entirely lost sight of in the blaze of glorious approval of his bravery and enthusiasm. And when the battle did come, it was his to help in succoring and caring for the wounded. Among the killed was Lynde Elliott, a friend dear to us both, from the upper Bitter Root Valley. Mr. Gilbert had met him when accompanying me on my visitation of Montana in 1871. Mr. Gilbert got back soon to his work at Deer Lodge and Butte even more honored and loved than before.

For sometime Helena had been coveting the pastor of Deer Lodge and Butte. In the spring of 1878, the Vestry of St. Peter's, Helena, gave him a call to become their Rector. He accepted and soon removed to Helena to become resident Rector there. Very soon he and his people took in hand the building of St. Peter's church, of stone. The almost three years of his sojourn in the capital of Montana were crowded full with pastoral activities, and the good deeds of faithful citizenship, and the benevolent and beneficent acts, of one who loved his fellow men and was by them deeply and widely loved in return.

In the early winter of 1880 Mr. Gilbert accepted a call to become the Rector of Christ Church in St. Paul, Minnesota. He lived in Montana five and a half years. The pioneer inhabitants respected him deeply and their hearts were warm in their affection for him. I thanked God for him. He cheered my heart and strengthened my hands wonderfully by his faithful ministerial work. They were not days of success in Montana in persuading people to come



out openly on the Lord's side in the sacred rite of Confirmation. Yet Mr. Gilbert did present to me 75 for Confirmation. In Deer Lodge, 24; Butte, 9; Blackfoot, 2; Helena, 39; Boulder Valley, 1.

They were the days when the golden coin of true christian character passed for its full worth, and strongly influenced for good the people in the midst of whom it passed. Measured by this criterion the life of the Rev. Mr. Gilbert in Montana was among the best and strongest forces exerted there towards the upholding of righteousness, purity and true religion.

For nearly six years Mr. Gilbert served as Rector of Christ Church, St. Paul. In 1886 he was elected to be Bishop Coadjutor of Minnesota, to be the stay and support of the venerated Bishop Whipple. He was consecrated bishop in St. James Church, Chicago, Oct. 17, 1886. I preached the sermon. For nearly fourteen years he did wise administrative work and efficient missionary work as the Bishop Coadjutor of Minnesota, dying, March 2, 1900. Bishop Whipple survived him for one and a half years.

Mahlon Norris Gilbert was ordained deacon at Faribault by Bishop Whipple in June, 1875. He was ordained priest by me at Deer Lodge, October 17, 1875. He was consecrated bishop, Bishop Lee of Delaware presiding, in Chicago, Oct. 17, 1886.

These were the forward steps, outward and visible, of his ministerial career. But the twenty-five years of his ministerial life were crowded full with thoughts and prayers, and aims and efforts, for the glory of God and the good of men. Montana will not soon forget him, genial, faithful, resourceful, sympathetic, practical, devoted pastor that he was. His fellow members of the House of Bishops,—there were ninety of them,—esteemed and loved him. He was the leader in the House in securing the present arrangement of our Missionary Districts; grouping them around



cities and centers, as Salt Lake, Boise and Laramie, instead of accommodating them to the political lines of our states and territories. I opposed this change. I thought it injurious to interfere with the local pride which people justly feel in their own state or their own territory. But Bishop Gilbert urged the greater convenience and larger efficiency of doing missionary work regardless of lines of political area; and he won the day. It is the only instance which I can recall that ever he and I were arrayed on opposite sides, and I was beaten.

On March 20, 1900, there was a large public gathering in St. Paul in loving memory of the deceased Bishop, presided over by Governor Lind. Among the speakers was Archbishop Ireland, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of St. Paul. In part he said: "In my own journeys through the state I have had frequent opportunities to observe the untiring earnestness, the utter forgetfulness of self, the intelligent zeal which marked Bishop Gilbert's career as assistant bishop.

In addition to such zeal, he brought to his ministerial work an irreproachable manner of life, a suave temper, a well-stored mind, a facile and graceful diction. No wonder that his people were fond and proud of him. The Episcopal Church in Minnesota has been blest in its leadership; a Whipple and a Gilbert are names it may well love and revere.

In his relations with men outside his church he was most amiable, most respectful towards the individual conscience; ever ready to join with others in works of charity, of patriotism, of social reform, or of aught that might uplift humanity, reduce its sorrows or add to its joy. As became a ruler in a church which points with some pride to its prudent stepping and its conservative love of traditions, he guarded against the shadow of rashness; he never rushed into novelties or experiments, and so his movements were but the surer, and his co-operation, when given, the more effective."

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Goodby, dear boy of my early manhood's nurturing; dear missionary helper in my later mountain labors; dear fellow soldier in the honored but perplexing duties of a bishop's office! We are thankful for thy life; we are mourners over thy death.

Thou hast passed away from our earthly sight, yet neither art thou forgotten nor do we mourn as those without hope that we shall see thee again one day, and greet thee in thanks and joy and love.

DANIEL S. TUTTLE.

Wequetonsing, Mich., August 15, 1906.

## Sample Orr.

By Massena Bullard.

In the course of his long and eventful life, Sample Orr, or Judge Orr, as he was usually called, became a prominent and distinguished citizen in at least four different commonwealths.

Judge Orr was born November 26, 1816, in Maury County, Tennessee, and spent the first thirty-six years of his life in that State. In the early years of his manhood, he became interested in state and national politics. He made a profound study of political problems. He was an independent thinker. His position on political questions was not determined by the utterances of party leaders or party conventions, but was the result of his own patient and thorough investigation. He became widely known as a conscientious politician. He was always ready to advocate and defend his political faith. Few men enjoyed making a stump speech more than he. He was an ideal stump speaker. Well informed, fearless, shrewd, witty, sarcastic, and withal good natured, he aroused the enthusiasm of his friends without engendering bitterness in the hearts of those who disagreed with him. Friend and foe alike delighted to hear him, and he often drew the crowds away from other and more polished orators. He had an apparently inexhaustible fund of anecdote, and always seemed to have just the right story to illustrate, illuminate and emphasize each division of his argument.

On Christmas day, 1841, in his twenty-sixth year, he was married to Miss Olivia Houston. The fruit of this marriage was three sons,—Lycurgus, Solon, and Sample Hous-



SAMPLE ORR.





ton. Solon was admitted to West Point in 1862, and graduated from the artillery department in 1866. He was stationed at Key West, Florida, where he died of yellow fever in the fall of 1867. Lycurgus is now living at Bridgeport, California, engaged in the business of stock raising, and Sample Houston is practicing law in Idaho.

It is ever true, and in that day it was true in a larger sense than now, that an intelligent and comprehensive understanding of great political questions necessitates a knowledge of, and familiarity with, underlying legal principles. Realizing this to be true, Judge Orr read law and was admitted to the bar at Lewisburg, Marshall County, Tennessee, in 1846,—at the age of thirty years. Naturally his connection with the legal fraternity increased his strength, and added to his fame as a politician. He became a prominent and distinguished citizen of the great State of Tennessee.

In 1852, Judge Orr, with his wife and three sons, moved to Missouri, where he embarked in business as a farmer and lawyer. Soon after establishing the new home, his wife died. He remained a widower until January 31, 1856, when he was united in marriage at Springfield, Missouri, to Miss Emaline Donaldson. Six children were born to this union,—three sons, and three daughters. Two of the sons died in infancy. The third son, Marshall, surviving his father, died at Blackfoot, Idaho, August 14, 1900. Of the daughters, Katie, now Mrs. John W. Chapman, resides at Blackfoot, Idaho, Olivia, now Mrs. Charles E. Duer, resides at Fort Benton, Montana, and Mary Belle, now Mrs. M. Killingsworth, resides at Salt Lake City, Utah.

Soon after his arrival in Missouri, Judge Orr became actively identified with the politics of that state. He was elected and served a term as probate judge of Green County. In 1860 he ran for the office of Governor on the Bell and Everett ticket, and was defeated by Claiborne Fox Jackson. He was also, the same year, a candidate for presidential

elector on the Bell and Everett ticket. He was a member of the Missouri State Convention that met in St. Louis in 1861. In that body he took a strong and vigorous stand against secession, and with his co-workers succeeded in holding the State in the Union. In the same year, (1861), he was appointed register of lands for a term of four years. In 1864, Judge Orr was delegate from Missouri to the national democratic convention, which met in Chicago, and which nominated General George B. McClellan against Abraham Lincoln, the republican nominee for the office of president of the United States. It is evident that Sample Orr became a prominent and distinguished citizen of the State of Missouri.

In 1865 Judge Orr and family came to Montana, where he engaged in the practice of law and in sheep raising. Here, as in the states of Tennessee and Missouri, he soon became known as a lawyer and political orator. When it was known that Sample Orr was to speak, there was sure to be a crowd to listen to his logical arguments, to laugh at his timely and tersely told stories, and to enjoy his droll humor and his unsparing, though kindly, sarcasm. He was an unsuccessful candidate for delegate in Congress before the State Democratic Convention in 1867, and he ran as an independent candidate for the same office in 1878, but failed to be elected. In other political ventures he was more successful. He was elected and ably and faithfully served as a member of the Council, (the Upper House), in the third, fourth and fifth sessions of the Territorial Legislature, rendering great assistance in framing the laws of the young commonwealth.

It is beyond question true that Judge Orr became a prominent and distinguished citizen in the then Territory of Montana.

In 1880 Judge Orr went to California, where he stumped the state for General Winfield Scott Hancock, democratic

candidate for president of the United States. He became distinguished and prominent in that political campaign, but the writer is not advised that he established a domicile in, or became a citizen of, the State of California. Be that as it may, he invested in the business of driving sheep to Idaho, and finally made his home at Blackfoot in that territory. He soon became active and prominent in Idaho politics. In 1888 he was a candidate for district attorney for Bingham County, and in 1892, notwithstanding his advanced age, (seventy-five), he made a number of speeches for General James B. Weaver, peoples' candidate for president of the United States.

He became, and was recognized, as a prominent and distinguished citizen of Idaho.

Judge Orr was devoutly religious. In the prime of his manhood he became an admirer of Alexander Campbell, the great protagonist of the religious reformation of the nineteenth century, and united with the Christian Church. For several years of the time that Judge Orr resided in Helena, Montana, the Christian Church there was without a preacher. Notwithstanding this fact, the members of the church continued to hold regular communion services every Sunday morning, certain brethren taking turns at presiding and conducting the worship. Among these, Judge Orr was prominent, and when it came his turn to preside, he never failed to offer remarks appropriate to the occasion.

Judge Orr was a zealous advocate of the temperance reform, and made many stirring addresses in its behalf. In truth he was always ready to aid every moral cause.

Now and then, Judge Orr indulged in poetic effusions, and on the seventieth anniversary of his birth, wrote a poem, dedicated to his children. This poem is well worthy of publication, and is as follows:



## DEDICATED TO MY CHILDREN.

I am three score years and ten to-day  
And find, on looking round,  
Of the youths with whom I used to play  
Nine-tenths are under ground.

'Tis hard to part with those we love  
To meet them no more, ever—  
Seems hard that every human tie  
Soon will have to sever.

In youth I was of feeble health,  
Nor physically stout,  
But by the laws of temperance  
My life was lengthened out.

I tried to learn the laws of health  
And, when once learned, obey;  
I tried to live a temperate life,  
And hence am here to-day.

I've lived to see full many a change  
For better and for worse,  
Saw some who brought those changes round  
Replenish well their purse.

Men used to plow with one-horse plows,  
By hand they sowed their seed,  
And he who did a good day's work  
Thought that a noble deed.

With sickles, scythes and reaping hooks  
The harvesting was done,  
And flint-locked muzzle-loaders were  
The only kind of gun.

Now scythe and cradle laid aside  
Are scarcely worth a cent,  
The sickle and the reaping hook  
Are rarely ever bent.

They tramped their grain with horses feet  
Or threshed it out with flails—  
No lightning flashed the news on wire  
Nor cars dashed by on rails.

No steamer plowed the foaming deep,  
No Gatling balls were hurled—  
No Edison had then appeared  
To lighten up the world.

But now they ride to plow the ground  
And ride to sow their seeds,  
And when they ever reap or mow  
They drive a pair of steeds.

Some have machines that cut and bind  
Or load with endless chain,  
While others cut and thresh it out  
And snugly sack the grain.

By using improved implements  
The women or the men,  
Can do as much in one day now  
As once they could in ten.

It seems we might have time to mend  
Our morals or our mind,  
But no, we join the mighty chase  
For wealth of every kind.

Amongst the happiest days I've had  
Or hope to ever see,  
Was when my babes could cry da-dad  
And play about my knee.

But some of them have gone to rest  
At places where each died;  
Although no sorrow mars their breast,  
No two sleep side by side.

And those who live are scattered round  
As duty seems to guide,  
As far from each as are the graves  
Of those dear ones who died.

Till like a lonely forest tree  
Of leaf and branch bereft,  
Of all the children God gave me  
Not one with me is left.

I often meet them in my dreams  
To wake in sad surprise,  
To find no son or daughter there  
To wipe my weeping eyes.

To you, my children, let me say,  
If you should children rear,  
Be sure to govern them with love  
But not with rods or fear.

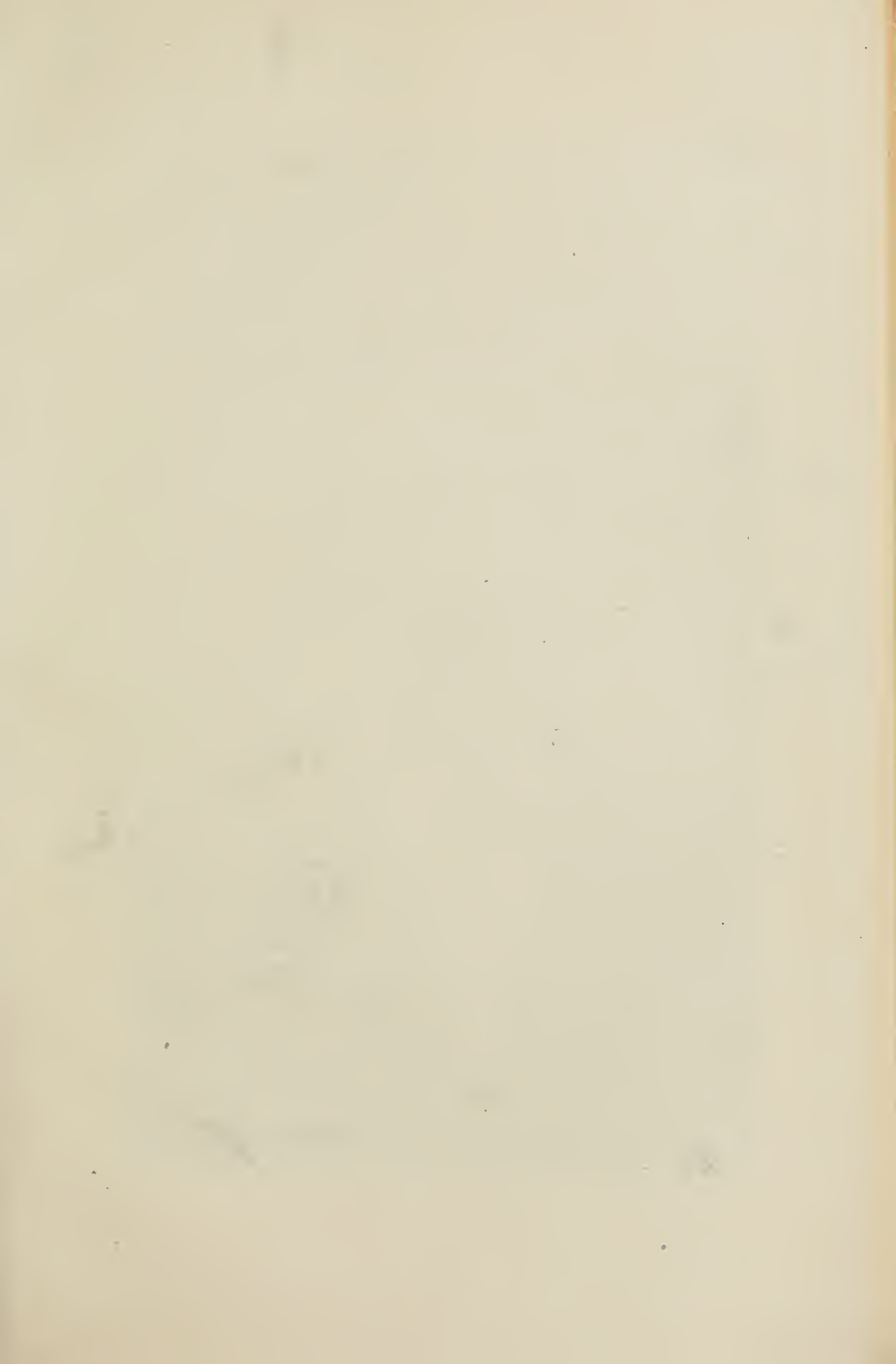
I've had my many hopes and fears,  
Enjoyed much wit and fun,  
But ere the lapse of many years  
My race will have been run.

—SAMPLE ORR.

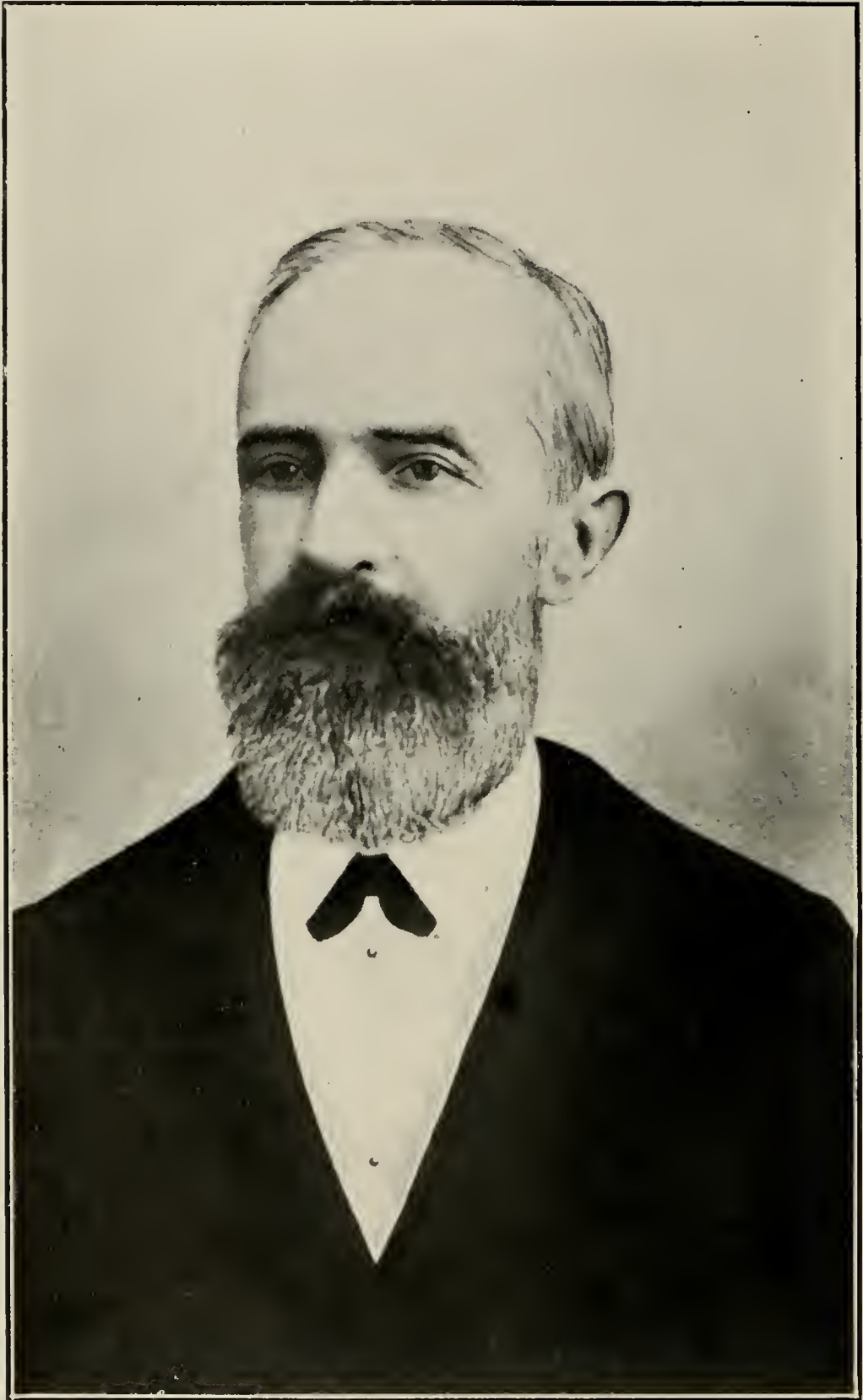
Blackfoot, Idaho Ty., November 26, 1886.

Judge Orr died at Blackfoot, Idaho, April 1, 1896, and his wife died at the same place April 21, 1899.

Judge Orr had hosts of friends in every place that he dwelt. He was universally regarded as a man of the very highest probity of character. He was an intelligent, influential and up-right citizen, giving his best thought and services for the public weal. He was a fond and devoted husband and father, a true and loyal friend, and a devout Christian gentleman.







CALEB E. IRVINE.

Judge Caleb E. Irvine,

**SOLDIER, PIONEER AND JURIST.**

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No more interesting character ever lived in Montana than was Hon. Caleb E. Irvine, who died at his family residence in Anaconda, February 6th, 1891, and at the time of his death he was probably the only man of whom it could be said that he had lived within the boundaries of Montana during periods when the country was under the jurisdiction of five separate, independent commonwealths.

Judge Irvine came to Fort Owen when that place was within the boundaries of the Territory of Oregon. The country then became part of the Territory of Washington, then Idaho, next Montana Territory finally to be created into the State of Montana. Curious and interesting evolutions in governments.

He was born in Robinson County, Tennessee, September 4th, 1825. He bore the name of his father who was drowned, in March, 1825, in Mayfield Creek, Northwestern Kentucky. His early years were spent on a farm in the backwoods of Tennessee, when the opportunities of obtaining an education were exceedingly limited and he secured his education as best he could along the trail of life, but chiefly from the great books of experience and observation. His eldest brother, James A. Irvine, died without family in 1847. Another brother Robert Green Irvine was, at the time of the Judge's death, residing at Columbia, Tennessee. His only sister Elizabeth E. Irvine, married David Browder. Both are dead, but left four sons, one, Wilbur F. Browder,

having attained great prominence as an attorney, in Kentucky.

Upon leaving the home farm Judge Irvine worked in a store at Nashville, Tenn., and subsequently was clerk of several different steamboats. In July, 1846, he enlisted in a regiment of mounted riflemen, now the Third U. S. Cavalry, and served throughout the Mexican war on Scott's line, from Vera Cruz to Mexico City. Upon the close of the war in 1848 he returned to the Jefferson City, Mo., Barracks, when he became a Lieutenant, spending the winter in the recruiting service in Cincinnati, Ohio.

In 1849 he crossed the continent from Fort Leavenworth to Oregon City, Oregon, following the historic Oregon trail, his regiment being under the command of Lieut. Col. Wm. W. Loring. The following spring he was ordered to The Dalles on the Columbia river where, as assistant quartermaster, he had charge of the construction of the Military Post where Gen. Phil. A. Sheridan, as Lieutenant in the U. S. Army, won his first spurs in Indian warfare. In September, 1851, he resigned from the army and, in company with Maj. John Owen, came to the Bitter Root Valley making his headquarters at Fort Owen up to 1863. During the five years following 1851, Judge Irvine each summer season made trips to the old emigrant road at Thomas' Fork of Bear river, 50 miles easterly from Soda Springs, where he traded horses and dressed skins to the passing emigrants for broken down stock, horses and cattle, which he drove back to the Bitter Root Valley where, feeding on the rich pasturage, they became fat and serviceable besides being the means of introducing much well-bred eastern stock into Montana. In 1859 Judge Irvine broke up and sowed in wheat and oats and planted in potatoes about 20 acres of ground near the present town of Corvallis producing a surprising crop. During the winter of 1859-60 he was in the employ of Captain Mullan in the construction of the Walla Walla-Fort



Benton wagon road. In the spring of 1861, he went with Major Owen to Portland, Oregon, to assist him in adjusting his Indian department accounts with Colonel Geary, then Superintendent of Indian Affairs of the Oregon District. Major Owen having for several years acted as agent for the Flathead Nation.

In the fall of 1863, Judge Irvine first answered the call of the Gold in joining the stampede in Alder gulch. He spent the summer of 1864 prospecting on Mill creek, above Sheridan, and a portion of 1864-5, at Bannack. He was elected engrossing clerk of the First Legislative Council of Montana and served as such throughout the session. In February, 1865, he was appointed by Governor Edgerton, Probate Judge of Deer Lodge County and opened his office at Silver Bow, then the county seat, and from that time to his death he resided at Deer Lodge, Butte and Anaconda. He was elected and served one term Probate Judge of Deer Lodge County and, with exception of one term, he served continuously as Probate Judge of Silver Bow County or as Justice of the Peace from 1871 to 1890, when he resigned office owing to ill health, indubitable proof of his broad and equitable character, integrity and fair dealing.

Judge Irvine in 1866, married at Deer Lodge Lydia Lamb. She was a native of Manchester, England, who came to Montana in 1864. The issue of the marriage was two children, Lizzie who became the wife of Dr. Nicholas Snyder at Anaconda in 1888, and Richard A. Irvine, born at Silver Bow, August 18th, 1871.

#### A STARTLING EXPERIENCE.

But few men have been called upon to undergo the terrible experience that came to Judge Irvine when a young man and while a soldier in the Mexican war.

He was in camp and without warning or previous serious illness he fell into what was termed a trance. He was supposed to be dead, being so pronounced by the examining



physicians, and his body was placed in a coffin. To some intimate friends the Judge described most vividly his feelings as his comrades in arms made comments on his appearance; expressing surprise and regret that one so full of life had been so suddenly taken away. There was talk among the doctors of a surgical examination, and the Judge was in fear that a knife would be used on his body. He was conscious of every action taking place within his view or hearing. At times he thought he was in fact dead and that he was simply possessing the consciousness existing after death. But after lying in this state nearly 48 hours he gradually recovered consciousness and health, and lived nearly half a century after this startling, uncanny experience.

Judge Irvine's life and experiences wonderfully illustrate the fifty years of settlement and growth of Montana and the Pacific Coast, a marvel of progress, unexampled in the history of the World.

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Compiled from the notes made by Col. Wm. F. Wheeler of conversations had with Judge Irvine at the rooms of the Historical Library in 1889, and an obituary notice in the Anaconda Standard, February 13, 1891.

## Famous Indian Foot Race.

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### Trader Secures Good Will of Band of Flatheads.

Judge Irvine had treasured in his memory many interesting stories of Indian life and legends, and he possessed the rare gift of entertainingly relating them. One narrative explained the origin of the name "Course De Femmes" that applies to a stretch of road near Arlee station on the line of the Northern Pacific Railroad, in Missoula County.

The Judge related that about 1842 Francois Armitinger, one of the head traders of the Hudson Bay Fur Company, arrived with his party among the Flathead Indians, then camped in Joeko Valley, for the purpose of trading. He had a large stock of goods and trinkets and the Indians, learning of his arrival, flocked around his camp which was located near the present site of Arlee Station. The Indians had an immense stock of fine furs, bear and deer skins, and Armitinger realized that if he could put the Indians in good humor and detain them about his camp he would be able to carry on a large and profitable trade.

Without disclosing the plan he had matured, he selected and piled in one heap, on the ground, liberal quantities of the gaudiest beads, trinkets, and most brilliantly colored goods he had in stock. His actions attracted the attention of the Indians, especially the women and maidens, who crowded about with wondering, eager eyes and longing expressions. He then announced that it was his desire that the Indian women should run a race, the one proving to be the fleetest of foot to receive the entire portion of goods and trinkets he had laid out. The Indians, universal gamblers as they are, gleefully assented to the plan and the women

and maidens immediately prepared themselves for the contest by throwing aside their blankets, tying their braided locks in tight knots, tightening their body garments, leggings and moccasins and capering about to limber their joints.

The course was laid out down the beaten trail to a large pine tree, around it and back to the starting point; the distance measuring fully two and a-half miles.

When Armitinger called "time" about 40 girls and women arranged themselves in line, their supple-sinewed iron-jointed, semi-nude red-brown forms, illumined by the rays of the bright sun, presenting a scene that would task the magic brush of a great artist to worthily depict. At the starting word away they dashed. Heads thrown back, nostrils distended, arms raised with closed fists pressing chests they darted down the trail like trained athletes amid the cheering admiration of both the whites and Indians and followed by many of the Indian bucks on their ponies, most of whom had wife or sweet heart in the race to whom they shouted exclamations of encouragement.

Half way down the stretch the young and beautiful Indian wife of Charles La Moose was observed to be strongly leading and she doubled the tree far in advance of all. Down the stretch those more closely following strained every nerve and muscle in the attempt to lessen her lead, but the efforts were of no avail as, apparently without great exertion and at a swifter pace than she held on the outbound stretch, she crossed the line far ahead of her nearest follower. In the colloquial phrase of the present race course "She distanced them all in a canter." And it is related that so swift was her flight on the homestretch that the accompanying Indians were compelled to vigorously apply the quirt to their ponies to keep pace with her.

In the flush of well-earned victory she graciously received the reward, the great store of goods and trinkets, amid the vociferous congratulations of the tribe.

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But Armitinger was a shrewd trader and well-knew that the heart of an Indian woman was as susceptible of disappointment and envy as is that of her sisters of fairer skin and to assuage such sentiments and cement the good impressions already made he presented to each participating contestant of the race a substantial and pretty present, and joy and satisfaction brooded over the entire camp and Armitinger enjoyed a most prosperous trade.

The Judge related that the memory of this race was still a theme of conversation among the Flatheads who have ever since called the trail, over which the race was run, the "Course De Femmes" the Woman's Race Course.



## Medicine Tree Hill

### A Legend

One of the legends Judge Irvine related refers to Medicine Tree Hill, being the first large hill above the old McCarty's bridge on the Hell Gate river, and a common point when Missoula and old Deer Lodge counties cornered. The Judge received the story from several different Indians, all of whom agreed in the material features.

### THE LEGEND.

Many years ago a young Indian, while slowly ascending a hill, discovered that he was being pursued by his enemies. Requiring rest he sought a secluded spot when he hung his medicine talisman on the limb of a tree, under the soothing shade of which he soon fell asleep and from which he was suddenly awakened by the yells of his enemies who, discovering his position, began making him the target of their arrows. To the young Indian's surprise not an arrow touched his body, all seemingly to veer off and fly into space before reaching him. This occasioned great surprise on his part, as he was entirely surrounded, and being encouraged by the belief that he was being protected by his "medicine" he quickly replied to the enemies' arrows by those from his own bow and was gratified to see that every arrow found its mark, resulting in the killing of many of his foes. His quiver soon became entirely exhausted of its stock of arrows when behold! as by magic, more came to his hand enabling him to continue his battle against great odds in numbers.

One Indian, observing the great slaughter going on among

his friends, and believing that the young Indian's "Medicine" was strong and its power saving him from harm, became desperate and seeing the medicine talisman hanging on the tree over the young Indian's head made a dash for the tree and snatching the "Medicine" from the limb threw it away. The very next arrow aimed at the single-handed warrior reached a vital spot and he sank to earth to rise no more.

This legend is still current among the Indians of the western slope who never pass the tree without hanging some article from their personal effects upon one of the limbs as a token of awe from their superstitious natures and to keep green the memory of the medicine-wrought tragedy enacted beneath its shade and to the present day the eminence is known as "Medicine Tree Hill."

## Directory of the Officers of the Territory of Montana.

Persons who were appointed or commissioned and did not qualify are omitted.

### GOVERNORS.

*Sidney Edgerton .....	June 22, 1864	July 12, 1866
*Green Clay Smith .....	July 13, 1866	Apr. 8, 1869
*James M. Ashley .....	Apr. 9, 1869	July 12, 1870
*Benjamin F. Potts .....	July 13, 1870	Jan. 14, 1883
J. Schuyler Crosby .....	Jan. 15, 1883	Dec. 15, 1884
B. Platt Carpenter .....	Dec. 16, 1884	July 13, 1885
Samuel T. Hauser .....	July 14, 1885	Feb. 7, 1887
* Preston H. Leslie .....	Feb. 8, 1887	Apr. 8, 1889
Benjamin F. White .....	Apr. 9, 1889	Nov. 8, 1889

\* Deceased.

### SECRETARIES OF THE TERRITORY.

*Thomas F. Meagher .....	Aug. 4, 1865	Mar. 27, 1867
*James Tufts .....	Mar. 28, 1867	Apr. 19, 1869
*Wiley S. Scribner .....	Apr. 20, 1869	July 18, 1870
Add. H. Sanders .....	July 19, 1870	Jan. 20, 1871
*James E. Callaway .....	Jan. 21, 1871	May 9, 1877
*James H. Mills .....	May 10, 1877	May 31, 1882
Isaac D. McCutcheon .....	June 1, 1882	Apr. 20, 1884
John S. Tooker .....	Apr. 21, 1884	Oct. 22, 1885
William B. Webb .....	Oct. 23, 1885	Apr. 14, 1889
L. A. Walker .....	Apr. 15, 1889	Nov. 8, 1889

\* Deceased.

### TERRITORIAL AUDITORS.

John S. Lott .....	Feb. 8, 1865	Mar. 19, 1866
*John H. Ming .....	Mar. 20, 1866	Dec. 5, 1867
*William H. Rodgers .....	Dec. 6, 1867	Feb. 11, 1876
George Callaway .....	Feb. 12, 1874	Nov. 30, 1874
Solomon Star .....	Dec. 1, 1874	Jan. 4, 1876
*D. H. Cuthbert .....	Jan. 5, 1876	Feb. 21, 1879
Joseph P. Woolman .....	Feb. 22, 1879	Mar. 4, 1887
*James Sullivan .....	Mar. 5, 1887	Nov. 8, 1889

\* Deceased.

TERRITORIAL TREASURERS.

*John J. Hull .....	Feb. 8, 1865	Mar. 19, 1866
*John S. Rockfellow .....	Mar. 20, 1866	Dec. 11, 1867
*William G. Barkley .....	Dec. 12, 1867	July 19, 1871
*Richard O. Hickman .....	July 20, 1871	June 30, 1875
D. H. Weston .....	July 1, 1875	Mar. 5, 1887
William G. Preuitt .....	Mar. 6, 1887	Nov. 8, 1889

\* Deceased.

SUPERINTENDENTS OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

A. H. Barret .....	Sept. 8, 1866	Mar. 3, 1867
A. M. S. Carpenter .....	Mar. 4, 1867	Jan. 4, 1868
Thomas F. Campbell .....	Feb. 1, 1868	July 16, 1869
*Cornelius Hedges .....	Jan. 27, 1872	Jan. 15, 1878
Clark Wright .....	Jan. 16, 1878	Feb. 18, 1879
*W. Egbert Smith .....	Feb. 19, 1879	Feb. 22, 1881
R. H. Howey .....	Feb. 23, 1881	Feb. 21, 1883
*Cornelius Hedges .....	Feb. 22, 1883	Mar. 17, 1885
William W. Wylie .....	Mar. 18, 1885	Mar. 11, 1887
Arthur C. Logan .....	Mar. 12, 1887	Nov. 8, 1889

\* Deceased.

ATTORNEY GENERALS.

William E. Cullen .....	Dec. 31, 1887	Mar. 24, 1889
John B. Clayberg .....	Mar. 25, 1889	Nov. 3, 1889

CHIEF JUSTICES.

*Hezekiah L. Hosmer .....	June 30, 1864	July 17, 1868
*Henry L. Warren .....	July 18, 1868	Mar. 16, 1871
*Decius S. Wade .....	Mar. 17, 1871	May 1, 1887
N. W. McConnell .....	May 2, 1887	Mar. 25, 1889
Henry N. Blake .....	Mar. 26, 1889	Nov. 8, 1889

\* Deceased.



## ASSOCIATE JUSTICES.

*L. P. Williston .....	June 22, 1864	July 17, 1868
Lyman E. Munson .....	Mar. 11, 1865	Apr. 4, 1869
Hiram Knowles .....	July 18, 1868	June 30, 1879
*George G. Symes .....	Apr. 5, 1869	Jan. 26, 1871
John L. Murphy .....	Jan. 27, 1871	Sept. 20, 1872
*Francis G. Servis .....	Sept. 21, 1872	July 29, 1875
Henry N. Blake .....	July 30, 1875	Mar. 1, 1880
*William J. Galbraith .....	July 1, 1879	Jan. 27, 1883
Everton J. Conger .....	Mar. 2, 1880	Feb. 18, 1884
John Coburn .....	Feb. 19, 1884	Dec. 30, 1885
Charles R. Pollard .....	Dec. 31, 1885	Aug. 5, 1886
James H. McLeary .....	Aug. 6, 1886	Apr. 1, 1888
Thomas C. Bach .....	Aug. 9, 1886	Nov. 8, 1889
*Stephen De Wolfe .....	Jan. 28, 1888	Nov. 8, 1889
*Moses J. Liddell .....	Apr. 2, 1888	Nov. 8, 1889

\* Deceased.

## UNITED STATES ATTORNEYS.

*Edward B. Neally .....	June 22, 1864	Apr. 19, 1867
Moses Veale .....	Apr. 20, 1867	July 10, 1868
Alexander E. Mayhew .....	July 11, 1868	Apr. 21, 1869
Henry N. Blake .....	Apr. 22, 1869	Mar. 2, 1871
*Cornelius Hedges .....	Mar. 3, 1871	May 16, 1872
*Merritt C. Page .....	May 17, 1872	May 13, 1877
Robert S. Anderson .....	Nov. 5, 1877	July 15, 1879
*John W. Andrews, Jr. ....	July 16, 1879	May 8, 1880
James L. Dryden .....	June 22, 1880	Nov. 10, 1881
Frank M. Eastman .....	Nov. 11, 1881	Mar. 1, 1883
*William H. DeWitt .....	Mar. 2, 1883	Sept. 5, 1885
Robert B. Smith .....	Sept. 6, 1885	Mar. 27, 1889
Elbert D. Weed .....	Mar. 28, 1889	Mar. 11, 1894

\* Deceased.

## UNITED STATES MARSHALS.

George M. Pinney .....	Feb. 20, 1865	Mar. 17, 1867
*Neil Howie .....	Mar. 18, 1867	May 14, 1869
*William F. Wheeler .....	May 15, 1869	Apr. 8, 1873
*Alexander C. Botkin .....	Apr. 9, 1873	June 30, 1885
*Robert S. Kelley .....	July 1, 1885	Mar. 31, 1889
*George W. Irvin .....	Apr. 1, 1889	June 30, 1890

\* Deceased.

## DELEGATES IN CONGRESS.

*Samuel McLean .....	Oct. 24, 1864 to Mar. 4, 1867
*James M. Cavanaugh .....	Mar. 4, 1867 to Mar. 4, 1871
*William H. Claggett .....	Mar. 4, 1871 to Mar. 4, 1873
Martin Maginnis .....	Mar. 4, 1873 to Mar. 4, 1885
Joseph K. Toole .....	Mar. 4, 1885 to Mar. 4, 1889
Thomas H. Carter .....	Mar. 4, 1889 to Nov. 8, 1889

\* Deceased.

# Directory of the Officers of the State of Montana.

## GOVERNORS.

	Elected.	Term.
Joseph K. Toole .....	Oct. 1, 1889	Nov. 8, 1889 Jan. 2, 1893
*John E. Rickards .....	Nov. 8, 1892	Jan. 2, 1893 Jan. 4, 1897
Robert B. Smith .....	Nov. 3, 1896	Jan. 4, 1897 Jan. 7, 1901
Joseph K. Toole .....	Nov. 6, 1900	Jan. 7, 1901 Jan. 2, 1905
Joseph K. Toole .....	Nov. 8, 1904	Jan. 2, 1905 Jan. 5, 1909

\* Removed to California.

## LIEUTENANT GOVERNORS.

John E. Rickards .....	Oct. 1, 1889	Nov. 8, 1889 Jan. 2, 1893
*Alexander C. Botkin .....	Nov. 8, 1892	Jan. 2, 1893 Jan. 4, 1897
A. E. Spriggs .....	Nov. 3, 1896	Jan. 4, 1897 Jan. 7, 1901
*Frank G. Higgins .....	Nov. 6, 1900	Jan. 7, 1901 Jan. 2, 1905
Edwin Norris .....	Nov. 8, 1904	Jan. 2, 1905 Jan. 5, 1909

\* Deceased.

## SECRETARIES OF STATE.

Louis Rotwitt .....	Oct. 1, 1889	Nov. 8, 1889 Jan. 2, 1893
Louis Rotwitt .....	Nov. 8, 1892	Jan. 2, 1893 Jan. 4, 1897
T. S. Hogan .....	Nov. 3, 1896	Jan. 4, 1897 Jan. 7, 1901
George M. Hays .....	Nov. 6, 1900	Jan. 7, 1901 Jan. 2, 1905
A. N. Yoder .....	Nov. 8, 1904	Jan. 2, 1905 Jan. 5, 1909

## STATE AUDITORS.

**E. A. Kenney .....	Oct. 1, 1889	Nov. 8, 1889 Jan. 2, 1893
A. B. Cook .....	Nov. 8, 1892	Jan. 2, 1893 Jan. 3, 1897
*T. W. Poindexter .....	Nov. 3, 1896	Jan. 4, 1897 Jan. 7, 1901
J. H. Calderhead .....	Nov. 6, 1900	Jan. 7, 1901 Jan. 2, 1905
Harry Cunningham .....	Nov. 8, 1904	Jan. 2, 1905 Jan. 5, 1909

\*\* Removed to Washington.

\* Deceased

## STATE TREASURERS.

*R. O. Hickman .....	Oct. 1, 1889	Nov. 8, 1889	Jan. 2, 1893
**Frederick W. Wright .....	Nov. 8, 1892	Jan. 2, 1893	Jan. 4, 1897
T. E. Collins .....	Nov. 3, 1896	Jan. 4, 1897	Jan. 7, 1901
A. H. Barret .....	Nov. 6, 1900	Jan. 7, 1901	Jan. 2, 1905
J. H. Rice .....	Nov. 8, 1904	Jan. 2, 1905	Jan. 5, 1909

\* Deceased.

\*\* Removed to Alaska.

## SUPERINTENDENTS OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION:

John Gannon .....	Oct. 1, 1889	Nov. 8, 1889	Jan. 2, 1893
Eugene A. Steere .....	Nov. 8, 1892	Jan. 2, 1893	Jan. 4, 1897
E. A. Carleton .....	Nov. 3, 1896	Jan. 4, 1897	Jan. 7, 1901
**W. W. Welch .....	Nov. 6, 1900	Jan. 7, 1901	Jan. 2, 1905
W. E. Harmon .....	Nov. 8, 1904	Jan. 2, 1905	Jan. 5, 1909

\*\* Removed to Mississippi.

## ATTORNEY GENERALS.

Henri J. Haskell .....	Oct. 1, 1889	Nov. 8, 1889	Jan. 2, 1893
Henri J. Haskell .....	Nov. 8, 1892	Jan. 2, 1893	Jan. 4, 1897
C. B. Nolan .....	Nov. 3, 1896	Jan. 4, 1897	Jan. 7, 1901
James Donovan .....	Nov. 6, 1900	Jan. 7, 1901	Jan. 2, 1905
Albert J. Galen .....	Nov. 8, 1904	Jan. 2, 1905	Jan. 5, 1909

## SUPREME COURT.

## CHIEF JUSTICES.

Henry N. Blake .....	Oct. 1, 1889	Nov. 8, 1889	Jan. 2, 1893
W. Y. Pemberton .....	Nov. 8, 1892	Jan. 2, 1893	Jan. 2, 1899
Theodore Brantly .....	Nov. 8, 1898	Jan. 2, 1899	Jan. 2, 1905
Theodore Brantly .....	Nov. 8, 1904	Jan. 2, 1905	Jan. 2, 1911

ASSOCIATE JUSTICES.

Edgar N. Harwood .....	Oct. 1, 1889	Nov. 8, 1889	Jan. 7, 1895
*William H. DeWitt .....	Oct. 1, 1889	Nov. 8, 1889	Jan. 4, 1897
**William H. Hunt .....	Nov. 6, 1894	Jan. 7, 1895	June 4, 1900
*Horace R. Buck .....	Nov. 3, 1896	Jan. 4, 1897	*****
***W. T. Pigott .....	Dec. 21, 1897	Dec. 24, 1897	Jan. 2, 1899
W. T. Pigott .....	Nov. 8, 1898	Jan. 2, 1899	Jan. 5, 1903
****R. Lee Word .....	June 4, 1900	June 4, 1900	Jan. 7, 1901
Geo. R. Milburn .....	Nov. 6, 1900	Jan. 7, 1901	Jan. 7, 1907
W. L. Holloway .....	Nov. 4, 1902	Jan. 5, 1903	Jan. 4, 1909
Henry C. Smith .....	Nov. 6, 1906	Jan. 7, 1907	.....

\* Deceased.

\*\* Resigned June 4, 1900, to take office of Secretary of Porto Rico.

\*\*\* Appointed to fill vacancy caused by death of Justice Buck.

\*\*\*\* Appointed to fill vacancy caused by resignation of Justice Hunt.

CLERKS OF SUPREME COURT.

William J. Kennedy .....	Oct. 1, 1889	Nov. 8, 1889	Jan. 2, 1893
Benjamin Webster .....	Nov. 8, 1892	Jan. 2, 1893	Jan. 2, 1899
Henry G. Rickerts .....	Nov. 8, 1898	Jan. 2, 1899	Jan. 2, 1905
J. T. Athey .....	Nov. 8, 1904	Jan. 2, 1905	Jan. 2, 1911

DISTRICT JUDGES.

The official term of a District Judge is Four Years.

FIRST DISTRICT.

William H. Hunt .....	1889 to 1895
*Horace R. Buck .....	1891 to 1897
Henry N. Blake .....	1895 to 1896
**Henry C. Smith .....	1897 to 1907
S. H. McIntire .....	1897 to 1901
J. M. Clements .....	1901 to
Thos. C. Bach .....	1907 to

\* Deceased.

\*\* Elected Associate Justice, Nov., 1906.



## SECOND DISTRICT.

John J. McHatton .....	1889 to 1897
William Y. Pemberton .....	1891 to 1893
William O. Spear .....	1893 to 1897
John Lindsay .....	1897 to 1901
William Clancy .....	1897 to 1905
E. W. Harney .....	1901 to 1905
John B. McClernan .....	1901 to 1907
George M. Bourquin .....	1905 to
M. Donlan .....	1905 to
J. J. Lynch .....	1907 to

## THIRD DISTRICT.

D. M. Durfee .....	1889 to 1893
Theo. Brantly .....	1893 to 1899
Welling Napton .....	1899 to 1905
George B. Winston .....	1905 to

## FOURTH DISTRICT.

*Charles S. Marshall .....	1889 to 1893
Frank H. Woody .....	1893 to 1901
F. C. Webster .....	1901 to

\* Deceased.

## FIFTH DISTRICT.

Thomas J. Galbraith .....	1889 to 1893
Frank Showers .....	1893 to 1897
M. H. Parker .....	1897 to 1905
L. L. Callaway .....	1905

## SIXTH DISTRICT.

Frank Henry .....	1889 to
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## SEVENTH DISTRICT.

George R. Milburn .....	1889 to 1897
Charles H. Loud .....	1897

EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Charles H. Benton .....	1889 to 1897
Jere B. Leslie .....	1897 to

NINTH DISTRICT.

Frank K. Armstrong .....	1891 to 1901
William L. Holloway .....	1901 to 1903
W. R. C. Stewart .....	1903

TENTH DISTRICT.

Dudley Du Bose .....	1891 to 1901
E. K. Cheadle .....	1901 to

ELEVENTH DISTRICT.

Charles W. Pomeroy .....	1895 to 1897
D. F. Smith .....	1897 to 1905
John E. Erickson .....	1905 to

TWELFTH DISTRICT.

John W. Tattan .....	1901 to
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FEDERAL COURT.

FEDERAL JUDGES.

Hiram N. Knowles .....	Feb. 21, 1890	Apr. 15, 1904
William Hunt .....	Apr. 19, 1904	.....

UNITED STATES ATTORNEYS.

**Elbert D. Weed .....	Mar. 28, 1889	Mar. 11, 1894
* Preston H. Leslie .....	Mar. 12, 1894	Mar. 8, 1898
William B. Rodgers .....	Mar. 9, 1898	Mar. 31, 1902
Carl Rasch .....	Apr. 1, 1902	.....

\* Deceased.

\*\* Last Territorial Attorney.

## UNITED STATES MARSHALS.

*William F. Furay .....	July 1, 1890	Mar. 7, 1894
William McDermott .....	Mar. 8, 1894	Mar. 5, 1898
*Theodore J. Lynde .....	Mar. 6, 1898	May 1, 1898
Joseph P. Woolman .....	May 12, 1898	Oct. 8, 1902
Charles F. Lloyd .....	Oct. 9, 1902	.....

\* Deceased.

## MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

## UNITED STATES SENATORS.

* Wilbur F. Sanders .....	Jan. 1, 1890	Mar. 3, 1893
T. C. Power .....	Jan. 2, 1890	Mar. 3, 1895
Lee Mantle .....	Jan. 16, 1895	Mar. 3, 1899
Thomas H. Carter .....	Mar. 4, 1895	Mar. 3, 1901
Thomas H. Carter .....	Mar. 4, 1905	Mar. 3, 1911
William A. Clark .....	Mar. 4, 1899	**
William A. Clark .....	Mar. 4, 1901	Mar. 3, 1907
Paris Gibson .....	Mar. 7, 1901	Mar. 3, 1905
Joseph M. Dixon .....	Mar. 4, 1907	Mar. 3, 1913

\*\* Resigned, and was re-elected, 1901.

## MEMBERS OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Thomas H. Carter .....	Oct. 1, 1889	Nov. 8, 1889	Mar. 4, 1891
*William W. Dixon .....	Nov. 4, 1890	Mar. 4, 1891	Mar. 4, 1893
Charles S. Hartman .....	Nov. 8, 1892	Mar. 4, 1893	Mar. 4, 1895
Charles S. Hartman .....	Nov. 6, 1894	Mar. 4, 1895	Mar. 4, 1897
Charles S. Hartman .....	Nov. 3, 1896	Mar. 4, 1897	Mar. 4, 1899
*A. J. Campbell .....	Nov. 8, 1898	Mar. 4, 1899	Mar. 4, 1901
Caldwell Edwards .....	Nov. 6, 1900	Mar. 4, 1901	Mar. 4, 1903
Joseph M. Dixon .....	Nov. 4, 1902	Mar. 4, 1903	Mar. 4, 1905
Joseph M. Dixon .....	Nov. 8, 1904	Mar. 4, 1905	Mar. 4, 1907
Charles N. Pray .....	Nov. 6, 1906	Mar. 4, 1907	.....

\* Deceased.

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