

MGC

977.8
Jackson:

v.1

B7380

MID-CONTINENT PUBLIC LIBRARY
Midwest Genealogy Center
3440 S. Lee's Summit Rd.
Independence, MO 64055 **MGC**



Wm Rufus Jackson

Missouri Democracy

A HISTORY OF THE PARTY AND ITS REPRESENTATIVE
MEMBERS—PAST AND PRESENT

With a Vast Amount of Informative Data .

WM. RUFUS JACKSON
AUTHOR



Three Royal Octavo Volumes
Illustrated

Volume I

Chicago—St. Louis—Indianapolis
S. J. CLARKE PUBLISHING CO., INC.
1 9 3 5

FRANK HUGHES MEMORIAL LIBRARY
LIBERTY, MO. 64336

COPYRIGHT, 1935
S. J. CLARKE PUBLISHING CO., INC.



MID-CONTINENT PUBLIC LIBRARY
Midwest Genealogy Center
3440 S. Lee's Summit Rd.
Independence, MO 64055 **MGC**

329
J13
M5G A

MID-CONTINENT PUBLIC LIBRARY
15616 EAST 24 HIGHWAY
INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI 64050

977.8

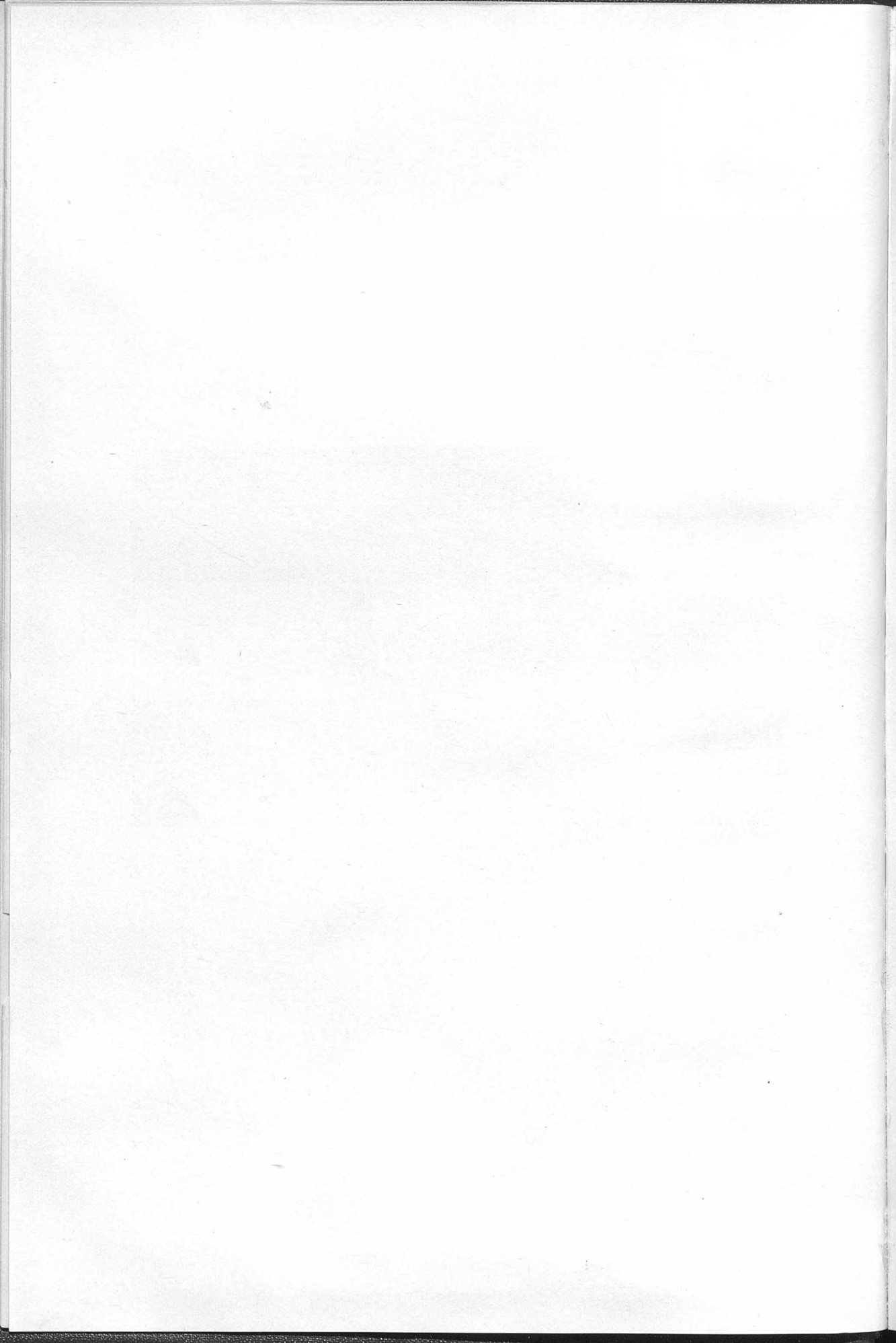
Dedictory

In fond and loving remembrance of the patient fortitude and Christian piety characteristic of her self-sacrificing struggle in maintaining the home for myself and five fatherless sisters this work is in consecrated love and affection dedicated to the memory of my dear Mother.

THE AUTHOR.



THE MISSOURI STATE FLAG
Designed by Mrs. R. B. Oliver,
Cape Girardeau, Missouri.
(See page 10, Volume III.)



FOREWORD

The National Convention of 1844 made the first formal use of the name "Democrat," as applied to members of the party really formed by Andrew Jackson sixteen years before, and that name has since been retained although, as a matter of fact, Thomas Jefferson will ever be cherished as the founder and exponent of American Democracy.

The history of the oldest and, today, the dominant political party in the United States necessarily becomes a part of the warp and woof of the entire human fabric of thought, work and achievement within the commonwealth represented by this narrative. It represents first, sturdy pioneers blazing trails in the wilderness, and later the people of a great state, in their efforts to so order their public affairs that progress might be possible and opportunity assured.

In the conflict of opinion fusing in the clash of major political parties may be found the crucible from which finally emerges American progress. Where parties have differed in choice of men or policy these differences should be studied in the light of subsequent experience; and, where they have agreed, there may also be found principles that should not be lightly abandoned. The time is ripe for an accurate review of the past. From facts so presented we may gain courage and wisdom the better to chart our way into an uncertain future. Although this work will give in detail the record of the dominant political party in one of the great states of this Union, it will not be partisan in motive, but, rather, the history of the public affairs of the commonwealth.

There is nowhere to be found in the pages of American history a greater romance of achievement, a finer or more illustrious past, nor brighter promise for the future than may rightfully be portrayed in this narrative.

I hope that this work may help perpetuate the memories of those who have contributed to the furtherance of the principles of the great Democratic party in the State of Missouri, and that it may prove invaluable not alone to those of us who are here today, but to our successors who shall continue to build after we have passed.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Andrew Jackson". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the page number.

FOREWORD

The National Convention of 1912 made the first formal use of the name "Democratic" as applied to members of the party really formed by Anthony Jackson almost twenty years before, and that name has since been retained as a matter of fact. Thomas Jefferson will ever be identified as the founder and exponent of American Democracy.

The history of the United States from the dominant political party in the United States has been a part of the war and work of the United States nation. It is a history of thought, work, and achievement which the country has never forgotten. It represents first, second, and third parties moving trails in the wilderness, and later the people of a great state in their effort to order their public affairs that progress might be possible and constantly assured.

In the conflict of opinion facing in the class of major political parties may be found the creative force which finally connects American progress. When parties have differed in choice of men or policy, these differences should be studied in the light of subsequent experience, and when they have agreed there may also be found principles that should not be lightly abandoned. The time is ripe for an accurate review of the past. From facts so presented we may gain courage and wisdom the better to chart our way into an uncertain future. Although this work will give in detail the record of the dominant political party in one of the great states of this Union, it will not be partial in motive, but, rather, the history of the public affairs of the Commonwealth.

There is nowhere to be found in the pages of American history a greater record of achievement, a list of more illustrious men, nor a brighter promise for the future than may rightfully be perceived in this narrative. I hope that this work may help perpetuate the memories of those who have contributed to the furtherance of the principles of the great Democratic party in the State of Wisconsin, and that it may prove invaluable not alone to those of us who are here today, but to our successors who shall continue to build after we have passed.



CONTENTS

FIRST EPOCH—1804-1820

Dedicatory, v
 Illustrations, xiii
 In Acknowledgment, xv

CHAPTER I	THE JEFFERSONIAN SPIRIT AND INFLUENCE	1
	Footnotes for Chapter, 15	
CHAPTER II	TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT	17
	Footnotes for Chapter, 25	
CHAPTER III	THE JEFFERSONIAN INFLUENCE	29

SECOND EPOCH—1820-1844

ANDREW JACKSON AND HIS FOLLOWING IN MISSOURI

CHAPTER I	MISSOURI ENTERS STATEHOOD	43
	Footnotes for Chapter, 52	
CHAPTER II	THE ORIGIN OF MISSOURI'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS	59
	Footnotes for Chapter, 63	
CHAPTER III	THE JACKSONIAN POLICIES POPULAR WITH MISSOURI VOTERS	65
	Footnotes for Chapter, 74	
CHAPTER IV	BENTON'S THIRTY YEARS AS UNITED STATES SENATOR ..	77
	Footnotes for Chapter, 98	
CHAPTER V	MISSOURI'S EARLY REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS	105
	Footnotes for Chapter, 107	

THIRD EPOCH—1845-1860

A TRIUMPHANT DEMOCRACY DESPITE POLITICAL INSTABILITY

CHAPTER I	THE POLITICAL ISSUES OF THE DAY	111
	Footnotes for Chapter, 113	
CHAPTER II	THE STATE ADMINISTRATION	115
	Footnotes for Chapter, 125	
CHAPTER III	MISSOURI'S REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS	131
	Footnotes for Chapter, 138	

CONGRESS, 1845-1859	139
Footnotes, Congress, 1845-1859, 145	

FOURTH EPOCH—1861-1870

A DECADE OF CIVIL WAR, RADICALISM AND OPPRESSION

CHAPTER I THE STATE ADMINISTRATION	151
Footnotes for Chapter, 158	
CHAPTER II MISSOURI'S REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS—THE SENATE	165
Footnotes for Chapter, 166	
CHAPTER III MISSOURI REPRESENTATIVES—HOUSE	169
Footnotes for Chapter, 172	

FIFTH EPOCH—1871-1872

CHAPTER I RULE OF REASON, RESTORATION OF CIVIL LIBERTY AND REVIVAL OF DEMOCRACY	177
Footnotes for Chapter, 183	

MISSOURI'S REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS

CHAPTER II THE SENATE	187
Footnotes, Congress, 1871-1872, 189	

SIXTH EPOCH—1873-1888

DEMOCRATIC SUPREMACY; STATE ECONOMY AND REHABILITATION OF STATE FINANCES

CHAPTER I THE ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR WOODSON	191
Footnotes for Chapter, 206	

MISSOURI'S REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS

CHAPTER II THE SENATE	211
Footnotes for Chapter, 216	
CHAPTER III CONGRESS, 1873-1887	221
Footnotes for Chapter, 228	

SEVENTH EPOCH—1889-1904
CONTINUANCE OF DEMOCRATIC SUPREMACY AND THE
PROGRESSIVE ADMINISTRATION OF
STATE AFFAIRS

CHAPTER I	THE STATE ADMINISTRATION	237
	Footnotes for Chapter, 257	

MISSOURI'S REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS

CHAPTER II	THE SENATE; HOUSE, 1889-1903	259
	Footnotes for Chapter, 270	

EIGHTH EPOCH—1905-1912
AN ADMIXTURE OF POLITICAL PARTY CONTROL
OF STATE AFFAIRS

CHAPTER I	THE STATE ADMINISTRATION	279
	Footnotes for Chapter, 287	

MISSOURI'S REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS

CHAPTER II	THE SENATE	291
	Footnotes for Chapter, 292	
CHAPTER III	THE HOUSE, 1905	297
	Footnotes for Chapter, 301	

NINTH EPOCH—1913-1920
DEMOCRACY ASSUMES CONTROL OF STATE AND
NATION IN WORLD CRISIS

CHAPTER I	CHAMP CLARK FOR PRESIDENT	305
	Footnotes for Chapter, 322	

MISSOURI'S REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS

CHAPTER II	THE SENATE	329
	Footnote for Chapter, 330	
CHAPTER III	THE HOUSE, 1915-1919	333
	Footnotes for Chapter, 335	

TENTH EPOCH—1921-1932

PREJUDICES AND GREED OVERCOME REASON—
REPUBLICANS GAIN CONTROL OF STATE
AND NATION

CHAPTER I	THE STATE ADMINISTRATION	337
	Footnotes for Chapter, 353	
CHAPTER II	CONGRESS, THE HOUSE, 1921-1933	359
	Footnotes for Chapter, 361	

CONCLUSION—1933-1934

THE POLITICAL RENAISSANCE OF AMERICA

CHAPTER I	ELECTIONS OF 1932	367
	ADDRESS BEFORE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, BY GOVERNOR GUY B. PARK	368
	INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT F. D. ROOSEVELT	368
	GOVERNOR PARK'S STEWARDSHIP: AN ADDRESS TO YOUNG DEMOCRATS, FEB. 23, 1934	375
CHAPTER II	THE FIRST YEAR OF THE NEW DEAL	379
CHAPTER III	STATE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM	385
	Footnotes for Conclusion, 1933-1934, 386	
	RESULT OF ELECTION IN 1934	op. 390

SPECIAL SUBJECTS

THE SUPREME COURT OF MISSOURI	391
DEMOCRATIC EDITORIAL ASSOCIATION OF MISSOURI	409
THE JEFFERSON CLUB	415
FIRST YOUNG MEN'S DEMOCRATIC CLUB OF MISSOURI	422
WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN MISSOURI	423
THE NEGRO IN MISSOURI	431
OLD NEWSPAPERS OF ST. LOUIS	435
THE COUNTRY PRESS	445
A BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE JEFFERSON MEMORIAL MOVEMENT	457
MEMOIRS	521
DEMOCRATIC COUNTY HISTORIES, ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED	539
ST. LOUIS CITY DEMOCRACY	765

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
Jefferson Monument, Capitol Building	op. 1
First Government House at St. Louis	11
William Clark	19
Thomas Jefferson	31
Missouri Hotel	45
Temporary Capitol at St. Charles	45
Hon. Alexander McNair	49
Hon. Frederick Bates	49
Hon. John Miller	49
Hon. Lilburn W. Boggs	61
Hon. Daniel Dunklin	61
Hon. Thomas Reynolds	61
Hon. M. M. Marmaduke	61
Andrew Jackson	67
Hon. Thomas Hart Benton	79
Marie P. Le Duc	83
Hon. John C. Edwards	117
Hon. Austin A. King	117
Sterling Price	117
Hon. Robert M. Stewart	117
Hon. David R. Atchison	133
Hon. Frank P. Blair	143
Hon. Erastus Wells	173
Hon. John F. Philips	173
Hon. B. Gratz Brown	179
Hon. Nicholas M. Bell	179
Hon. Silas Woodson	193
Hon. Charles H. Hardin	193
Hon. John S. Phelps	197
Hon. Thomas T. Crittenden	197
Hon. John S. Marmaduke	203
Hon. Albert P. Morehouse	203
Hon. George Graham Vest	213
Hon. Francis Marion Cockrell	213
Where Senator George G. Vest delivered his famous "Eulogy on the Dog"	217
Hon. Richard Parks Bland	223
Hon. David R. Francis	239
Hon. William Joel Stone	243
Statue of Thomas Jefferson, Forest Park, St. Louis	247
Hon. Lon V. Stephens	251
Hon. Alexander M. Dockery	251
Hon. James Cooney	267
Hon. Joseph W. Folk	281

	PAGE
State Capitol at Jefferson City in 1876	285
Hon. James A. Reed	293
E. A. Glenn	293
Hon. Joseph J. Russell	299
Hon. Henry S. Priest	299
Hon. Champ Clark	307
Hon. Elliott W. Major	315
Hon. Frederick D. Gardner	315
Signing Missouri's Ratification of Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment	319
Missouri State Capitol, Jefferson City	323
Hon. Harry B. Hawes	343
Hon. Bennett C. Clark	351
Franklin D. Roosevelt	369
Governor Guy B. Park	373
Hon. James R. Claiborne	381
Hon. Thomas C. Hennings, Jr.	381
Hon. Harry S. Truman	387
Hon. James B. Gantt	393
Hon. LeRoy B. Valliant	397
Hon. Henry W. Bond	397
Hon. Samuel Treat	401
Hon. Warwick Hough	401
Hon. Gavon D. Burgess	405
Hon. Thomas A. Sherwood	405
First Suffrage Organization in Saline County	425
Charles Knapp	437
George Knapp	437
John Knapp	437
Thomas Watson	441
William Hyde	441
John N. Edwards	441
Richard Speed	447
E. W. Stephens	447
Sam B. Cook	447
A Memorial to Thomas Jefferson and Our National Expansion	467
General Jo Shelby	533
Col. John H. Shanklin	625
First Courthouse in Phelps County	717

IN ACKNOWLEDGMENT

It is with heartfelt appreciation that I acknowledge the helpful assistance given me in the preparation of the historical narrative of *Missouri Democracy, A History of the Party and its Representative Members, Past and Present*. Credit has been accorded to the many reference works from which information has been gleaned and such has been quoted with proper designation of the source. In the time-absorbing research and the resultant classification and compilation of the great mass of facts here presented, I have, of necessity, drawn upon the time and talent of many friends, who through knowledge gained by experience in our State's political affairs, were eminently qualified to extend to me the necessary aid in making for this work whatever merit it may deserve. Therefore, my thanks are extended

To MR. R. P. (PET) THOMPSON, veteran Democratic newspaper editor and reporter, intimate friend and associate of many of Missouri's public men in the State's political affairs, for his tireless research and assembling of pertinent facts;

To MR. W. D. (DOUG) MENG, editor of the Missouri Manual (the Blue Book), and his able assistant, CANCE POOL, for their generous aid in searching out and transcribing musty records of Missouri's political affairs;

To FLOYD E. SHOEMAKER, secretary of the Missouri State Historical Society, than whom no man has a more thorough knowledge of Missouri history, for valuable advice and counsel;

To MISS MAUDE CLEAR, MRS. EMMA ELLIOTT, and MISS LAURA SEE for their painstaking efforts in typing the voluminous pages of manuscript;

To MRS. WARREN C. BAILEY of St. Louis, MR. SAM POWELL of Sedalia, MRS. NAN FERGUSON of Poplar Bluff, DR. Z. LEE STOKELY of Poplar Bluff, and others who so kindly furnished me with valuable historical documents otherwise not available;

To the more than two score contributors whose interesting articles under their names most worthily attest to their personal concern in the historical events herein recorded;

To each of the individual members of the Editorial Advisory Board for their coöperative influence and helpful advice;

To the S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, Inc., and its business and editorial staffs for not only conceiving the plan and carrying it to a successful conclusion, but also for the thorough and painstaking manner in

which a general distribution has been accomplished of an historical work ably edited, admirably printed and substantially bound; and

To those sterling friends and public spirited citizens of Missouri who by their advance subscriptions have made possible the recording in imperishable print the glorious achievements of the Party of our faith and adherence.

WM. RUFUS JACKSON.

FIRST EPOCH—1804-1820

CHAPTER I

THE JEFFERSONIAN SPIRIT AND INFLUENCE

More than that of any other state of the Union, Missouri's progressive development is due to the influences of those great principles of government enunciated by Thomas Jefferson.

With wonderful foresight the Sage of Monticello envisioned the advantages to accrue to the then feeble Nation through the purchase of the Louisiana Territory, the greatest deal in real estate ever consummated.

From this vast territory—then but partially explored—its small and sparse settlements confined to its eastern fringe; its extensive domain of wild life known only to those Indians whose hunting grounds had not then given way to our early civilization and the westward emigration of the sturdy pioneers, has been developed that great middle-west—the Heart of America.

From its then unsurveyed boundaries have been organized and established the states of Missouri, Arkansas, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska and Oklahoma, in whole; and parts of the states of Minnesota, Kansas, Colorado, Montana, Wyoming and Louisiana. The entire area covered in the Louisiana Purchase covers 883,072 square miles and contains 565,166,080 acres, incomparable as to its fertility of soil and mineral wealth.

An historical narrative of Missouri, therefore, has its beginning when in 1803 Thomas Jefferson, founder of what is now known as the Democratic Party, as President of the United States, through his Envoy Extraordinary, James Monroe¹ in conjunction with Robert Livingston, Jefferson's minister to France, under instructions carefully framed by Jefferson and his Secretary of State, James Madison,² began the negotiations, the result of which was the acquisition of Louisiana Territory from France. In his splendid History of Missouri, Louis Houck, on pages 348, 349, 350, 351 and 352, volume II, gives the following interesting recital of these far-reaching negotiations and their ratification by the Congress of the United States:

"Jefferson fully realized the importance of the acquisition of the mouth of the Mississippi. His letter to Monroe, while paying that man a merited tribute, demonstrated that his master mind conceived the plan to acquire by purchase, an outlet for the West. 'If we cannot by a purchase of the country,' he says, 'insure to ourselves a course of perpetual peace and friendship with all nations, then as war cannot be far distant, it behooves us immediately to be preparing for that course without,

however, hastening it, and it may be necessary for you to cross the channel.'

"Up to this time no one had a thought of acquiring Louisiana. At most, it was thought that the island of New Orleans and the Floridas might be acquired by purchase. When, on January 11, 1803, Livingston was sent as Minister to France, he was instructed to vigorously insist upon the possession of the 'island of New Orleans' or some other 'place of deposit for the products, commodities and commerce of the country.' When Monroe arrived with more extensive powers Livingston was already waiting to conclude terms with Barbe Marbois and Napoleon for the purchase of upper and lower Louisiana, at a price so low as to be within the reach of our Treasury. Napoleon was then in need of money in order to prepare for the war with England, which he saw was inevitable. He also was too far-seeing not to appreciate the fact that in such a war, Louisiana, instead of being an aid, would be a burden to him. He thought that by a cession of the territory to the United States he would be aiding the commerce of France. He fully realized that the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States would vastly add to the material strength of the Union, and that by thus aiding the nascent power of the Republic, he was strengthening a rival who would dispute with England the dominion of the seas. On Easter Sunday, April 10, 1803, he first advised his Prime Minister, Talleyrand, that he expected to sell Louisiana. He did not underestimate the value of the vast domain, nor the precarious nature of his position. 'I can scarcely say,' so he remarked, 'that I cede it to them for it is not yet in our possession. If, however, I leave the least time to our enemies, I shall only transmit an empty title to those Republicans whose friendship I seek. They only ask of me one town in Louisiana but I already consider the colony as entirely lost; and it appears to me that in the hands of this growing power, it will be more useful to the policy and even to the commerce of France than if I should attempt to keep it.'

THE GREATEST REAL ESTATE DEAL IS NEGOTIATED

"Marbois strongly concurred in this policy. So when Monroe arrived, Marbois, without any concealment of the true intention of his government, directly asked the sum he and his colleague would be willing to pay for Louisiana. Thus the largest real estate sale of the world began. Napoleon wanted fifty million francs; Monroe and Livingston offered thirty million and Marbois named one hundred million francs. The price finally agreed upon was eighty million francs. Napoleon urged that the business be closed at once. Marbois thought that the people of Louisiana ought to be considered, but Napoleon cut him off short by sarcastically saying, 'You are giving me in all its perfection, the idealogy of the law of nature and nations; but I require money to make war on the richest nation in the world. Send your maxims to London; I am sure they will be greatly admired there, and yet no great attention is paid to them when the question is the acquisition of the finest regions of Asia. Per-

haps it will also be objected to me, that the Americans may be found too powerful for Europe in two or three centuries, but my foresight does not embrace such remote affairs. Besides we may hereafter expect rivalries among the members of the Union. The Confederations that are called perpetual only last until one of the confederating parties finds it to its interest to break them, and it is to prevent the danger to which the colossal power of England exposes us, that I would provide a remedy.' Such being the sentiment of Napoleon, who ever had but little regard for the will or wishes of the people, and the possession of the country being of paramount importance to the people of the United States the negotiations were rapidly closed, terms and boundaries fixed and conditions speedily adjusted. On the 30th of April, 1803, twenty days after Napoleon first advised Talleyrand of his intention to sell the Louisianas, the treaty and two conventions accompanying it were engrossed in French and signed, dated April 30, 1803. The actual signing, although of that date, being four days later, this delay being caused by translating into English the original treaty.

"The whole of this tremendous transaction was concluded within two months after Monroe had sailed from New York. Marbois thus records the conclusion of this memorable treaty: 'The authors of those solemn instruments that regulate the lot of nations, cannot be insensible to the honour of having done acts useful to their country.' A sentiment superior even to glory seemed to animate the three ministers, and never perhaps did negotiators taste a purer joy. As soon as they had signed the treaty, they rose and shook hands, when Livingston, expressing the general satisfaction, said, 'We have lived long, but this is the noblest act of our whole lives. The treaty which we have just signed has not been obtained by art or dictated by force; equally advantageous to the two contracting parties, it will change vast solitudes into flourishing districts. From this day the United States take their place among the powers of the first rank; the English lose all exclusive influence in the affairs of America. * * * The instruments which we have just signed will cause no tears to be shed; they prepare ages of happiness for innumerable generations of human creatures. The Mississippi and Missouri will see them succeed one another and multiply, truly worthy of the regard and care of Providence in the bosom of equality, under just laws, freed from the error of superstition and the scourges of bad government.' When Napoleon heard that the treaty had been definitely concluded, he triumphantly said: 'This accession of this outlet strengthens forever the power of the United States; and I have just given England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride.'

"Jefferson was startled by the marvelous success of these negotiations. He called a special session of Congress to meet in October following, to ratify the treaty. Many objections were made. For instance, it was contended that France only conveyed a mere quit claim, because it did not appear that France had complied with the conditions on which alone Spain had agreed to cede Louisiana. The treaty of St. Ildefonso, it was argued, was not itself a cession, but merely an agreement to cede under

certain circumstances, and that the country was still in possession of Spain. In support of this position reference was made to the fact that the Spanish Minister at Washington had entered a caveat or protest with our Government against the transfer as invalid. In this protest the Marquis de la Casa Yrujo gave publicity to the fact, that by the treaty of St. Ildefonso, Napoleon had agreed for the French Government that Spain should have the preference in case France, in her turn, should be disposed again to cede Louisiana, and further, that one of the express conditions upon which the King, his master, had transferred the country to France, was that the latter power should obtain from all the courts of Europe the acknowledgment of the Duke of Parma as King of Etruria, and that these engagements not having been fulfilled the treaty of cession was null and void. Spain, however, was not in a position to assert her undoubted rights, and although still in possession of the country, was not able to maintain herself both against France and the United States. In an ordinary real estate transaction a fraud such as Napoleon perpetrated would not avail the purchaser. But this was no ordinary real estate transaction. When nations deal with each other might often seems to make right, national advantage prevails over justice, fraud sometimes becomes patriotism. However, on the 10th of February, 1804, in a letter to Mr. Pinckney, the Spanish Minister denied that he had been instructed to oppose the transfer of Louisiana, and declared that 'his Majesty thought proper to renounce his protest against the alienation of Louisiana by France.'

"Public men were not troubling themselves seriously about the equities between Spain and France, but the great and serious difficulty pointed out by Jefferson himself, so far as the United States was concerned was that the acquisition of any territory whatever under the obligation to admit such territory, as a state, to the Union, was not warranted by the Constitution. The Constitution, it was contended, was formed for the government of certain known and defined territory called the United States, and could not be extended to another territory without the consent of each of the states. Nevertheless, the treaty was ratified,—yeas 24; nays 7, including all the Federalists present.

RATIFICATION OF TREATY OPPOSED BY FEDERALISTS

"During the debate the unconstitutional character of the treaty was admitted by many, and particularly by Taylor of Virginia, who 'confessed that the treaty was a violation of the Constitution; but declared that he would ratify it and throw himself on the people for pardon, and on Heaven to absolve him of the violation of a trust that he had sworn to maintain.' Griswold of Connecticut said, 'The Union of the States is formed on the principle of co-partnership, and it would be absurd to suppose that the agent of the parties, the general government, who had been appointed to execute the business of the compact in behalf of the principals, the states, could admit a new partner without the consent of the parties themselves. The treaty therefore, so far as it stipulates for

such an incorporation, is void.' Plummer, a Federalist Senator from New Hampshire, called on President Jefferson while the treaty was pending, and during the course of the conversation Jefferson inquired what his opinion was respecting the treaty. Plummer answered that he thought the Senate 'had no constitutional authority to make and execute the treaty,' and to this Jefferson replied that was precisely his opinion. John Quincy Adams also thought that an amendment to the Constitution ought to be proposed to ratify the purchase. 'The Constitution,' says Jefferson in one of his letters, 'has made no provision for our holding foreign territory, still less for incorporating foreign nations into our Union. Congress will be obliged to ask from the people an amendment to the Constitution, authorizing their receiving the province into the Union, and providing for its government.' In a letter to Senator John Breckinridge he further says: 'The executive in seizing the fugitive occurrence which so much advances the good of his country has done an act beyond the Constitution.' He also said that it was his wish that this act might be ratified. The draft of such an amendment was actually prepared by Madison, but never formally proposed, because it was doubtful if it would be adopted by the requisite number of states.

"The violation of the Constitution acquiesced in on account of the evident advantage of the acquisition of Louisiana, was considered, in 1819, sufficient authority for the purchase of the Floridas by treaty; the annexation of Texas by resolution; the incorporation of Mexico by conquest and purchase; the acquisition of Alaska by treaty; and in more recent times the annexation of Porto Rico by conquest, as well as the Philippine Islands in Asia, seven thousand miles away. A precedent so established, conceded at the time to be without constitutional sanction, and held by Jefferson to be in violation of the Constitution, has been made the basis to add to the Union territories much more extensive than the original states. Great as was the advantage of this acquisition, dazzling as was the prize, intoxicated as were the people, Jefferson never lost sight of the violation done the Constitution by the purchase. Twenty-five years afterwards, shortly before his death, he said, 'I still think the ratification of that treaty was the most direct and palpable violation of the Constitution of which Congress has every been guilty.'"

Jefferson, while never doubting the wisdom of his act, with that great regard for a strict adherence to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, which he perfected, advocated an amendment to the Constitution that would clarify the question involved. However, the treaty as negotiated by Monroe and Livingston was ratified by the United States Senate over the objections of many leading statesmen.

"Our country," said Fisher Ames,³ October 6, 1803, "is too big for Union." Rodgers Griswold of Connecticut stated, October 15, 1803, in the House of Representatives, "The vast and unmanageable extent which the acquisition of Louisiana will give the United States; the consequent dispersion of the population, and the destruction of that balance which is so important to maintain between the Western and Eastern States threatens, at no distant day, the subversion of our Union." Jackson, of

Georgia, said in February, 1804, "The settlement will effect, what I much deprecate, a separation of this Union." Dayton, of New Jersey, February 2, 1804, declared, "If upper Louisiana is settled the people there will separate from us; they will form a new empire and become our enemies." Stone, of North Carolina, on the 16th of February, said, "The acquisition of Louisiana will produce one of two things; either a division of the Union or a very different government from what we now have." Plummer of New Hampshire, thought October 20, 1803, that "The ratification of this treaty, and the possession of that immense territory will hasten the dissolution of our present government. The constitution never contemplated the accession of a foreign people or the extension of our territory. * * * Adopt this Western world into the Union, and you destroy at once the weight and importance of the Eastern States and compel them to establish a separate and independent Empire." And John Quincy Adams, on December 28, 1828, at that time President of the United States, tells us that a dissolution of the Union was actually planned by the Federal party of Massachusetts "in the winter of 1803 and 1804 immediately after, and as a consequence of the acquisition of Louisiana."

That Jefferson's vision as to ultimate consignments so far exceeded in judgment those opposing his views, is reflected in the solidarity of a Union of which those states formed in whole or in part from the Louisiana Purchase Territory are integral units.

"The purchase of Louisiana," says Houck,⁴ "was so decidedly popular even in New England, that no effective opposition could be made to it. The people were pleased, and gave themselves no trouble to inquire whether the purchase was in violation of the Constitution or not. The present advantages to the purchaser were great, apparent and undeniable. The evil of the unconstitutional course adopted to acquire the vast territory was remote, and perhaps imaginary. The territorial extent of the Union was doubled and forever strengthened in power, as Napoleon foresaw. Without this purchase it is hardly probable that the federation would have survived the constant and imperious demands of the west for an outlet to the Gulf—a necessity born of its geographical situation, and essential to its prosperity."

Such was the manner in which the territory of which the present State of Missouri is a part was acquired as the crowning achievement of President Jefferson's administration.

LOUISIANA TERRITORY IS TRANSFERRED TO UNITED STATES

By the Treaty of St. Ildefonso, October, 1800, Louisiana was retroceded to France. However, the Spanish government retained control until November 30, 1803. It was during this period that President Jefferson opened and successfully concluded the negotiations for its acquisition. Upon the receipt of the treaty of purchase in Washington, July 14, 1803, President Jefferson immediately called Congress in extraordinary session to convene October 17. The treaty was ratified and the representative of the French Government at New Orleans notified on

November 23. Under the provisions of the Treaty of St. Ildefonso, France took formal possession of the upper and lower Louisianas. On December 20, M. Laussat, as the representative of France, in turn transferred the territories to the United States, President Jefferson being represented by Governor William Claiborne,⁵ and Major General James Wilkinson. However, the actual transfer of upper Louisiana was not formally made until March 9, 1804.

On this date at St. Louis, the American troops [recently transferred from Kaskaskia] under command of Lieutenant Stephen Worrel, 2d Regiment U. S. Artillerists, "acting as Adjutant for Captain Stoddard⁶ and also accompanied by Captain Meriwether Lewis, already in St. Louis, and making preparation under orders of President Jefferson to explore the utmost limits of the country from the Mississippi to the Pacific, were brought across the river. After being transferred they marched to the Government House, located on what is now the corner of Walnut and Main streets, where Captain Stoddard in his representative capacity as Agent of the French Republic and also of the United States, was received with due ceremony by Lieutenant-Governor DeLassus in the presence of the citizens of the village, nearly all of them being assembled in the street in front of the building. * * *

"The flag of Spain was then lowered and that of France raised. On the prearranged signal, a salute was fired from the fort located on the hill near where the present St. Louis Courthouse is situated. Thereupon the American troops marched to the fort and were received by the Spanish troops under arms and placed in possession of the quarters of the fort, and the flag of the United States was then raised on the staff in place of that of France. The Spanish troops then marched to the temporary barracks which had been rented, situated on the corner of Elm and Third streets, the house belonging to Manuel de Lisa. After the Spanish troops retired to these temporary quarters, DeLassus ordered that the drum must be beat only in the morning and in the evening and not then until after the drum beat of the American troops, and in the house only and not in the open air. * * *

"No particular ceremony seems to have marked the transfer of the other settlements and posts, except at New Madrid. Here on the 18th of March, Don Juan La Vallee surrendered the fort and district under his command to Captain Stoddard as agent of the French Republic to receive it. La Vallee particularly reports that 'in those negotiations forty-five libras of powder have been used both in salutes and by the guards.' But the people of New Madrid were not pleased with the change of government and he writes that 'this change has caused the greatest anger among these habitans, who live here, and especially on the day of surrender, during the ceremonies of which they have expressed the greatest grief.' At Ste. Genevieve when the post was surrendered, the flag of the United States was raised by Israel Dodge. At Cape Girardeau, the people, who were all Americans, with the exception of Lorimier and Cousin, were pleased greatly with the transfer of the country and seem to have been decidedly hostile, if not to the Spanish Government, to the Spanish

officers. When DeLassus afterward went down the river with his convoy he ordered the guns to be loaded in order to repel any hostile attack here. At Mine á Breton shortly before the transfer, when an attempt was made by the Spanish Deputy Surveyor Thomas Madden to survey a tract of land granted Pascal Detchemendy, a riot occurred and the surveyor and his assistants were driven away, the people, so DeLassus writes the Marquis de Casa Calvo, 'hallowing Viva Gifferson.' "7

CAPTAIN STODDARD'S ADDRESS TO THE CITIZENS OF UPPER LOUISIANA

On March 10, 1804, Captain Stoddard advised Governor Claiborne and General Wilkinson, President Jefferson's commissioners at New Orleans, that he had received possession of upper Louisiana in behalf of the United States and he issued a lengthy address to the then residents of the territory in which it was stated:

"Louisianans: The period has now arrived when in consequence of the amicable negotiations, Louisiana is in the possession of the United States. The plan of a permanent territorial government for you is already under the consideration of Congress and will doubtless be completed as soon as the importance of the measure will admit. But in the meantime, to secure your rights and to prevent a delay of justice, His Excellency, William C. C. Claiborne, Governor of the Mississippi Territory, is invested with those authorities and powers (derived from an Act of Congress) usually exercised by the Governor-General and Intendant under his Catholic Majesty; and permit me to add that by virtue of the authority and power vested in him by the President of the United States, he has been pleased to commission me First Civil Commandant of Upper Louisiana. Directed to cultivate friendship and harmony among you, and to make known the sentiments of the United States relative to the security and preservation of all your rights, both civil and religious, I know of no mode better calculated to begin the salutary work than a circular address. * * *

"Thus you will perceive that you are divested of the character of subjects and clothed with that of citizens. You now form an integral part of a great community, the powers of whose government are circumscribed and defined by charter, and the liberty of the citizen defended and secured. Between this government and its citizens, many reciprocal duties exist, and the prompt and regular performance of them is necessary to the safety and welfare of the whole. No one man can plead exemption from these duties; they are equally obligatory on the rich and the poor—on men in power as well as those not entrusted with it. They are not prescribed as whim and caprice may dictate; on the contrary, they result from the actual or implied compact between society and its members, and are founded not only on the sober lessons of experience, but in the immutable nature of things. If, therefore, the Government be bound to protect its citizens in the enjoyment of their liberty and property and religion—the citizens are no less bound to obey the laws and to aid the Magistrate in the execution of them—to repel invasion—

and in periods of public danger, to yield a portion of their time and exertion in defense of public liberty. In governments differently constituted, where popular elections are unknown and where the exercise of power is confined to those of high birth and great wealth, the public defense is committed to men, who make the science of war an exclusive trade and profession; but in all free republics where the citizens are capacitated to elect, and to be elected into offices of emolument and dignity, permanent armies of any considerable extent are justly deemed hostile to liberty; and therefore, the militia is considered the palladium of their safety. Hence, the origin of this maxim that every soldier is a citizen and every citizen is a soldier. * * *

"Admitted as you are in the embraces of a wise and magnanimous nation, patriotism will gradually warm your breasts and stamp its features on your future actions. To be useful, it must be enlightened—not the effect of passion, local prejudice or blind impulse. Happy the people, who possess invaluable rights and know how to exercise them to the best advantage; wretched are those who dare not think and act freely. It is a sure test of wisdom to honor and support the government under which you live, and to acquiesce in the decisions of the public will, when they be constitutionally expressed. Confide, therefore, in the justice and in the integrity of our Federal President; he is the faithful guardian of the laws, and entertains the most beneficial views relative to the glory and happiness of this territory; and the merit alone, derived from the acquisition of Louisiana, without any other, would perpetuate his name to posterity. Place equal confidence in all the constituted authorities of the Union; they will protect your rights and indeed, your feelings, and all the tender felicities and sympathies so dear to rational and intelligent natures. A very short experience of their equitable and pacific policy, will enable you to view them in their proper light. I flatter myself that you will give their measures a fair trial, and not precipitate yourselves into conclusions which you may afterwards be forced to retract. The first official act of my present station, expressly permitted by higher authority, will confirm these remarks.

JUST AND LIBERAL VIEWS

"The United States, in the acquisition of Louisiana, were actuated by just and liberal views. Hence the admission of an article in the treaty of cession, the substance of which is, *that the inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union, and admitted as soon as possible to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States*; and in the meantime be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and religion.

"From these cursory hints you will be enabled to comprehend your present political situation, and anticipate the future destinies of your country. You may soon expect the establishment of a territorial government, administered by men of wisdom and integrity, whose salaries will be paid out of the Treasury of the United States. From your present

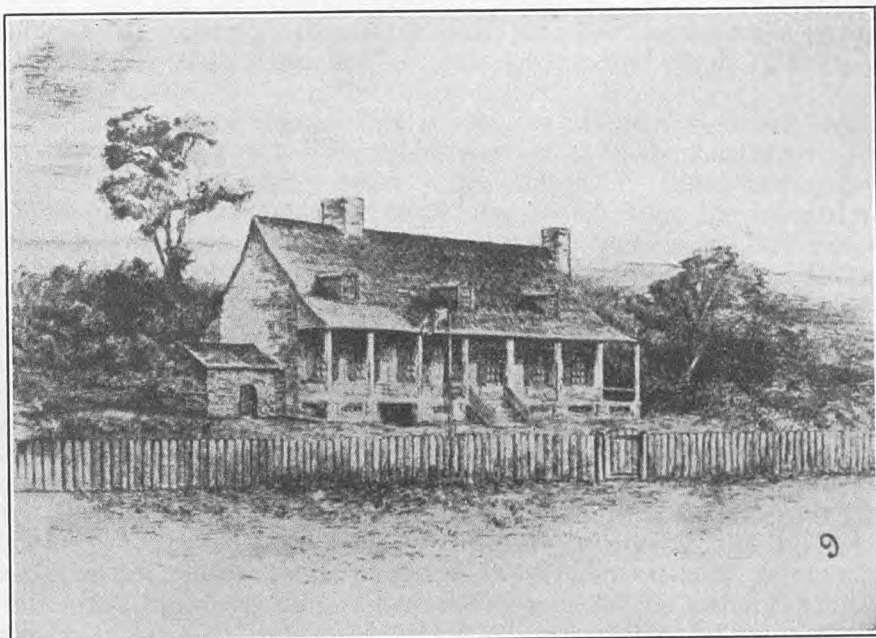
population and the rapidity of its increase, this territorial establishment *must soon be succeeded by your admission as a State into the Federal Union*. At that period you will be at liberty to try an experiment in legislation, and to frame such a government as may best comport with your local interests, manners and customs; popular suffrage will be its base. The enactment of laws and the appointment of judges to expound them, are among the first privileges of organized society. Equal to either of these, indeed, is the inestimable right of trial by jury. Inseparable from many other obvious advantages are the forms of judicial processes and the rules for the admission of testimony in courts of justice. It is also important that a distinction be made between trials of a capital nature and those of an inferior degree, as also between all criminal and civil contests. In fine, upper Louisiana from its climate, soil and productions and from other natural advantages attached to it will, in all human probability, soon become a star of no inconsiderable magnitude in the American constellation.

"Be assured that the United States feels all the ardor for your interests which a warm attachment can inspire. I have reason to suppose that it will be among some of their first objects to ascertain and confirm your land titles. They will know of the deranged states of these titles and of the existence of a multitude of equitable claims under legal surveys where grants have not been procured. What ultimate measures may be taken on this subject does not become me to conjecture—but this much I will venture to affirm, that the most ample justice will have no just cause to complain. Claimants of this description have hitherto invariably experienced the liberality of government; and surely it will not be less liberal to the citizens of upper Louisiana who form a strong cordon on an exposed frontier of a vast empire, and are entitled by solemn stipulations to all the rights and immunities of freemen."⁸

THE ASSURANCE OF EARLY STATEHOOD

It is of consequence, in view of subsequent developments in Missouri's determined fight for admission as a State, to note Captain Stoddard's reference to the provisions of the Treaty of Cession, assuring early Statehood. As will be found in subsequent chapters, certain members of Congress gave but scant consideration to this provision of a solemn and binding obligation.

Captain Stoddard remained in temporary command of Upper Louisiana as Governor until September 30, 1804, under instructions to make changes only where necessary in the administration of governmental affairs. It was President Jefferson's view that it devolved upon Congress to provide a government to regulate the affairs of the new territory. Consequently, Congress took cognizance of its responsibilities and by an act divided the vast territory into two sub-divisions designating that part north of the 33d parallel of North latitude and extending to the line of British possessions as the "District of Louisiana" and attaching it to the Territory of Indiana and extending the jurisdiction thereof. William



FIRST GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT ST. LOUIS

Henry Harrison was at that time Governor of the Territory of Indiana and Thomas Terry Davis, Henry Vanderberg and John Griffin, Judges. Sitting at Vincennes, then capital of the Territory of Indiana, Governor Harrison and the judges, as the Legislative Commission, adopted some laws, few in number, but reflecting the Anglo-American sentiment as contrasted with those under the Spanish regime. These included the establishment of the whipping post and pillory; also imprisonment and the sale of services of debtors. Governor Harrison, afterward elected President of the United States, as a Whig, and his associates were imbued with that Federalistic doctrine, even now reflected in the principles of the present-day Republican Party of which, says Houck, "Evidently the thought that the feelings of criminals ought not to be lacerated by exposure in the pillory; that a public whipping post lowered the chance of redeeming the malefactor, had not entered into the minds of these judicial legislators."⁹

"The injustice of imprisoning a man for his debts," Houck says further, "and selling him for his debts, was yet to be demonstrated so as to be relegated to the lumber room of past ideas."¹⁰ Other laws provided that arson was punishable by death, and in addition, the injured party could recover damages if the offender was a person holding property. Additional laws were equally extreme in penalties and reflected the views of General Harrison's Federalistic tendencies toward the unfortunate and his overbearing militaristic attitude. Resentment on the part of the inhabitants of Upper Louisiana naturally followed the pronouncement of the arbitrary and severe laws enacted by Governor Harrison and his legislative council. That such drastic action was repugnant to the kind and sympathetic sensibilities of President Jefferson is manifested in his expressions of interest in the welfare of the people of the newly acquired territory who had lived under and learned to respect the generous administrations of Spanish rule. One of the many expressions of his friendly interest in the welfare of the people of the ceded territory was manifested in his appointment in 1804 of five young men of the leading families of upper Louisiana to the United States Military School at West Point, at that time but recently established. The young men so appointed were Auguste Chouteau, Jr., a son of Pierre Chouteau; Charles Gratiot, Pascal Vincent Bois, from St. Louis; Louis Lorimier, Jr., and Auguste Bongenville Lorimier of Cape Girardeau, and in 1805, Louis Valle from Ste. Genevieve.¹¹

DETACHED FROM INDIANA TERRITORY

Under this first government five districts were established, St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid. Courts of Quarter Sessions were established for each district and provisions made for the appointment of a Sheriff and a Recorder for each.

However, it was apparent to the impartial observer, quoting Williams and Shoemaker's "Missouri, the Mother of the West," pages 168 and 169, Vol. II, "that Upper Louisiana, or the Territory of Louisiana, could not

continue to be attached to the Indiana Territory for administrative purposes. The people protested against it. In less than six months a convention of delegates selected by the people of the various districts in Upper Louisiana met in St. Louis, Charles Gratiot was elected president of the assembly, and J. B. Provenchere, secretary. Ten days were spent in deliberations and the result was a comprehensive memorial to Congress setting forth all their objections to the Act of 1804. The memorial was dated September 29, 1804, and was signed by the principal American settlers of the country for the most part, supported by a few of the French settlers.

"The sequel of this memorial was that Congress by the Act of 1805 separated the District of Louisiana from Indiana and made it a territory of the first or lowest class. (The memorialists had petitioned that it be made a territory of the third or highest class.) General James Wilkinson was appointed first territorial governor and served from 1805 to 1807. Under the new act the country became the 'Territory of Louisiana,' with the executive power vested in a governor, appointed by the President for three years, unless removed prior to the end of that period. The governor was also made commander-in-chief of the militia of the territory and ex-officio commissioner of Indian affairs. A secretary to hold office for four years, whose duties were to preserve and record all official documents, was also provided for. The legislative power was then vested in the governor and in three judges, or a majority of them, who were empowered to establish inferior courts, prescribe the jurisdiction of the same and make such laws 'as may be deemed by them conducive to good government and not inconsistent with the Constitution and the laws of the United States,' all criminal cases to be tried by jury, as well as all civil cases involving more than \$100. The act provided that the laws should be published in the territory, and reported to the President and Congress for approval. Under the act Joseph Browne of New York was appointed secretary, and James B. C. Lucas, John Coburn, and Rufus Easton judges of the Superior Court. The secretary, Browne, was brother-in-law to the notorious Aaron Burr and received a visit from that individual shortly after the installation of these officers in St. Louis. Burr's term of office as Vice President of the United States had only just expired and, as was perfectly proper, General Wilkinson treated him with marked respect at St. Louis, and when he left for New Orleans the governor sent him in his private barge of ten oars, gaily bedecked and accompanied by an escort of ten men and a sergeant. This incident was later referred to as proof of the complicity of General Wilkinson in the alleged schemes of Burr to dismember the Union. These charges, however, Wilkinson was able to disprove when, in 1811, he was brought before a court of inquiry which had been named to investigate these charges as well as the charge of complicity with the so-called Spanish conspiracy to dismember the Union. Wilkinson was acquitted of the charge. His administration as governor was bitterly assailed. Many charges, more or less grave, were made against him. He was accused of antagonizing the American settlers, of being in favor of keeping the territory under mili-

tary rule, that he was predisposed in favor of the rich French land owners, that he was engaged in land speculation, that he was a Royalist, a Federalist, and a Burr-ite. Jefferson himself had always been friendly to Wilkinson, but under pressure from the latter's enemies he decided to remove the governor under date of March 3, 1807."

FOOT NOTES, FIRST EPOCH—CHAPTER I

¹ Afterward elected as the fifth President of the United States and a staunch advocate of Jefferson's principles of Government as distinguished from those of the Federalist Party, founded on the theories of governmental affairs propounded by Alexander Hamilton, the patron saint of what is now known as the Republican Party. Monroe's appointment was bitterly opposed by the Federalist members of the Senate but was finally confirmed by a vote of 15 to 12.

² The then Secretary of State and Jefferson's successor as President.

³ Houck's History of Missouri, p. 354, Vol. II.

⁴ Houck's History of Missouri, p. 354, Vol. II.

⁵ William C. C. Claiborne was an antecedent of the well known Claiborne family of Missouri, of which Congressman J. R. Claiborne is now its best known member.

⁶ Houck's History of Missouri, pp. 360 to 364, Vol. II.

⁷ See Letter of DeLassus to Casa Calvo in Chouteau Collection of DeLassus letters in the Archives of the Missouri Historical Society.

⁸ Houck's History of Missouri, pp. 370, 371, 372, Vol. II.

⁹ Houck's History of Missouri, p. 379, Vol. II.

¹⁰ Houck's History of Missouri, p. 380, Vol. II.

¹¹ Houck's History of Missouri, p. 381, Vol. II.

The first part of the report deals with the work done during the year. It is divided into two main sections: the first section deals with the work done in the field, and the second section deals with the work done in the laboratory.

THE WORK DONE IN THE FIELD

The first part of this section deals with the work done in the field during the year. It is divided into two main sections: the first section deals with the work done in the field during the first half of the year, and the second section deals with the work done in the field during the second half of the year.

The second part of this section deals with the work done in the field during the year. It is divided into two main sections: the first section deals with the work done in the field during the first half of the year, and the second section deals with the work done in the field during the second half of the year.

The third part of this section deals with the work done in the field during the year. It is divided into two main sections: the first section deals with the work done in the field during the first half of the year, and the second section deals with the work done in the field during the second half of the year.

The fourth part of this section deals with the work done in the field during the year. It is divided into two main sections: the first section deals with the work done in the field during the first half of the year, and the second section deals with the work done in the field during the second half of the year.

The fifth part of this section deals with the work done in the field during the year. It is divided into two main sections: the first section deals with the work done in the field during the first half of the year, and the second section deals with the work done in the field during the second half of the year.

The sixth part of this section deals with the work done in the field during the year. It is divided into two main sections: the first section deals with the work done in the field during the first half of the year, and the second section deals with the work done in the field during the second half of the year.

The seventh part of this section deals with the work done in the field during the year. It is divided into two main sections: the first section deals with the work done in the field during the first half of the year, and the second section deals with the work done in the field during the second half of the year.

CHAPTER II

TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT

After Governor Wilkinson¹ was deposed, Meriwether Lewis² was appointed Governor in 1808. And upon the office being vacated by his suicide while en route to Washington on legal business in October, 1809, Benjamin Howard,³ a member of Congress from Lexington, Kentucky, was appointed governor on April 17, 1810.

During the days that Missouri had operated under the jurisdiction of the "Territory of Louisiana," there had been a growing disposition of the people for statehood, and this became pronounced when Congress formed the "Territory of Missouri."

In his "History of Missouri," Shoemaker says:⁴

"Another step towards the political emancipation of the country was effected when Congress passed a law broadening the territorial government in 1812, which changed the name to Territory of Missouri, and provided for a General Assembly consisting of a governor, a Legislative Council, and a House of Representatives, which had the power to make laws, both civil and criminal; to establish inferior courts, to prescribe the duties of the justices of the peace and other civil officers; to regulate their fees and provide for their payment and for the payment of all other services rendered the territory. Provision was made for the assent of the governor to all bills, and no bills of legislative act were to be of any force without his approbation. A Legislative Council consisting of nine members to be selected by the President of the United States, by and with the advice of the Senate, out of eighteen persons nominated by the territorial House of Representatives, was provided for. Members of this Legislative Council were to be residents of the territory and owners of 200 acres of land therein; to hold office for five years and to be of the age of at least twenty-five years. The members of the House of Representatives were to be elected for two years. Each 500 of the free white male inhabitants were to be represented by one member until the population of the country should so increase as to return more than twenty-five members, when a different proportion was to be established. It was enacted that the General Assembly should meet annually in St. Louis. The territory was divided into the five counties of St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, St. Charles, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid, which had previously been known as 'districts.' The last official act of Governor Howard was to issue a proclamation ordering an election to be held in November for a delegate to Congress and for members of the Territorial Legislature to be organized according to the new act."

Governor Howard resigned to become a brigadier general in the army during the War of 1812. He died in St. Louis September 18, 1814; on July 3, 1813, General William Clark⁵ was appointed Governor of the Northwest Territory by the President.

Edward Hempstead⁶ was the first delegate from the Territory to Congress and took his seat prior to January 7, 1813. Rufus Easton⁷ succeeded Edward Hempstead and took his seat November 16, 1814. At the third election for delegate to Congress, the contest was between John Scott⁸ and Rufus Easton. Scott received 1,816 votes, Easton, 1,801. The election was contested, and Congress ordered a new election, which resulted in the election of Scott.

"In the fourth and last territorial General Assembly, elected in 1818, Howard County was represented by six members," says Shoemaker.⁹ "A new county, Lawrence,¹⁰ was represented by six members. There were thirty-seven members in all, St. Louis County, with nine members, having the most. David Barton¹¹ from the latter county, was elected speaker of the House, and Ben Emmons,¹² president of the Council. An act was passed organizing the following eight new counties: Jefferson, Franklin, Wayne, Lincoln, Madison, Montgomery, Pike and Cooper, but Lawrence County was abolished.

"From the day that Missouri became a territory of the highest rank—act of Congress of April 29, 1816,—there were those who immediately began to take steps to procure for Missouri the dignity of statehood, but these influences did not come to light until the second moiety of the year 1817. Petitions were circulated and signed in various counties, but only the one signed by citizens, nearly all of whom lived in Washington County, has been preserved, and is now in the MSS. division of the Library of Congress where it has been framed and placed in permanent safety for the benefit of posterity."

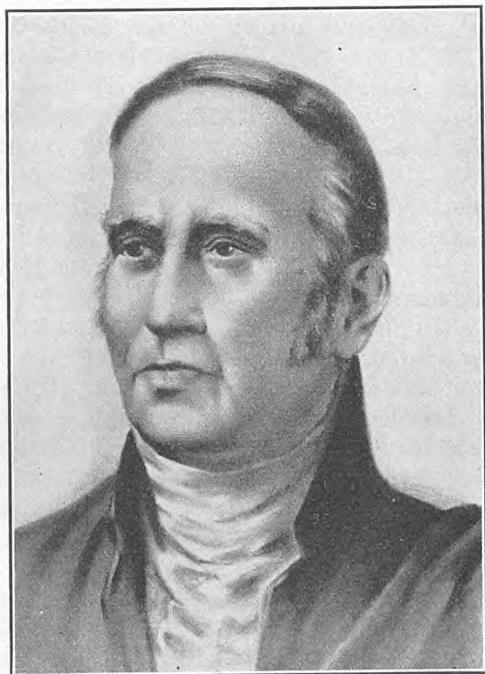
PETITIONS PRAY FOR STATEHOOD

In January, 1818, the memorial was presented to Congress by the Honorable John Scott. As this document is of capital importance in the political history of the State, the essential portions of it are herein given:

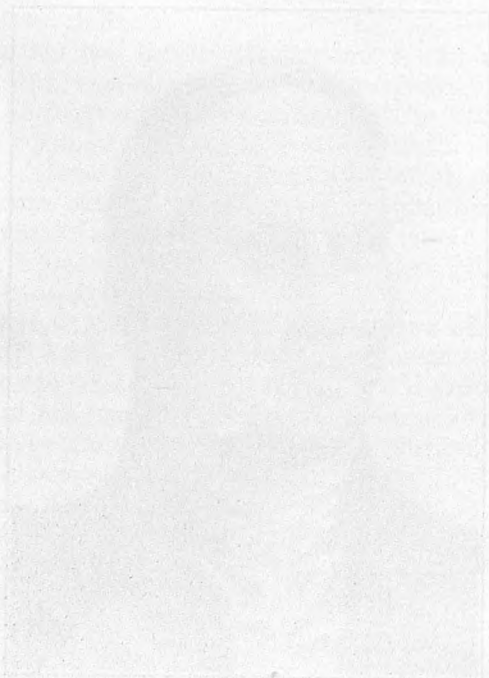
"Memorial of the Citizens of Missouri Territory—To the Honorable, the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled:

"The petition of the undersigned inhabitants of the Territory of Missouri respectfully sheweth: That your petitioners live within that part of the Territory of Missouri which lies between the latitudes of 36 degrees and 30 minutes and 40 degrees north, and between the Mississippi River to the east and the Osage boundary to the west. They pray that they may be admitted into the Union of the states within these limits.

"They conceive that their numbers entitled them to the benefits and to the rank of a state government. Taking the progression during former years as a basis of the calculation they estimate their present numbers at 40,000 souls. Tennessee, Ohio and the Mississippi states were admitted



WILLIAM CLARK
Second Territorial Governor



with smaller numbers and the treaty of cession guarantees this great privilege to your petitioners as soon as it can be granted under the principles of the Federal Constitution. They have passed eight years in the first grade of territorial government, five in the second; they have evinced their attachment to the honor and integrity of the Union during the late war and they with deference urge their right to become a member of the great republic. They forbear to dilate upon the evils of the territorial government but will barely name among the grievances of this condition:

"1. That they have no vote in your honorable body and yet are subject to the indirect taxation imposed by you.

"2. That the vote of the territorial executive is absolute upon the acts of the Territorial legislature.

"3. That the Superior Court is constructed on principles unheard of in any other system of jurisprudence, having primary cognizance of almost every controversy, civil and criminal, and subject to correction by no other tribunal.

"4. That the powers of the territorial legislature are limited to the passage of laws of a local nature owing to the paramount authority of Congress to legislate upon the same subject."

Missouri's travail of statehood began Jackson Day, 1818. On the anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans, January 8, Congress received a petition from sundry inhabitants of the Territory of Missouri, praying that the said Territory of Missouri be created into a state, and admitted into the Union, on an equal footing with the original states. Three years, seven months and two days later, President James Monroe issued a brief, formal proclamation announcing that "the admission of the said state of Missouri into this Union is declared to be complete," August 10, 1821. Within that period Missouri framed and adopted a constitution, elected and organized a state government, executive, legislative and judicial. The territorial government ceased to function in 1820. United States Senators and a Representative were elected in 1820 and presented their credentials to Congress. Presidential electors were chosen and the returns from Missouri were given recognition when the electoral returns were canvassed in joint session of Congress. Statutes were enacted which became the laws of Missouri, and yet the admission into the Union was not complete until August 10, 1821.

Governor McNair¹³ congratulated 70,647 Missourians on capacity for self-government while Missouri was an "American Republic on the confines of the Federal Union."

Grand juries of all of the seven counties went on record in most formal protest against the attitude of Congress. Benton's resolution was:

"That the people of this territory have a right to meet in convention by their own authority, and to form a constitution and state government, whenever they shall deem it expedient to do so, and that a second determination on the part of Congress to refuse them admission, upon an equal footing with the original states, will make it expedient to exercise that right." This was passed on by such foremost Missourians as William

C. Carr,¹⁴ Henry S. Geyer,¹⁵ Edward Bates¹⁶ and Joshua Barton¹⁷ before being adopted unanimously.

Jefferson viewed the deadlock in Congress and the defiance of the territory with dismal forebodings. He knew and remembered what the Congress of 1819-20 seemed to have forgotten—that Missouri had a claim to statehood beyond that of Illinois or Alabama or Maine, all of which were being given precedence. It was a claim based on international treaty. When the United States acquired the great Louisiana Purchase, it was solemnly stipulated with France that the inhabitants of the vast region west of the Mississippi "shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States and admitted, as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States."

SLAVERY THE TROUBLESOME ISSUE

Some men in Missouri, "not many in number" were against statehood. These would not trust the majority to make the constitution unless it would abolish slavery. They did not hold meetings but wrote northern congressmen, urging them to keep up their fight against admission. The effect was to embitter public sentiment and insure election of delegates to frame a constitution strongly committed to slavery in Missouri.

Two years and two months after presentation of the petition for statehood, Congress in March, 1820, passed the bill permitting Missouri to frame a constitution without restriction to slavery, but providing that slavery should be excluded from the rest of the Louisiana Purchase territory north and west of Missouri. This was the "Missouri Compromise," declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court in March, 1857.

In the debate which grew out of this question, some of the ablest men in the nation took part.

Shoemaker says:¹⁸ "The evils of slavery, the value of the Union, the terms of the Louisiana treaty, the true intent and meaning of the Missouri Compromise, and the powers of Congress in the premises were all discussed at length. The key to the debate lay in the interpretation that was to be put upon that clause in the Federal Constitution, according to which 'the citizens of each state shall be entitled to the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several states,' and upon this point opinions were hopelessly divided. Even Charles Pinckney's¹⁹ declaration that when he drew up this clause, 'there was not such a thing in the Union as a black or colored citizen,' and that consequently it could not have been intended to include that class of persons, important as it was to a proper understanding of the provision, seems to have had little or no weight in bringing about a decision. Under the circumstances, and from a political point of view, it was more important to interpret the Constitution so as to make it fit the changed condition of affairs than to find out what the framers of that instrument had intended to say. Accordingly, when it was urged that free blacks were not citizens in some of the states, and that the Constitution

spoke of citizens of the 'several states,' and not of citizens of the United States. In answer to this it was shown that if this interpretation prevailed, it would be possible for one state to impose citizens upon another; and that it might be made to grant to a free colored citizen, say of Massachusetts, emigrating to Missouri, rights and privileges in the latter state which he did not possess in the former, both of which propositions were declared to be absurd. In this way the debate ran on from day to day, only to end at last in a disagreement, the Senate being in favor of the admission, whilst the House was opposed to it.

CLAY SPONSORS MEASURE PERMITTING STATEHOOD

"In this condition of affairs, Mr. Clay²⁰ found his opportunity; and he introduced a resolution to appoint a joint committee, 'to consider and report to the Senate and House respectively whether it be expedient or not to make provision for the admission of Missouri into the Union on the same footing as the original states; and if not, whether any other, and what provision, adapted to her actual condition, ought to be made by law.' This resolution was carried by an overwhelming vote in both branches of Congress; and a committee, of which Mr. Clay was chairman, and which, he may be said to have named, was appointed. In due time it reported a resolution admitting the state, provided its legislature 'by solemn public act' shall declare that the clause in the constitution relating to the immigration of free negroes into the state shall never be construed to authorize the passage of any law, by which 'any citizen of either of the states in this Union shall be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and immunities' to which he is entitled under the Constitution of the United States. It was also provided, and the reason for it is obvious, that when this declaration shall have been made, and a copy of it furnished to the President, he shall, by proclamation, declare the state to be admitted.' This resolution was passed without discussion, having been carried in the Senate by a vote of 28 to 14, and in the House, where the contest was close, by 86 to 82, fourteen members from the non-slaveholding states voting in the affirmative."

With the adoption of this measure, the Missouri question passed out of the hands of Congress and it now only remained for the Legislature of this state, in accordance with the resolution, to act; and this it did at once.

Shoemaker continues: "After reciting the Act of Congress containing the condition under which Missouri was to be received into the Union, they went on to declare that 'while the good people of this state have, by the most solemn and public act in their power, virtually assented to the said fundamental condition, when, by their representatives in full and free convention assembled, they adopted the constitution of the state, and consented to be incorporated into the Federal Union, and governed by the Constitution of the United States, which among other things provides that the said Constitution and laws of the United States, made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and

the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or law of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

"And although this general assembly do most solemnly declare that the Congress of the United States have no constitutional power to annex any condition to the admission of this state except in the mode prescribed in the Constitution itself, nevertheless, as the Congress of the United States has desired this General Assembly to declare the assent of this state to said fundamental condition, and forasmuch as such declaration will neither restrain or enlarge, limit nor extend, the operation of the Constitution of the United States or of this state; but the said constitution will remain in all respects as if the said resolution had never passed and the desired declaration was never made; and because such declaration will not divest any power or change the duties of any of the constitutional authorities of this state or of the United States, nor impair the rights of the people of this state, or impose any additional obligation upon them, but may promote an earlier enjoyment of their vested federal rights, and this state being moreover, determined to give to her sister states and to the world the most unequivocal proof of her desire to promote the peace and harmony of the Union—therefore:

"Be it enacted and declared by the General Assembly of Missouri, and it is hereby solemnly and publicly enacted and declared, that this state has assented and does assent that the fourth clause of the twenty-sixth section of the third article of the constitution of this state shall never be construed to authorize the passage of any law, and that no law shall be passed in conformity thereof, by which any citizen, of either of the United States shall be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and immunities to which citizens are entitled under the Constitution of the United States."

The resolution was adopted and upon receipt of a certified copy of this act, President Monroe issued a proclamation announcing the fact of its passage, and declaring that the admission of Missouri was complete. This proclamation bears date the 10th of August, 1821, and consequently that is the day upon which Missouri took her place in the sisterhood of states.

But to show how determined were the Missourians that Congress should not continue to trifle with their rights, and that the memorial adopted by the St. Louis meeting was not an idle threat, there appeared in the St. Louis *Enquirer*, a paper for which Senator Benton²¹ wrote, a paragraph on the 31st of March, 1820, which recalled the action of the meeting, and told what would have been done by the Missourians if the passage of the compromise bill had been longer delayed. In his brutally frank way, Benton said:

"The people of the United States have witnessed a specimen of Missouri feeling in the indignant contempt with which they would have tramped the odious restriction under their feet and proceeded to the formation of a Republican constitution in the fullness of the people's power."

If Benton gauged the strength and extent of the Missouri sentiment at that time, Missouri may have been nearer the formation of an inde-

pendent republic, to come into the Union later, as Texas did, than the historians have told.

FOOTNOTES FIRST EPOCH—CHAPTER II

¹ General James Wilkinson was born in Maryland in 1757; received a good education, studied medicine; on the breaking out of the Revolutionary war joined the army, and then served in the Indian wars. Retired and engaged in business. When the new constitution was adopted he was appointed Colonel in the Army of the United States by Washington. At the battle of Maumee under General Wayne he commanded the right wing of the army. After the death of Wayne he became commander-in-chief of the United States Army. By act of Congress, March 3, 1805 changing the name of "District of Louisiana" to "Louisiana Territory," he was appointed Governor. In 1806 he was succeeded by Meriwether Lewis as governor. In the War of 1812 he failed in his military operations in Canada. He was tried by a court of inquiry as to his alleged connection with the Spanish Conspiracy. No satisfactory evidence being produced he was acquitted, but was discharged from the army. He published his memoirs in three volumes, an elaborate defense. General Wilkinson removed to Mexico, where he died December 28, 1825.—Houck's History of Missouri, Vol. II, p. 401.

² Governor Meriwether Lewis was born August 18, 1774, near Charlottesville, Albemarle County, Virginia. His grand uncle, John Lewis, had been a member of the King's Council before the Revolution. Another of his grand-uncles, Fielding Lewis, was a brother-in-law of George Washington, having married a sister of Washington. In 1794, at the age of 20 he was appointed by Washington a lieutenant in the regular army of the United States. At the age of 28 he was promoted to a captaincy.

President Jefferson appointed him to command the expedition "To explore the Missouri River, cross the Stoney Mountains and descend some river to the Pacific Ocean." This was the now historically famous Lewis and Clark expedition. Jefferson proposed that the most feasible route would be through the Russian possessions and downward somewhere near to the latitude of the then unknown sources of the Missouri River, entering the United States by that route. The project fell through, however, consequent on the obstacles thrown in the way by the Russian Government. Jefferson was evidently much interested in the question and in 1792 he proposed to the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia that a subscription should be opened for the purpose of raising money "to engage some competent person to explore that region in the opposite direction from the Pacific Coast." From this suggestion originated his project of the Lewis and Clark expedition.

In October, 1809, the *Gazette* announced: "Office of governor vacant by the suicide of Governor Meriwether Lewis on his way to Washington City." Houck says (Vol. II, p. 411): "In July, 1809, Governor Lewis' health began to fail and he was compelled by important business to go to Washington. When he left St. Louis, it was his intention to go to New Orleans, and thence by water to the Federal City, but at the second Chickasaw Bluff, the present site of the City of Memphis, he met Mr. Neely, then Indian Agent among the Chickasaw Indians, and concluded to make the trip from there by land. After they crossed the Tennessee River, some horses got away and Mr. Neely remained behind in order to find them, and Lewis went ahead with two servants. The first house was that of Mr. Grinder; he stopped there but this man was not at home. Here it is claimed, Lewis showed signs of mental derangement, and Mrs. Grinder, being alarmed, retired to an outhouse. On this night, October 11, 1809, it is said Lewis committed suicide. Although Jefferson accepted the report that he had committed suicide, this was not the opinion of the people who lived in the vicinity. It was the common belief that he had been murdered and robbed."

³ Benjamin Howard was born in Lexington, Kentucky (then part of Virginia), in 1760; was admitted to the bar, and began practice in Lexington; member of the Kentucky legislature in 1800; elected to congress and served March 4, 1807 to April 10, 1810, when he resigned; Governor of the Territory of Louisiana from 1810 to 1812;

appointed a brigadier-general to the United States Army March 12, 1813; died in St. Louis, September 18, 1814.

⁴ Shoemaker's History of Missouri, Vol. I, pp. 170-171.

⁵ General William Clark. See p. 54.

⁶ Edward Hempstead was born in New London, Connecticut, June 3, 1780. In 1805 he located in St. Louis where in his brief residence of twelve years, he filled many public positions, with credit to himself and to the community. In 1806 he was appointed Deputy Attorney General of St. Louis and St. Charles. In 1809 was appointed Attorney General for the Territory of Upper Louisiana. In 1812 Congress changed the name to Missouri Territory, and Hempstead was elected its first delegate to Congress. In 1814 he was Speaker of the Territorial Assembly of Missouri. On August 5, 1817, returning from an election at St. Charles, he was thrown from his horse, and died from the result of the fall, on August 9, 1817.—"Annals of St. Louis," pp. 205, 206.

⁷ Colonel Rufus Easton was born in Litchfield, Conn., May 4, 1774. See p. 56.

⁸ John Scott. See p. 107.

⁹ Shoemaker's History of Missouri, Vol. I, pp. 173, 339.

¹⁰ The Lawrence County of 1818 was abolished and is not the Lawrence County of today.

¹¹ David Barton, the first Senator from Missouri, elected as a Whig, was born in Greene County, Tenn. (then North Carolina), December 14, 1783; moved to the Territory of Missouri in 1809; elected attorney general in 1813; first circuit judge of Howard County in 1815 and presiding judge in 1816; member of the Territorial house of representatives in 1818 and served as speaker; member and president of the convention which formed the State constitution in 1820; upon the admission of Missouri as a State into the Union was elected to the United States Senate, reelected in 1825, and served from August 10, 1821, to March 3, 1831; due largely to Benton's opposition was an unsuccessful candidate for reelection; member of the State senate in 1835; became circuit judge in 1835 with his residence in Boonville, Cooper County, Missouri, and served until his death in Boonville on September 28, 1837; interment in Walnut Grove Cemetery, Boonville, Missouri.

¹² Ben Emmons—member of the Legislative Council in 1813.

¹³ Alexander McNair. See p. 54.

¹⁴ William C. Carr was born in Albemarle County, Va., April 15, 1783; located in St. Louis in 1804; moved to Ste. Genevieve where he commenced the practice of law, but soon returned to settle permanently in St. Louis; in 1826 he was appointed circuit judge by Governor John Miller which position he held for eight years, being succeeded by Judge Luke E. Lawless. He died in St. Louis, March 31, 1851.—"Annals of St. Louis," p. 201.

¹⁵ Henry S. Geyer. See p. 139.

¹⁶ Edward Bates was born in Belmont, Goochland County, Virginia, September 4, 1793; came to Missouri in 1814, his older brother, Frederick Bates then being Secretary of the Territory; was admitted to the bar in 1816; was a member of the convention of 1820; in 1822 was a member of the legislature; in 1824 was appointed by President Monroe U. S. Attorney for the District of Missouri; was the second representative in Congress from the State, succeeding John Scott; in 1850 President Fillmore offered him the portfolio of Secretary of War, which he declined; in 1856, was presiding officer of the Whig convention at Baltimore; in 1861 President Lincoln selected him for Attorney-General of his cabinet, which he filled two years and resigned. He died March 25, 1869.—"Annals of St. Louis," p. 279.

¹⁷ Joshua Barton came to St. Louis in 1812 to join his brother, David Barton; when admitted to the bar he became associated with Edward Bates; on the formation of the state government he was appointed Secretary of State, which position he resigned to accept the appointment of United States District Attorney. He was the second of Charles Lucas in the latter's duel with Thomas Hart Benton. He was killed June 30, 1823 in a duel with Thomas C. Rector.—"Annals of St. Louis," p. 246.

¹⁸ Shoemaker's History of Missouri, Vol. I, pp. 365, 366, 367, 368.

¹⁹ Charles Pinckney was a member of the United States Senate from South Carolina in 1798; member of Congress from 1819 to 1821; died October 29, 1824.

²⁰ Henry Clay. See p. 74.

²¹ Thomas Hart Benton, a Senator and a Representative from Missouri; born at Harts Mill, near Hillsboro, North Carolina, March 14, 1782; attended Chapel Hill College (now the University of North Carolina) and the law department of William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Virginia; was admitted to the bar at Nashville, Tennessee, in 1806, and commenced practice in Franklin, Williamson County, Tennessee; member of the State senate 1809-1811; served as aide-de-camp to General Jackson; colonel of a regiment of Tennessee volunteers from December, 1812, to April, 1813; lieutenant colonel of the Thirty-ninth United States Infantry 1813-1815; moved to St. Louis, Missouri, where he edited the Missouri *Enquirer* and continued the practice of law; upon the admission of Missouri as a state into the Union was elected as a Democrat to the United States Senate; reelected in 1827, 1833, 1839, and 1845, and served from August 10, 1821, to March 3, 1851; the first man to serve thirty consecutive years; author of the resolution to expunge from the Senate Journal the resolution of censure on Andrew Jackson; unsuccessful candidate for reelection to the Senate in 1850; elected as a Missouri Compromise Democrat to the Thirty-third Congress (March 4, 1853-1855); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1854 to the Thirty-fourth Congress and for Governor of Missouri in 1856; engaged in literary pursuits in Washington, D. C., until his death there on April 10, 1858; interment in Bellefontaine Cemetery, St. Louis, Missouri.—"Biographical Directory of American Congress."

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the President of the Stock Chit for the year 1904-1905.

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the President of the Stock Chit for the year 1904-1905.

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the President of the Stock Chit for the year 1904-1905.

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the President of the Stock Chit for the year 1904-1905.

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the President of the Stock Chit for the year 1904-1905.

CHAPTER III

THE JEFFERSONIAN INFLUENCE

It is readily noted through perusal of the historical record of the acquisition and development of the Louisiana Purchase territory and the formation of the Territory of Missouri, from which was carved the great State of Missouri, that the interest of Thomas Jefferson* in the welfare of its early-day citizens never waned. He deplored the long fight led by those of opposite political beliefs in opposition to Missouri's admission as a sovereign state of the Union. Jefferson's every thought and action was motivated by an overwhelming sense of justice for the oppressed. It is with an acknowledgment of gratitude, therefore, that we should respectfully dedicate the closing chapter of the epoch of this historical narrative describing those eventful days leading to Missouri's statehood to a resume of the life and patriotic activities of this great champion of the rights of the common people—the founder and exponent of those principles of government upon which the Democratic party was founded and upon which it has steadfastly endured through these many years.

CONGRESSMAN SHANNON'S TRIBUTE TO JEFFERSON

As a student of the life and accomplishments of Thomas Jefferson, Congressman Joseph B. Shannon of Kansas City, has devoted years of

* THOMAS JEFFERSON. A delegate from Virginia and a Vice President and a President of the United States; born in Old Shadwell, Virginia, April 13, 1743; attended a preparatory school conducted by the Rev. Mr. Maury, and was graduated from William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1762; studied law, was admitted to the bar, and commenced practice in 1767; member of the colonial house of burgesses 1769-1774; prominent in pre-Revolutionary movements; Member of the Continental Congress in 1775 and 1776; chairman of the committee that drew up the Declaration of Independence; made and presented the first draft of the Declaration that was submitted to the Congress July 2, 1776; signed the Declaration of Independence August 2, 1776; resigned soon after and returned to his estate, "Monticello;" Governor of Virginia 1779-1781; member of the State house of delegates in 1782; again a Member of the Continental Congress 1783-1785; appointed a minister plenipotentiary to France May 7, 1784, and then sole minister to the King of France March 10, 1785, for three years; appointed Secretary of State of the United States September 26, 1789, and served until December 3, 1793; elected Vice President of the United States, and served from March 4, 1797, to March 3, 1801; elected President of the United States in 1801 by the House of Representatives on the thirty-sixth ballot; reelected in 1805, and served from March 4, 1801, to March 3, 1809; retired to his estate, "Monticello," in Virginia; active in founding the University of Virginia at Charlottesville; died at "Monticello," Albemarle County, Virginia, July 4, 1826; interment in the grounds of "Monticello."

research. In the Foreword of a brochure² in which is published in full the texts of a number of interesting addresses by Mr. Shannon "touching upon unfamiliar phases of the life and teachings of the great American statesman," we are privileged to quote:

"It has probably been unfortunate for the memory of Thomas Jefferson that he came to be popularly regarded merely as the founder of a great political party. This status was inevitable, in view of the fact that his political theories had to take form and organization in opposition to the forces which, under the catchwords of stability and conservatism, were seeking to lay the foundations of government in special privilege, organized wealth and the aristocratic rule of the propertied classes. It was as a party leader, I will admit, that I first became acquainted with his principles of government. But a wider reading and investigation of his life and career led me to a fuller understanding of the man as a great humanitarian, a lover of truth and freedom, and the typical American who found in his country the first great attempt to establish a government based upon the will and welfare of the people.

"The three speeches from which extracts are presented in this pamphlet were delivered by me with the aim and purpose of making better known Jefferson, the Man, rather than Jefferson, the Party Leader. While it is true that his theories and principles gradually took form in his Party's platforms, the fundamental things that formed the character and guided the career of Thomas Jefferson touched the very springs and roots of human welfare, happiness and justice.

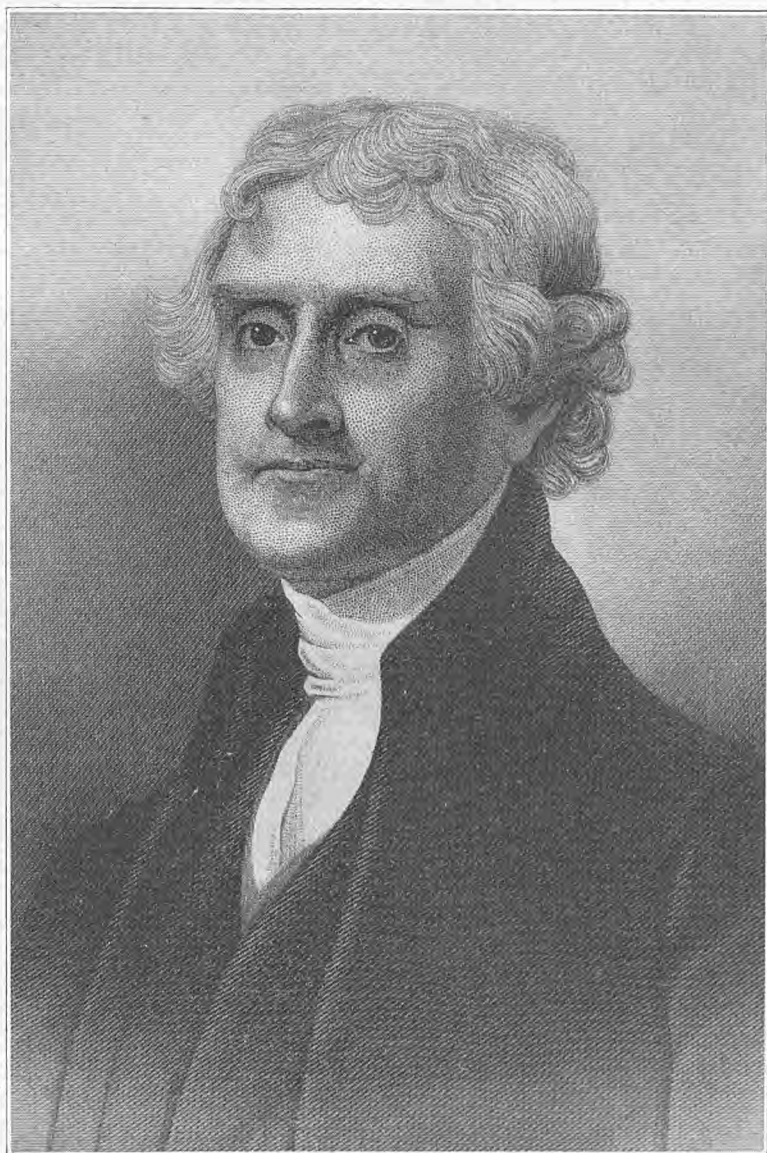
"His cause was the cause of all the people. Two ideals he held above everything else, both in his political and personal aims—Truth and Freedom. These were his watchwords. They were exemplified in both his public and his private life. Though he served his public in little and in great stations, from justice of the peace to President of the United States, he never sought office. In a letter to his friend, James Lyons, he once wrote: 'I have solicited no offices, intrigued for none; those which my country has thought proper to confide to me have been of their own mere motions, unasked by me.'

"The truth and the sincerity of his devotion to these guiding principles are shown in the epitaph which, at his own request, was placed upon his tomb, and in the inscription which he caused to be placed on the portals of the great university which he founded. Above the doors of that institution may be read today: "The Truth shall make ye Free." And upon his tomb, disregarding the great achievements of his political career and the great honors that came to him, appear the simple words:

"Here was buried Thomas Jefferson, Author of the Declaration of American Independence, of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and father of the University of Virginia."

"To make more widely known and appreciated this Thomas Jefferson, the enemy of human slavery, the advocate of popular education and of

² "Thomas Jefferson, the Advocate of Truth, Freedom and Equality." Public speeches by Joseph B. Shannon. Issued by the Regular Democratic Club, 201 Hall Building, Kansas City, Missouri.



THOMAS JEFFERSON

Third President of the United States—1801-1809
Born 1743—Died 1826

religious freedom, the champion of the rights of the people, and the man who, far beyond any statesman of his time, foresaw the evils of autocracy and privilege that threatened the life of the republic to the preservation of which his whole life was devoted is the sole purpose I have had in view in seeking to present, through public speeches, these unfamiliar aspects of Jefferson."

HAMILTON, THE PLUTOCRAT

From a speech which Mr. Shannon made at Jack-O-Lantern Hall in Kansas City, May 2, 1929, some interesting and illuminating passages are taken:

"In the early formation of this government," Mr. Shannon said, "there sat in Washington's cabinet alongside of Jefferson, a statesman of a different stripe—Alexander Hamilton, who was 'the father of plutocracy, the trust and the lobby.' 'The people are a great pest,' said Hamilton; and one of his modern disciples exclaimed: 'The public be damned.' Jefferson left the cabinet of Washington because of the differences between him and Hamilton. He believed that, notwithstanding his previous views that this government should be without parties, it finally became necessary to have one to protect the masses from the so-called 'well-born' and the rich who were so well represented in the person of Hamilton, whose basic doctrine was that the people who owned the country should govern it. Jefferson believed that all the people who inhabited the country should have a share in its government. Hamilton for a time poisoned even the mind of Washington against Jefferson, by spreading reports that Jefferson had not been a supporter of the Constitution. Jefferson, in a letter to Washington, said: 'I acknowledge and avow that in private conversation I have disapproved of the system of the Secretary of the Treasury. His system flowed from principles adverse to liberty. Colonel Hamilton and I have not drawn together. I had some misgivings concerning the Constitution for the reason that it contained no Bill of Rights securing freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom for a standing army, and a constant *habeas corpus* act. Colonel Hamilton, likewise, was unfriendly to the Constitution because he wanted a king and a House of Lords.' Jefferson also, in other writings, said he was fearful of the Constitution because it provided no fixed tenure of office, and no proper regulation of monopoly. Without Jefferson there would not be today any Bill of Rights in the Constitution.

"Jefferson was the friend of the farmer—the first to raise his voice against discriminative tariff regulations. Concerning tariff enactments he said that it was unfair to 'lay these heavy taxes upon agriculture for the benefit of the manufacturer.'

"At the mention of freeing the slaves, the names of Abraham Lincoln and of John B. Henderson have been put forward by party men as the two men responsible for that great humanitarian achievement—the one by his emancipation proclamation, the other by his official sponsorship of the Thirteenth Amendment.

OPPOSED EXTENSION OF SLAVERY

"I am here to assert, and to offer the historical documents in proof, that the man who first conceived the idea of abolishing slavery by law, eighty years before the Civil war accomplished that result by bloodshed, was Thomas Jefferson. I am sure that a most insignificant part of the people of our country today have any idea of where the Thirteenth Amendment, abolishing slavery, came from. I mean not merely its inspiration, but its very wording. It may sound strange to many of you that Thomas Jefferson was the man who originally proposed to abolish slavery in this country, and who actually endeavored to enact such a measure into a law which failed of passage by only one vote. Let me read you the resolution offered by Jefferson in 1784, five years before the adoption of the Constitution, while he was chairman of a committee of the Continental Congress appointed to devise a plan of government for the western country above the parallel of 31 degrees north latitude—a region that embraced not only the Northwest Territory, but also that territory which afterwards became the states of Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee and Kentucky. Here is the proposed law as Jefferson wrote and offered it for approval. I want you to note carefully the wording of it:

"'Slavery, Abolition of: After the year 1800 of the Christian era, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said states otherwise than in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty.'

"I want you to note that Jefferson's proposal was of date even prior to the adoption of the Constitution itself, namely March 1, 1784. The Constitution went into effect March 4, 1789, five years after Thomas Jefferson's foresight and humanitarian impulses and sound governmental ideas sought the enactment of a law that would forever have solved the slavery question. Isn't it about time that Jefferson's great contribution to the ideals he wrote into the Declaration—that *all men are created politically equal*—should receive due credit aside from all partisan considerations? Should we not be courageous enough and unbiased enough in these days to give fair acknowledgment to the great statesmanship and political wisdom of the man who foresaw the evil of slavery and its effects upon the peace and the unity of the nation long years ahead of the bloody climax which marked its final solution?

"Statesman, lawyer, diplomatist, philosopher, architect, mechanic, farmer, a lover of literature, and a lover of nature—all these things Thomas Jefferson was preeminently. He was always an outstanding leader in whatever field of activities he engaged. Intellectually he towered above most of his contemporaries. He had studied theories of government since their foundation. The histories and the literatures of the old nations were familiar to him. He knew the statesmen and the statesmanship of Europe, and his political sagacity and his great stores of general information made men of all classes turn to him and acknowledge his

leadership, whether they were for or against his theories. He was both a powerful leader and a dreaded antagonist.

"In everything Jefferson was his own man. He depended upon himself and not upon others. He differed from most of the presidents in that he was the author of all the state papers that were issued during his administration. It is well known that the voice that uttered many of the presidential deliverances was not always linked with the hand that wrote them. But Jefferson's state papers were his own, and they stand out in the archives of such documents clear and ringing in their declarations of human rights and brilliant always in their language.

"The immortal principles of our independence were formulated by Jefferson, the only doctrines by which those principles could be preserved in government were enunciated by him, and the educational system by which they could be most widely disseminated was of his creation. As a man with a great vision of the future of his country, as a statesman who never swerved from the straight path of his ideals, as a champion of freedom, religious and political, and as a friend of education, the example of Jefferson and his great life and deeds should never be permitted to lapse from the memory of Americans."

JEFFERSON'S DOMESTIC LIFE

The public record of this wonderful man has covered many pages in the history of this country, but his personal life has been obscured by the great and important things he accomplished, not only for the country, but posterity. The world knows much of his public life which he gave to his country, but little of the man and his family.

Mrs. Champ Clark, mother of Senator Bennett Champ Clark, contributed some years ago, an interesting narrative of Thomas Jefferson's two daughters, and the Missouri descendants of this distinguished man. She wrote:

"Thomas Jefferson married a widow, very beautiful and accomplished, so it is said. She was the daughter of John Wayles, and the 'relict' of Bathurst Skelton. She was only 23 years old when she married Jefferson, but young as she was, she had borne to her first husband a child, a son named John Skelton, who had died in infancy.

"Mrs. Jefferson, by her second marriage, was the mother of six children, one of which was a son. At her death she left three children—Martha, the eldest, whom Jefferson called Patsy; Mary, six years younger, called Polly, and Lucy, who was only an infant at the time.

"Tradition says that on her deathbed, Mrs. Jefferson made her husband promise that he would never bring a stepmother over her little girls, and he never did. He lived forty-four years after his wife died, but no other woman ever took her place in his heart or in his home.

"Of the daughters of Jefferson, Martha, the oldest, is the one most familiar to the American public, because she was so closely associated with her illustrious father. Martha married her second cousin, Thomas

Mann Randolph, afterwards governor of Virginia, and a member of Congress.

"Both of Mr. Jefferson's sons-in-law served as members of Congress from Virginia during his term as President.

"In Bowling Green, Missouri, and the surrounding neighborhood of Pike County, there are a dozen or more prominent families who are descended from Jefferson through his oldest daughter, Mrs. Thomas Mann Randolph. The pioneer of this family in Missouri was Captain John Warner Bankhead, who was the son of Jefferson's granddaughter, the lovely and beloved Anne Carey Randolph, wife of Charles Lewis Bankhead of Virginia. Her portrait, painted by Sully, shows her to have been very beautiful and it was said of her that she was wise and good as she was fair.

"She was Jefferson's first grandchild and her birth in 1790, the circumstances of which are still a matter of family record, was the occasion of much rejoicing. Jefferson was at that time a member of Congress at Philadelphia, and when his son-in-law, Thomas Mann Randolph, wrote to tell him about the baby and to ask him to select a name for her, he chose Anne Carey. This was very tactful in Mr. Jefferson and very pleasing to Mr. Randolph, whose own mother, the daughter of Colonel Archibald Carey, was dead, and his father had displeased him very much by giving him a youthful stepmother. Mr. Jefferson was trying to pour oil on the troubled waters.

"It was thus, that Martha, the eldest daughter, started a long line of descendants of Jefferson. Mary, the second daughter, nicknamed Polly, was the only other child of this illustrious father to bear children. At the time of the birth of the first grandchild the young mother was only 19 years old, and Jefferson, himself, was only 48. He wrote a beautiful letter to his daughter.

"Your last two letters gave me more pleasure than any I ever received from you. The one announced that you had become a notable housewife and the other that you were a mother. The last is undoubtedly the keystone of the arch of matrimonial happiness, as the first is its daily ailment. Accept congratulations for yourself and Mr. Randolph."

"At the same time Jefferson wrote a letter to Polly, who was then just 13 years of age, in which he felicitously complimented her on her new title of 'aunt' and desired her to write to him minutely telling exactly how the baby looked. To this Polly sent the following characteristic reply:

"Dear Papa: I am very sorry that my not having written you before made you doubt my affection toward you, and hope that after having read my last letter you were not so displeased as at first.

"In my last I said that my sister was very well, but she was not. She had been sick all day without my knowing anything of it, as I stayed upstairs the whole day. However, she is very well now, and the little one also. She is very pretty (Baby Anne), has beautiful deep blue eyes and is a very fine child. Adieu, my dear papa. Believe me to be your affectionate daughter.
Marie Jefferson."

THE JEFFERSON MONUMENT ON THE CAMPUS OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

The *University of Missouri Bulletin* of May 1, 1930, devotes most of this issue to the unveiling of a Bronze Marker on the Jefferson Monument, April 13, 1930.

Under the title of "A Brief History" we are told how it came about that the original monument inscribed and erected over his grave at Monticello in accord with Jefferson's expressed desires, found its way to Missouri and now reverently graces the campus of our great State University. In this description it is stated

"In the sacred archives of the State Department at Washington there is a memorandum which was written by the hand of Thomas Jefferson, the third president of the United States. This memorandum reads as follows:

"'Could the dead feel any interest in monuments or other remembrances to them, when, as Anacreon says:

" "A heap of ashes we shall lie,
Our bones to dust dissolve,"

the following would be to my mind the most gratifying: On the grave, a plain die or cube of 3 feet, without any mouldings, surmounted by an obelisk of 6 feet height, each of a single stone. On the faces of obelisk the following inscription, and not a word more:

Here Was Buried
THOMAS JEFFERSON
Author
of the Declaration of
American Independence
of
The Statute of Virginia
for Religious Freedom and
FATHER of the University
of Virginia.

because by these, as testimonials that I have lived, I wish most to be remembered;—to be of the coarse stone of which my columns are made, that no one might be tempted hereafter to destroy it for the value of the materials. On the die of the obelisk might be engraved:

'Born April 2, 1743, o. s.
Died —.' (July 4, 1826).

"On the fourth day of July, 1826, Jefferson died, and shortly thereafter the granite marker designed explicitly in accordance with the instructions contained in his memorandum was placed over his final resting place at Monticello.

"In 1883 the Congress of the United States appropriated funds for another monument which was set up over the grave of the author of the Declaration of Independence. In that same year the living descendants of Thomas Jefferson held a council at Monticello to consider the disposal of the original monument. Claims were made by many institutions and societies. The claim of the University of Missouri was presented, based on the fact that one of the great achievements of Thomas Jefferson's administration was the Louisiana Purchase; that the second state carved in this great territory was the state of Missouri; that Thomas Jefferson was the founder of the idea of state universities and that the University of Missouri was the first state university in this territory, which had been acquired by the Union through his efforts.

"The claim of the University of Missouri most favorably impressed the two grandnieces of the former President, and the monument was sent to the campus of Missouri University, where it was erected during the commencement exercises June 4, 1885.

"The exercises held on this occasion were the most elaborate ever held at the University up to that time; in fact, it is claimed that this occasion witnessed the greatest audience ever assembled in Missouri, 'intellectually, socially, and in the elements of influence, political, literary, scientific, practical.'

"The alumni of the University had planned for rededicatory exercises in the forenoon. The attracting center of the great audience was the national secretary of state, Thomas F. Bayard, and Missouri's most gifted son, Senator George G. Vest. Capt. James B. Eads, noted Missouri Engineer, also spoke.

"The monument was among the many relics of value which were damaged or destroyed in the burning of the main administration building of the University of Missouri in 1892. The marble tablet on the monument, inscribed with Jefferson's own encomium of himself, had been detached from the obelisk and was in the building which burned to the ground. Cracked and blackened, it was recovered and repaired, and placed in the vaults of the new University administration building. The monument itself was moved to a position on Francis Quadrangle near the north entrance of Jesse Hall. For years it was without a marker and few visitors were aware of the presence of this historical relic.

"For the last quarter of a century on Jefferson's birthday, April 13, a few individuals and patriotic societies have paid tribute to the immortal Jefferson by placing a wreath on this monument. In recent years the students of the School of Journalism have held a brief ceremony during which a wreath is more formally placed at the monument.

"The fifty-sixth general assembly of Missouri in 1931 enacted a law making Jefferson's birthday a state holiday. This act was signed by Governor Henry S. Caulfield on April 13, 1931, and on April 13, 1932, for the first time the day was observed as a legal holiday.

"After the passage of the law in 1931, shortly after becoming president of the University of Missouri, Dr. Walter Williams directed attention to the fact that the Jefferson monument was without proper marker.

Joseph B. Shannon of Kansas City, representative in Congress from the fifth district, an ardent admirer of Jefferson, who was largely responsible for the passage of the law making his birthday a holiday and who has spent several years in research work and in writing upon the life and works of Jefferson, became interested. With the aid of a number of friends he obtained funds with which a bronze marker was obtained.

"Plans for unveiling and formally accepting the new marker were made to take place on April 13, 1930. The Student Council of the Student Self-Governing Association of the University decided to make the occasion an annual ceremony in which all divisions of the University would co-operate to pay tribute to Jefferson.

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS HONOR JEFFERSON

"A program was arranged and carried out at 4:15 o'clock on April 13. The ceremony was held adjacent to the monument at the southeast corner of Francis Quadrangle. The entire cadet corps of the University Band on the flank, and about the monument were gathered hundreds of students from the University, members of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and other patriotic societies, and many distinguished visitors from Jefferson City and Kansas City.

"James C. Wilson of Bethany, Missouri, president of the Student Self-Governing Association, presided. In presenting Congressman Joseph B. Shannon, Mr. Wilson said:

"'Nearly two centuries ago there was born in the beautiful farmlands of Virginia a man whose life was to be devoted to the task of building a great democracy. Realizing that freedom, equality, and self-government are founded on an intelligent body politic, he conceived a system of free higher education in state-supported universities. This man was Thomas Jefferson.

"'In a few years his vision was to be realized when he founded the first state university—the University of Virginia. From this descended our own University.

"'As a statesman Thomas Jefferson envisioned a nation stretching from coast to coast. It was his courage and foresight that acquired for the United States the territory from which our own state was carved. And it was in this state that the first state university west of the Mississippi was founded. Consequently, forty-seven years ago the descendants of Jefferson deemed it fitting to present Missouri University with the original marker from the tomb of Thomas Jefferson in spite of the desires of Virginia University and others to have it.

"'It is most proper that we gather here today to pay homage to the man who made it possible for us to be here. May we always remember our debt to him and gather here each year in tribute to his memory.

"'Today we are doubly honored in having with us one through whose efforts we received the bronze plaque placed upon the marker. He is the leading exponent of Thomas Jefferson and probably knows more of his life

and work than any man alive. I take great pleasure in introducing Congressman Joseph B. Shannon.' ”

Mr. Shannon gave a brief history of the enactment by the last general assembly of the law making Jefferson's Birthday a legal holiday in Missouri. He paid gracious tribute to Governor Caulfield for having signed the bill, thus making it a law. Mr. Shannon's address was particularly appropriate to the occasion and to the large audience of students. He spoke as follows:

“I know of no more appropriate way of improving the opportunity, so graciously afforded me by your honored President of the University of Missouri, of aiding in commemorating the occasion of this, the first legal celebration of Thomas Jefferson's birthday in the State of Missouri, than to leave with you, in some more enduring way than mere words of speech, a record of some of the great American principles that Jefferson enunciated.

“I believe that the most effective tribute that we can pay to his memory is not to elaborate or explain the principles that he stood for, but simply to let him speak for himself, as in his many writings and messages he has so clearly and eloquently voiced the ideals upon which he hoped this Republic would be founded and continued.

“With the hope and the purpose, therefore, that some of the essential teachings of this great American may remain with you in the permanent form of a printed memorial, I shall simply read to you today some of his notable and noble utterances illustrative of the doctrines of Jeffersonian Americanism.

“The three extracts that I have selected have to do with the spirit of all America as he conceived its destiny. I feel sure that if every American boy and girl were to keep the principles therein enunciated in perpetual remembrance they would aid in making them better citizens and more loyal and intelligent Americans.

“Jefferson's statement of the objects of primary education, contained in the report prepared by him for the Commission appointed by the Governor of Virginia in 1818 will never be improved upon. It is more than a mere statement of the elements of rudimentary education. It is a crystallization of the duties of every good citizen under a popular government. He thus defined the objects of primary education:

“1. To give to every citizen the information he needs for the transaction of his own business.

“2. To enable him to calculate for himself, and to express and preserve his ideas, his contracts and accounts in writing.

“3. To improve, by reading, his morals and faculties.

“4. To understand his duties to his neighbors and country, and to discharge with competence the functions confided to him by either.

“5. To know his rights; to exercise with order and justice those he retains; to choose with discretion the fiduciary of those he delegates;

and to notice their conduct with diligence, with candor and with judgment.

“6. And, in general, to observe with intelligence and faithfulness all the social relations under which he shall be placed.”

“This statement of the objects of primary education will never be improved. It ought to be written in letters of gold and hung in every primary school, throughout the land, and be known by heart to every teacher and child therein. It is, indeed, more than a statement of the elements of rudimentary education. It is an enumeration of the duties of every good citizen under a popular government.”

JEFFERSON'S RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

“When Jefferson was nearing the close of his life, he wrote a letter to his grandson in which he said:

“This letter will be to you as one from the dead. The writer will be in the grave before you can weigh its counsels. Your affectionate father has requested that I would address you something which might possibly have a favorable influence on the course of life you have to run, and I, too, as a namesake, feel an interest in that course.

“Few words will be necessary with good dispositions on your part. Adore God. Reverence and cherish your parents. Love your neighbor as yourself, and your country more than yourself. Be just. Be true. Murmur not at the ways of Providence, so that the life into which you have entered be the portal to one of eternal and ineffable bliss. And if to the dead it be permitted to care for the things of this world, every action of your life will be under my regard.”

“In a letter to Miles King, September 26, 1804, he said:

“Our particular principles of religion are a subject of accountability to God alone. I inquire after no man's, and trouble none with mine. Let us not be uneasy, then, about the different roads we may pursue as believing them the shortest to that of our last abode.”

“In his original bill for the establishment of religious freedom, Jefferson elaborated upon this American principle in the following language:

“Our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, any more than our opinions in physics or geometry; therefore, the proscribing any citizen as unworthy the public confidence by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust and emolument, unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which, in common with his fellow-citizens, he has a natural right; it tends also to corrupt the principles of that very religion it is meant to encourage, by bribing, with a monopoly of worldly honors and emoluments, those who will externally profess and conform to it; and though indeed these are criminal who do not withstand such temptation, yet neither are those innocent who lay the bait in their way.”

"In a letter to Benjamin Rush, September 23, 1800, he wrote:

" 'I have sworn, upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man.'

"These doctrines of the great American, whose birth we are met to commemorate today, require no explanation, apology or defense. They are the very essences of true American citizenship and loyalty. They should be engraven in the heart of every student of our national traditions and ideals. They are the voice of one of the wisest and greatest of the founders of our Republic, speaking to us, as he said in his letter to his grandson, from the tomb, upon which, by his own request, his devotion to these principles was inscribed."

SECOND EPOCH—1820-1844

ANDREW JACKSON AND HIS FOLLOWING IN MISSOURI

CHAPTER I

MISSOURI ENTERS STATEHOOD

Missouri's admission as a sovereign state of the Union was only accomplished after the most bitter struggle that up to that time had ever characterized the deliberations of the American Congress. In point of controversial debate no issue before or since engendered animosities as did the question of the manner under which the institution of human slavery was to be permitted in the proposed new sister state.

For the first time Congress divided on geographical grounds and, observes Houck (p. 246), "Words threatening a dissolution of the Union and civil war, were uttered" in the course of the debate. It was in the session of the Sixteenth Congress, convening in December, 1819, that through the famous *Missouri Compromise*¹ the enabling act permitting Missouri to become a state unrestricted as to slavery was effected.

STATEHOOD ACHIEVED

The Act enabling Missouri Territory to organize as a state was signed by President James Monroe, March 6, 1820. Six days thereafter (March 12, 1820) Thomas Jefferson, in a letter to Hugh Nelson, upheld the argument that had been successfully advanced that in allowing the people of Missouri to settle the slavery question among themselves would help toward the gradual abolishment of slavery rather than extend slave-holding. In his usual clear and concise manner of expression Jefferson said:

"Of one thing I am certain, that as the passage of slaves from one state to another would not make a slave of a single human being who would not be so without it, so their diffusion over a greater surface would make them individually happier, and proportionately facilitate the accomplishment of their emancipation, by dividing the burden on a greater number of coadjutors."

THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

It was with celerity that the people of Missouri proceeded in the matter of formation of a state government in accord with the Act of March 6, 1819. Despite the almost unanimous objections raised as to the restrictive provisions of the congressional Enabling Act² a call for the election by

viva voce of delegates to a constitutional convention was promulgated and in due course the delegates so chosen, forty-one in number and elected from the then existing organized counties,³ met in the dining-room of Burnett's "Mansion House Hotel" located at Third and Vine streets, in St. Louis, on June 12, 1820, and continued in session for five weeks. But thirty-eight of the forty-one duly elected delegates were present at the convening of the convention. Samuel Hammond⁴ of Jefferson County, was chosen as temporary chairman, and Thomas F. Riddick of St. Louis County, temporary secretary.

Upon motion of Judge Richard S. Thomas of Cape Girardeau County, a resolution was adopted requiring each delegate to take an oath to support the constitution of the United States and to faithfully discharge the duties of his office. Such oaths were administered by Judge Silas Bent.⁵

A permanent organization was effected with the election of David Barton⁶ of St. Louis, as president; William G. Pettus,⁷ secretary, and George W. Ferguson, doorkeeper. Neither Pettus nor Ferguson was a member of the convention.

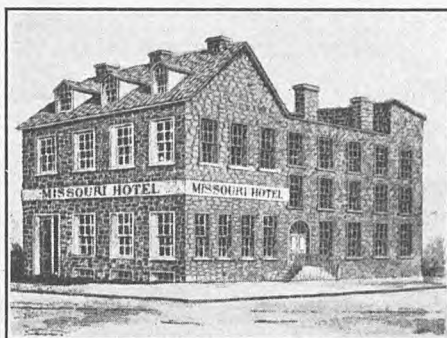
THE STATE'S FIRST CONSTITUTION

On July 19, 1820, the Constitution was signed, and its promulgation was made an impressive event. The St. Louis *Enquirer* said: "The Constitution of the State of Missouri was signed at noonday Wednesday, July 19, 1820, amidst a great concourse of citizens, and under a national salute of twenty-four guns fired by the St. Louis Guards, and we trust will be joyfully received by the people that Missouri is a Sovereign State, and a pledge that she will remain so."

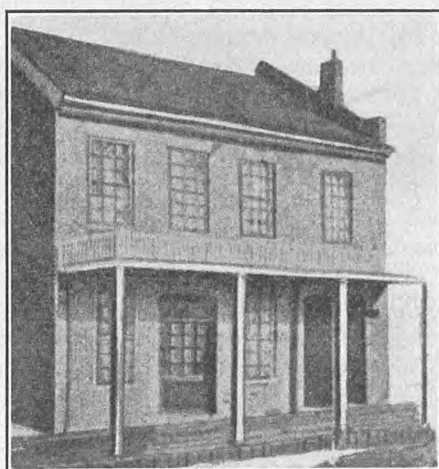
THE FIRST STATE ELECTION

Alexander McNair⁸ opposed William Clark⁹ in the gubernatorial race for the first state governor. Both were worthy men, but the former proved to be a cleverer vote-getter. Perhaps the deciding factor was that the people objected to the machine or caucus procedure, as represented by Clark. Personally, the latter was free from reproach and he had lived in Missouri for seventeen years. His biggest asset was the honorable role he played in the celebrated Lewis¹⁰ and Clark Expedition,¹¹ but this was not enough to offset the prejudice of the country people against the professional lawyer-politician group of St. Louis who were pushing the candidacy of Clark during his absence from the state. The election took place on August 28, 1820. McNair received 6,575 votes for governor, and Clark received only 2,556.

Although the state was not yet admitted into the Union, a government was completely organized and set in motion. When the General Assembly met, Governor McNair appointed as secretary of state, Joshua Barton¹²; as state treasurer, Peter Didier; as attorney-general, Edward Bates,¹³ and as auditor of public accounts, William Christy.¹⁴ Singular to state, all these officials resigned office the following year. The following were ap-



MISSOURI HOTEL
Where the first legislature sat. Main
and Morgan Streets, St. Louis



THE TEMPORARY CAPITOL
AT ST. CHARLES
Sessions of the legislature were held in
this building from 1821 to 1826

pointed as judges of the Supreme Court: Mathias McGirk,¹⁵ of Montgomery County, who resigned in 1821; John Dillard Cook,¹⁶ of Cape Girardeau, who resigned in 1823; John Rice Jones,¹⁷ of Washington County, who died in 1824.¹⁸

THE FIRST LEGISLATURE

The first State Legislature met at the "Missouri Hotel" in St. Louis in May, 1820. William H. Ashley,¹⁹ of St. Louis, was elected on the ticket with Governor McNair, as lieutenant governor, and presided over the Senate. Silas Bent, of St. Louis, was elected president *pro tem*, and John S. Brickey was elected secretary. In the House, James Caldwell, of Ste. Genevieve County, was elected speaker, and John McArthur, chief clerk.

Having been formally admitted into the Union, it was one of the gravest and most important duties of the General Assembly to elect two United States senators.

David Barton had no opposition for the first place. For the second place Thomas Hart Benton was opposed by quite a number of distinguished men but in a highly remarkable contest Benton was elected by a majority of one vote.

THE STATE GOVERNMENT

Alexander McNair was elected the first governor of Missouri in August, 1820, when he was in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

Between 1820 and 1844 the state government was busy solving many questions. Missouri was a young state. The first thing necessary was to get the government in good working order. The beginning of this was made during McNair's administration. Laws were made and enforced to protect property and punish crime. A home for the government was provided. The first state legislature met in St. Louis in 1820. From 1821 to 1826 the temporary capitol was in St. Charles. The permanent capitol of Missouri was located at Jefferson City. The capitol building was begun in 1823 and was completed in 1826. The fourth General Assembly was the first to meet in the new building. It burned in 1837 and a new one was built in 1838. This one was greatly enlarged in 1887. It burned in 1911. Missouri's present capitol building was finished in 1918 and cost \$4,000,000.

During McNair's term the Missouri State Seal was adopted. The twenty-three smaller stars represent the twenty-three states admitted before Missouri; the large star represents Missouri as the twenty-fourth state. The Latin motto of the state, *salus populi suprema lex esto* means "let the welfare of the people be the supreme law." At this time only the governor and lieutenant-governor were elective officers. The balance of the state officers were appointive.

William H. Ashley, elected lieutenant-governor on the ticket with Alexander McNair, presided over the deliberations of the Senate.

Joshua Barton, the first secretary of state, resigned when appointed by President Monroe, United States attorney for the St. Louis district. He was killed in a duel with Thomas C. Rector, June 27, 1823.

William G. Pettus succeeded Joshua Barton as secretary of state, and when Pettus resigned Hamilton R. Gamble was appointed in his stead.

Peter Didier was the first state treasurer, and on his resigning Nathaniel Simonds of St. Louis was appointed.

William Christy of St. Louis was the first state auditor. He resigned and was succeeded by William V. Rector of St. Louis. Elias Barcroft of St. Louis was appointed to succeed Rector.

Edward Bates of St. Louis was the first attorney-general. When he resigned in 1821, Rufus Easton²⁰ of St. Louis was appointed to succeed him.

In 1823 Rufus Pettibone²¹ of St. Louis was appointed to the Supreme Bench to succeed John D. Cook, who resigned.

In 1823 George Tompkins²² of Howard County was appointed to the Supreme Bench to succeed John Rice Jones.

BATES ELECTED GOVERNOR

Frederick Bates²³ succeeded Alexander McNair as governor in 1824. During his term the legislature passed a drastic bill against duelling. Governor Bates declined to approve the measure and his message to that body was, "I am happy on this occasion to record my utter detestation and abhorrence of dueling. My duty to my neighbors and to myself would compel me as well in my private as in my public capacity to discountenance and put down, if possible, so barbarous and so impious a practice." However, his veto was based on his conviction that such a law could not be enforced, and, therefore, would do no good.

Benjamin H. Reeves, who had been elected lieutenant-governor on the ticket with Governor Bates, resigned prior to the death of the governor, August 4, 1825, and Abraham J. Williams²⁴ of Boone County, who was president *pro tem* of the Senate, and succeeding to the lieutenant-governorship, became governor. He held the office only five months, when at the special election on December 8, 1825, four candidates offered themselves for the vacancy. The campaign was made largely on personal popularity. Party lines were not drawn. The result was the election of John Miller²⁵ who received 2,380 votes. William C. Carr²⁶ received 1,470, and David Todd²⁷ 1,113.

There was a lively contest for lieutenant-governor with Samuel Perry, Felix Scott, Alexander Stewart, Daniel Dunklin and Alexander Buckner as candidates. Dunklin won, and presided over the Senate during the term of Governor Miller.

Miller had assumed a prominent position in the affairs of the state before his election as governor, and his administration was productive of many acts promoting the progress of the New State.

During Governor Miller's first term Pressley H. McBride of Boone County was appointed secretary of state. He resigned and John C. Edwards of Cole County succeeded him.

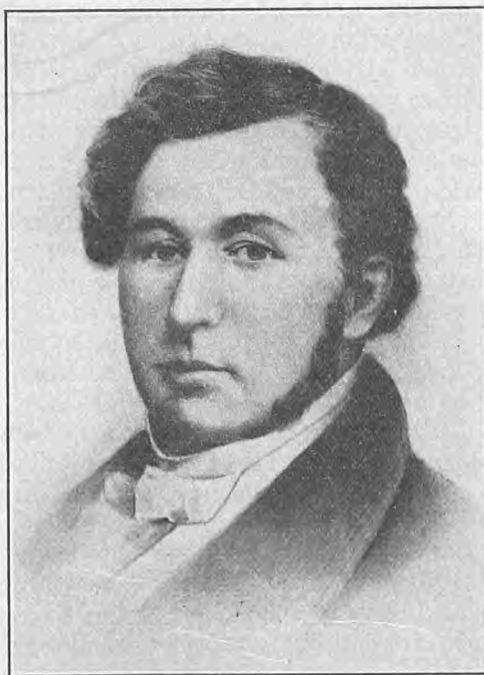
In 1826 Robert W. Wells of St. Charles County was appointed attorney-general. Spencer Pettus of St. Louis was appointed secretary of state



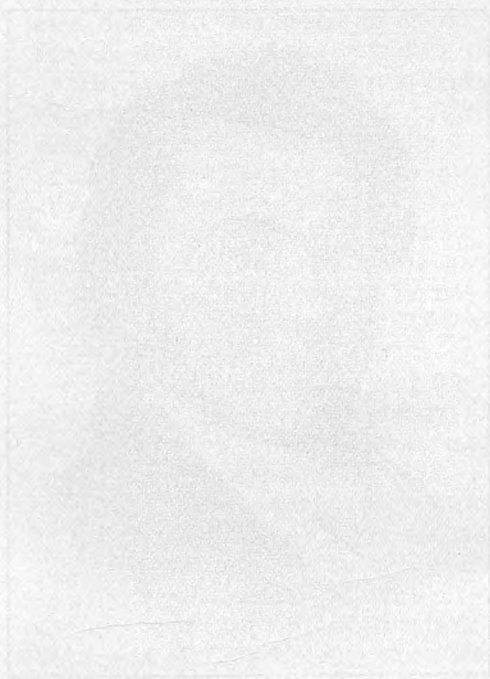
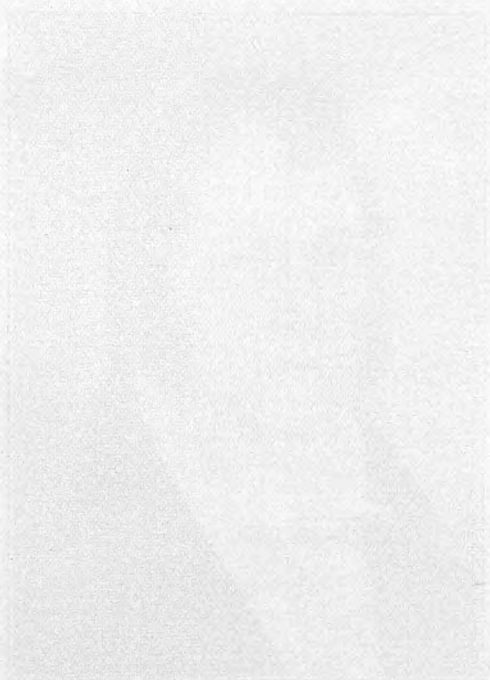
HON. ALEXANDER McNAIR
First Governor



HON. FREDERICK BATES
Second Governor



HON. JOHN MILLER
Third Governor



THE
END

to succeed Hamilton R. Gamble. Pettus was killed August 27, 1830, in a duel with Major Thomas Biddle. During Governor Miller's term the penitentiary at Jefferson City was built. The state was in a prosperous condition.

The Legislature of 1824-25 was the first revising session under the Constitution. Henry S. Geyer, as the speaker of the House of Representatives, and Rufus Pettibone, one of the judges of the Supreme Court, both of whom had been appointed for that purpose, had revised the entire code with great care, according to Switzler,²⁸ previous to the assembling of the Legislature. Very few changes in the revision were made by the General Assembly, and the laws were published in two volumes by authority of an act passed February 11, 1825.

THE NAMING OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

In the election of 1828 Governor Miller was reelected on the ticket with Andrew Jackson for President. Daniel Dunklin was reelected lieutenant-governor.

It is to Dunklin that credit is due for establishing our party name. From the days of Thomas Jefferson's active leadership his following had been known as "Republicans" as distinguished from the "Federalists" who adhered to those policies of government advocated by Alexander Hamilton. As time went on the Jeffersonian principles prevailed to such an extent that political influence of the young Nation was wholly "Republican" in theory, the more radical in their advocacy of Jefferson's teachings known as "Radical Republicans" as opposed to the "Conservative Republicans." The latter became the nucleus of the Whig Party which supported John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay for president in 1824; the followers of the Jeffersonian principles dividing their support between Jackson and Crawford.²⁹ Dunklin, an ardent advocate of the Jeffersonian principles and an active supporter of Andrew Jackson; a clear thinker and an able speaker, in his campaign for lieutenant-governor, established the Party name as we know it today. "It devolves on the *Democratic* Party, headed by Andrew Jackson," Dunklin said in his campaign address, "to again bring back the government and cause it, as Jefferson did, to be administered according to the spirit and genius of the Constitution."

With the Presidential election but eight or ten weeks away, the Jackson leaders, Benton, Pettus, Dunklin, and others, perfected an organization (which had been tentatively formed at a meeting in Jefferson City, January 8, 1828) won every important office in the state election of August 8, and carried the state for Jackson in the Presidential election in November.

The Presidential election excited more interest in the state than it had ever before, and party affiliations began to assume a more definite and significant character. With the recollection of Congressman John Scott's course³⁰ in the last previous Presidential election fresh in mind, Governor Miller sent a message to the legislature in 1828, proposing that Missouri take the initiative in the movement to amend the Constitution

of the United States. He urged that the will of the people should control in national elections; that it should be made impossible for that will to be thwarted as it had been by the election in the House of Representatives at Washington: "It is therefore your prerogative, as guardians of the public liberty, to urge on Congress and the legislatures of our sister states, such amendments to the Constitution of the United States on this subject, as you in your wisdom may deem requisite and proper; providing for a uniform mode of electing the President and Vice President by the people, and prevent in any event an election being made by the House of Representatives."

John Miller held office seven years, a longer period than any other governor has served. He was reelected, the only governor to have that distinction.³¹

SECOND EPOCH, CHAPTER I—FOOTNOTES

¹ "By the terms of this compromise or agreement it was understood (though not expressed) that the clause prohibiting slavery was stricken from the bill authorizing the people of Missouri to form a Constitution. This left them nominally free to organize the state with or without slavery, as they might prefer, but without any express guarantee as to its admission into the Union, and a provision was inserted into the Missouri bill, by which it was stipulated that slavery should be excluded from 'all the territory ceded by France to the United State, under the name of Louisiana, north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude.'

"It will be observed that one party to this *compromise* 'gained everything and conceded nothing, and that the representatives of the free and relatively populous North achieved a decided success.' (Carr's 'Missouri,' p. 146.) It was evident that for the first time in the history of the country the North had openly attempted to limit the power of the South by preventing the admission of a slave state. By the admission of Maine they had regained the supremacy in the Senate which was temporarily lost when Alabama came into the Union. While they were prevented from carrying a measure which meant the abolition of slavery in Missouri, they had secured the passage of a law by which all that vast domain situated north of the line of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, and lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Mississippi River, was transformed, as far as an act of Congress could effect that purpose, from possible slave to actual free territory. But as this was based on expediency the agreement was not lasting, as will be noted later, subsequent Congresses violating this pact whenever it suited their purpose to do so. Even those states which ordinarily would be supposed to gain most by adhering to the agreement refused to abide by the conditions when they thought it was clearly against their interests, as for example, Massachusetts in 1845 declared they did not intend to abide by it.

"In fact, neither of the great parties ever regarded it as being peculiarly sacred save when there was something to be gained by so doing. It was violated as early as 1836, without protest on the part of the North, by the addition of the Platte Purchase to the State of Missouri. In 1854 it was formally abrogated; and in 1857 it was pronounced unconstitutional in an *obiter dictum* opinion of the highest tribunal in the land.

"The people of the South could not be said to be responsible for this state of affairs. 'In good faith, and in the interest of peace and the Union,' they had sacrificed what they believed to be, and what have since been decided to have been, their constitutional rights; and, so far as they could, they had dedicated to freedom a much larger extent of country than that which their fathers had given, when in 1787, by a vote of five slave and three free states, they had passed the famous ordinance that made free all the region north of the Ohio and south of the Lakes. In so doing they certainly had not been guilty of any act of aggression, whatever else it may have been; and the fact that a majority of them in each house, small though it was, were willing to make the concession is proof not only of their devotion to the Union, but it indicates very clearly what are believed to have been their sentiments, at this time, in

regard to the extension of slavery."—"Missouri, The Mother of States," by Williams and Shoemaker, Vol. I, pp. 342 and 343.

² "Popular opinion in Missouri was very one-sided. By far the greater number of its inhabitants were of Southern stock, or born of the same. Kentuckians and Virginians predominated so far as their birth-place goes, but they were now Missourians, at least by adoption, and expected to pass the remainder of their lives in Missouri. So far as the great question of the day was concerned—Slavery, in its connection with the aspirations of the people for statehood rights, these men of southern birth and affinities were like one man in their attitude. To them slavery was a legal institution, as indeed it was in all the southern states and they naturally resented all and every attempt on the part of Congress to interfere in what they considered was their own inalienable rights. There was no half-and-half attitude possible. All those seeking political power in the territory were perforce obliged to state their attitude unequivocally in favor of maintaining slavery in Missouri in order to stand any chance of being elected. Then as now, public opinion was guided, influenced, and moulded to a certain extent by newspapers. But here again it was pathetically one-sided. Only one St. Louis newspaper—the *Missouri Gazette*—manfully opened its columns to the anti-slavery or restrictionist faction throughout the territory."—"Missouri, The Mother of States," by Williams and Shoemaker, Vol. I, p. 345.

³ The following are the names of the members of the convention together with the counties which they represented:

Cape Girardeau—Stephen Byrd, James Evans, Richard S. Thomas, Alexander Buckner, Joseph McFerran.
 Cooper—Robert P. Clark, Robert Wallace, William Lillard.
 Franklin—John G. Heath.
 Howard—Nicholas S. Burkhardt, Duff Green, John Ray, Jonathan S. Findlay, Benjamin H. Reeves.
 Jefferson—Daniel Hammond.
 Lincoln—Malcolm Henry.
 Montgomery—Jonathan Ramsey, James Talbott.
 Madison—Nathaniel Cook.
 New Madrid—Robert D. Dawson, Christopher G. Houts.
 Pike—Stephen Cleaver.
 St. Charles—Benjamin Emmons, Nathan Boone, Hiram B. Baber.
 Ste. Genevieve—John D. Cook, Henry Dodge, John Scott, R. T. Brown.
 St. Louis—David Barton, Edward Bates, Alexander McNair, William Rector, John C. Sullivan, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., Bernard Pratte, Thomas F. Riddick.
 Washington—John Rice Jones, Samuel Perry, John Hutchings.
 Wayne—Elijah Bettis.

⁴ Hammond's given name is used as Daniel instead of Samuel by some historians.

⁵ "Judge Silas Bent, Sr., was born in Massachusetts, April 4, 1768, educated at Rutland, Worcester County,—a son of Silas Bent, of Sudbury, Mass., who commanded the famous 'Tea Party' in Boston Harbor December 16, 1773.

"In 1788 he came to Ohio and was one of the first settlers of Marietta. He read law with Phillip Doddridge, of Wheeling, Va.; afterwards he kept store at Charleston, Va.; and married Miss Martha Kerr, of Winchester. In January, 1802, he was postmaster at Brooke Court House, Va., and in 1803 deputy in the office of the Surveyor General Rufus Putnam.

"Feb. 17, 1804, appointed associate Judge of the Common Pleas of Washington Co., Ohio. In July, 1805, Deputy Surveyor under James Mansfield, Surveyor General. July, 1806, appointed by Albert Gallatin, Secretary of Treasury of the United States, to be principal Deputy Surveyor for Louisiana Territory, and came to St. Louis, September 17, 1806.

"August 20, 1807, was appointed by Frederick Bates, the first Judge of the Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, for the District of St. Louis; November, 1808, by Governor Lewis, auditor of public accounts; November 9, 1809, presiding Judge of St. Louis Common Pleas, with Bernard Pratte and Louis Labeaume associates, and on that day issued the first Charter for the Town of St. Louis; January 5, 1811, appointed by Frederick Bates, Auditor of the Public accounts, and in September, 1811, Judge of the Common Pleas by Governor Benjamin Howard.

"February 21, 1813, was appointed by President Madison, Judge of the Superior Court of the Territory of Missouri; January 21, 1817, was recommissioned by the President, and held the office until it was abolished by the admission of Missouri as a State in 1821.

"After the admission of the State, Judge Bent received the appointment of Clerk of the St. Louis County Court, which he held until his death, November 20, 1827, in his 60th year."—Billon's "Annals of St. Louis," pp. 198-9.

⁶ Hon. David Barton, the eldest of six brothers, was born in Greene County, North Carolina (now a part of East Tennessee), December 14, 1783, and came when a young man to Missouri, prior to the commencement of the war with England in 1812, and served for some time, as a mounted Ranger in that war; in 1814, he commenced the practice of the law in St. Louis. Upon the establishment of the Circuit Courts in 1814-15, he was appointed by the Governor, the first Judge of the Northern Circuit, and held his first term at St. Louis on April 10, 1815. This position he held for three years, and then resumed the practice of the law in 1818.

Being very popular with the people, he was elected by the voters of St. Louis County as a member and by the delegates then to preside over the convention that adopted the State constitution in 1820, and then by a unanimous vote of the Legislature, our first Senator in Congress, his colleague being Col. Thomas H. Benton. In 1824, he was reelected Senator for the full term of six years, and served until 1830.

Afterwards, he served as a State Senator in 1834-35. In his late years he had become very intemperate, and died, unmarried, near Boonville, Cooper County, September 28, 1837.

⁷ William G. Pettus was born in Mecklenburg, Va., December 31, 1794; he located in St. Louis in 1818; was Secretary of the Convention that adopted the State Constitution in 1820; was appointed by Governor McNair, in 1821, Secretary of State, succeeding Joshua Barton, resigned. He died December 25, 1867.

⁸ Alexander McNair was born in Pennsylvania, of Irish parents, about the year 1776. In 1799 he was appointed a Lieutenant of Infantry in the U. S. Army; his regiment was disbanded in 1800, at Pittsburgh. In 1804 he came to St. Louis, and engaged in business early in 1806, at the southeast corner of Main and Pine, in which he continued for some few years; in 1811 he sold this property and purchased the old French house at the northwest corner of Main and Spruce, where he lived until 1820. From his pleasant manners he soon made many friends, and was very popular with the whole community. In 1810 he was the fourth sheriff of St. Louis County. During the War of 1812-15, he raised a company of mounted Rangers, of which he was elected the captain. In 1816, when Congress established a Land Office for the St. Louis District, he was appointed by President Madison the first Register of the same, and held the office four years, until he was elected in 1820 the first Governor of the State, by a very large majority over his competitor, Gen. William Clark, who likewise was a very popular citizen of St. Louis and the then Territorial Governor of Missouri Territory.

In March, 1805, he was married to Miss Margaret Reilhe, daughter of Antoine Reilhe, an old French citizen of St. Louis. They raised to maturity four sons and three daughters.

Governor McNair died in St. Louis, March 18, 1826, aged about fifty years.—Billon's "Annals of St. Louis," pp. 208-209.

⁹ William Clark, was born in Caroline County, Virginia, August 1, 1770, and was a younger brother of Col. George Rogers Clark, of Revolutionary fame; in 1784 his father moved to Kentucky, and settled at the Falls of Ohio, now Louisville; in 1788 he was appointed an Ensign; in March, 1792, promoted to a Lieutenantcy, and appointed Adjutant and Quarter-Master. These positions he resigned in July, 1796, owing to ill-health. In 1803 he was appointed a Lieutenant of Artillery with orders to join Captain Lewis in his expedition to the Pacific Ocean. In 1806 he was promoted to first Lieutenant of Artillery. President Jefferson appointed him a Lieutenant Colonel, but the appointment not being confirmed he resigned from the regular service in 1807, and was appointed Brigadier General of the Militia of the Territory of Upper Louisiana. In 1813 he was appointed by President Madison, Governor of Missouri Territory, succeeding Gov. Benjamin Howard, which position he filled to the satisfaction of all parties, until the admission of Missouri into the Union. The office of Superintendent of Indian Affairs having been established by Act of Congress, he was appointed to the position by President Monroe in May, 1822, which office he held for sixteen years until his death on September 1, 1838, at the age of sixty-eight years and one month. As something co-incidental in the lives of these two men (Lewis and Clark), they were both from the same State, Virginia, both associated in the conduct of the expedition to the Pacific, and both became governors of the Territory, and so close the intimacy between them, that Clark on the birth of his first son, named him after his old associate, Meriwether Lewis.—Billon's "Annals of St. Louis," pp. 379-80-81.

¹⁰ Governor Meriwether Lewis, was born August 18, 1774, near Charlottesville, Albemarle County, Virginia. His grand-uncle, John Lewis, had been a member of the King's Council before the Revolution. Another of his grand-uncles, Fielding Lewis, was a brother-in-law of George Washington, having married a sister of Washington. In 1794, at the age of 20 years, he joined the volunteers called out by Washington to suppress the Whiskey Insurrection in the western part of Pennsylvania; from this he was appointed by Washington a Lieutenant in the Regular Service of the United States, and in 1797, at the age of twenty-three years, was promoted to a Captaincy. Following his first inauguration, President Jefferson, in 1801, appointed Captain Lewis his private Secretary, which position he filled for two years, until 1803; in this year after the promulgation of the treaty of cession of the Louisiana Purchase, Congress made an appropriation "to explore The Missouri River, cross the Stoney Mountains, and descend some river to the Pacific Ocean." President Jefferson, knowing well the man from his infancy, at once selected him to the command of the expedition, and as, in the event of an accident, it was necessary that some one should be associated with him in this then very hazardous expedition, Mr. William Clark, a younger brother of Col. George Rogers Clark of Revolutionary history, was appointed, and received the commission of Captain. Jefferson's instructions to Captain Lewis are dated, "Washington, July 4, 1803." Thus instructed Captain Lewis left Washington on the next day, July 5, 1803, then twenty-nine years of age, and proceeded to Pittsburgh to fit out the expedition. The time necessary for this purpose, the low stage of water in the Ohio, and other causes, so retarded the movement of the expedition, that on its arrival at Cahokia, opposite St. Louis, the season was too far advanced to ascend the Missouri River this season. (It was during this winter of 1803-4, that, while waiting here for the spring to prosecute his voyage, Captain Lewis was present at the transfer of the country to the United States on the 9th of March, 1804, and that his name is affixed, as one of the witnesses, to the official document executed by Delassus and Stoddard to that effect). In the autumn of 1809, his affairs requiring his presence in Washington, he left St. Louis in September to proceed down the river to New Orleans and there take a coasting vessel around. From his youth he had been subject to occasional fits of low spirits and despondency, and on his arrival at the Chickasaw Bluffs (now Memphis) somewhat indisposed, he changed his mind and concluded to go through by land. Mr. Neeley, U. S. Agent for the Chickasaw Indians, who was to accompany him, perceived in him occasional symptoms of derangement of mind. After passing the Tennessee River about a day's journey, they stopped for the night of October 10th at the house of a Mr. Griner. At about 3 o'clock in the morning of the 11th, Mrs. Griner was awakened by the report of a pistol from the room occupied by Governor Lewis, followed in a little while by a second. On entering the room the Governor was found dead in his bed, with a bullet hole under his chin up to and through his skull.—Billon's "Annals of St. Louis," pp. 374-75-76-78.

¹¹ In 1803, prior to the formal cession of the Louisiana Territory to the United States, President Jefferson took advantage of a pretext to send out an exploring expedition asking at the same time an appropriation of a small sum of money (\$2,500) from Congress to finance the project. Meriwether Lewis, a young army captain who had been private secretary to the President for two years, was selected for the leadership of the expedition. He was thoroughly familiar with Jefferson's plans and the choice of leader could not have been better. In the words of Jefferson it seems as if Lewis was predestined for an enterprise of this sort: "Of courage undaunted; possessing a firmness and perseverance of purpose which nothing but impossibilities could divert from its direction; careful as a father to those committed to his charge; yet steady in the maintenance of order and discipline; intimate with the Indian character, customs and principles; habituated to the hunting life; guarded, by exact observation of the vegetables and animals of his own country, against losing time in the description of objects already possessed; honest, disinterested, liberal, of sound understanding, and a fidelity to truth so scrupulous that whatever he should report would be as certain as if seen by ourselves," etc., no wonder that Jefferson had unbounded confidence in the young Virginia captain. Lewis chose for a comrade and lieutenant another army man—Captain Clark, thirty-three years old and about four years senior to the principal coadjutor. Though of equal military rank these two young men got along very well indeed, and nothing took place to hint that any serious disagreement had ever taken place in the course of their long and arduous service together.

Besides the two captains the personnel comprised twenty-six men, made up of nine young Kentuckians, who were inured to the rough life of the frontier among Indians; fourteen soldiers of the United States Army, selected from a large number who

volunteered for the journey; two French *voyageurs* or boatmen, one of whom was an interpreter of the Indian language and the other was a hunter as well; and one negro, servant of Captain Clark. All these, excepting the negro servant, for the purpose of harmony and discipline were enlisted as privates in the military service of the United States during the period of the expedition. In addition to this force, nine *voyageurs* and a corporal and six soldiers were detailed to act as guides and assistants until the explorers should reach the country of the Mandan Indians, a region near the spot where the city of Bismarck, N. Dakota, is now situated.

There was much opposition to the project. Jefferson, in his last letter to Captain Lewis before the expedition started, said: "The acquisition of the country through which you are to pass has inspired the country generally with a great deal of interest in your enterprise. The inquiries are perpetual as to your progress. The *Feds* alone still treat it as a philosophism, and would rejoice at its failure. Their bitterness increases with the diminution of their numbers and despair of a resurrection. I hope you will take care of yourself, and be a living witness of their malice and folly."—"Missouri, The Mother of States," by Williams and Shoemaker, Vol. I, pp. 96-7. (Italics are those of the author.)

¹² In 1823 there appeared in the *Missouri Republican* (formerly the *Missouri Gazette*) a letter signed "Philo" criticising the official acts of William V. Rector, surveyor general of the land district which included Missouri. It charged Rector with giving out lucrative contracts to his relatives and personal friends. Rector being a candidate for reappointment was opposed by Senator Barton. Thomas C. Rector, brother of the surveyor general, being informed that the letter had been received from U. S. District Attorney Joshua Barton, a brother of Senator Barton, immediately challenged Barton. They met on the island opposite St. Louis on July 29, 1823, and Barton was killed.

¹³ Edward Bates. See p. 27.

¹⁴ Major William Christy was born in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, January 10, 1764. He acquired some military reputation before locating in St. Louis in 1804; was active in the civic affairs of the city and served in many minor offices. One of his daughters became the wife of Joseph Charles, Sr., of the *Louisiana Gazette* (afterwards the *Missouri Gazette* and later the *Missouri Republican*.) William Christy died in April, 1837.

¹⁵ Mathias McGirk was born in Tennessee in 1790; located in St. Louis in 1814; in 1828 he removed to Montgomery County, where he died in 1841.

¹⁶ Judge John D. Cook was born in Virginia in 1790 and removed to Kentucky; in 1814 he was admitted to the bar; in 1818 he was a member of the Territorial Council of the Territory of Missouri; in 1820 he was delegate to the Convention under which Missouri entered the Union; he was appointed by Governor McNair in 1820, the first judge of the Supreme Court; he resigned in 1823; he was appointed judge of the Circuit Court of the Cape Girardeau District, where he served until the time of his death in 1850.

¹⁷ John Rice Jones was born in Merionethshire, Wales, February 10, 1759; came to St. Louis at the close of the Revolutionary war; located in Ste. Genevieve in 1808; appointed to the Supreme Court, and died in office in 1824.

¹⁸ "Missouri, The Mother of States," by Williams and Shoemaker, Vol. I, pp. 378-79-80.

¹⁹ William H. Ashley was elected Lieutenant-Governor on the ticket with Alexander McNair. In 1830 he was elected to Congress from St. Louis, as a Whig, and reelected in 1832 and 1834; was an unsuccessful candidate for governor, against Governor Boggs in 1836. He died March 26, 1838.

²⁰ Rufus Easton was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, on May 4, 1774, of an English family of good descent. March 13, 1805, he received from President Jefferson a commission as Judge of the Territory of Louisiana, and in March, 1806, was appointed by the President, United States Attorney for the Territory of Louisiana. Early in 1805, when a post office was established in St. Louis, Colonel Easton was appointed the first Postmaster, and held the position for nine years, resigning the office in 1814, being succeeded by Dr. Robert Simpson.

In 1814 he was elected Delegate to Congress, succeeding Edward Hempstead, and in 1816 reelected to the same, serving four years in that office.

In 1821, when Missouri became a State of this Union, Colonel Easton was appointed by President James Monroe, United States Attorney-General for the State of Missouri, which office he filled for five years, after which he retired to private life.

Colonel Easton removed to St. Charles in 1822, and died there on July 5, 1834, at the age of sixty years.

²¹ Rufus Pettibone was born in Litchfield County, Connecticut, May 26, 1784. In 1801, at 17 years of age, he entered Williams College, Massachusetts, where he remained four years and graduated in 1805. In 1810 he commenced practice in Vernon, Oneida County, New York, but soon thereafter came to Missouri and was elected to the Legislature. In 1821, he was appointed Judge of the Second Circuit and removed his family to St. Charles. He held his first term at Louisiana, Pike County, in February, 1821. In April, 1823, he was appointed to fill a vacancy on the Supreme Bench of the State. He died at St. Charles, July 31, 1825, and while yet in office, aged forty-one years.—Billon's "Annals of St. Louis."

²² George Tompkins was born in Caroline County, Va., in March, 1780; located in St. Louis about 1811; in 1816 he settled in the Town of Old Franklin, Howard County; was twice elected to the General Assembly; in 1824, on the death of John Rice Jones, he was appointed to fill the vacancy on the Supreme Bench. He died in Jefferson City, April 7, 1846.

²³ Frederick Bates was born in Belmont, Goochland County, Virginia, June 23, 1777. In 1806 he located in St. Louis. He was the first recorder of the Board of Land Commissioners, when the office was created. He was appointed in 1807 Secretary of the Territory by President Jefferson, and held the place for thirteen years, until the state government was formed in 1820. He completed the early Territorial Laws published in 1808, the first book printed in St. Louis, or west of the Mississippi River. He died August 4, 1825.

²⁴ Abraham J. Williams, the third Governor of the state, was a one-legged boot-maker at Columbia; was elected to the State Senate, and, due to his personal popularity was selected president *pro tem* of that body. He was a man of native ability and while without any educational training whatever was nevertheless well read and properly informed as to the political issues of his day. He died December 30, 1839.

²⁵ John Miller, See p. 108.

²⁶ Judge William C. Carr. See p. 27.

²⁷ Judge David Todd was impeached December 4, 1828, for malfeasance in office, tried by the Senate January 29, 1829, and acquitted.

²⁸ William Franklin Switzler was born in Fayette County, Kentucky, March 16, 1819. In 1826 his father moved to Fayette, Howard County, Missouri. He had few school advantages, but all through his life was a scholar and friend of education. He studied law under Judge Abiel Leonard and James S. Rollins. He was admitted to the bar in 1842, but in 1841 had entered newspaper work as editor of the *Columbia Patriot*, the successor of the *Missouri Intelligencer* and Boone's *Lick Advertiser*. In 1843 he began the publication of the *Missouri Statesman*, and remained its publisher forty-six years. Prior to the war he was a Whig, and by that party was three times elected to the Missouri House of Representatives, in 1846, 1848 and 1856. During the Civil war he was a conservative Unionist. After the war he became a member of the Democratic Party. In 1866 and again 1868 he was his Party's choice for Congress, and each time was given a majority, though the radical secretary of state each time gave the election to his opponent; served in both the constitutional conventions of 1865 and 1875. In 1885 President Cleveland appointed him chief of the Bureau of Statistics. As a writer Colonel Switzler earned the titles of "Historian of Missouri" and "Nestor of the Press." His outstanding work is his "History of Missouri," which is recognized as a standard and authentic work. His "History of Boone County" is also a valuable contribution. He died May 24, 1906, at Columbia, Missouri.

²⁹ William H. Crawford, of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury under President Monroe, 1817.

³⁰ In 1824 there was no majority choice in the Electoral College for President; Jackson had 99; Adams 84; Crawford 41; Clay 37. The election was thrown into the House, each state having one vote. In this wise Adams was elected. John Scott cast the vote of Missouri for Adams.

³¹ The present state constitution prohibits a governor to succeed himself to that office.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

The history of the United States is a story of growth and change. From the first settlers to the present day, the nation has evolved through various stages of development. The early years were marked by exploration and settlement, followed by a period of rapid expansion and industrialization. The American Revolution and the Civil War were pivotal moments in the nation's history, shaping its identity and values.

The American Revolution was a turning point in the nation's history. It was a struggle for independence from British rule, fought by a group of patriots who believed in the rights of the individual. The war ended in 1783, and the new nation was born. The Constitution was drafted, and the United States became a sovereign state.

The Civil War was another pivotal moment in the nation's history. It was a conflict between the North and the South, fought over the issue of slavery. The war ended in 1865, and the Union was preserved. The Reconstruction era followed, a period of rebuilding and reform that shaped the modern United States.

The Reconstruction era was a period of significant change and growth. The nation was rebuilding itself after the devastation of the Civil War. The Reconstruction era was a time of great struggle and achievement, as the nation worked to heal its wounds and build a more just and equitable society.

The Reconstruction era was a period of significant change and growth. The nation was rebuilding itself after the devastation of the Civil War. The Reconstruction era was a time of great struggle and achievement, as the nation worked to heal its wounds and build a more just and equitable society.

The Reconstruction era was a period of significant change and growth. The nation was rebuilding itself after the devastation of the Civil War. The Reconstruction era was a time of great struggle and achievement, as the nation worked to heal its wounds and build a more just and equitable society.

The Reconstruction era was a period of significant change and growth. The nation was rebuilding itself after the devastation of the Civil War. The Reconstruction era was a time of great struggle and achievement, as the nation worked to heal its wounds and build a more just and equitable society.

The Reconstruction era was a period of significant change and growth. The nation was rebuilding itself after the devastation of the Civil War. The Reconstruction era was a time of great struggle and achievement, as the nation worked to heal its wounds and build a more just and equitable society.

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGIN OF MISSOURI'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Daniel Dunklin,³² of Washington County, was elected governor in 1832, when Andrew Jackson was elected to serve his second term as President.

He began his term as governor with an earnest effort to promote a free school system. In 1833 the Legislature passed an act to authorize the appointment of a committee to formulate a law to create a system of public schools. This system was improved upon and extended at each succeeding session of the General Assembly, but Daniel Dunklin is justly credited with being the "Father of the Public Schools." During his term as governor the Platte Purchase was acquired. Dunklin County was named in his honor.

Lilburn W. Boggs was elected lieutenant-governor in 1832, and in 1833 Henry Shurlds³³ was appointed State Auditor. In 1835 he was appointed secretary of state. In January, 1833, John Walker, of Cole County, was appointed state treasurer. He died May 6, 1836. In March, 1835, Peter G. Glover, of Callaway County, was appointed state auditor. In September, 1836, William Barclay Napton,³⁴ of Howard County, was appointed attorney general.

Lilburn W. Boggs,³⁵ of Jackson County, who had been elected lieutenant-governor in 1832 on the ticket with Daniel Dunklin, was elected governor in 1836.

The administration of Governor Boggs was perhaps the most active and interesting of the administrations up to that time. Among the most eventful actions was the founding of a State Bank, and the establishment of branch banks over the state. It was in 1837 that the government called on Missouri for troops to fight the Seminole Indians in Florida. A regiment was raised, commanded by Col. Richard Gentry, of Columbia, who was killed in battle.

During these four years the public school system first advocated by Governor Dunklin, was founded; in 1839 the University of Missouri was established at Columbia, and a new State Capitol to replace the first State House, erected in 1826 and burned in 1837, was built.

Franklin Cannon,³⁶ of Cape Girardeau, was elected lieutenant governor on the ticket with Governor Boggs, and presided over the deliberations of the State Senate.

On January 25, 1837, John C. Edwards, of Cole County, was appointed secretary of state. Edwards resigned and Peter G. Glover, of Callaway County, was appointed to succeed him. On February 5, 1839, James L. Minor, of Marion County, succeeded Glover.

On June 6, 1838, Abraham McClelland, of Howard County, was appointed state treasurer.

Hiram B. Baber, of Cole County, was appointed state auditor.

In February, 1839, S. Mansfield Bay, of Cole County, was appointed attorney-general to succeed William B. Napton, who had been appointed to the Supreme Bench.

It will be interesting for the modern-day advocates of the so-called "short ballot" to note that in the provisions of Missouri's first constitution, only the governor and lieutenant-governor were elected by popular vote. All of the minor state officers were appointed by the governor, as well as were members of the Supreme Court. This constitutional provision remained in effect until 1852.

REYNOLDS' ADMINISTRATION

Thomas Reynolds³⁷ of Howard County, was elected governor in 1840. The contest for governor was between the Democrats and Whigs, and tested the strength of the latter party in the state. John B. Clark, of Howard County, was the Whig candidate. The vote was Reynolds, 29,625; Clark, 22,212.

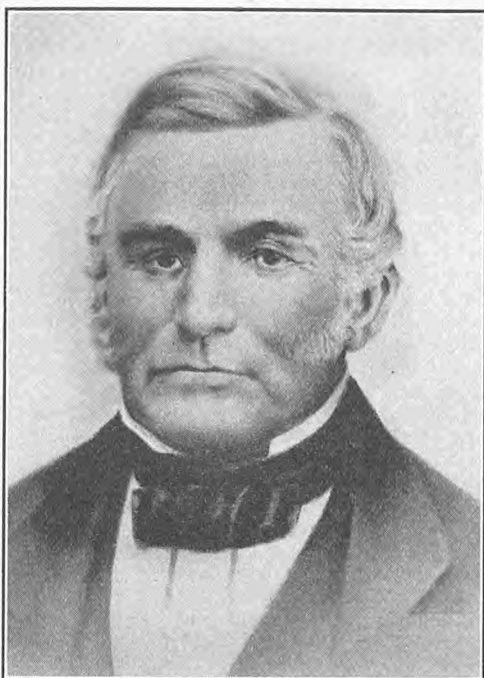
Under Reynolds' administration the shortest legislative act in the history of legislation was enacted—"Imprisonment for debt is hereby abolished."

He had been in poor health and, on February 9, 1844, he committed suicide³⁸ at Jefferson City. William F. Switzler attributed the suicide mainly to the appointment of David R. Atchison to fill the place of Sen. Lewis F. Linn, who died at Ste. Genevieve, October 3, 1843, creating a vacancy in the United States Senate. However, in 1845, the Legislature elected Atchison to serve the four years remaining of the Linn term.

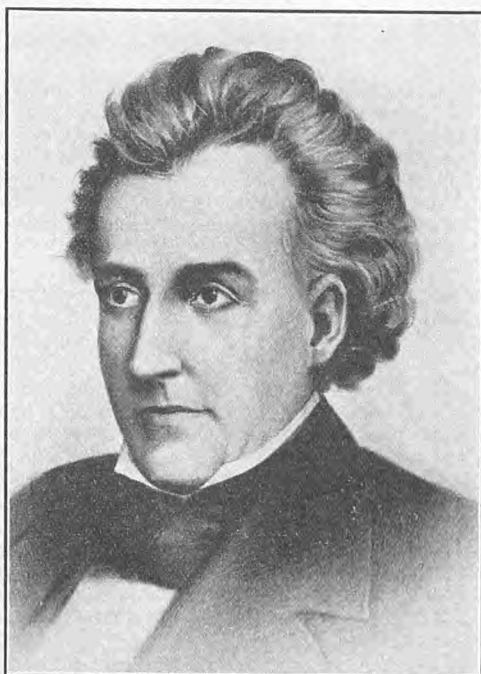
Meredith M. Marmaduke,³⁹ of Saline County, became governor on the death of Governor Reynolds, on February 9, 1844.

Governor Marmaduke's message to the General Assembly on November 8, 1844, was a creditable state paper, full of many suggestions for the improvement of the state government. He insisted that the General Assembly proceed to district the state for the election of members to the lower house of Congress, which the previous session had failed to do. He recommended that the General Assembly proceed with such measures as would settle the southern boundary line of the state, which was in dispute.

James L. Minor, of Marion County, secretary of state; Peter G. Glover, of Cole County, state treasurer; Hiram B. Baber, of Cole County, state auditor, and S. Mansfield Bay, of Cole County, attorney-general, who held these offices under Governor Reynolds held over during Governor Marmaduke's time in office.



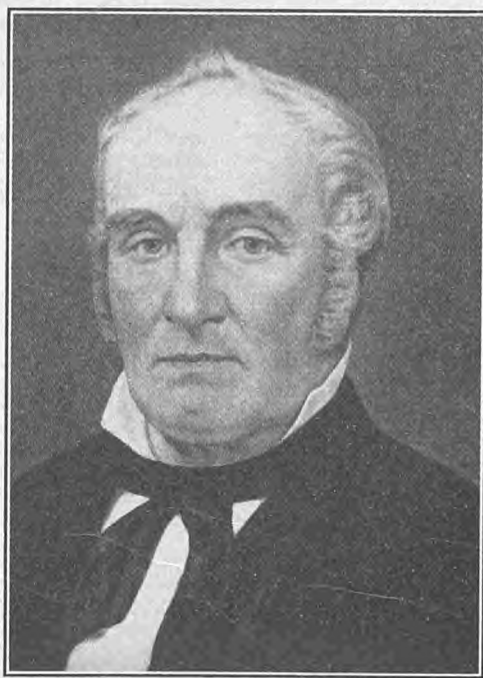
HON. LILBURN W. BOGGS
Fifth Governor



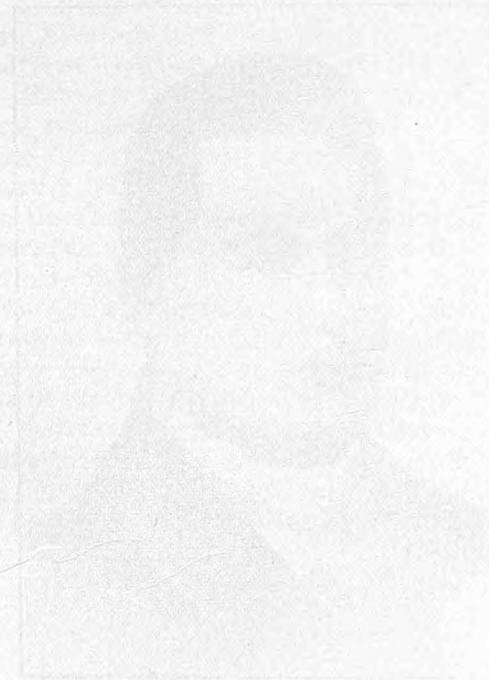
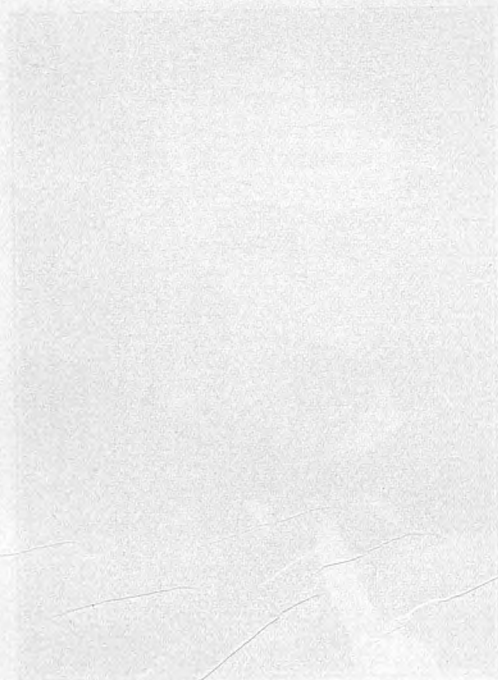
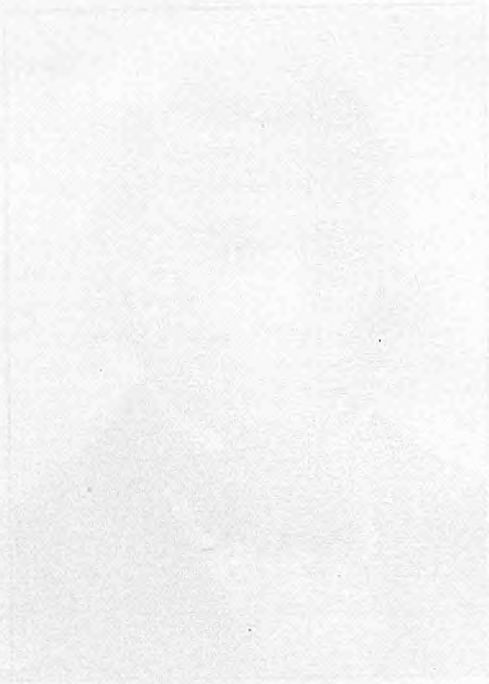
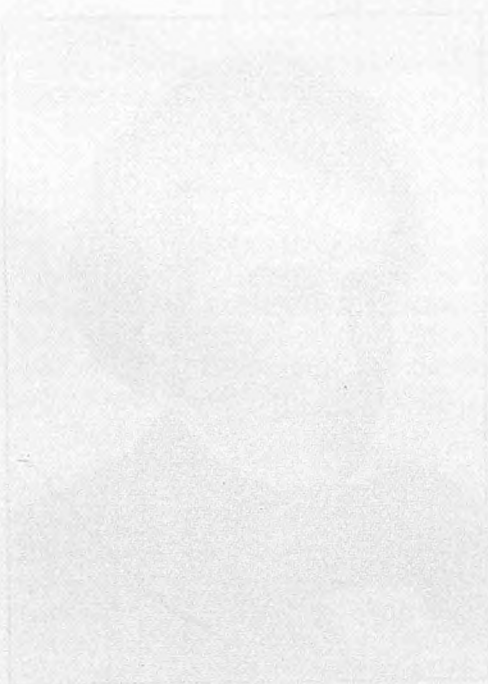
HON. DANIEL DUNKLIN
Fourth Governor



HON. THOMAS REYNOLDS
Sixth Governor



HON. M. M. MARMADUKE
Seventh Governor



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
LIBRARY

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
LIBRARY

FOOT NOTES, CHAPTER II—SECOND EPOCH, 32 to 40

³² Daniel Dunklin was born January 14, 1790, in Greenville District, South Carolina; in 1810 his family came to Missouri and settled in Washington County; in 1822 he represented Washington County in the General Assembly; in 1828 he was again elected Lieutenant-Governor, on the ticket with Governor John Miller as a pronounced Jackson Democrat, and succeeded Miller as Governor. He died August 25, 1844. His grave near Herculaneum, Jefferson County, though still to be identified, is almost wholly unmarked. The editor of this work has long advocated a fitting memorial over the grave of Dunklin as the "Father of Missouri's Public School System."

³³ Henry Shurlds was born in Gloucester County, Va., November 21, 1796; removed to St. Louis in 1819; in 1821 he located at Potosi, Washington County; in 1832 elected Secretary of the State Senate; in 1833 was appointed State Auditor; in 1835 appointed Secretary of State. He died August 2, 1852.

³⁴ William Barclay Napton was born in Princeton, N. J., in 1808; came to Missouri in 1832 and settled at Fayette, Howard County; he practiced law and for a time edited the *Boonslick Democrat*; appointed Attorney General in 1836; in 1839 appointed to the Supreme Bench, where he served until 1857; refused to take the Test Oath of the infamous Drake Constitution; in 1872 appointed to fill a vacancy on the Supreme Bench; in November, 1874, was elected Supreme Judge for a term of six years. He died January 8, 1883.

³⁵ Lilburn W. Boggs was born in Madison County, Ky., in 1796; served in the War of 1812; in 1816 he located in St. Louis, where he engaged in the mercantile business; in 1819 he was cashier of the Bank of St. Louis; moved to Jackson County and in 1832 he was elected Lieutenant-Governor. He died in Napa Valley, Cal., March 14, 1860.

³⁶ Franklin Cannon came from North Carolina, and at an early date located at Jackson, Cape Girardeau County. He was a physician and his practice extended many miles from Jackson. He died June 13, 1863, and left two sons surviving him; one, Dr. J. W. Cannon, who like his father, was an active and influential Democrat.

³⁷ Thomas Reynolds was born in Kentucky County, Kentucky, March 12, 1796. In early life he became a citizen of the State of Illinois, and there filled the several offices of clerk of the House of Representatives, Attorney General, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; in 1829 he removed to the State of Missouri, and was successively Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Judge of the Second Judicial Circuit. Reynolds County was so named in his honor.

³⁸ Shortly after breakfast, on February 9, 1844, the report of a gun was heard from the executive mansion in Jefferson City, and some persons passing by at the time went into the Governor's office to ascertain the cause of it, and there they found the Governor weltering in his blood, with the top of his head blown entirely off, and of course dead. He had just before sent for a rifle, the muzzle of which he placed against his forehead and by the aid of a strong twine tied to the trigger, with one end wrapped around his thumb, he discharged it. On the table near where he fell was found a letter addressed to his most intimate friend, Col. William G. Minor, in the following words: "In every situation in which I have been placed, I have labored to discharge my duty faithfully to the public, but this has not protected me for the last twelve months from the slanders and abuse of my enemies, which has rendered my life a burden to me. I pray God to forgive them, and teach them more charity. My will is in the hands of James L. Minor, Esq. Farewell. Th. Reynolds."—Bay's "Bench and Bar of Missouri," pp. 345-348.

³⁹ Meredith M. Marmaduke was born in Westmoreland County, Va., August 28, 1791; was a soldier in the war of 1812; served as U. S. Marshal in Virginia; in 1821 located at Old Franklin in Howard County; later removed to Saline County; was the father of Vincent, John S., Meredith M., Darwin W., Henry H., Layton, and Leslie Marmaduke.

Governor Marmaduke was a close friend of Colonel Benton. Between 1840 and 1844 a strong factional contest developed within the Democratic party in Missouri, according to a biography by C. H. McClure, in Vol. II, of "Messages and Proclamations of the State of Missouri." "The two factions were known as the Hards and Softs. The Hards were frequently called Benton, and the Softs Anti-Benton Democrats. The factional fight reached its climax in the State Democratic Convention held in May, 1844, and the campaign which followed.

"Governor Marmaduke was the favorite candidate for the Hards, or Benton Democrats, for Governor. The contest between the two factions was very close in the Convention and Marmaduke withdrew in favor of John C. Edwards, who had not been such a pronounced Hard and could carry considerable Soft support.

"Marmaduke was a delegate in the Constitutional Convention of 1845. He received twenty-one votes for president of the Convention as against thirty-six votes for R. W. Wells, the successful candidate.

"Marmaduke was made Chairman of the Committee on Executive Powers and was one of the most valuable men of the Convention.

"After his service in the Constitutional Convention Governor Marmaduke retired to private life, but continued to take an active interest in public affairs and always took a decided stand upon public questions. He had always belonged to that wing of the Democratic Party in Missouri led by Thomas H. Benton.

"Like all the Benton Democrats, he was a strong Union man.

"The Benton wing of the Democratic Party lost control of the party organization during the fifties, and the southern wing of the Party was in undisputed possession of the State Government from 1856 until the Civil war. When the war came Governor Marmaduke declared himself a Union man, and remained 'unflexible and unalterable in his devotion to the old Union whose flag he had served.'

"His son, John S. Marmaduke, had graduated from West Point and was serving in the United States Army when the war broke out.

"He resigned and came home before finally casting his lot with the South. In the conference between the young officer and his father, Governor Marmaduke has been quoted by a number of his family as having said: 'John, there can be but one result. You will sacrifice your profession. Secession will fail. Slavery will be abolished. But you must decide for yourself.'

"Young Marmaduke decided against the wise advice of his father and raised a regiment for service in the cause of the South.

"After the organization had been completed and was about ready to leave for Jefferson City, the Colonel's father was invited to address the newly enlisted soldiers. The regiment was formed at Marshall to receive the Ex-Governor. In this address the elder Marmaduke told his son's men that 'Secession could not succeed; that they had enlisted in a cause that was bound to fail.'

He died March 26, 1864.

CHAPTER III

THE JACKSONIAN POLICIES POPULAR WITH MISSOURI VOTERS

With the courage of his convictions forcefully and fearlessly advocated, the growing nation-wide popularity of General Andrew Jackson¹ was especially noted in Missouri. His wonderful military record² made of him a national hero and, of course, contributed to his personal popularity. But it was as a member of Congress in which his statesmanship was most pronounced in advocacy of the rights and privileges of the common people, which rights had been implanted in the constitution through the Bill of Rights, written by Thomas Jefferson and forced by that great philosopher into the document against the wishes and desires of the Federalists led by Alexander Hamilton.

When Andrew Jackson took his seat in Congress in 1796, he was in sympathy with the people of France during the Revolution, and believed the United States was bound by gratitude and principle to aid the people against their oppressors. He opposed the compromising measures of the Washington administration. He opposed the banking system as a creation of Alexander Hamilton, the National Bank and its issues of paper money. He hated Hamilton, who believed in the rule of an aristocracy of money. He was strong for the principles of Democracy as expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution—a follower of Jefferson under a banner of equal rights to all. He opposed Henry Clay's³ land bill, believing it would promote in every state a sinister interest in keeping up the price of land at the expense of the actual settlers, declaring that the labor of the settler alone gives value to land.

The growing power of the Andrew Jackson sentiment in Missouri was manifest in the early days of his term in Congress. Of the many acts which attracted the western sentiment, one was that he stood for the allotment of lands to the settlers. The Jackson Democrats, too, stood as a revolt against certain leaders. The voters supported him because they felt that he was of themselves, and they understood that his election would mean the complete overthrow of the classes in power, and their retirement from the control of the government.

The personal contact of Andrew Jackson and Thomas Hart Benton, who came to be such a force and power in the Democratic Party of Missouri, began under very unusual circumstances.

Shoemaker⁴ says that "when he was seventeen Benton saw Jackson for the first time, but did not make his acquaintance until the latter had left the bench and Benton was practicing at the bar, to which he was admitted in 1811. He was junior counsel in a case involving a friend of Jackson's and was warmly complimented by the judge on freeing his

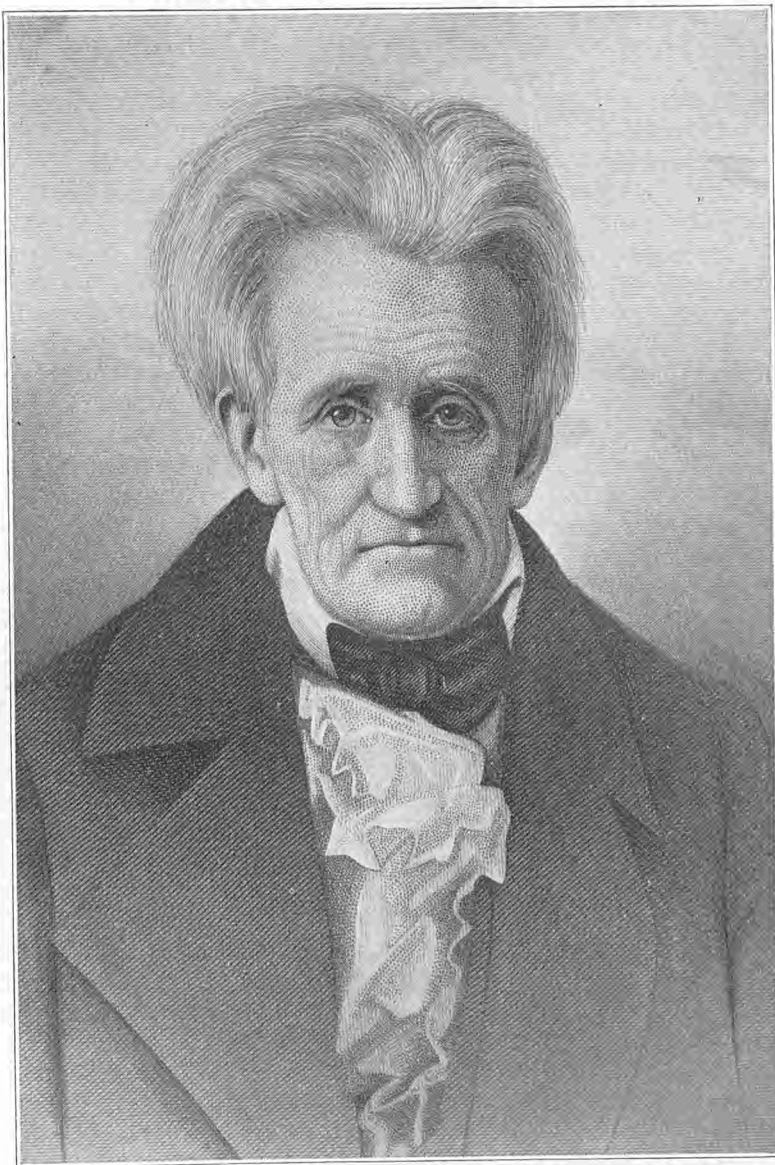
man. Jackson at that time lived at the 'Hermitage' and supposed himself retired from public life. At the outbreak of the War of 1812 Jackson was elected major-general of the militia by one majority. 'On what small things do great events sometimes depend! Had not that one vote been available Jackson might have died a respected planter, known as a man who had once been a judge and an Indian fighter, and for nothing else except a violent temper.' It was Benton who suggested to Jackson that the thing to do was to raise a brigade and practically force the nation to accept it; and as young Benton had become a ready writer and was vain at that period and even afterwards of his compositions, he wrote an address for Jackson to issue to his troops, on the presumption that it would attract the attention of the national authorities, and took it to Jackson to read and sign, if he so chose. He found the doughty general by the kitchen fire with his adopted son, less than two years old, and a lamb between his knees. Jackson explained to his visitor that the little boy had cried because the lamb was out in the wet, so he had brought it in and they were having a sort of a 'family party.' This was a case of the lamb and the lion lying down together, and it throws a sidelight on the character of Jackson which is interesting. The address was signed, Jackson eventually got his place in the service, and Benton for a time was his aide-de-camp."

BENTON'S BREAK WITH JACKSON

It was during this period that Benton came into collision with General Jackson in a way that interrupted their friendly relations for many years. It is said that Benton fought a duel with Jackson, but, more properly speaking, the affair was a barroom brawl. Benton's brother Jesse had been involved with William (afterward General) Carroll in an "affair of honor" in which Jackson had seconded the latter. In the angry dispute which followed, Thomas H. Benton, though then serving on Jackson's staff, espoused his brother's cause, and the result was a fracas involving the four persons and some others. Jackson struck Jesse Benton with his horsewhip and was promptly shot in the shoulder. In the general melee which followed, knives, pistols, and clubs were used, Jesse Benton receiving serious wounds, while Thomas was knocked downstairs. It was long before the animosities thus aroused were assuaged.

There is no doubt that Thomas Hart Benton's support of Jackson helped much in the early days in Missouri to strengthen the influence of Jackson. In 1823 when Jackson was elected to the United States Senate, for his second term, it was a question as to what attitude they would assume toward each other. This is best described by Colonel Benton himself. In a letter to a friend he said:

"Well, how many changes in this life! General Jackson is now sitting in the chair next to me. There was a vacant one next to me and he took it for the session. Several Senators saw our situation and offered mediation. I declined it on the ground that what had happened could neither be explained, recanted, nor denied. After this, we were put upon the same committee. Facing me one day, as we sat in our seats, he said to me,



ANDREW JACKSON
Seventh President of the United States—1829-1837
Born 1767—Died 1845

'Colonel, we are on the same committee; I will give you notice when it is necessary to attend.' (He was chairman and had the right to summon us). I answered, 'General, make the time suit yourself; it will be convenient for me to attend at any time.' In committee we did business together, just as other persons. After that, he asked me how my wife was, and I asked how his was. Then he called and left his card at my lodgings—'Andrew Jackson for Colonel Benton and lady.' Forthwith I called at his and left mine—'Colonel Benton for General Jackson.' Since then we have dined together at several places, and yesterday at the President's I made him the first bow, he held forth his hand, and we shook hands. I then introduced him to my wife, and then civil relations are perfectly established between us. Jackson has gained since he has been here by his mild and conciliatory manner."

There is no doubt that this action on the part of these men was of momentous importance to Benton, and so far as Missouri Democracy was concerned, it made Jackson the dominating influence in the political affairs of the state.

In the Presidential election in 1824, John Quincy Adams⁵ received only one-third of the popular vote. The election of a President went to the House, each state having one vote. Under the influence of Henry Clay, and upon the urging of Senator Barton, it is said, John Scott, Missouri's one Representative in Congress, voted for Adams, although Benton counseled him to vote for Jackson. Scott had been popular with the people, and he had done much to aid Missouri to gain statehood, but at the next election this vote retired him to private life.

In the Electoral College the vote was: Jackson, 99; Adams, 84; Crawford,⁶ 41; Clay, 37. There was no choice and the election of President was thrown into the House, each state having one vote, and Adams was elected. The popular vote for President was: Jackson, 155,800; Adams, 105,300; Crawford, 44,200; Clay, 46,500.

The result of the Presidential election in 1824 convinced General Jackson's friends that he could be elected in 1828. However, never before, or since, for that matter, did a presidential candidate meet the opposition encountered by this man. No detraction was missing. His senatorial, judicial, military, and even the sacred precincts of his home, were criticized with a spirit of hatred never encountered in any political contest. The Clay, the Adams, the Calhoun⁷ factions resorted to everything to destroy Jackson. All this in the face of the fact that from his retirement from the Senate until 1827, he had received more honors than had ever come to a man since the Republic was founded. But in 1828 Jackson had a more consolidated and organized campaign. Francis P. Blair, Sr.,⁸ the father of our own Francis P. Blair, of sainted memory, was doing great service for him, and Duff Green,⁹ still with the *United States Telegram*, was strong in the support of Jackson, who stood against all the iniquitous laws that had fastened themselves on society, education and labor, and which Jackson believed were mainly the creations of the chartered bank.

THE ELECTION IN 1828

At the Jackson meeting at Jefferson City on January 8, 1828, the *Missouri Republican* (January 10, 1828) attempted to discredit the affair through lack of state-wide representation and, "since women were allowed to attend the Jackson meeting in Ste. Genevieve County there would probably be one or two of them at the state convention."

At the meeting Nicholas Burckhardt was chairman, and James Birch, editor of *The Western Monitor*, was secretary.

The various counties were represented as follows:

"Jackson—Lilburn W. Boggs; Lafayette—David Ward; Chariton—John Moore; Cooper—Archibald Kavanaugh, John Miller, Charles Woods, David Jones; Howard—John F. Ryland, Urial Sebree, Nicholas S. Burckhardt, James Earickson, James H. Birch; Boone—Priestly H. McBride, William Lientz, Peter Bass, Peter Wright, Jesse T. Wood; Callaway—Nathan Kouns; Cole—Spencer Pettis; Franklin—Robert Brock; St. Louis—Samuel Magill, Benjamin O'Fallon, Henry Walton, William Carr Lane, George W. Kerr, John L. Sutton; Washington—Augustus Jones, James Farquhar; St. Francois—Laken Miller; Wayne—Theodore F. Drew; Cape Girardeau—William Garner; Ste. Genevieve—John S. Barrett.¹⁰

In 1828 there were but two candidates for the Presidency, Jackson and Adams. There were two hundred and sixty-one electoral votes. One hundred and seventy-eight were for General Jackson and eighty-three for Adams. The man of the people was now to be President, and to quote the chroniclers of the times, "the country is now aflame with hope that there is to be a *New Deal*."^{10a}

When Andrew Jackson was sworn in as President of the United States he was sixty-four years of age. He was ill most of the time, suffering from his wounds and the exposures of his campaigns, but the spirit of things he had advocated was alive and aflame in one who never turned back from a task he had assumed to perform. He was determined to do away with Nicholas Biddle's bank,¹¹ which he said, (the moneyed interests) "have erected an interest separate from that of the people. That the stock owned by foreigners cannot be taxed, which gives such stock a ten or fifteen per cent greater value than that held by American citizens. Although a third of the bank's stock is held by foreigners, they have no voice or vote in the election of its officials. The moneyed men (the bank) of the nation are throttling the country by holding within their hands the republic's financial resources. Should the stock ever pass principally into the hands of the subjects of a foreign country, and we should become involved in a war with that country, the interests and feelings of the bank's directors will be opposed to those of their countrymen."

How well he voiced the experiences of the people of the United States of this day and age when he said, "*Many of our rich men have not been content with equal protection and equal benefits, but have besought to make themselves richer by acts of Congress. By attempting to gratify*

their desires, we have in the results of our legislation, arrayed section against section, interest against interest, and men against men, in a fearful commotion which threatens to shake the foundation of our Union. It is time to pause in our career, to review our principles, and, if possible, revive that devoted patriotism and spirit of compromise which distinguished the sages of the Revolution, and the fathers of our Union. If we cannot at once, in justice to the interests vested under improvident legislation, make our own government what it ought to be, we can, at least, take a stand against any prostitution of our government to the advancement of the few at the expense of the many."

When Franklin D. Roosevelt reached the Presidency on March 4, 1933, he found conditions in the country much the same, if not worse, than those that existed in 1829. Speculations had run riot, banks failing, and the confidence of the people in the integrity of the Government almost destroyed. Unemployment running into the millions, all met by the administration that preceded him with an indifference almost criminal. The Jackson spirit for the interests of the many is paralleled by that of Franklin D. Roosevelt, who has set himself the task with the *New Deal* to bring the country back to normalcy, in which task he is displaying courage and ability that commends him to posterity.

In 1832 the contest for President was between Andrew Jackson and Henry Clay, the Whig¹² candidate. The popular vote was Jackson, 707,217; Clay, 328,561. In the Electoral College Jackson had sixteen states, and Clay six.

JACKSONIAN PRINCIPLES CONTINUE IN EFFECT

So, the spirit and influence of Andrew Jackson goes on undiminished by time, and his life work for the Party to which he was ever faithful, follows that of Thomas Jefferson, the father of the Constitution, to guide the great Party in continuing the struggle to perpetuate the principles which are the guarantee of "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness." In the dark days of the Missouri Democracy, when Radicalism and Oppression were depriving people of every right guaranteed to them by the Constitution of their fathers, the principles promulgated by Jefferson, and the indomitable spirit of victory characterized by Jackson, resulted in the success, politically, of the Party in the nation and state.

On July 24, 1832, Jackson's veto of the United States Bank Bill caused some controversy in Missouri. The friends of Jackson met in St. Louis to endorse the veto. A resolution was presented by Edward Dobyns, said to have been an intimate friend of Thomas H. Benton, which was supported by many prominent men, in which it was declared: "*All banks and banking institutions possessing exclusive privileges and powers of monopoly are a dangerous tendency in the government of the people, calculated in their nature to draw distinctions in society and to build up family nobilities, and the stand which General Jackson has taken against the monied powers of Europe and America is a mark of firmness and patriotism not surpassed by any patriotic statesman since the light of liberty first dawned upon our country.*"

In every state election since the Civil war the lives of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson, and what they gave to perpetuate the liberties of the people, have been a controlling influence in the success of Missouri Democracy.

In his farewell address President Jackson says of himself: "My own race is nearly run; advanced age and failing health warn me that before long I must pass beyond the reach of human events and cease to feel the vicissitudes of human affairs. I thank God that my life has been spent in a land of liberty, and that He has given me a heart to love my country with the affection of a son. And filled with gratitude for your constant and unwavering kindness, I bid you a last and affectionate farewell."

When he got back to the "Hermitage" he was seventy years old. At the time he went to Washington to begin his term as President he had five thousand dollars. His salary was twenty-five thousand dollars a year. Being a generous host and helpful to his friends, all this went, for he spent little on himself.

One of the last letters he ever wrote was to his friend, Francis P. Blair, Sr.: "This may be the last letter I may be able to write you. But live or die I am your friend (*I never desert one for policy*) and I leave my papers and reputation in your keeping. As far as justice is due to my fame, I know you will shield it. I ask no more. I rest upon truth, and require nothing but what truth will mete to me. All my household join me in kind wishes, for your health and prosperity, and that of your family, and that you may triumph over all enemies. May God's choicest blessings be bestowed upon you and yours through life, is the prayer of your sincere friend."

On June 8, 1845, the Old Warrior fell into that long sleep in the presence of those who loved him through life.

ANDREW JACKSON, THE MAN

No man in the history of the nation ever passed through such thrilling and momentous experiences as Andrew Jackson, and his character and personal conduct have been variously commented on by historians. He was not a man that would "*bend the pregnant hinges of the knee that thrift might follow fawning,*" but one who was a product of the times when this great nation was forming. However, to those who were fair to the man and who spoke of him, "nothing extenuating nor setting down aught in malice," he loses little by comparison with the greatest.

In the address of Champ Clark on the acceptance of the Statues of Thomas Hart Benton and Francis P. Blair in Congress on January 18, 1899, it was stated, in part: "No such popularity as Andrew Jackson's has been vouchsafed to an American President since George Washington was laid to rest on the banks of the Potomac, a popularity which abides to this day and which will continue until our race has run its course, and until the wide firmament is gathered up as a scroll. For twenty years all of the most serious and learned arguments of Whig statesmen were triumphantly and successfully answered by '*Hurrah for Jackson,*' and as-

surely since the morning stars first sang together, no man has better deserved being hurrahed for than Old Hickory. The intense love which his followers bore him has always reminded me of the pathetic enthusiasm of the French soldier, sorely wounded, who, as Napoleon swept by at the head of the Old Guard, picked up his amputated leg, and waving it above his head shouted '*Vive l'Empereur.*'"

When the differences between Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun caused Duff Green, who was editor of the *United States Telegram*, to side with Calhoun, against Jackson, Francis P. Blair, Sr., became the editor of the *Washington Globe*, and Champ Clark says "completely won the heart of Jackson, which in itself was a greater honor than could have been conferred by any patent of nobility * * * If Blair loved Jackson the iron soldier repaid that love in Scriptive measure, heaped up, pressed down and running over. Almost the last letter Jackson ever wrote was to Blair at a time when the Polk¹³ administration was endeavoring to force him to sell them the *Globe* under penalty of their starting an opposition paper. I here quote part of it, so highly honorable to the writer and the recipient, and so characteristic of the former. Even at this distant day one can scarcely read the closing sentence with dry eyes. '*How loathsome,*' wrote Jackson, '*it is to me to see an old friend laid aside, principles of justice and friendship forgotten, and all for the sake of policy,* and the great Democratic Party divided or endangered for policy. I can not reflect upon it with any calmness. Every point of it, upon scrutiny, turns to harm and disunion, and not one beneficial result can be expected from it. I will be anxious to know the result. If harmony is restored, and the *Globe* the organ, I will rejoice; if sold, to whom, and for what? Have, if you sell, the purchase money well secured. This may be the last letter I may be able to write you, but, live or die, I am your friend (*and never deserted one from policy*), and leave my papers and reputation in your keeping.'

"The parentheses in that sentence explains the secret of Jackson's wondrous power over the minds and hearts of men. '*Never deserted a friend from policy*'—those be golden words. He might with exactest truth have enlarged the statement so as to read, '*I never deserted either a friend or a principle from policy, or for any other reason whatsoever.*'"

Senator Mills of Massachusetts, who was at first impressed with the criticism of Jackson, says: "As to the charge that he was extremely rash and autocratic, tyrannical and despotic in his principles, a personal acquaintance with him has convinced many who had these opinions, that they were unfounded. He was very mild and amiable in his disposition, of great benevolence, and his manner, although formed in the West, was exceedingly polished and polite. Everybody who knows him loves him."

"He was above every species of money vice; he was chaste and domestic in his habits, temperate in every way, and is spoken of as being less addicted to the vices and immoralities of youth than any young men with whom he was acquainted," said Judge McNairy.¹⁴

As to his conduct after his defeat by Adams, John T. Morse, Jr., says in his "History of American Statesmen": "He met Adams on the evening

of the election at the reception, and bore himself much the better of the two."

The spirit of "Old Hickory" still dominates the thoughts of men and on the anniversary of the day on which the battle of New Orleans was fought, January 8, 1815, banquets and celebrations are still held to revivify the thoughts and remembrances of this wonderful character. He gave all he had in his eventful life, when the country was in need of the sterling and courageous men of his stamp, and lives in the heart of posterity with undiminished devotion; and it may be said, the world will not look upon his like again. In the sacred soil of the "Hermitage," his body rests beside that of the one love of his life, where pilgrims yet unborn will go out of respect to his memory.

SECOND EPOCH, CHAPTER III—FOOTNOTES

¹ Andrew Jackson, a Representative and a Senator from Tennessee and a President of the United States; born in such obscurity on March 15, 1767, that two States have claimed his birthplace, though he himself stated that he had been told it was in the Waxhaw settlement in South Carolina; attended the "old field" school and the academy of Doctor Humphries; during the Revolution was captured by the British and confined in the stockade at Camden, South Carolina; left an orphan at fourteen years of age; worked for a time in a saddler's shop and afterwards taught school; studied law in Salisbury, North Carolina; was admitted to the bar in 1787, and commenced practice in McLeanville, Guilford County, North Carolina; appointed solicitor of the western district of North Carolina, comprising what is now the State of Tennessee, in 1788, and located in Nashville, Tennessee, in October, 1788; delegate to the convention to frame a constitution for the new State held in Knoxville in January, 1796; upon the admission of Tennessee as a State into the Union was elected as a Democrat (at that time known as a Jefferson Republican) to the Fourth Congress, and served from December 5, 1796, to March 3, 1797; elected to the United States Senate for the term commencing March 4, 1797, and served from September 26, 1797, until his resignation in April, 1798; elected judge of the State Supreme Court of Tennessee, and served from 1798 to July 24, 1804; moved to "Hermitage," near Nashville, and engaged in planting and in mercantile pursuits; served in the Creek war of 1813; major general of Volunteers 1812-1814; commissioned brigadier general in the United States Army April 19, 1814; major-general May 1, 1814; led his army to New Orleans, where he defeated the British January 8, 1815; received the thanks of Congress and a gold medal by resolution of February 27, 1815; commanded an expedition which captured Florida in 1817; Governor of Florida from March 10 to July 18, 1821; declined the position of minister to Mexico; again elected to the United States Senate and served from March 4, 1823, to October 14, 1825, when he resigned; unsuccessful candidate for President of the United States in 1824; elected President in 1828; reelected in 1832, and served from March 4, 1829, to March 3, 1837; retired to his country home, the "Hermitage" near Nashville, Tennessee, where he died June 8, 1845; interment in the garden of his estate.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

² It is not the purpose of this Epoch to deal with Andrew Jackson's military career, but the great Battle of New Orleans in which he defeated the British forces, January 8, 1815, is still celebrated on the anniversary of that date in many places. The conduct of General Jackson all through the campaign and the battle is one of the most remarkable for courage and endurance ever recorded. Here he was everywhere exhorting and encouraging his troops for victory, while the city and its officials, even the state legislature, were overcome with fear. The British were advancing with nearly 8,000 well-trained and disciplined troops. Opposed to them a lot of men who had never had any military training, except some who had served with Jackson in his campaigns against the Indians. But with a courage and confidence that even astonishes a reader of the present time, this incarnation of bravery met every obstacle and achieved one of the most wonderful victories in the annals of war.

³ Henry Clay, a Senator and a Representative from Kentucky; born in the district known as "the Slashes," Hanover County, Va., April 12, 1777; attended the

public schools; studied law in Richmond, Va., was admitted to the bar in 1797, and commenced practice in Lexington, Ky.; member of the State House of Representatives in 1803; elected to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of John Adair, and served from November 19, 1806, to March 3, 1807, which service was rendered in contravention of the thirty-year age requirement of the Constitution; again a member of the State House of Representatives in 1808 and 1809, and served as speaker the last year; elected to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Buckner Thruston, and served from January 4, 1810, to March 3, 1811; elected to the Twelfth and Thirteenth Congresses, and served from March 4, 1811, to January 19, 1814, when he resigned; served as Speaker from November 4, 1811, until his resignation; appointed one of the commissioners to negotiate the treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1814; reelected to the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Congresses (March 4, 1815-March 3, 1821); elected Speaker of the House on December 4, 1815, and served until October 28, 1820, when he resigned the office; elected to the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Congresses, and served from March 3, 1823, to March 6, 1825, when he resigned; again served as Speaker from December 1, 1823, until the close of the Eighteenth Congress; appointed Secretary of State by President John Quincy Adams, and served from March 7, 1825, to March 3, 1829; elected to the United States Senate on November 10, 1831, to fill the vacancy in the term commencing March 4, 1831; reelected in 1836, and served until March 31, 1842, when he resigned; unsuccessful candidate on the Whig ticket for President of the United States in 1832, and again in 1844; again elected to the United States Senate, and served from March 4, 1849, until his death in Washington, D. C., June 29, 1852; interment in Lexington Cemetery, Lexington, Ky.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁴ "Missouri, The Mother of States," by Williams and Shoemaker, Vol. I, page 421.

⁵ John Quincy Adams, a Senator and a Representative from Massachusetts and a President of the United States; born in Braintree, Mass., July 11, 1767; acquired early education in Europe; attended the University of Leyden; was graduated from Harvard University in 1788; studied law, was admitted to the bar, and commenced practice in Boston, Mass.; elected to the State Senate in 1802; unsuccessful candidate for election in 1802 to the Eighth Congress; elected as a Federalist to the United States Senate, and served from March 4, 1803, until June 8, 1808, when he resigned; United States Minister to Russia, 1809-1814; member of the commission which negotiated the Treaty of Ghent in 1815; United States minister to England 1815-1817, and assisted in concluding the convention of commerce with Great Britain; Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Monroe 1817-1825; in 1825 the election of the President of the United States fell, according to the Constitution of the United States, upon the House of Representatives, as neither of the candidates had secured a majority of the electors chosen by the States, and Mr. Adams, who stood second to Andrew Jackson in the electoral vote, was chosen, and served from March 4, 1825, to March 3, 1829; elected as a Whig to the Twenty-second and to the eight succeeding Congresses, and served from March 4, 1831, until his death; unsuccessful candidate for Governor of Massachusetts in 1834; died in the National Capitol at Washington, D. C., February 23, 1848; interment in the family burial ground at Quincy, Mass.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁶ Secretary of United States Treasury under President Monroe.

⁷ John C. Calhoun, a Representative and a Senator from South Carolina and a Vice President of the United States; born near Calhoun Mills, Abbeville District (now Mount Carmel, McCormick County), S. C., March 18, 1782; attended the common schools and Willington Academy; was graduated from Yale College in 1804 and from Litchfield (Conn.) Law School in 1806; was admitted to the bar in 1807 and commenced practice in Abbeville, S. C.; also engaged in agricultural pursuits; member of the State House of Representatives in 1808 and 1809; elected as a War Democrat to the Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Congresses, and served from March 4, 1811, to November 3, 1817, when he resigned; appointed Secretary of War and served from December 10, 1817, to March 3, 1825; elected Vice President of the United States in 1824; reelected in 1828 on the Jackson ticket, and served from March 4, 1825, to December 28, 1832, when he resigned, having been elected to the United States Senate on December 12, 1832, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Robert Y. Hayne; reelected in 1834 and 1840, and served from December 29, 1832, until his resignation, effective March 3, 1843; appointed Secretary of State March 6, 1844, entered upon his duties April 1, 1844, and served until March 6, 1845; declined the offer of the English mission tendered by Presidents Polk and Adams; again elected to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation

of Daniel E. Huger; reelected in 1846, and served from November 26, 1845, until his death in Washington, D. C., March 31, 1850; interment in St. Philip's Churchyard, Charleston, S. C.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁸ Father of Francis P. Blair, U. S. Senator from Missouri. He became the editor of the *Washington Globe*, started when Duff Green of the *United States Telegram* turned to John C. Calhoun against President Jackson.

⁹ Duff Green was a member of the Missouri Constitutional Convention from Howard County held in May, 1820; he represented Howard County in the General Assembly in 1820; was elected to the State Senate in 1822; became the owner of the *St. Louis Enquirer*, which for a time had been edited by Thomas H. Benton; he went to Washington, D. C., and became the editor of the *United States Telegram*, where he impressed his character on the nation, as a man of wonderful resourcefulness; he was given great credit for the first victory of Andrew Jackson; he made a life-study of national finances; when differences arose between John C. Calhoun and President Jackson, Duff Green supported Calhoun; he was regarded as one of the greatest editors of his time.

¹⁰ Quoted from a contemporaneous issue of *The Missouri Intelligencer* in the thesis: *The Beginning of the Democratic Party, 1824-1836*, by A. Clarence Hines.

^{10a} How interesting for those Democrats of today to note the similarity of conditions in 1828 in comparison to those prevailing in 1932. Note well that Andrew Jackson's victory in the Presidential election of 1828 was hailed as a "New Deal" in the administration of the affairs of our young government just as was the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt acclaimed upon his inauguration as President, March 4, 1933. Observe, too, that as President Roosevelt was confronted with those dominating influences of privilege and selfishness in control during the twelve years of the Harding, Coolidge and Hoover administrations, Jackson was compelled to combat the vicious aggrandizement of those in control of the financial power of our Nation then vested in the United States Bank. Compare, if you please, the very effective passages of President Roosevelt's inaugural address of March 4, 1933, with those historic statements of Andrew Jackson. Note, too, that both came to the Presidential chair impaired physically but mentally alert.

¹¹ The Chartered Bank of the United States.

¹² The Whig party in Missouri began to develop in 1824 and continued to progress until the Presidential election in 1832. The name had a Scotland origin and was used in England as the Party opposed to the Tories. In America, the "Encyclopedia Britannica" says its principles were: 1. To maintain the integrity of the Union; 2. to make the Union thoroughly national; 3. to maintain the Republican character of the Union; 4. to develop a distinctly American type of civilization.

¹³ James K. Polk, a Representative from Tennessee and a President of the United States; born near Little Sugar Creek, Mecklenburg County, N. C., November 2, 1795; moved to Tennessee in 1806 with his parents, who settled in what later became Maury County; attended the common schools and was tutored privately; was graduated from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1818; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1820, and commenced practice in Columbia, Tenn.; chief clerk of the State Senate 1821-1823; member of the State House of Representatives 1823-1825; elected as a Democrat to the Nineteenth and to the six succeeding Congresses (March 4, 1825-March 3, 1839); did not seek renomination in 1838 having become a candidate for governor; served as a Speaker during the sessions of the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Congresses; Governor of Tennessee 1839-1841; elected in 1844 President of the United States on the Democratic ticket with George M. Dallas as Vice President, and was inaugurated on March 4, 1845, and served until March 3, 1849; declined to be a candidate for renomination; died in Nashville, Tenn., June 15, 1849; interment within the grounds of the State capitol.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁴ Member Supreme Court of Tennessee.

CHAPTER IV

BENTON'S THIRTY YEARS AS UNITED STATES SENATOR

No figure looms more largely in Missouri's political history than does that great outstanding character, Thomas Hart Benton.

Benton was thirty-nine in 1821 when he took his seat in the United States Senate, along with David Barton, who had been elected on the first ballot and who had chosen Benton as his colleague. From the beginning of his career in this august body his sound reasoning and forceful expression of thought; his clearly defined and constructive ideas, always predicated upon the single aim to better the welfare of the common people, he took top rank with the leaders and gained the respect and confidence of the entire Nation.

In 1815, Benton¹ came from Tennessee to Missouri, locating in St. Louis, where he began the practice of law and commenced the publication of the Missouri *Enquirer*, which, it is said, became "a bold and vigorous newspaper."

While the duel with Charles Lucas² has no political significance, the history of Benton is not complete without it, for in a way, it denotes the character of this remarkable man.

With an intense energy that characterized his public career and was exceeded only by his desire to learn the right of all public questions, Benton almost immediately became actively identified with the even then dominant movement for statehood. All his powers were exercised in fullest degree in support of congressional recognition of a right that had been vouchsafed by solemn treaty when the Louisiana Territory was acquired from France in 1803. He not only deplored the delay of Congress in passing the Enabling Act, but he vigorously objected to the form of the resolution by which statehood was to be permitted.

At a mass meeting of Missourians in St. Louis in 1819, Alexander McNair, presiding, and David Barton, secretary, Benton's resolutions were unanimously adopted, which were as follows:

"That the Congress of the United States have no right to control the provisions of a state constitution, except to preserve its republican character."

"That the people of this territory have a right to meet in convention by their own authority, and to form a constitution and state government, whenever they shall deem it expedient to do so, and that a second determination on the part of Congress to refuse them admission upon an original footing with the original states, will make it expedient to exercise that right."

Of the ultimate action of Congress in the passage of the Enabling Act, Benton, in his *Enquirer*, thundered a challenge that had not such been done, "*the people of the United States would have witnessed a specimen of Missouri's feeling in the indignant contempt with which they would have trampled the odious restrictions under their feet and proceeded to the formation of a Republican Constitution in the fullness of the people's power.*"

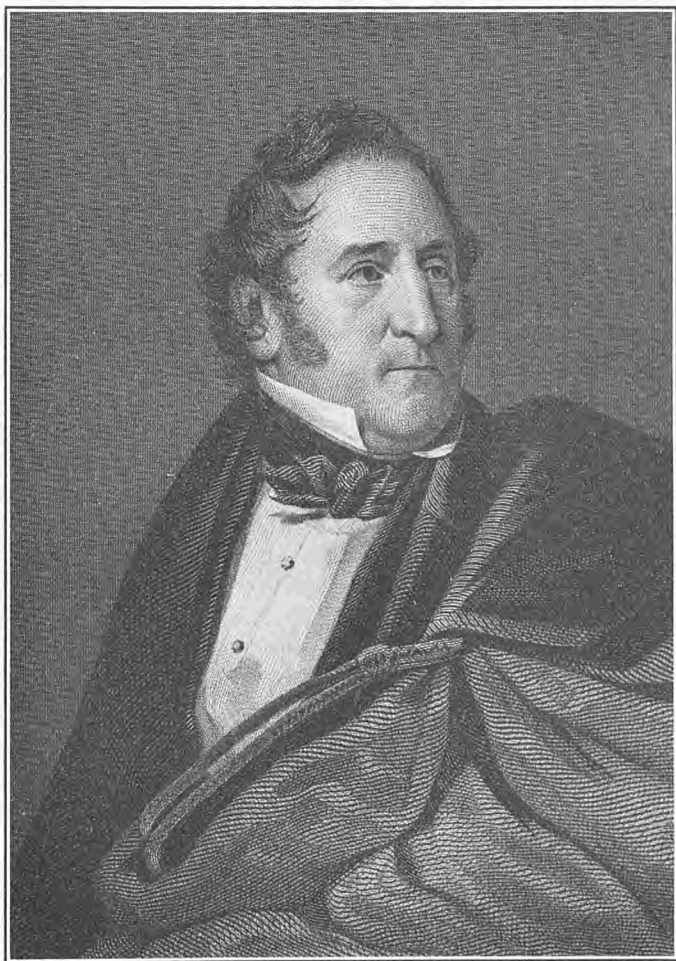
There are many diversified opinions of this wonderful character, some of which are worthy of attention in giving a resume of a man who consumed more pages of history than any one of his time.

"Benton was not a southern Democrat," said United States Senator George Graham Vest, in his remarkable address at the unveiling of the statues of Benton and Blair in Statuary Hall of the National Capitol, "*he was a national Democrat.* He appreciated more thoroughly than any man of his era the possibilities of that vast country west of the Mississippi, destined to become the seat of empire on this continent. I heard him at a little town on the Missouri river, standing with his right arm extended, declare, with the air and tones of an ancient prophet, '*There is the East; there is the road to India,*' and upon his bronze statue in Lafayette Park in St. Louis today, upon the pedestal, are engraved these prophetic words. He declared, and men laughed at him when he said it, that this continent would be bound together by bands of iron which would carry our produce to the Pacific slope to feed the innumerable millions in Asia and the Orient.

BENTON'S OPPOSITION TO NULLIFICATION

"In 1828 came a great parliamentary contest in which Benton bore a conspicuous part. Mr. Calhoun then advanced the idea of nullification by a state of Federal legislation when the people of that state believed the enactment of such legislation was absolutely destructive of their best interests. Slavery was not involved in that contest. It was a question of tariff taxation. Calhoun argued with great ability that a state could remain in the Union and yet nullify an act of the Federal Congress which even the Supreme Court decided to be constitutional.

"I have always regarded Mr. Calhoun as one of the greatest analytical disputants this or any other country has ever produced. I have studied his works; but I was never able to appreciate his argument in favor of nullification. Jackson, who was then President, looked upon it as an absolute treason, and declared that if Calhoun attempted to carry it out he would hang him as high as Haman. Clay and Webster stood by the side of Benton in defending the position taken by Jackson, and although there was a compromise without armed conflict between South Carolina and the general government, I have no doubt that the nullification contest of 1828 influenced all the subsequent career of Colonel Benton, and the opinions he then formed were responsible for his final political overthrow in Missouri."



HON. THOMAS H. BENTON
United States Senator

Champ Clark, described by some authorities as possessing many of the traits and characteristics of Benton, relates in interesting detail the fight that resulted in Benton's election along with David Barton as Missouri's first United States senators.

"The first Legislature of the State of Missouri did two remarkable things," Mr. Clark said, "the first was to elect David Barton United States Senator unanimously. That performance has been repeated a few times, notably in Michigan on one occasion. Then there was a prolonged deadlock for the other senatorship. Col. Thomas Hart Benton, one of the greatest of all American statesmen; Judge J. B. C. Lucas,³ whose son Benton had killed in a duel, and several other distinguished men were competitors for that place.

"The fight was intensely bitter. At last the Legislature did a thing that has never been duplicated and in all human probability never will be duplicated. They asked David Barton, the senator-elect, to pick his senatorial mate. He chose Colonel Benton, but the fight was so bitter that even after Barton picked him there was a prolonged struggle.

"The Legislature was holding its sessions in the lower story of the Missouri Hotel,⁴ the upper stories being used for hotel purposes. Daniel Ralls, one of the representatives of Pike County, the county in which I live, was sick unto death in one of the rooms upstairs. In the Legislature they lacked one vote of having enough to elect Benton on the last ballot they took on Saturday. That night they got a French representative, by the name of Philip Leduc, out and agonized with him all night to induce him to vote for Benton. He had sworn that he would have his arm cut off at the shoulder before he would do it. They induced him to vote for Benton by stating to him that Benton represented all the French land claimants out there, and Leduc was one of them.

At about sun-up on Sunday morning he finally agreed to vote for Benton. That would elect Benton, provided Daniel Ralls lived until noon on Monday, and the question uppermost in the public mind of St. Louis that day was to inquire after Daniel Ralls' health. He lived until noon on Monday. Four colored men carried him down into the legislative hall on a mattress. The last act of his life was to vote for Benton. They carried him back upstairs and he was dead within an hour. That Legislature, out of gratitude for his services, cut a slice out of Pike County nearest her heart and constituted it into a new county, named Ralls county, in honor of Daniel Ralls.

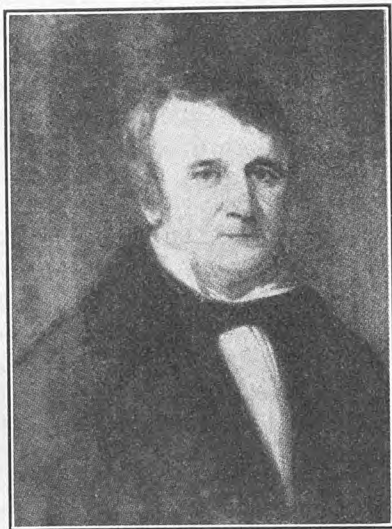
"David Barton and Colonel Benton came to Washington and drew straws for the six-year and four-year terms. Benton drew the six-year straw, was re-elected four times, and was the first man who ever served thirty years in the Senate of the United States. Senator Barton drew the four-year term, was re-elected for six years, quarreled with General Jackson, and that was the end of him, as it was of most men who quarreled with General Jackson.

BENTON'S REGARD FOR HONORABLE ETHICS

"Benton had nothing to do with promising Leduc assistance about the French land grant claims, knew nothing about it, and so soon as he was elected called his clients together, retired from the cases, and refused even to nominate an attorney to succeed himself, on the ground that he might have to vote in the Senate on the subject; so jealous was he of his honor and reputation."

Walter B. Stevens, in his "Centennial History of Missouri," says: "Champ Clark once speculated on what might have been tremendous consequences if Benton could have obtained the rank of lieutenant-general for the Mexican war, a rank which up to that time had been held only by Washington. The bill reviving the rank passed the House but was lost in the Senate by three votes. The defeat, Mr. Clark said, was attributed to the opposition of three members of Polk's cabinet,—all of whom had presidential aspirations. If the rank had been created and given to Benton, as was the understanding, Benton would have come out of the Mexican war a military hero. Champ Clark said that would have made Benton President in 1849, because the election of Zachary Taylor, the Whig candidate, was successful only through the defection of Martin Van Buren.⁵ Taylor^{5a} defeated Cass.⁶ Van Buren helped to defeat Cass as revenge for the action of Cass in defeating him for the nomination at Baltimore in 1844 by one ballot. Van Buren was the friend of Benton and would have supported him and would have made his election certain. If Benton had been elected President in 1848, Champ Clark reasoned, "he would have been reelected in 1852, for any Democrat could have been elected in 1852. A stronger Union man than Colonel Benton never lived. He was more Jacksonian than Jackson himself. Had he been President from 1849 to 1857, there would never have been any Kansas question to vex mankind, the Civil war would have been postponed for years, perhaps forever."

William Hyde,⁷ in his "History of St. Louis," says: "Questions in regard to slavery were brought on by the acquisition of Mexican territory. These were adjusted by the compromise acts of 1850, which were introduced by Clay, were opposed by Benton, and defeated as a whole, but passed separately. In the nullification struggle Benton was Calhoun's leading Democratic opponent, and their opposition to each other developed into a life-long animosity. In 1847, in answer to the 'Wilmot proviso,' which excluded slavery from all territory subsequently acquired, Calhoun introduced resolutions that embodied his doctrine of State rights. Colonel Benton denounced Calhoun's resolutions as a 'fire-brand.' The resolutions never came to a vote, but they were sent to the Legislature of every slave State, were adopted by several of them, and were made the basis of after conflict and party organization. In his hostility to Benton, Calhoun sent the resolutions to Missouri, and confided them to certain Democrats in the Legislature whom he knew to be unfriendly to Benton's reelection to the Senate. By skillful management the resolutions were passed in both branches without Benton's knowledge, and a



MARIE P. LE DUC

Whose vote in the first general assembly broke the deadlock and elected Hon. Thomas H. Benton to the United States Senate

copy was sent to Washington. Benton promptly denounced them as not expressing the sense of the people, and containing disunion doctrines, designed to produce separation and disaster, and declared that he would appeal from the Legislature to the people. On the adjournment of Congress, he returned to Missouri and canvassed every section of the State in a series of speeches famed for their bitterness of denunciation, strength of exposition and caustic wit. The result was the return of a Legislature, in 1849-50, with Benton men in the majority, but composed of opposite wings, and he was defeated by a coalition between his Democratic opponents and the Whigs. At the close of his term he therefore retired from the Senate, after six successive elections and thirty years' continuous service. In 1852 he stood as a candidate for Congress, made a direct appeal to the people of his district, and was elected over all opposition. He gave his warm support to the administration of Franklin Pierce,⁹ but when the Calhoun party obtained the ascendancy, he withdrew this support. The administration then turned on him, and displaced from office all his friends throughout Missouri."

THIRTY YEARS A UNITED STATES SENATOR

Like many other men he was most appreciated when he was gone. The senate missed him very much. For more than three decades he had been a conspicuous figure in national politics. Rogers¹⁰ says: "Missouri never dishonored herself so much as in dispensing with the services of her greatest citizen, a fact which she understood when it was too late. Benton could not have prevented the war. His work was done. But he could have been of great assistance in the trying days before Sumter fell, and there is little reason to doubt that he would have survived until that period had Missouri continued to delight to honor him."

When Thomas Hart Benton took his seat in the United States Senate he was well known for his fight for Missouri Statehood, and his acquired and pronounced advocacy of the principles of Thomas Jefferson. He was not long in Washington before the sentiment for the Democratic Party began to assume formidable proportions, and Thomas Hart Benton as its head. He soon reached a position which he was to occupy for many years, as the recognized leader in the Senate of a great and well-defined Party. There was much legislation that was of interest to Missouri, as the state was in its first stages of formation. He began a vigorous legislative work, which he pursued with great interest to accomplish acts which, as he thought, were of interest to the Great West, as his long continued struggle for the repeal of the tariff on salt. He took the question from his own standpoint and made instructive speeches on it from time to time.

"On May 16, 1826, at the first session of the Nineteenth Congress, Benton made an extended speech in the Senate upon a bill he had introduced similar to his preceding ones on the land question. On this occasion his measure was entitled: 'a bill to graduate the price of the public lands.' It contained no provision for pre-emption, but proposed suc-

cessive annual reductions of twenty-five cents per acre from the then minimum of \$1.25, until the price should reach twenty-five cents, when the land should be subject to gratuitous donations in tracts of eighty acres; and it contained also apparently a provision that the lands which should not sell at this price in five years should be ceded to the states. He argued that after land had remained unsold at the minimum price then fixed by law for a long period,—which was the case as to large areas,—there was conclusive evidence that it was not worth that price, and that it was absurd to fix the same arbitrary minimum on all land, when there was some far better than others. He said that his plan would tend to the extinguishment of the public debt for which the lands were pledged; but far more important, it would tend to the strength and development of the country, and would largely increase the class of freeholders, who, in his opinion, constituted its very backbone. He asserted: "The freeholder is the natural supporter of a free government. * * * We are a republic, and we wish to continue so; then multiply the class of freeholders; pass the public lands cheaply and easily into the hands of the people; sell for a reasonable price to those who are able to pay, and give without price to those who are not. * * * I go for donations, and contend that *no country under the sun was ever paid in gold and silver before it could be settled and cultivated*. He pointed out the fact that the early settlements in America had all been based on the plan of giving the land to settlers without any real charge, and he was fond of quoting in his speeches upon the subject the opinion of Burke,¹⁰ who had introduced into Parliament in 1785 a bill for the sale of the crown lands, and said in the debate upon it:

" 'Lands sell at the current rate, and nothing can sell for more. But be the price what it may, a great object is always answered, whenever any property is transferred from hands which are not fit for that property, to those that are. The buyer and seller must mutually profit by such a bargain; and, what rarely happens in matters of revenue the relief of the subject will go hand in hand with the profit of the Exchequer. * * * The principal revenue which I propose to draw from these uncultivated wastes, is to spring from the improvement and population of the kingdom; events infinitely more advantageous to the revenues of the crown than the best landed estate which it can hold. * * * It is thus I would dispose of the unprofitable landed estates of the crown; *throw them into the mass of private property*; by which they will come, through the course of circulation, and through the political secretions of the state, into well regulated revenues.' " ¹¹

Rogers in his book, "Thomas H. Benton," gives a summary of events during the struggle between Jackson and the United States Bank, and the important role which Benton played in the question. "It was a rallying point in American politics for fifteen years," says Rogers, "and ended not only in the death and bankruptcy of that institution, but in the failure to charter a similar establishment." Originally the question was one of general policy, but it soon became personal. Jackson fought the bank with all the energy and determination with which he had swept the

Indians from the face of Georgia. Benton took charge of the contest in Congress, and he was obliged to bear the brunt of the opposition from the most prominent men inside and outside of the Senate who favored the institution.

BENTON, WITH JACKSON, OPPOSES U. S. BANK

"Just what Jackson thought of the bank when he reached Washington in 1829," says Rogers, "is a little obscure, but it appears that he had no decided convictions one way or the other. His animosity grew as he discovered that his enemies were its friends." The bank had still seven years to run, and there was no necessity for bringing up the question of recharter. Jackson referred to it in his first annual message in a rather equivocal way, although indicating his opposition on the ground of its unconstitutionality, and the fact that it had failed to establish a uniform and sound currency. The Supreme Court of the United States had already decided that he had sworn to obey the Constitution as he understood it and not as others interpreted it for him.

"The bank men were disturbed over Jackson's position," according to Shoemaker, in "Missouri, the Mother of States," (Vol. I, pp. 441-43) "especially as he intimated that if a bank were necessary at all it ought to be a strictly federal one and not a private institution. Benton, it seems, was not consulted by Jackson on this point, but he was disposed to go much further than the President. He did not want any bank, favored gold and silver as money, and paper only as state banks could furnish it in desired quantities and when based on specie,—in short the condition which exists today. The pro-bank men were quite willing to wait after the elections of 1832, hoping first that Jackson would not be a candidate, or, if he were, that he would be defeated. Benton foresaw that if there were any delay, the question would drop out of politics for the time being and that before the public mind had been educated up to his view, the recharter would be effected. Therefore, he concluded to force the contest in 1831, introducing a resolution to the effect that it was not expedient to recharter the bank, and on this subject delivered a set speech in which his whole position in finance was set forth.

"Early in 1832 the bank memorialized Congress for recharter. Benton needed help, because the memorial was received by both houses at the same time. He could hold his own in the Senate, but he also had to conduct the contest in the House. So Benton chose a new member, Clayton, of Georgia, to whom he furnished the required arguments. In this manner Benton held his own in both houses. Clayton delivered a strong speech from data furnished him by Benton in which twenty-two counts were made against the bank, as to its insufficiency and undesirability in general, as well as to its specific misdeeds."

When it came to a final vote the bank mustered twenty-eight votes and the opposition twenty. The vote was not sectional. From every part of the country came men on both sides of the question. There was a majority of twenty-two in the House and the bill came before the

President at almost the same time as the new tariff bill. It is reported that Clay expected the President would sign both bills, or in case one was vetoed it would be the tariff bill since the President was not renowned as a high protectionist. Jackson did the unexpected. He signed the tariff bill, thereby securing the vote of Pennsylvania, and vetoed the recharter bill in a message which was a campaign document quite as much as a state paper. He denounced the monopoly and all its misdeeds in vigorous language and asserted not only that the bank was unconstitutional, but that it had also become such a monster of iniquity that the safety of the people required its destruction. What was gall and wormwood to Clay was the fact that Jackson followed seriatim Clay's speech against recharter of the first National Bank, using his arguments and almost his language.

THE RESOLUTION CENSURING PRESIDENT JACKSON

"As there seemed to be no way in which the President could be brought to undo what he had done the only weapon left to his political enemies was censure. Clay found that he had a good majority of followers in the senate, and went to the unprecedented length of introducing a resolution of censure on the redoubtable 'Old Hickory,' who was greatly exasperated. 'The floodgates of oratory were opened again and in the course of a very extended debate the whole subject of the administration and its financial policy was threshed over.' The foes of Jackson made much of the fact that business prosperity had seriously declined during the last few months, and laid the blame on the President. Benton made about thirty speeches during the debate, and insisted that the 'hard times' were artificial and had been brought about deliberately by the bank to show its power.

"The resolution of censure passed the Senate. Jackson replied in a paper, vigorously declaring that the action of the Senate was illegal and void, and defended himself with as much dignity as possible. The Senate came back with another resolution to the effect that Jackson's reply was improper and out of place. But once more the people of the country sided with Jackson, much to the discomfiture of the triumvirate in the Senate.

BENTON, THE CHAMPION OF JACKSON

"Benton, Jackson's right hand man, was waiting and watching. During the last few months of the President's administration the membership of the Senate had so changed that when Benton brought forward his resolution expunging the resolution of censure it passed by a vote of twenty-four to nineteen. 'This was one of the sweetest triumphs of Benton's career. The night on which this deed was accomplished,' says Rogers, 'was one of the most famous in the history of the Senate. In vain did the giants of the triumvirate protest against expunging. They had none of that masterful air of a few years previous when they were able to

control the Senate. They now took lofty ground in justifying their position, and moved not a whit. By this time the people had so far vindicated Jackson once more as to elect as his successor Van Buren, whom he had personally singled out for the honor.

"Benton had made up his mind that the resolution should pass on that day (January 16, 1837), no matter what the consequences, and he held his followers in leash so that they could not escape even had they wished. Aware that human nature is very weak and prone to err when not properly sustained by food and drink, he had a committee-room close at hand well stocked with hams, turkeys, rounds of beef, pickles, wine, coffee and everything that could tempt the appetite, so that his men should not stray. The triumvirate had imagined that it was possible to postpone action, but now that they were at bay they made their valedictories on the subject, and others who saw that the end was near, refused longer to carry on the contest. When the resolution passed, Benton moved to carry it into immediate execution, which was accordingly done. The secretary of the Senate opened the record and drew a black border around the offending resolution and across its face wrote the words, "Expunged by order of the Senate this 16th day of January, 1837."'

"The expunging resolution was Benton's last important personal service to Jackson, and it 'practically concluded a political alliance that is one of the strangest in our history. It is impossible to overestimate the service which Benton rendered his chief,' says Rogers, 'Jackson's defects were so many and so radical that unless he had been sustained by strong men he must necessarily have suffered in popular estimation and might never have been reelected. It was his good fortune to have at his right hand a man who served him with a devotion and an unselfishness which have seldom been equaled. Benton owed nothing to Jackson for his election or continuance in office at any time. He never asked a personal favor of him, refused many honors which were offered him, and was never even a member of his Kitchen Cabinet. * * * In all this saturnalia of political jobbery and robbery of the public, he took no part and never gained a penny.'"¹²

It was during the Mexican war that Benton found the sentiment of Missouri drifting away from him, and into the control of the nullifiers and the disciples of Calhoun, who were to become open secessionists. The colleague of Benton, Atchison, had become the dominant power in the state. They were diametrically opposed on every phase of the slavery question. The crisis came when Claiborne F. Jackson offered in the State Senate a set of resolutions which declared slavery to be a national institution. They were practically of the same tenor as the resolutions which John C. Calhoun had offered in the United States Senate not long before, and which Benton had opposed with all his might. Calhoun affected to be surprised at this opposition and said he had expected Benton, coming as he did from a slave-holding state, to support the resolutions. Benton replied that it was impossible for Calhoun to have expected anything of the sort. "Then," said Calhoun, "I shall know where to find the gentleman." To which Benton replied in those famous words:

"I shall be found in the right place—on the side of the country and the Union."

These so-called resolutions of 1847 did not pass the Senate, but they formed a kind of Magna Charta for the secessionists and it was of them that Benton remarked:

"As Sylla saw in the young Caesar many Mariuses, so do I see in the Calhoun resolutions many nullifications."

When Thomas H. Benton returned to Missouri in 1850, his thirty years in the Senate of the United States were drawing to a close. He found powerful elements opposing his reelection. During his last term in the Senate the Whig Party in Missouri had gained much strength. The slavery question was now assuming proportions that had to be reckoned with. Nullification and disunion were disturbing elements of discord. Benton met the discouraging situation with fortitude and courage characteristic of the man.

His campaign for reelection has no parallel in the history of the state. He met with much opposition at his meetings, at some of which there was much feeling. At the joint session of the General Assembly there were a number of candidates opposing him. A combination of anti-Benton Democrats and Whigs finally elected Henry S. Geyer, a Whig.

BENTON'S LOVE OF THE UNION

The last hours of Thomas Hart Benton were typical of the man. Above everything in his public career he cherished the Union. He was a man of strong controlling passions, but his love of country was paramount to everything in his political life. A few days before his death he sent for President Buchanan¹³ to appeal to him to save the Union, saying: "Buchanan, we are friends; we have differed on many points, as you well know, but I always trusted in your integrity of purpose. I supported you in preference to Fremont,¹⁴ because he headed a sectional party, whose success would have been the signal for disunion. I have known you long, and I knew you would honestly endeavor to do right. I have that faith in you now, but you must look to a higher power to support and guide you. We will soon meet in another world; I am going now; you will soon follow. My peace with God is made, my earthly affairs arranged; but I could not go without seeing you and thanking you for your interest in my child."¹⁴

There are many interesting occurrences in the life of this wonderful man that could not be encompassed in the record of his political life and his unparalleled record in the United States Senate. Some carry incidents of a humorous character, and others are the epitome of pathos.

Missouri's first Constitutional Convention met in St. Louis June 12, 1820. Benton expected to be one of the eight St. Louis County delegates selected, but his name was omitted. His friends were disappointed and appealed to him not to be bound by the action of the Convention, and asked that his name be used as a candidate for the Convention. He replied:

"Until the 10th inst. it was my expectation that it would have been so used. On that day the friends of the candidates met to agree upon the names which should be supported. My name was not so agreed upon:—You have the kindness to advert to the circumstances and to say that you do not consider yourselves bound by the accidental result of that meeting. Neither do I. But it has operated upon me with the effect of an obligation, because I could not afterwards stand a poll without dividing the strength of our own side, and endangering the success of a cause which I have long labored to promote."

In his "Centennial History of Missouri," Walter B. Stevens writes of Benton on dueling:

"More frequently than any other is the name of Thomas H. Benton associated with Missouri duels. Benton was principal in one fatal duel. He was chief adviser in another duel which ended fatally for both principals. He was a second in one of the earliest Missouri duels and drew up the rules and forms which served as precedents in subsequent meetings. As a lawyer he defended duelists in court. He was a historian of duels. He published a defense of duels. And yet on his deathbed, referring to himself as usual in the third person, he told of 'the pang which went through his heart' when he saw young Lucas fall, expressed his regret 'for all these scenes' and 'had all of his papers burned which related to them.'

DUELING RECORD

"Benton's relations to dueling were strange indeed. After his rough and tumble encounter with Andrew Jackson at Nashville in 1813, he wrote: 'I am in the middle of hell; my life is in danger, and nothing but a decisive duel can save me or even give me a chance for my own existence.'

"But he also expressed himself on paper shortly after the difficulty with Jackson, in these words: 'Those who know me, know full well that I would give a thousand times more for the reputation of Croghan in defending his post (which was Fort Stephenson) than I would for the reputation of all the duelists and gladiators that ever appeared upon the face of the earth.'"

Galusha A. Grow,^{14b} one of the young members of Congress during the close of Benton's career, says that Benton was a great friend of young men. Writing of his association with Benton, he says:

"After Benton retired from Congress, and while he was engaged on his condensation of Congressional debates, he sent for me one day and asked that, as I had to pass his house on my way from my lodgings to the Capitol, I would drop in daily and tell him what was going on in Congress. I did so for a long time, and so enjoyed many pleasant chats with him, which are among the most delightful recollections of my life.

"On one occasion, I remember, while the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was under discussion, I asked him how he thought General Cass, then a senator from Michigan, would vote on the question. Cass had employed some one to look up the record of his former votes on the

slavery question in order to vote consistently, and Benton, who had known him for many years, held him in contempt as a dodger. 'General Cass, sir,' said he, in answer to my question, 'don't know how he will vote on the repeal. He is a man who is very easily seduced. It is very fortunate for General Cass, sir' this after a moment's thought, 'that he was not born a woman. If he had been he would have been without a character before he was sixteen years old, sir.' At another time we were talking of Senator Douglas' position on the slavery question, and Benton said: 'They say Douglas is leading the democracy off; but, sir, it is the democracy that is leading Douglas off. He would go to hell, sir, if the majority were going there.'

"Benton's industry was indefatigable, his views of public service were of the most exalted character. So carefully did he guard against charges of favoritism and nepotism that during his more than thirty years in office he never allowed a relative to accept an appointment, and in 1856, although John C. Fremont, the republican candidate for President, was his son-in-law, he zealously supported James Buchanan, because he believed him best fitted for the office.

"Benton until his death was a firm friend of the Union, a Democrat of the school of Jefferson and Jackson, bold and aggressive in the support of his convictions, a stout friend and a good hater. He was a very vain man, but his vanity was never offensive, and during his term in the House his seat was always the center of attraction for the other members."

BENTON AUTOBIOGRAPHY

In his autobiography Thomas H. Benton writes about his mother, referring to himself in the third person:

"He lost his father before he was eight years of age and fell under the care of a mother still young and charged with a numerous family, all of tender age, and devoted herself to them.

"She was a woman of reading and observation—solid reading and observation of the men of the Revolution brought together by course of hospitality of that time, in which the houses of friends and not taverns were the universal stopping places.

"Thomas was the eldest son, and at the age of ten and twelve was reading solid books with his mother and studying the great examples of history and receiving encouragement to emulate these examples.

His father's library, among others, contained the famous state trials in the large folios of that time, and here he got a foundation of British history in reading the treason and other trials with which those volumes abound. She was also a pious and religious woman, cultivating the moral and religious education of her children and connected all her life with the Christian Church, first as a member of the English Episcopalian, and upon removal to the Great West—then in the wilderness—in the Methodist Episcopalian, in which she died. All the minor virtues, as well as the greater, were cherished by her, and her house, the resort of

the eminent men of the time, was the abode of temperance, modesty, and decorum. A pack of cards was never seen in her house.

"From such a mother all the children received the impress of character, and she lived to see the fruits of her pious and liberal cares—living a widow about fifty years—and to see her eldest son half through his senatorial career and taking his place among the historic men of the country, for which she had begun so early to train him. These details deserve to be noted, though small in themselves, as showing how much the after life of the man may depend upon the early cares and guidance of a mother."

Of his wife, who was Elizabeth, the daughter of Col. James McDowell, of Rockbridge County, Va., he wrote:

"She was a woman of singular merit, judgment, elevation of character, and regard for every social duty, crowned by a lifelong connection with the church in which she was bred—the Presbyterian Old School. Mrs. Benton died in 1854, having been struck with paralysis in 1844, and from that time her husband was never known to go to any place of festivity or amusement."

Frank P. Blair, at the dedication of the Benton statue in Lafayette Park, St. Louis, Mo., said in concluding his address:

"I trust that I may not be thought to tread upon ground too holy in alluding to the gentle care, the touching solicitude with which he [Benton] guarded the last feeble pulses of life in her who was the pride and glory of his young ambition, the sweet ornament of his mature fame, and best love of his ripened age."

MISSOURI'S ABLE REPRESENTATION IN THE AMERICAN CONGRESS

With McNair elected and serving as Missouri's first governor, David Barton was elected and, with Benton, represented the new state in the United States Senate.

Barton was elected as a Whig, and consequently was associated with the Whig element in the Senate, so far as factional influences were concerned. He soon impressed his personality and ability on the Senate membership. As has been stated, he drew the short term of four years, Thomas H. Benton drawing the long term.

It is related that when the General Assembly elected David Barton senator, he chose Benton as his colleague.

Shoemaker, in his "History of Missouri," pays this tribute to David Barton:

"The greatest statesman, the leading and one of the most skillful politicians, the ablest orator and debater and the most popular public man in Missouri in 1820 was chosen president of the first constitutional convention. Both by virtue of his position and of his talents, David Barton was the leading spirit and the most influential man in the convention. He was given the power of appointing all committees and this power was never limited by the delegates. Possessed of such authority, endowed with great ability, and having an inclination to exercise both,

Barton exerted a most significant influence in the drafting and adopting of many provisions in the constitution. If to one man were to be accorded the honor of drafting the Missouri constitution of 1820, that man would be David Barton."

Under the administration of Governor Bates, the General Assembly in 1824 reelected David Barton to the Senate for a term of six years. His first term had increased his personal popularity, and his standing in the Senate had become one of prominence.

In the *Missouri Historical Review* of January, 1929, Roy V. Magers, in "An Early Missouri Political Feud," gives an interesting description of the personal relations between David Barton and Thomas Hart Benton. He writes:

"A good fight is always a matter of interest. The first ten years of Missouri's history as a state can therefore lay claim to being an especially noteworthy period, because in addition to the items of general political, economic and social importance that it presents for consideration, it is memorable for one of the bitterest feuds that have marked the course of the State's political development. The fight was between Missouri's first two representatives in the United States Senate, Thomas Hart Benton and David Barton. The prowess of Senator Benton as a fighter on the 'field of honor' as well as on the floor of the Senate, is so well known that it requires no comment. In his colleague, David Barton, he had no mean antagonist, tho Barton's stay in the Senate was relatively so brief and he was in general so over-shadowed by the towering personality of Benton, that he has received scant attention from the historians, and his own claims to distinction have been forgotten. Yet he was a man of no slight consequence, who gained nation-wide recognition as a Whig leader, and whose record in the Senate was one of which any state might well have been proud. He was one of the most successful and popular lawyers of his day in St. Louis, and during Missouri's days as a territory was attorney general, circuit judge, speaker of the lower House, president of the first Constitutional Convention and the writer of the State's first constitution in 1820. His popularity is further attested by the fact that he was easily elected to the United States Senate, while Benton's election was bitterly fought. Indeed, it was probably Barton's influence that made the election of Benton possible—a fact which both men were to recall later with little pleasure.

"The enmity that soon developed between the two senators is not altogether easy to explain. It was openly displayed and nationally known as early as 1826, for in May of that year Barton, in the Senate, directly accused Benton of misrepresenting the feeling of Missouri people toward the government in connection with the sale of lead mines and salines in the State. Benton, in the course of his argument for his bill for graduating the price of public lands, had made the statements that Barton denounced. Barton, for his part, said that Benton had attempted to turn the people of Missouri against the administration, and that Benton's Graduation Bill was a 'compound of electioneering and speculation.' He hinted that his colleague was a traitor, and descending to a still lower

level of personal attack, he recalled the fact that Benton had been a director of the defunct Bank of Missouri, and had had a part in 'gutting' it of \$152,000. 'True, he did not take a leading part in the labors of the chase, but he was 'in at the death' of the institution and received his share of the game.' *Niles' Register* for June 17, 1826, while inclined to sympathize with Barton rather than Benton, deplored the use of such language in a senatorial debate, as well it might. Later in the same year Barton returned to the attack on the Graduation Bill and injected some sarcastic remarks about Benton, and again, in the next session of Congress, speaking on the same bill, he referred to the use that had been made of it to corrupt the electorate and win support for Jackson in Missouri. Senator Benton himself was said to have carried petitions for the measure through the State in the campaign of 1826. Barton said that for five years this bill had hung like a guillotine over his neck, and he begged the Senate either 'to strike the blow or take away the apparatus.'

"The climax of these forensic attacks was reached in connection with the famous debate on the Foote Resolution, in 1830, a debate made memorable by the Webster-Hayne controversy, but which Colonel Benton had really inaugurated by criticising the resolution at the very beginning. On February 9, 1830, Senator Barton, speaking on the resolution, referred to himself as one of those 'unlineal and bastard sons of the West' who had been denounced as false to their country during this debate. All was going well, he said, with a favorable attitude toward the West and a liberal policy in regard to public lands, when 'a minor chieftain of the party, of not much renown for either policy of war, not satisfied with the scalps he had taken in the late campaign (i. e., the election) fell suddenly and unexpectedly upon the prisoners of the minority and commenced a scene of the massacre of the living, and dragging the dead from their graves, even re-scalped those who had been scalped and buried by other arms more valorous than his own, during the existence of the by-gone war! And thus one, arrogantly speaking for the whole West threw the fire-brand among the members of this body and lighted up the flame of this partisan warfare, of sectional prejudice, local animosity and civil discord.' Finally, warming to his work and raging with the lust of battle, he hurled this parting shaft of stinging sarcasm at the doughty Benton: 'He is no native of our Valley. He came to us uninvited; complained of having been driven by terror and persecution, desired our hospitality and auspices and a little room to lie down in repose. The Percy (i. e., *Henry Clay*) found him weak and distempered, politically, and nourished and medicined him—put on his own collar and inscription at large, with a special index finger pointing to the words 'cousin to Percy's wife.' These gave him currency and consideration and introduced him to the great hunt. Without the help of this collar and inscription, it would have been as impossible to elevate him to his present rank as it would be to drag up from the depths of the ditch, by a frail woollen thread, some ponderous and inert mass. Others thrust a finger under that collar and pulled, who have since had cause to regret it and have washed their hands of the whole affair.'"

ALEXANDER BUCKNER SUCCEEDS BARTON

In 1830 there was some uncertainty as to who would succeed David Barton, or what strength the latter would have in the General Assembly for reelection. There can be no question that the Whig influence in the State was not so strong as it had been outstate. There was some opposition to Barton. The Andrew Jackson influence was the strongest element in the General Assembly, and Barton's name was not introduced. Four Jackson Democrats were named to succeed Barton; Alexander Buckner,¹⁵ William H. Ashley, Colonel McRee and John Miller were put in nomination. Buckner was elected on the first ballot; Houck¹⁶ says John Miller would have been more acceptable to Colonel Benton.

Alexander Buckner, third United States Senator from Missouri, located in Cape Girardeau County in 1818, coming from Kentucky, with his mother and five sisters, and settled on Randall Creek. He immediately took a permanent position in the political affairs of the territory and secured a good practice. Prior to his emigration to Missouri Buckner resided at Corydon, in Indiana Territory; but when slavery was excluded from the new state of Indiana he moved back to Kentucky. Of course he was an ardent pro-slavery advocate. Soon after he arrived in Cape Girardeau County he was appointed Circuit Attorney, and later was elected a member of the Constitutional Convention. He organized the first Masonic lodge in the territory, "United Lodge," at Jackson, in 1818, under charter of the Grand Lodge of Indiana.

In 1833 there was an epidemic of cholera in the neighborhood of Jackson, Cape Girardeau County. It attacked the family of Senator Buckner, and caused the death of himself and wife on June 6, 1833.

DR. LINN, "THE MODEL SENATOR"

Lewis Fields Linn¹⁷ was appointed to the Senate in 1834, to succeed Alexander Buckner, who died in 1833. He was a doctor by profession, up to that time the only one ever elected to the United States Senate. Among many of his legislative acts was his interest in the Platte Purchase.¹⁸ Senator Benton introduced the bill and Senator Linn became its sponsor. He was termed the model senator, and between him and Benton there existed a warm friendship. He was also active for the admission of Oregon, and he is characterized as the "Father of Oregon," doing more to gain that great section for the United States than any other public official.

At the mass meeting held by Missourians at St. Louis to pay tribute to the life of Dr. Linn, Senator Benton said: "But how can I omit the last great act, as yet unfinished, in which his whole soul was engaged at the time of his death? The bill for the settlement of Oregon was his, and he carried it through the Senate when his colleague, who now addresses you, couldn't have done it. It was the measure of a statesman. Just to the settler, it was wise to the government. Alas, that he should not have been spared to put the finishing hand to a measure which was to

reward the emigrant, to protect his country, to curb England and to connect his own name with the foundation of an empire. But it is done. The unfinished work will go on; it will be completed and the name of Linn will not be forgotten; that name will live and be connected with Oregon while its banks bear a plant or its waters roll a wave."

Dr. Linn was called "the model senator." He was the handsomest Missourian of his day, according to his friends. His manners were considered perfect. The impression which he made upon his fellow senators at Washington is illustrated by the story told that when Senator Linn arose one time in the Senate with a roll of bills which he wished to present, Senator Buchanan interrupted with, "Doctor, we will save you the trouble. If you recommend them, we will pass the whole bundle."

At another time Senator Linn arose in the midst of a heated political discussion and proceeded with all his dignity to correct a statement made by Henry Clay. The latter listened with deference and accepted the correction with, "It is sufficient that it comes from the Senator from Missouri."

Upon the monument which marks the grave of Linn in the Ste. Genevieve Cemetery in graven, "*Here lie the remains of Lewis F. Linn, the Model Senator from Missouri.*"

On the death of Senator Linn, which occurred October 3, 1843, Governor Reynolds appointed David R. Atchison¹⁹ to fill the vacancy.

As a citizen he was plain, jovial and unostentatious and simple in his tastes. He was not an aristocrat in dress, living or life, but a Democrat by nature and education, with profound sympathies for what Mr. Lincoln called "the common people." He regarded himself as one of the people, and therefore for the people. He was not an orator, and in his speeches to the Senate or people did not attempt to reach conclusions by curved lines ornamented with the flowers and festoons of classic diction, but by straight lines that he regarded as most ornamented when ornamented the least.

He was a leader in the movement to secure the Platte country. The committee appointed to further the acquisition of this valuable section to the United States was composed with Atchison of the following distinguished Missourians: A. W. Doniphan of Richmond, Judge William J. Wood of Lexington, Peter H. Burnett, later a Supreme Judge in California, and Edward M. Samuel of St. Louis—all citizens of Clay County at that time.

Atchison County, Missouri, and Atchison, Kansas, were named in Senator Atchison's honor.

OUR STATE GOVERNMENT OF THIS EPOCH

Missouri's civic progress from its birth as a sovereign state in 1821 was phenomenal. In 1844 it ranked as the most populous and wealthiest state west of the Mississippi River, and the most influential in National politics in the Middle West. Its state government had been clean and wholesome under the influence of Thomas Hart Benton's leadership, and

with the inspiration of Andrew Jackson's great and powerful policies of government for the common people.

Every progressive movement for the betterment of conditions in our State had sprung from the ideas of those great minds and had been developed and executed by those Democrats of that day and time.

With growing concern the subject of human slavery—from the days of the State's birth—had begun to attract such attention that this great question surmounted all other matters of political considerations. While President Jackson, ably supported by Senator Benton, had successfully squelched the "States' Rights" movement sponsored by Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, the issue was again paramount. Grave forebodings of the coming strife were apparent and as this epoch is brought to a close the impending struggle which eventually made of Missouri "a house divided" cast its shadow over all. We will now leave that period of advancement and progress in purely state affairs as of peace and prosperity to enter the recital of that historical epoch of political strife immediately preceding the Civil war.

FOOT NOTES—CHAPTER IV, SECOND EPOCH

¹Thomas Hart Benton (see foot note 21, after Chapter II, First Epoch).

²Charles Lucas was born near Plattsburg, Penn.; moved with his father, J. B. C. Lucas, to St. Louis in 1805; joined a volunteer company for 1812 war; elected captain; admitted to the bar in 1814; elected to Territorial Legislature; appointed U. S. Attorney for Territory.

They had two meetings, the first one on Tuesday, August 12th. At 9 o'clock at night of the 11th, the evening before the first meeting, Charles Lucas prepared the following written statement of the origin of the differences between himself and Colonel Benton:

"At the election held on the 4th August, 1817,
"when Benton offered his vote, Lucas inquired if
"he, Benton, had paid the tax in time to enable him
"to vote—Benton then applied abusive and ungentlemanly
"language to Lucas, and Lucas then challenged him."

They met on the morning of the 12th, Luke E. Lawless, the second of Benton, and Joshua Barton the second of Lucas. They fired one shot; Lucas was wounded in the neck, and Benton sustained a slight contusion below the right knee. Lucas being too badly wounded to continue the fight, Colonel Lawless, Benton's second, asked him if he was satisfied, to which he replied he was, and did not require a second meeting. Having reported this answer to Benton, Benton said he was not satisfied, and required that Lucas should come out again as soon as his wound would permit him. By the time Lucas became sufficiently well to be about, through the exertions of some friends, the matter had been, as was supposed, satisfactorily adjusted to dispense with a second meeting, but a week or ten days after the supposed adjustment of the affair, Benton sent Lucas a challenge for a second meeting, dated September 23, 1817, "alleging that friends of Lucas had circulated statements derogatory to him, Benton."

Lucas, being absent for two or three days, returned home on the evening of the 26th. The challenge was handed him within an hour after his return, and accepted. On the morning of Saturday the 27th, they met on the small island above St. Louis, and took their positions at ten feet distance. They both fired nearly at the same time. Benton's ball went through the right arm of Lucas, penetrated his body in the region of the heart; he fell.

³John B. C. Lucas was born in Normandy, France, in the year 1758. He graduated in the profession of Law at Caen, Normandy, in 1782, and practiced in his native place about two years, during which period he was married to Miss Anne Sebin, who, born in 1764, was six years younger than he. In 1803 he was elected to Congress

from the Allegheny District, succeeding Albert Gallatin. In 1805 he was appointed by President Jefferson, Judge of the United States Court in Upper Louisiana, and, in conjunction with Clement B. Penrose, commissioners to settle land claims in Missouri, for which purpose he removed to St. Louis. He died in 1842.—Billon's, "Annals of St. Louis."

⁴ Missouri Hotel, North Main Street, St. Louis, Mo. It was a political resort of the times; the property of Major Thomas Biddle, who was killed in a duel with Spencer Pettus.

⁵ Martin Van Buren (half brother of James Isaac Van Alen) was a Senator from New York and a Vice President and a President of the United States; born in Kinderhook, Columbia County, N. Y., December 5, 1782; attended the district schools and Kinderhook Academy, studied law, was admitted to the bar in New York City, and commenced practice in Kinderhook, N. Y., in 1803; moved to Hudson, N. Y., in 1809; surrogate of Columbia County 1808-1813; member of the State Senate 1813-1820; attorney general of New York 1815-1819; delegate to the State constitutional convention in 1821; elected as a Democrat to the United States Senate; reelected in 1827, and served from March 4, 1821, until December 20, 1828, when he resigned, having been elected governor; served as Governor of New York from January 1 to March 12, 1829, when he resigned to enter the Cabinet; appointed Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Andrew Jackson, and served from March 28, 1829, until his resignation, effective May 23, 1831, when he was commissioned minister to Great Britain; the Senate rejected the nomination on January 25, 1832, and he returned to the United States; elected, as a Democrat, Vice President of the United States on the ticket with Andrew Jackson, and served from March 4, 1833, to March 3, 1837; elected, as a Democrat, President of the United States, and served from March 4, 1837, to March 3, 1841; unsuccessful candidate for reelection as President on the Democratic ticket in 1840, and on the Free-Soil ticket in 1848; withdrew from political life and retired to his country home, "Lindenwald," in Kinderhook, N. Y., where he died on July 24, 1862.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

^{5a} Zachary Taylor, a Representative from Tennessee; born near Brownsville, Haywood County, Tenn., on May 9, 1849; attended J. I. Hall's School near Covington, Tenn., and was graduated from the Virginia Military Institute at Lexington as senior captain July 4, 1872, and from the law department of Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tenn., in January, 1874; was admitted to the bar and commenced practice in Covington, Tenn., in 1878; served in the State senate in 1880; postmaster of Covington, Tenn., from July 1, 1883, to January 1, 1885, when he resigned; elected as a Republican to the Forty-ninth Congress (March 4, 1885-March 3, 1887); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1886 to the Fiftieth Congress; moved to Memphis, Tenn., and engaged in general life insurance business; elected delegate to the Republican National Convention at St. Louis in 1896; moved to San Antonio, Tex.; died in Ellendale, Shelby County, Tenn., February 19, 1921.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁶ Lewis Cass, a Senator from Michigan; born in Exeter, N. H., October 9, 1782; attended Exeter Academy; moved with his parents to Wilmington, Del., in 1799, and taught school there; set out on foot for the Northwest Territory in 1801 and settled on a farm near Zanesville, Ohio; studied law under Governor Meigs in Marietta, Ohio, and was admitted to the bar in 1802; member of the State House of Representatives in 1806; United States Marshal for the district of Ohio from 1807 until 1812, when he resigned to enlist in the Army; colonel of the Twenty-seventh Regiment United States Infantry February 20, 1813; promoted to rank of Brigadier General March 20, 1813; contributed much to General Harrison's decisive victory over the British under Proctor and the Indians under Tecumseh, his name being associated with that of Perry, who fought with him side by side; resigned May 1, 1814; military and civil Governor of Michigan Territory 1813-1831; settled in Detroit, appointed Secretary of War by President Jackson, and served in his Cabinet from August 1, 1831, to October 5, 1836, when he resigned, having been appointed to a diplomatic post; United States envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to France from October 24, 1836, to November 12, 1842; elected as a Democrat to the United States Senate, and served from March 4, 1845, until May 29, 1848, when he resigned, having been nominated for President of the United States; unsuccessful candidate for President on the Democratic ticket in 1848; elected as a Democrat to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy caused by his own resignation; was reelected, and served from January 20, 1849, to March 3, 1857; appointed Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Buchanan and served from March 6, 1857, until December 14, 1860, when he resigned; returned to Detroit, Mich., and engaged in

literary pursuits; died in Detroit, Mich., June 17, 1866.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁷ William Hyde was born at Lima, near Rochester, N. Y., August 27, 1836; he was first connected with the *Belleville Tribune*; he then became connected with the *Missouri Republican* in 1857; in 1866 he became editor-in-chief; in 1885 he was appointed by President Cleveland postmaster at St. Louis; he went to St. Joseph and started *The Ballot*; he was next editor of the *Salt Lake Herald*, after which he returned to St. Louis, where he died, October 30, 1898.

⁸ David Wilmot, a Representative and a Senator from Pennsylvania; born in Bethany, Pennsylvania, January 20, 1814; elected as a Democrat to the Twenty-ninth, Thirtieth, and Thirty-first Congresses (March 4, 1845-March 3, 1851); was the author of the "Wilmot Proviso" relative to slavery in newly annexed territory; supported the Free-Soil ticket in 1848 and took a leading part in the founding of the Republican Party, 1854; elected as a Republican to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Simon Cameron, and served from March 14, 1861, to March 3, 1863; member of the peace convention in 1861, held in Washington, D. C., in an effort to devise means to prevent the impending war; appointed by President Lincoln judge of the United States Court of Claims in 1863, and served until his death in Towanda, Pa., March 16, 1868.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁹ Franklin Pierce, a Representative and a Senator from New Hampshire, and a President of the United States; born in Hillsboro, N. H., November 23, 1804; attended the academies of Hancock and Frankestown, N. H.; prepared for college at Exeter; was graduated from Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me., in 1824; studied law, was admitted to the bar, and commenced practice in Hillsboro in 1827; member of the State House of Representatives 1829-1833, and served as speaker in 1832 and 1833; elected as a Democrat to the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Congresses (March 4, 1833-March 3, 1837); elected to the United States Senate, and served from March 4, 1837, to February 28, 1842, when he resigned; resumed the practice of law in Concord; declined the appointment of Attorney General of the United States tendered by President Polk; served in the Mexican war as colonel; commissioned brigadier general in March, 1847; and remained in Mexico until the close of the war; member of the New Hampshire State Constitutional Convention in 1850 and served as its president; elected President of the United States on the Democratic ticket of Pierce and King, and served from March 4, 1853, to March 3, 1857; resumed the practice of his profession; died in Concord, N. H., October 8, 1869.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁰ From the Introduction, "Thomas Hart Benton," by Joseph H. Rogers.

^{10a} Edmund Burke, a writer, orator, and statesman of great eminence, was born in Dublin, January 1, 1730. After studying at Trinity College, Dublin, where he took a bachelor's degree, he went to London in 1750, and became a law student at the Temple. He applied himself more to literature than to law, and in 1756 published his "Essay on the Sublime and the Beautiful," which attracted considerable attention, and procured him the friendship of some of the most notable men of the time. The political career for which he had been arduously preparing himself all along at length opened up to him on his appointment as private secretary to Mr. W. G. Hamilton, secretary for Ireland, in 1761. On his return he was rewarded with a pension of 300 pounds per annum, and obtained the appointment of private secretary to the Marquis of Rockingham, then First Lord of the Treasury. Through the same interest he entered parliament as member for Wendover (1765). The great question of the right of taxing the American colonies was then occupying parliament, and the Rockingham ministry, having taken mainly through Burke's advice, a middle and undecided course, was soon dissolved (1766).—"Winston's Encyclopedia."

¹¹ "Missouri, The Mother of States," by Williams and Shoemaker, Vol. I, pp. 436-37.

¹² "Missouri, The Mother of States," by Williams and Shoemaker, Vol. I, pp. 448-49-50.

¹³ James Buchanan, a Representative and a Senator from Pennsylvania and a President of the United States; born at Cove Gap, near Mercersburg, Franklin County, Pa., April 23, 1791; was graduated from Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa., in 1809; moved to Lancaster, Pa., the same year; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1812, and practiced in Lancaster; although a Federalist, one of the first volunteers in the War of 1812, and served under Judge Shippen in the defense of Baltimore; member of the State House of Representatives in 1814 and 1815; elected

to Seventeenth, Eighteenth, Nineteenth, Twentieth and Twenty-first Congresses (March 4, 1821-March 3, 1831); one of the managers appointed by the House of Representatives in 1830 to conduct the impeachment proceedings against James H. Peck, judge of the United States District Court for the District of Missouri; minister to Russia from June, 1832, to August, 1834; elected as a Democrat to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of William Wilkins; reelected in 1837 and 1843, and served from December 6, 1834, until he resigned on March 5, 1845, to accept a Cabinet portfolio; Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Polk from March 6, 1845, to March 7, 1849; minister to Great Britain 1853-1856; elected President of the United States in 1856 as the candidate of the Democratic Party, and served from March 4, 1857, to March 3, 1861; retired to his home in Wheatland, near Lancaster, Pa., where he died June 1, 1868.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁴ John Charles Fremont [a son-in-law of Senator Benton], a Senator from California; born in Savannah, Ga., January 21, 1813; pursued classical studies, and attended Charleston College 1828-1830; instructor in mathematics in the United States Navy 1833-1835; civil engineer assistant of Nicollet in 1838 and 1839, exploring the territory between the Missouri River and the northern boundary of the United States; appointed second lieutenant of Topographical Engineers of the United States Army July 7, 1838; commenced in 1842 his explorations and surveys for an overland route from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean; major of a battalion of California Volunteers in 1846; appointed lieutenant colonel of United States Mounted Rifles in 1846 and ordered to act as Governor of California by Commodore Stockton; General Kearny, United States Army, revoked this order and placed him under arrest for mutiny; tried by court-martial in Washington, found guilty, and pardoned by President Polk, but resigned; crossed the continent in 1848; located in California on the Mariposa grant; commissioner to run the boundary line between United States and Mexico in 1849; upon the admission of California as a State into the Union was elected as a Free-Soil Democrat to the United States Senate, and served from September 9, 1850, to March 3, 1851; crossed the continent in 1853 for the fifth time; unsuccessful as the first Republican candidate for President of the United States in 1856; appointed major general in the United States Army by President Lincoln May 14, 1861, and placed in command of the western military district; was removed December 2, 1861; appointed to command the Mountain department February 10, 1862; resigned June 4, 1864; again nominated for President by the Cleveland convention in 1864; Governor of Arizona Territory 1878-1881; appointed a major general in the United States Army on the retired list April 28, 1890; died in New York City July 13, 1890.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

^{14a} Benton's attitude to the marriage of his daughter, Jessie Benton, to Lieut. John C. Fremont, is characteristic of the man. It is stated that Jessie Benton became engaged to Fremont before she was sixteen years of age. When Benton heard of it he bitterly opposed the marriage, because he thought a girl so young was not fit to be engaged, and he blamed Fremont, who was then twenty-seven years of age. Fremont was ordered to Iowa on duty, and on returning to Washington was secretly married to Jessie Benton. Finally, Fremont was recognized, and when he was nominated by the Republicans for President, in 1856, Jessie Benton urged her father to support him, which Benton refused to do. This caused some estrangement, and Benton gave his support to James Buchanan for President. He believed Fremont's election would have been a signal for disunion. His great thought was for the preservation of the Union, against a filial devotion almost as strong as life itself. It stamps the man as one of the greatest characters this nation has produced, and one might well say, "We shall not look upon his like again."

^{14b} Galusha Aaron Grow, a Representative from Pennsylvania; elected as a Free Soil Democrat in 1849.

¹⁵ Alexander Buckner, a Senator from Missouri; born in Jefferson County, Kentucky, in 1785; studied law, and moved to Charleston, Clark County, Indiana, in 1812; moved to Missouri in 1818 and settled in Cape Girardeau County, practiced law and also engaged in agricultural pursuits; appointed by the Territorial governor circuit attorney for the Cape Girardeau district; president of the State constitutional convention in 1820; member of the State Senate 1822-1826; elected to the United States Senate, and served from March 4, 1831, until his death in Cape Girardeau County, Missouri, June 6, 1833; interment on his farm in Cape Girardeau County; reinterment in the City Cemetery, Cape Girardeau, Missouri, in 1897.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁶ Louis Houck—"A History of Missouri," Vol. III, p. 23.

¹⁷ Lewis Fields Linn, a Senator from Missouri; born near Louisville, Kentucky, November 5, 1796; was left an orphan when eleven years of age; received an academic education; studied medicine in Louisville; served in the War of 1812 as surgeon in Col. Henry Dodge's Mounted Rifle Volunteers; completed his medical studies at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; was admitted to practice and located at Ste. Genevieve, Territory of Missouri, in 1815; served in the State Senate in 1827; appointed to the Free Land Claims Commission in Missouri in 1832; appointed and subsequently elected as a Democrat to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Alexander Buckner; reelected in 1836 and again in 1842, and served from October 25, 1833, until his death in Ste. Genevieve, Missouri, October 3, 1843.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁸ "What was popularly known as the 'Platte Purchase' took place in 1836. It appears that the idea of this extension of the boundaries of Missouri had its inception in the summer of 1835, at a regimental militia muster at Dale's farm, three miles from the town of Liberty, in Clay County. After the morning parade and during the recess for dinner, the citizens present were organized into a mass meeting, which was addressed, among others, by Gen. Andrew S. Hughes, who came to Clay from Montgomery County, Kentucky, in 1828, and who soon afterwards was appointed Indian agent by President John Quincy Adams. General Hughes was 'a lawyer by profession, a gentleman of acknowledged ability, and in wit and sarcasm almost the equal of John Randolph.' At this meeting he proposed the acquisition of the Platte country. It was taken up with enthusiasm, and a committee was appointed to further the efforts to accomplish this object, composed of the following distinguished Missourians: A. W. Doniphan of Richmond (commander of the later Doniphan's Expedition); David R. Atchison, ex-United States senator; Judge William T. Wood of Lexington; Peter H. Burnett, later a State Supreme Court judge in California; and Edward M. Samuel, afterwards president of the Commercial Bank in St. Louis. All these men were residents of Clay County at that date.

"A memorial to Congress was drafted by Judge Wood and signed by the members of the committee, after which it was forwarded to the Missouri senators and representatives in Washington. In accordance with the prayer of this memorial, a bill was introduced into Congress by Senator Thomas H. Benton, supported by his colleague, Senator Linn, to extend the then existing boundary of the state so as to include the triangle between the existing line and the Missouri River, then a part of the Indian territory, and now comprised in the counties of Atchison, Andrew, Buchanan, Holt, Nodaway, and Platte. Switzler says that the difficulties encountered were threefold: (1) To make still larger a state which was already one of the largest in the Union. (2) To make a treaty with the Sac and Fox tribes of Indians whereby they were to be removed from lands which had but recently been assigned to them in perpetuity. (3) To alter the Missouri Compromise line in relation to slave territory and thereby convert free into slave soil. Notwithstanding these difficulties, the two first mentioned serious and the last formidable, the act was passed and the treaties negotiated, and in 1837 the Indians removed west of the Missouri River, thus adding to our state a large body of the richest land in the world."—"Missouri, Mother of the West," by Williams and Shoemaker, Vol. I, p. 412.

"In 1836 the government of Washington bought the land which comprises the city of St. Joseph, Buchanan County, and the five counties of Platte, Atchison, Andrew, Holt and Nodaway. The Indians conveyed the title and moved. The land was thrown open to white settlement. The price paid was \$2,500 in cash, an interpreter, a blacksmith and a grindstone. The development of the Platte Purchase in about the allotted span of a single life has been wonderful. It is history. But today this region and its surrounding territory seem to be entering upon an even more remarkable period of gain. * * * The Missouri River was made the western boundary of the state from Kansas City northward. This added to the state as much land as Delaware contains—land of extraordinary fertility. Benton gave his colleague, Dr. Linn, the credit for the favorable action of Congress in the matter of the Platte Purchase."—"Centennial History of Missouri," by Walter B. Stevens, Vol. I, p. 67.

¹⁹ David Rice Atchison, a Senator from Missouri; born in Frogtown, Kentucky, August 11, 1807; attended Transylvania University, Lexington, Kentucky; studied law, was admitted to the bar and commenced practice in Liberty, Clay County, Missouri, in 1829. Also engaged in agricultural pursuits; member of the State House of Representatives in 1834, and again in 1838; appointed Judge of the Platte County

circuit court in 1841; appointed and subsequently elected in 1843 as a Whig to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Lewis F. Linn; elected President *pro tempore* of the Senate August 8, 1846, January 11 and March 3, 1847, February 2, June 1, and June 26, July 29, and December 26, 1848, and March 1 and 2, 1849; term of office as Senator expired on March 3, 1849; reelected in 1849 for the term commencing March 4, 1849, but this day falling on Sunday, he did not qualify until Monday, March 5, 1849, and was thereupon elected President *pro tempore* of the Senate for the purpose of administering the oath of office to the Senators elect; again elected President *pro tempore* of the Senate on March 16, 1849, May 2 and 6, and July 10, 1850, December 20, 1852, and again on March 4, 1853, and served throughout the session; served as United States Senator from October 14, 1843, to March 3, 1855; resumed the practice of law; died at his home near Gower, Clinton County, Missouri, January 26, 1886.—“Biographical Directory of the American Congress.”

CHAPTER V.

MISSOURI'S EARLY REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS

John Scott¹ of Ste. Genevieve County was elected as the first congressman from Missouri. He had been prominent and influential in the contest for statehood. He was associated in forming the Constitution with David Barton, John Rice Jones, John Dillard Cook, Edward Bates, James Evans, and other distinguished men. To him belongs the great honor of being the author of the State's constitutional provisions relating to education. He was a man of great ability; a logical and impressive speaker. A lawyer by profession, he was credited with great power in his appeals to juries. He was uncompromising in his opposition to secession. His vote in the House in 1824, in favor of John Quincy Adams against Andrew Jackson, removed him from any political significance in after years, and, it is said, disrupted a friendship with Thomas H. Benton which was a source of regret to himself and the Senator. Scott County, Missouri, was named in his honor, and his name is connected in an official way with many of the important matters pertaining to Southeast Missouri.

Edward Bates,² of St. Louis, was elected to Congress in 1827 to succeed John Scott. He had become one of the most prominent characters in the history of the New State. His brother, Frederick, had been made the second Governor of the state, following Alexander McNair. The splendid record of the Bates family in the history of Missouri is recorded in this Epoch of Missouri Democracy, and continues to the record of Rolla Wells' splendid administration as mayor of St. Louis.

James G. Blaine in his "Twenty Years of Congress," says that "Mr. Bates was appointed to the cabinet largely through the influence of Francis P. Blair, Jr." and that "Bates was very conservative, but a zealous friend of the Union and a disciple of Henry Clay."

Charles W. Bates, a nephew of Edward Bates, was for eight years city counselor of St. Louis under the administration of Mayor Rolla Wells. He was reputed one of the leading lawyers of the city and state. He was born in St. Charles County, January 23, 1864; died August, 1928, at Pasadena, California.

Spencer Pettis, of St. Louis, was elected to the General Assembly in 1824, and in 1826 he was appointed Secretary of State by Governor John Miller. He resigned in 1829, on being elected to Congress from St. Louis, to succeed Edward Bates, being the third man to represent Missouri in the National Congress. He was a man of fine family and had become popular at the State Capitol, and in Washington. The county of Pettis was named in his honor.

In his campaign for the second term in Congress he attacked the United States Bank, as he was a friend and a follower of Benton. A personal controversy arose which brought on a duel, the terms of which were perhaps the most extreme of anything of the kind in the history of such encounters. Mayor Thomas Biddle, being the challenged party, fixed the terms. He made the distance five feet because of his short-sightedness. The pistols were from twelve to fifteen inches long and lapped and struck each other as they were discharged. They fired simultaneously and both fell. This duel caused a great revolt against the code. The terms were so extreme that it meant death to each participant, and the result caused great sorrow and regret for both Pettis and Biddle.

PETTIS-BIDDLE DUEL

Walter B. Stevens in his "Centennial History of Missouri," says: "The condition of short-sightedness entered into the Pettis-Biddle duel. One account of the circumstances leading to the duel is that Pettis, anticipating a hostile meeting, went before Judge Peter Ferguson and made a sworn statement about the attack upon him in the hotel. He proceeded from Ferguson's office to the printer to have the statement put in type. Ferguson, made aware of what had taken place, issued a writ against Biddle to keep the peace. Biddle met Pettis and told him that if challenged he would accept. This was after the election, between three and four weeks. Pettis challenged at once. Biddle being the challenged principal, made the terms. He set the next day for the duel and made the distance five feet, because of short-sightedness. The meeting took place at three o'clock in the afternoon.

John Bull,⁴ of Howard County, was elected to Congress in 1833, on the ticket with William H. Ashley. Missouri was now entitled to two members in the lower house of Congress. John Bull was a pronounced Jackson Democrat, and was a man of great influence in Central Missouri. Switzler says that political policies in the state did not assume form until the Presidential election of 1828. National issues occupied much attention, and people naturally disclosed their Whig or Democratic predilections. In January, the friends of Jackson met at Jefferson City and nominated an electoral ticket composed of Dr. John Bull, of Howard County, Benjamin O'Fallon, of St. Louis, and Ralph Dougherty, of Cape Girardeau. In March the Whigs formed their electoral ticket composed of Benjamin H. Reeves, of Howard County, Joseph C. Brown, of St. Louis, and John Hall, of Cape Girardeau.

Albert G. Harrison,⁵ of Callaway County, was elected to Congress in 1835, when the state had two members in that body, with William H. Ashley, a Whig of St. Louis. In 1837 he was reelected on the ticket with John Miller, of Howard County, who had served with much distinction as the fourth Governor of Missouri, and whose career in Congress was just beginning. Albert G. Harrison had served the "Kingdom of Callaway" with such credit that he was returned for a second term.

In 1837 John Miller⁶ of Howard County, was elected to Congress on the ticket with Albert G. Harrison.

In 1839 he was reelected on a ticket with John Jameson, of Callaway County, who succeeded Albert G. Harrison.

In 1841 he was reelected on a ticket with John C. Edwards, of Cole County. While John Miller was coming from the governorship of Missouri, in which he had served longer than any one who ever held that office, John C. Edwards was on the way to become Governor of Missouri in 1844.

Everything marks John Miller's record in Congress as one of distinction. He was a man of marked ability and of exceptional character.

John Jameson,⁷ of Callaway County, was elected to Congress in 1839, on the ticket with John Miller. In 1843 when the delegation in Congress from Missouri was increased to five members, he was elected with James M. Hughes, of Clay County, James H. Relfe, of Washington County, James B. Bowlin, of St. Louis, and Gustavus M. Bower, of Monroe County.

John C. Edwards,⁸ of Cole County, was one of the most prominent men in the early history of the state. He was a man of much ability and served the state in several places of importance. He was elected to Congress in 1841 on the ticket with John Miller. It is singular that John Miller had served with much credit as Governor of Missouri. John C. Edwards was to receive that honor in 1844, after concluding his term in Congress.

In 1843 Missouri's representation in Congress was increased to five members, who were elected at large. The state had grown rapidly in population and importance.

James M. Hughes,⁹ of Clay County, was elected as a Democrat and it is proper to record that Clay has always been a reliable Democratic county.

James B. Bowlin,¹⁰ of St. Louis, was elected as a Democrat, which was a change for the better, as St. Louis had been electing a Whig.

Gustavus M. Bower,¹¹ of Monroe County, was elected as a Democrat, and Monroe County at one time was the banner Democratic county of the state.

John Jameson, of Callaway County, who was elected in 1839, on the ticket with John Miller, was another Democrat on the delegation.

James H. Relfe,¹² of Washington County, was elected as a Democrat, and was a man of much character in the records of the state.

FOOT NOTES TO CHAPTER V, SECOND EPOCH

¹ John Scott, a Delegate and a Representative from Missouri; born in Hanover County, Va., May 18, 1785; moved with his parents to Indiana Territory in 1802; was graduated from Princeton College in 1805; studied law, was admitted to the bar, and commenced practice in Ste. Genevieve, Mo., in 1806; presented credentials as a Delegate elect to the Fourteenth Congress from the Territory of Missouri, and served from August 6, 1816, to January 13, 1817, when the election was declared illegal and the seat vacant; elected as a Delegate to the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Congresses, and served from August 4, 1817, to March 3, 1821; upon the admission of Missouri as a State into the Union was elected to the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Congresses, and served from August 10, 1821, to March 3, 1827; unsue-

cessful candidate for reelection in 1826 to the Twentieth Congress; resumed the practice of law; died in Ste. Genevieve, Mo., October 1, 1861.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

² Edward Bates. See p. 27.

³ Spencer D. Pettis, a Representative from Missouri; born in Culpeper County, Virginia, in 1802; completed preparatory studies; studied law, was admitted to the bar about 1824, and commenced practice in Fayette, Howard County, Missouri; held various local offices; appointed secretary of state on July 22, 1826, and served until December 31, 1828, when he resigned; elected as a Democrat to the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Congresses, and served from March 4, 1829, until his death; during the campaign of 1830 the feeling regarding the United States Bank issue precipitated a quarrel, and subsequently resulted in a duel with Major Thomas Biddle, in which both fell mortally wounded; Mr. Pettis died the next day, August 28, 1831, in St. Louis.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁴ John Bull, a Representative from Missouri; born in Virginia, in 1803; studied medicine in Baltimore, Maryland; moved to Howard County, Missouri, and settled near Glasgow; engaged in the practice of medicine; studied theology, was ordained to the ministry, and became a Methodist minister in that locality; unsuccessful candidate for Governor of Missouri; presidential elector on the Democratic ticket of Jackson and Calhoun in 1828; elected as a Whig to the Twenty-third Congress (March 4, 1833-March 3, 1835); resumed his ministerial duties and also the practice of medicine; died near Rothville, Chariton County, Missouri, in February, 1863.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁵ Albert G. Harrison, a Representative from Missouri; born in Mount Sterling, Kentucky, June 26, 1800; completed preparatory studies, and was graduated from Transylvania University, Lexington, Kentucky, in 1820; studied law, was admitted to the bar, and commenced practice in Mount Sterling; moved to Fulton, Missouri, in 1827 and continued the practice of law; member of the Board of Visitors to the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1828; member of the commission to adjust land titles growing out of Spanish grants 1829-1835; elected as a Van Buren Democrat to the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Congresses (March 4, 1835-March 3, 1839); died in Fulton, Missouri, September 7, 1839.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁶ John Miller, a Representative from Missouri; born near Martinsburg, Berkeley County, Virginia, (now West Virginia), November 25, 1781; attended the common schools; moved to Steubenville, Ohio, about 1803 and published the *Western Herald* and *Steubenville Gazette*; served in the War of 1812 as lieutenant colonel of the Seventeenth United States Infantry and as colonel in command of the Nineteenth Infantry; resigned his Army commission February 10, 1818; was appointed register of the land office at Franklin, Howard County, Missouri, which position he held for eight years; elected Governor of Missouri to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Governor Bates; reelected, and served from 1825 to 1832; elected as a Van Buren Democrat to the Twenty-fifth, Twenty-sixth, and Twenty-seventh Congresses (March 4, 1837-March 3, 1843); declined to be a candidate for renomination in 1842, and retired to his residence near Florissant, Missouri, where he died March 18, 1846.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁷ John Jameson, a Representative from Missouri; born near Mount Sterling, Montgomery County, Kentucky, March 6, 1802; attended the common schools; moved to Callaway County, Missouri, in 1825; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1826, and commenced practice in Fulton, Missouri; held several local offices; member of the State House of Representatives 1830-1836 and served as speaker in 1834 and 1836; elected as a Democrat to the Twenty-sixth Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Albert G. Harrison, and served from December 12, 1839, to March 3, 1841; was not a candidate for renomination in 1844; again elected to the Thirtieth Congress (March 4, 1847-March 3, 1849); was not a candidate for renomination in 1848; ordained as a minister in the Christian Church; also engaged in agricultural pursuits; served as a captain in the Black Hawk war; died in Fulton, Missouri, January 24, 1857.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁸ John C. Edwards was born in Frankfort, Franklin County, Ky., June 24, 1804; completed preparatory studies and was graduated from Black's College, Kentucky; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1825, and practiced in Murfreesboro, Tenn., and later in Jefferson City, Mo.; secretary of state of Missouri 1830-1835, and in 1837; district judge of Cole County, Mo., 1832-1837; member of the State House of

Representatives in 1836; judge of the State supreme court 1837-1839; elected as a Democrat to the Twenty-seventh Congress (March 4, 1841-March 3, 1843); did not seek renomination, having become a candidate for the gubernatorial office; Governor of Missouri 1844-1848; moved to Stockton, Calif., in 1849, where he died on October 14, 1888.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁹ James M. Hughes, a Representative from Missouri; born in Bourbon County, Kentucky, April 7, 1809; received a liberal schooling; studied law, was admitted to the bar, and practiced in Liberty, Clay County, Missouri; also engaged in mercantile pursuits in Liberty; member of the State House of Representatives in 1839; elected as a Democrat to the Twenty-eighth Congress (March 4, 1843-March 3, 1845); moved to St. Louis, Missouri, in 1855 and engaged in the banking business; died in Jefferson City, Missouri, February 26, 1861.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁰ James Butler Bowlin, a Representative from Missouri; born near Fredericksburg, Spottsylvania County, Virginia, January 16, 1804; apprenticed to a trade, but abandoned it to teach school; received a classical education; moved to Lewisburg, Greenbrier County, in 1825; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1826, and commenced practice in Greenbrier County; moved to St. Louis, Missouri, in 1833; and continued the practice of law; established the *Farmers and Mechanics Advocate*; chief clerk of the State House of Representatives in 1836; member of the State House of Representatives in 1836 and 1837; appointed district attorney for St. Louis in 1837; elected judge of the criminal court in 1839; elected as a Democrat to the Twenty-eighth, Twenty-ninth, Thirtieth, and Thirty-first Congresses (March 4, 1843-March 3, 1851); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1850 to the Thirty-second Congress; appointed minister resident to New Granada by President Pierce December 13, 1854; appointed commissioner to Paraguay by President Buchanan, September 9, 1858, and served to February 10, 1859; resumed the practice of law; died in St. Louis, Missouri, July 19, 1874.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹¹ Gustavus Miller Bower, a Representative from Missouri; born near Culpeper, Culpeper County, Virginia, December 12, 1790; attended the public schools; studied medicine in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; moved to Kentucky, prior to 1812 and resided near Nicholasville; enlisted in the War of 1812 as a surgeon dresser; was one of the few survivors of the massacre at Frenchtown, near Detroit, January 23, 1813; moved to Monroe County, Missouri in 1833, settled near Paris, and engaged in the practice of medicine and also in agricultural pursuits; elected as a Democrat to the Twenty-eighth Congress (March 4, 1843-March 3, 1845); resumed practice of medicine; died near Paris, Monroe County, Missouri, November 17, 1864.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹² James Hugh Relfe, a Representative from Missouri; born in Virginia, October 17, 1791; moved to Washington County, Missouri, about 1816, with his father, who settled in Caledonia; received a limited schooling; studied medicine and practiced in Caledonia, Missouri; appointed a member of the commission to adjust Spanish land claims to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Dr. Lewis F. Linn; member of the State House of Representatives 1835-1844; served in the Black Hawk war; appointed United States marshal for the district of Missouri, February 17, 1841; elected as a Democrat to the Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth Congresses (March 4, 1843-March 3, 1847); continued the practice of medicine in Caledonia, Washington County, Missouri, until his death there September 14, 1863.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem of the origin of life. It is shown that the problem is not only a scientific one, but also a philosophical one. The scientific aspect of the problem is concerned with the question of how life arose from non-life. The philosophical aspect is concerned with the question of whether life is a necessary part of the universe or whether it is a mere accident.

The second part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the various theories of the origin of life. These theories are divided into two main groups: the theory of spontaneous generation and the theory of biogenesis. The theory of spontaneous generation is the older of the two and is based on the idea that life can arise from non-life. The theory of biogenesis is the newer of the two and is based on the idea that life can only arise from life.

The third part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the evidence for the theory of biogenesis. This evidence is of two kinds: direct evidence and indirect evidence. Direct evidence is evidence that is obtained from experiments. Indirect evidence is evidence that is obtained from observations of the natural world.

The fourth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the implications of the theory of biogenesis. These implications are of two kinds: scientific implications and philosophical implications. The scientific implications are concerned with the question of how life arose from non-life. The philosophical implications are concerned with the question of whether life is a necessary part of the universe or whether it is a mere accident.

THIRD EPOCH—1845-1860

A TRIUMPHANT DEMOCRACY DESPITE POLITICAL INSTABILITY

CHAPTER I

THE POLITICAL ISSUES OF THE DAY

The issue in the presidential campaign of 1844 was the immediate annexation of Texas. President Polk was committed to that policy, and he had carried Missouri over Senator Henry Clay, the Whig candidate for President, by over 10,000 votes, though Clay owned land in the state and had a popular following. It is said that no other state had such close relations with Texas as Missouri. For years Missourians had been migrating to Texas—the land of unlimited range and no taxes. The Austins¹ for years were active in Texas migration, and the capital of the state was named in their honor.

Thomas Hart Benton was serving the last six of the thirty years that he was to represent Missouri in the Senate. He and his friends put forward a movement to make him a lieutenant-general. The proposition met with favor. Benton was given a commission of major-general. General Winfield Scott was a Whig and the Democrats feared the Whigs might benefit by the war and Scott be made President. Congress failed to give Benton the higher rank; he refused to serve under Scott and resigned. He blamed the Polk cabinet, charging them with personal jealousy of him. Benton, in the declining years of his senatorial career, expressed disappointment at missing a military career. There seems to be a well-founded belief that had his wishes been acceded to, he would have been President after the termination of the Mexican war.

In 1849 Claiborne F. Jackson^{1a} was a member of the State Senate from the Tenth District. He presented to the Senate what became famous in the political history of the state as "The Jackson Resolutions." These resolutions were approved by the General Assembly and signed by Governor Austin King. Attested copies of these resolutions were forwarded to Senator Benton and his colleague, Senator David R. Atchison, the latter presenting them to Congress.

The resolutions denied any right on the part of Congress to legislate on the subject so as to affect the institution of slavery in the states, in the District of Columbia, or in the Territories, and asserted the right to prohibit slavery in any territory belonging exclusively to the people thereof, and can only be exercised by them in forming their constitution for a state government; or in their sovereign capacity as in independent state; and declared "that in the event of the passage of any act of Con-

gress conflicting with the principles herein expressed, Missouri would be found in hearty coöperation with the slaveholding states in such measures as may be found necessary for our mutual protection against the encroachments of northern fanaticism."

They instructed Congress to act in conformity to these resolutions. Senator Atchison presented the Jackson resolutions to the Senate and they were read on January 3, 1850. Senator Benton repudiated the instructions in a vigorous speech, saying among other things, "This is the proper time for me to say what I believe to be the fact, that these resolutions do not express the sentiments of the people of Missouri. . . . The General Assembly has mistaken the sentiment of the state in adopting these resolutions, and members who voted for them, and the governor who signed them, have since disavowed and repudiated them."

Senator Atchison immediately replied: "I have but one word to say, and that is merely to express an opinion that the people of the State of Missouri, when the time arrives, will prove to all mankind that every sentiment contained in these resolutions, from first to last, will be sustained."

Senator Benton saw in these resolutions a direct attack on him, and began his campaign against them and the binding force of the instructions therein contained. The question of the binding force of instruction by the General Assembly on United States senators became a matter of controversy. John Scott, the first representative in Congress from Missouri, came out of his retirement which was caused by his vote for Adams against Andrew Jackson, to express an opinion on "The right to instruct." In a public letter, he said:

"Having long since, and frequently, declined being a candidate for public life or office, I feel at liberty the more freely to say what I think and know in relation to the course and principles of the senator on whose conduct you are about to pass. He was not admitted to a seat in the Senate in 1820, though then from Missouri, but he was as loud and clamorous then against the same principles for which he now contends as any southern man at Washington, and he was one of the very first, in connection with Duff Green, to put afloat an impression upon the people of Missouri of the falsehood and the enormity of my offense in having refused, as they stated, and failed to obey the instructions of the legislature in regard to casting the vote of Missouri in the Presidential election, when in truth and in fact no instructions were given me, as the journal of 1824-5 will, on examination, show.

"I merely mention these facts to show the consistency when office is wanted. If there was any defect in the framers of the constitution, and perhaps the Missouri compromise, it was in not making the compromise and principles of that instrument and law prospective in regard to future acquisitions of territory."

The most exciting and most remarkable campaign in the history of Missouri up to that time was Thomas Hart Benton's vigorous opposition in 1850 to the Jackson resolutions. There was no organized effort to combat Benton in the speeches he made throughout the State, but from

traditional reports, a system of heckling was in vogue which was persisted in at nearly all the places where Benton spoke, and it is proper to record the fact that much of it was discreditable to those who participated in it. The sun of this great character who had given a lifetime to the service of the people of the state and nation was hastening to its setting, which was made more poignant by a great Democrat being displaced in the chief council of the nation through a condition controlled by the Whigs.

In 1854 the American, or "Know-Nothing," Party was organized and for a time obtained some following. In the election of this year, Luther Martin Kennett was elected to Congress from the First St. Louis District. He was a man of some prominence. He had been an alderman and mayor of St. Louis, 1850-1853; vice president of the Pacific Railroad; president of the St. Louis and Iron Mountain Railroad.

In 1856 the Free-soil^{2a} Party was becoming stronger and the Whig Party declining. Congressman Kennett, who had been a Whig, made a move to perpetuate the American or "Know-Nothing" Party, the main principle being to give office to Americans only. It had a brief existence and extended no farther than the First Congressional District in St. Louis. Kennett was defeated in 1856 by Francis P. Blair, Jr., a Democrat.

At no period in the history of the state was political rancor so dominant as during this eventful epoch. In the "Centennial History of Missouri," (Vol I, p. 425) Walter B. Stevens says: "There were two brothers on opposing tickets. Robert C. Ewing was a candidate for Governor in 1856 on the ticket nominated at St. Louis by those who had affiliated with the Whig and American Parties. On the anti-Benton Democratic ticket, which was headed by Trusten Polk, Ephraim B. Ewing was the candidate for attorney-general. He made a vigorous campaign, and was elected. Thomas H. Benton headed a third ticket for governor, but the contest was between the Ewing ticket and Polk ticket, the latter winning by a narrow margin. The appearance of two brothers on opposing tickets was a condition without precedent in Missouri's campaigns. While the brothers did not mince matters in their attacks upon each other's party, they did not break fraternal relations. They were sons of Reverend Finis Ewing, famous in the religious life of Missouri in the Thirties, the most distinguished of the Cumberland Presbyterian preachers of that period."

FOOTNOTES, THIRD EPOCH, CHAPTER I

¹ Moses Austin came to Upper Louisiana Territory from Connecticut previous to 1797, when the Spanish government granted him a tract of land, "a league square." As he was a practical miner, he was to erect furnaces for smelting lead, and should build a shot tower. He assisted in laying out Herculaneum. He became prominent in the affairs of St. Louis and was one of the incorporators of the Territorial Bank of St. Louis. He died while organizing a colony to move to Texas. Stephen Austin, his son, took up his father's prospect and led the colony to Texas. The Austin family became prominent in the history of Texas and Austin, the capital, was named in their honor.

^{2a} Claiborne F. Jackson was born in Kentucky on April 4, 1806; located in Howard County, Missouri, in 1825; later moved to Saline County; in 1836 was elected to the General Assembly; delegate to the Constitutional Convention in 1845; elected to the

General Assembly in 1846; in 1848 was a member of the State Senate; elected governor in 1860, served seven months, being deposed by the Convention of July, 1861. He died at Little Rock, Ark., December 6, 1862.

² The American Party advocated a government by native born Americans as against foreign born. It was particularly opposed to the Catholic church. Its manner of organization was through local councils, with its members pledged to the utmost secrecy. It came to be known as the "Know-Nothing" Party; and it is said that when a member was asked as to whether or not he held membership in the organization or agreed to its tenets, the answer was "I know nothing."

^{2a} Free-Soil, the name of a political party in the United States, founded in 1846 to oppose the extension of slavery to the Territories. It nominated Martin VanBuren for President in that year, but he failed to gain any electoral votes. It had a candidate also in 1852, but was absorbed by the Republican party in 1856.—"Winston's Encyclopedia."

CHAPTER II

THE STATE ADMINISTRATION

John C. Edwards, of Cole County, was elected governor in 1844, succeeding Meredith M. Marmaduke.

Edwards was appointed secretary of state in 1830 by Governor Miller. He resigned, and in 1837 was again appointed secretary of state by Governor Boggs. In 1841 he was elected to Congress on the ticket with John Miller, when Missouri was entitled to two congressmen.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR JOHN C. EDWARDS

When elected governor in 1844 Edwards was the youngest man Missouri had ever honored with that office. He was elected as a Benton Democrat over Charles H. Allen by a vote of 36,978 to 31,357. While a member of Congress he became warmly attached to Senator Benton. He was governor during the war with Mexico. During his administration the trouble with Iowa over the boundary question was settled.

The features of Governor Edwards' administration were legislative memorials to the United States Congress for the improvement of the Osage River, building a railway from Hannibal to St. Joseph, organizing the territory west of Missouri, reclaiming the swamp lands of Southeast Missouri, and the enactment of more effective federal laws for the recovery of fugitive slaves. A bill was passed providing for public instruction of the deaf, dumb, and blind, and another for the establishment of an "asylum for the insane." Intellectuals among the proletariat were just beginning to realize that insanity might be treated as a disease, and that the defective, for humanity's sake, at least, would perhaps better be taken out of the class of helpless liabilities.

The General Assembly passed a law reducing the legal rate of interest from ten to six per cent, doing much for the welfare and prosperity of the state.

During the administration of Governor Edwards the minor state offices were filled as follows: James Young,¹ of Lafayette County, was elected lieutenant-governor on the ticket with Governor Edwards; Faulkland M. Martin, of Jefferson County, secretary of state; William Monroe, of Morgan County, state auditor; Benjamin F. Stringfellow, of Chariton County, attorney-general.

Following Monroe's resignation in 1845, James R. McDearmon, of St. Charles County, was appointed state auditor. Presley H. McBride, of Boone County, was appointed supreme judge in 1845, to succeed George Tompkins.

The General Assembly in 1843 passed an act for a convention to remodel the Constitution. At the election of 1844 the proposition was voted upon and passed. Governor Edwards² then directed that an election be held, and in August, 1845, the delegates were elected. The convention was held on November 17, 1845, and remained in session until January 14, 1846. At the August election the people refused to ratify the Constitution by a majority of over 9,000.

GOVERNOR KING'S ADMINISTRATION

Austin A. King,³ of Ray County, was elected governor in 1848, succeeding Governor Edwards. The Whig Party still contested the election for the head of the State ticket, and King was opposed by James S. Rollins,⁴ of Columbia. In speaking of the race, Major Rollins said: "The relations between us were very cordial; both of us had served under General Richard Gentry, in the Black Hawk Indian war. During the campaign, Colonel King and I would ride together on horseback along the same road, stop at the same tavern and often sleep in the same bed. Colonel King was a Methodist, and had the benefit of the Methodist preacher to be found in nearly every town, with whom he made it a point to get acquainted."

In his inaugural address Governor King advocated internal improvements, the building of railroads, turnpike roads, plank roads, and toll bridges. Also the organizing of fire and life insurance companies, the draining of swamp lands, the betterment of farm conditions, and the encouragement of factories.

Regarding certain reforms proposed and the passage of many laws, Governor King quoted that pertinent phrase, "That people is governed best, which is governed least."

In commenting on the various internal improvements, he cautioned the law-makers to avoid the evils into which many states had fallen, "that a sound policy dictates the rejection of any scheme to burthen the state with a heavy debt, or to impair its credit."

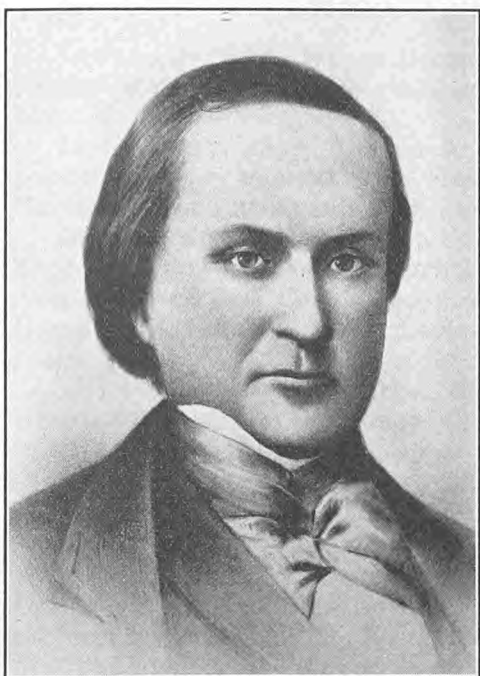
During his term of office the General Assembly passed a fugitive slave law, which the governor disapproved. Governor King was a staunch advocate of higher education. In 1883 he was secretary of the Boone County meeting that established Columbia College.

In 1903 the General Assembly appropriated \$1,500 to erect a monument over the grave of Governor King in the cemetery of Richmond, Missouri.

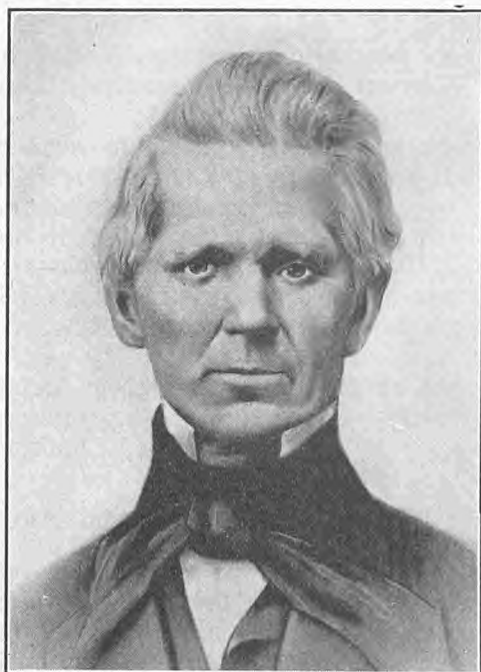
Thomas L. Price,⁵ of Cole County, was elected lieutenant-governor on the ticket with Governor King.

In April, 1849, Ephraim B. Ewing, of Ray County, was appointed secretary of state. Ewing resigned, and in August, 1852, John M. Richardson, of Greene County, succeeded him.

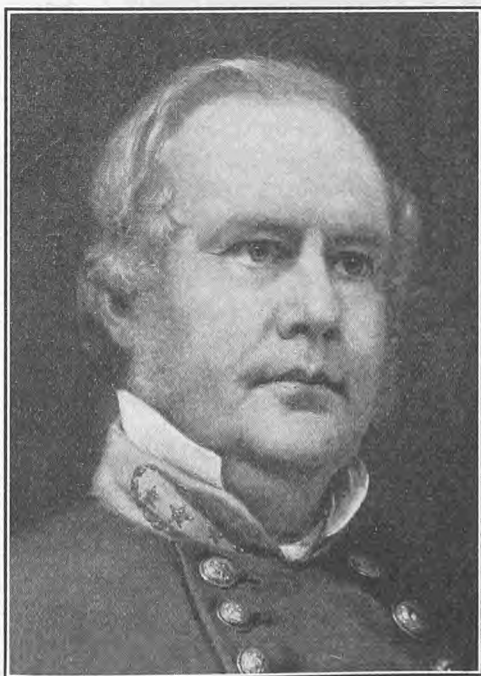
In November, 1851, Alfred W. Morrison, of Howard County, was appointed state treasurer. Morrison held this office until August, 1861, when it was vacated for his failure to file the "Oath of Loyalty."



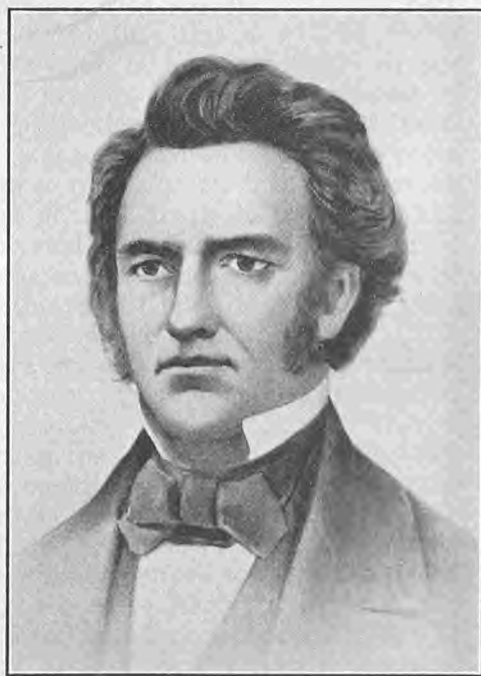
HON. JOHN C. EDWARDS
Eighth Governor



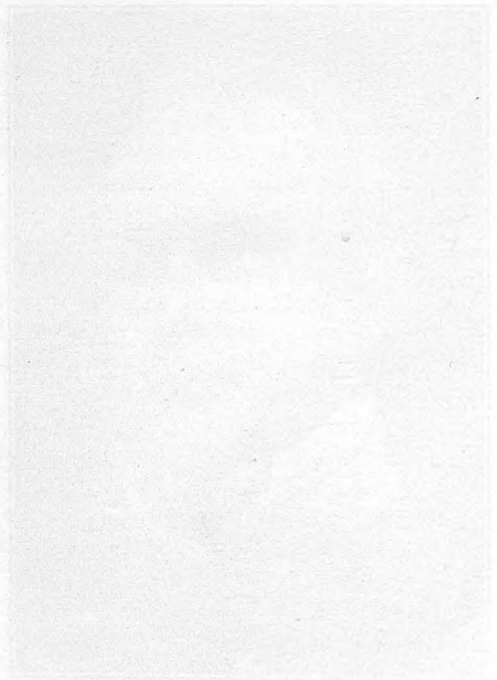
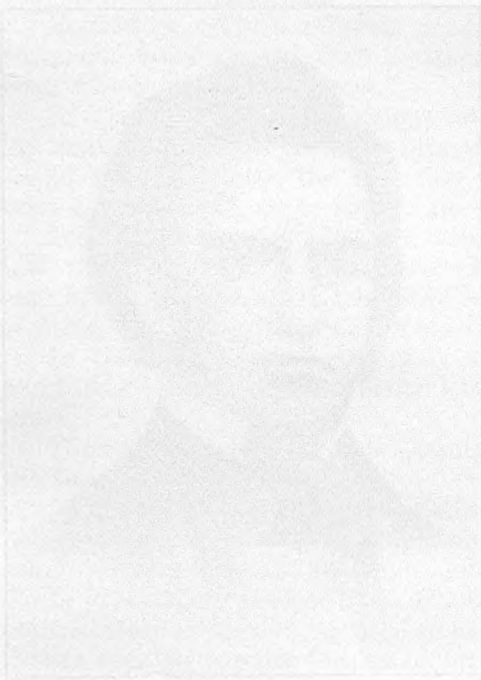
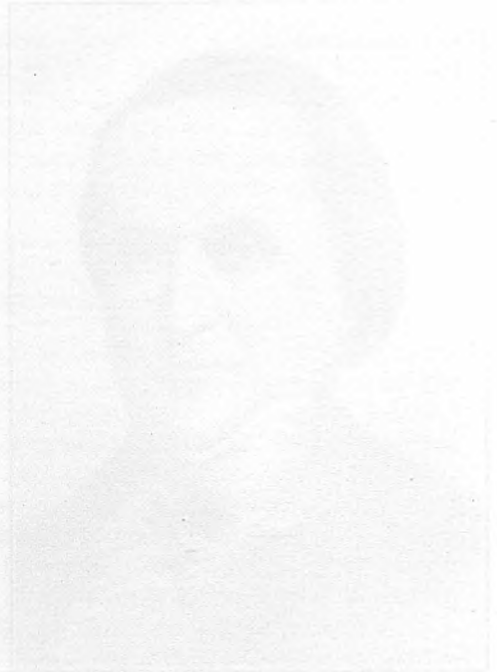
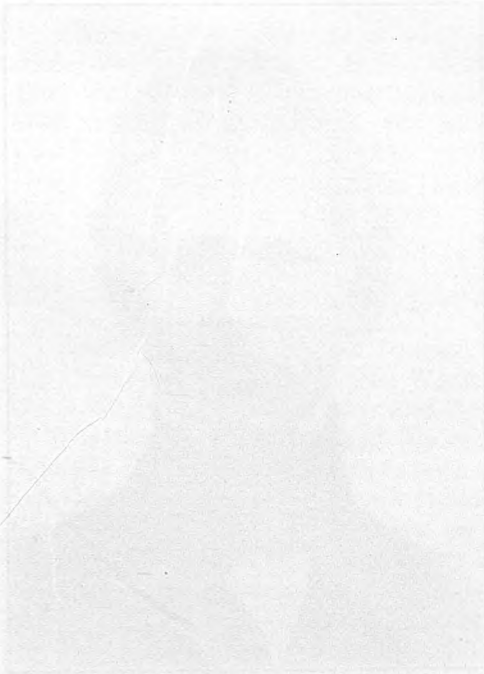
HON. AUSTIN A. KING
Ninth Governor



STERLING PRICE
Tenth Governor
Famous Confederate General



HON. ROBERT M. STEWART
Thirteenth Governor



HON. ROBERT M. STEWART
Minister of Finance

STEWART TRICE
South Governor
Federal Council (General)

In January, 1849, Wilson Brown, of Cape Girardeau County, was appointed state auditor. He resigned, and Abraham Fulkerson succeeded him.

In February, 1849, William A. Robards, of Boone County, was appointed attorney-general. He died in September, 1851, and James B. Gardenhire, of Buchanan County, was appointed in his stead.

In accordance with the Constitution of 1845, three members of the Supreme Court were elected during Governor King's term of office. William Scott, of Cole County, John F. Ryland,⁶ of Lafayette County, and Hamilton R. Gamble,⁷ of St. Louis, were chosen, each for a term of six years.

The election of 1850 marked the defeat of Thomas Hart Benton for United States senator in a campaign characterized as one of the most bitter in all American political history of that time.

STERLING PRICE BECOMES GOVERNOR

Sterling Price, of Chariton County, was elected governor in 1852. In his inaugural address Governor Price recommended many important subjects for the attention of the General Assembly. He said:

"The subject of railroad communications throughout the state, will evidently engross much of the thoughts and attention of our people for some time to come. No one can feel more anxiety than I do for the proper development of the resources of the State, and I will be found always ready and willing to coöperate most cordially with you, in perfecting such projects as may be of undoubted public benefit. But it will be highly necessary to use great caution and discretion in keeping within proper bounds in the organization of a railroad system. We are admonished by the experience of other States that a projection of public works, indiscriminate and reckless in its character, will surely entail widespread pecuniary embarrassment, and give rise to a revulsion in the public mind, manifesting itself at first, in a distrust of, and finally into an open and violent opposition to all schemes of internal improvement whatsoever. I trust that this spirit of public enterprise so prevalent among us, may be wisely directed, and that our action in this behalf may be guided by good counsels, and accomplish great and general public benefit."

Much of Governor Price's administration was devoted to an improvement of the banking laws and state finances. On the subject of salaries, he said:

"Nothing can be more fallacious, than the idea which designing men attempt to propagate, whenever a proposition is made to increase the salaries of public officers, that such a measure is an aristocratic one. The very reverse of this idea is correct. If public officers are not adequately compensated for their services, the rich only can afford to enter the public service. The poor, whose sympathies are more likely to be with the masses of the people, and who, from their associations, are more apt to be cognizant of their wants and interests, are excluded by their necessities. I am no advocate of extravagant salaries. They would result in the same

evils produced by extreme parsimony. There is a just medium, which may be, and should be observed. They should be high enough to afford a fair compensation for the services exacted, and operate as an inducement to those who are best qualified to fill public stations, irrespective of individual fortune."

Dr. Wilson Brown,⁸ of Cape Girardeau County, was elected lieutenant-governor on the ticket with Governor Price.

In 1852 the state officers who had heretofore been appointed, were now elective, and James M. Richardson, of Greene County, was the first secretary of state to be elected; Alfred W. Morrison, state treasurer; Abraham Fulkerson, state auditor; James B. Gardenhire, of Buchanan County, who was holding the office by appointment, was the first attorney-general to be elected—he died February 10, 1862.

James O. Broadhead, James Ellison, Robert M. Stewart, Claiborne F. Jackson, Hancock Jackson, Samuel A. Young, John W. Noell and Thomas Allen were the more prominent of the Democrats elected to the State Senate.

Nathaniel W. Watkins, T. T. Swetman, Abraham Fulkerson, L. C. Stephens, John P. Sebree, John B. Clark, William A. Scott, Robert A. Hatcher, D. C. Garth, Abraham Hunter, Joshua Chilton, were among the prominent Democrats elected to the House, of which Nathaniel W. Watkins was speaker.

In January, 1855, Abiel Leonard,⁹ of Howard County, was appointed supreme judge to succeed Hamilton R. Gamble, resigned.

POLK RESIGNS AS GOVERNOR TO BECOME UNITED STATES SENATOR

Trusten Polk of St. Louis, was elected governor in 1856, succeeding Sterling Price. When the General Assembly met in 1857 Trusten Polk was elected United States Senator, to succeed James S. Green.

Hancock Lee Jackson,¹⁰ of Randolph County, who had been elected lieutenant-governor on the ticket with Trusten Polk, became governor. On October 20, 1857, there was an adjourned session of the General Assembly, to which Governor Jackson sent a message, in part of which he said:

"At your adjournment in March last, I did not anticipate that circumstances would arise which would impose upon me the duty, in obedience to the constitution, of recommending to your consideration other measures for the promotion of the welfare of the State, than those indicated in the last message. The country then seemed to be in a condition of general prosperity. Our currency was apparently sound. Commerce seemed to be active and confined to healthful channels. Manufacturing enterprise was vigorous and confident. Agriculture, the basis of all material prosperity, promised to yield abundant returns; and individual diligence and labor reaped their fair reward. There was nothing to betoken the crisis which has come upon us. Our railroad enterprises, it was hoped, would move steadily on to completion, abundant means having been provided by the liberality of the General Assembly; and our banking institutions, it was

believed, would furnish a sound circulation, adequate to the commercial and industrial wants of our people.

"Nothing could exhibit the fallacies and dangers of a credit and banking system, carried beyond their legitimate limits, more clearly than the present state of affairs, compared with the confident anticipations indulged in by every class of the community, up to the very moment when the storm burst upon the country. Although we have experienced similar things at various periods during our existence as a confederacy, we were, in this instance, as we ever have been, prone to forget the calamities of the past, and to hope against hope for the future. The results are as natural and necessary as the results of known physical causes, depending upon the operations of immutable laws. There are limits within which the banking system may not only be safe, but beneficial; and until we provide the appropriate means for confining them within these limits, we may expect periodical convulsions, similar to the one under which we are now suffering. They would not be so lamentable, if the ruin arising from them was visited only upon those whose misconduct has produced them; but, unfortunately, they generally escape, and shift the burthen upon the shoulders of the producing and laboring classes.

"To us, the most disastrous consequence produced, has been the check given to our railroad system, and the evident deterioration of the credit of the State. Our prospects are so dependent upon these, that the present condition of things, in my opinion, imposes upon us serious and important duties. The first of these is, to take such judicious and decisive measures as will secure, beyond all question, the honor and credit of the State; the second, to devise such amendments to our railroad system as will enable the companies to secure what has been done, and ultimately to complete these important works; and the third is, to place such additional guards upon the banking system as will confine it within legitimate limits, and tend to expel from our borders all depreciated paper."

During the term of Governor Hancock Jackson there was no change in the other state officers.

STEWART ELECTED GOVERNOR AT A SPECIAL ELECTION

Robert M. Stewart,¹¹ of Buchanan County, was elected governor at the special election in August, 1857, to fill out the term of Trusten Polk, elected in February to the United States Senate. Stewart was a very popular and public spirited citizen, always promoting something of importance for the community where he chose to cast his fortunes. St. Joseph and Buchanan County owe much to his indomitable spirit and progressiveness.

Governor Stewart led the way for public improvements, and was a strong advocate of public utilities. His last appearance in public was to support the bond election at which St. Joseph voted \$500,000 aid to build the bridge over the Missouri River.

He was uncompromisingly for the Union, and during the last part of his term as governor, which expired when the Civil war was about to break after the election of President Lincoln, he did much to calm the public mind on the question which was disturbing the country.

At the special election Stewart was opposed by James S. Rollins, the Whig candidate, and it was not until the returns from the southwest part of the state were received that it was certain Stewart was elected.

In 1856 Benjamin F. Massey, of Jasper County, was elected secretary of state on the ticket with Governor Polk. He was reelected in 1860, but the office was vacated by the ordinance of 1861. The other state officials elected, were: Ephraim B. Ewing¹² as attorney-general, who resigned in 1858, and J. Proctor Knott,¹³ of Scotland County, was appointed to succeed him. At the election in August, 1857, William B. Napton and William Scott were reelected to the Supreme Court, serving until 1861; both offices vacated, Judges Napton and Scott refusing to take the Test Oath.

Governor Stewart, in his valedictory message said:

"As matters are at present, Missouri will stand to her lot, and hold the Union so long as it is worth an effort to preserve it. So long as there is hope of success she will seek for justice within the Union. She cannot be frightened from her propriety by the past unfriendly legislation of the North, nor dragooned into secession by the restrictive legislation of the extreme South * * * She will rather take the high position of armed neutrality. She is, at present, able to take care of herself, and will be neither forced nor flattered, driven or coaxed, into a course of action that must end in her own destruction. * * * The people of Missouri will choose this deliberate, conservative course, both on account of the blessings they have derived from the Union, and the untold and imagined evils that will come with its dissolution. * * * I would here, in my last public official act as Governor of Missouri, record my solemn protest against unwise and hasty action, and my unalterable devotion to the Union, so long as it can be made the protector of equal rights."

CLAIBORNE F. JACKSON ELECTED GOVERNOR

Claiborne F. Jackson, of Saline County, was elected governor in 1860, to succeed Robert M. Stewart. He took office in a time of the greatest crisis in the history of the state.

"The state election" says Shoemaker in "Missouri, The Mother of States" (Vol. II, pp. 44-46) "was held in Missouri, in August, 1860; the presidential election did not occur until November. Naturally, however, the issues of the national contest greatly influenced political events in Missouri. Four candidates for governor were before the people in the election of August, 1860. They represented, or were regarded by the voters as representing, the four different major party movements. As a matter of fact, the contest in Missouri assumed a three-cornered aspect, since the Republican ticket was almost a negligible quantity except in the St. Louis district. The leading and successful candidate was Claiborne F. Jackson, a self-avowed Douglas Democrat through pressure of Democratic leaders, newspapers, and public opinion. Jackson, a southerner by birth and tradition, was fundamentally a Breckinridge Democrat, but because of pressure brought to bear upon him by the *Missouri Republican*, the leading Demo-

cratic newspaper in the state, which had taken an unqualified stand for the Douglas ticket, Jackson was forced to take the more conservative position and accordingly declared himself a Douglas Democrat. From early manhood Jackson had been in the center of political life in Missouri. Born in Kentucky April 4, 1806, of Virginia parents, he had come to Howard County in 1825 before he was twenty. He later moved to Saline County, and from 1836, when that county sent him to the lower house of the General Assembly, he was active in the political affairs of the State. He was one of the delegates from Howard County to the Constitutional Convention of 1845 and was one of its representatives in the Legislature in 1846. In his early career an ardent Benton Democrat, he later came to differ from the veteran senator on the issue of slavery in the territories and he became a member of the anti-Benton Democratic faction known as the 'Central Clique.' As a member of the State Senate in 1848-49, he introduced the famous Jackson Resolutions—that series of radical proslavery instructions to Missouri's congressmen and senators whose passage caused a serious breach in the Democratic party in Missouri and gave rise to the controversy which defeated Benton in 1850-51 for the United States Senate. Elected to the governorship in 1860, he took the executive chair at a time when Missouri was facing the gravest crisis in her history. He served as governor of the state but seven months, being deposed by the State Convention in July, 1861.

"An analysis of the election return reveals the fact that of the 158,579 votes cast for governor, Claiborne F. Jackson, the Douglas Democratic candidate, received 74,446 votes, or 47 per cent of the total vote. Sample Orr, the Constitutional Union candidate, was second in strength, with a vote of 66,583, or 42 per cent. Hancock Jackson, the Breckinridge Democratic nominee, polled 11,415 votes, or 7.2 per cent; and Gardenhire, the Republican candidate, received but 6,135 votes, or 3.8 per cent. Here was a very definite showing of Missouri's sentiment for conservative measures. The nominees of the two radical parties, the Breckinridge Democratic and the Republican, together polled only 11 per cent of Missouri's total vote. Jackson and Orr, the representatives of the two conservative parties, polled 89 per cent of the total vote cast. C. F. Jackson's majority over Orr was 7,863, a surprisingly small figure, in view of Jackson's long prominence in Missouri politics and Orr's comparative obscurity, coupled with the fact that he was the nominee of a new party."

Thomas C. Reynolds,¹⁴ of St. Louis, was elected lieutenant-governor in 1860 on the ticket with Governor Jackson. The office was vacated by the ordinance of July 31, 1861. Benjamin F. Massey, of Jasper County, who had been elected in 1856 on the ticket with Governor Trusten Polk, was reelected secretary of state. This office was also vacated by constitutional ordinance of 1861 and Mordecai Oliver of Buchanan County, was appointed to succeed Massey. Alfred M. Morrison, of Howard County, was in 1852, the first to be elected to the office of state treasurer. He was reelected in 1856, and again in 1860. The office was vacated by his failure to take the Test Oath.¹⁵ W. S. Morley, of New Madrid County, was elected state auditor in 1860. J. Proctor Knott, of Scotland County, who had been appointed attorney-general in 1858 by Governor Stewart, was

elected attorney-general in 1860. However, this office was also vacated by the Ordinance in 1861. Ephraim B. Ewing, of Ray County, was elected to the Supreme Court in 1859, but the office was also vacated by the ordinance of 1861.

The General Assembly elected in August, 1860, convened on December 31, 1860. It was composed of members of four political parties. Of the 33 members of the Senate, 15 were Breckinridge¹⁶ Democrats, 10 Douglas Democrats,¹⁷ 7 Conservative Unionists, and one Republican. Of the 132 members in the House there were 47 Breckinridge Democrats, 36 Douglas Democrats, 37 Conservative Unionists and 12 Republicans.

The General Assembly acceded to Governor Jackson's request for calling a convention. On January 6, 1861, the Committee on Federal Relations was instructed to draft a bill for the purpose of ascertaining "the existing relations between the government of the United States, the people and the government of the different states, and the government and the people of Missouri." The bill passed the House and was signed by Governor Jackson on January 21.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1861

On February 28, the convention met at Jefferson City. After a two days' session it adjourned to meet in St. Louis on March 4. On March 9, the committee on Federal Relations reported the following: "First, that 'at present there is no adequate cause to impel Missouri to dissolve her connection with the Federal Union,' and that she would labor for an adjustment of the existing differences that would secure the peace and rights of all the states; second, that the people of Missouri were 'devotedly attached to the institutions of our country' and desired an amicable settlement in order that the Union might be preserved."

The convention was in session seventy-eight days. The constitution was submitted to vote on the 6th of June. The total number of votes cast was 85,878, not much more than one-half of those polled in 1860. The majority for the constitution was only 1,862. The Test Oath provisions, intended to ostracise for all time not only active supporters of the Confederacy, but all who were in sympathy with the South, were imposed by less than 45,000 voters.

In reference to the "Test Oath" in the Drake Law, United States Senator George Graham Vest in later years described the situation in Missouri at that time most vividly:

"The Girondists, under the leadership of Hamilton R. Gamble, had disappeared, and the Jacobins, under the leadership of Charles D. Drake, were in possession of the state. The Drake constitution had been enacted—the most drastic, the most cruel, the most outrageous enactment ever known in a civilized country. No man could practice law, teach school, preach the Gospel, act as trustee, hold any office of honor, trust or profit or vote at any election, unless he swore he had never sympathized with the cause of the Confederacy or any person fighting for it. The father who had given a drink of water or a crust of bread to his son who be-

longed to the Confederate forces was ostracised and put under the ban of law. Blair came back and went to the polls, dressed in his major general's uniform, and demanded the right to vote without taking the oath. It was denied, and he immediately commenced suit against the election officials. Pending the suit, a Catholic priest named Cummings, who had instituted a similar proceeding, had his case adjudicated by the Supreme Court, and it was decided that the Drake constitution violated that of the United States and was a bill of attainder and *ex-post-facto* law. General Francis P. Blair, not satisfied, attacked the Drake party throughout the commonwealth, and canvassed it from one end to the other, denouncing the men who were perpetuating these iniquities upon the people of the state."

FOOTNOTES, THIRD EPOCH, CHAPTER II

¹ James Young was born May 11, 1800, in Hawkins County, Tenn.; moved to Missouri in 1832, and located in Lafayette County; in 1836 he was elected to the General Assembly, and in 1840 to the State Senate. He died January 9, 1868.

² Anything pertaining to the early governors of Missouri is of absorbing interest in a history of the Missouri Democracy. Governor Edwards was one of the most popular and accomplished executives who occupied this office in the early days of the state's history. His son, Paul R. Edwards, of San Francisco, California, gives some interesting facts in the history of his father. He writes:

"You see my father was one of the California Argonauts, having crossed the plains with his own ox teams in 1849, immediately after his term as Governor. He was middle-aged when he married my mother, who was eighteen. He died while I was still a youth. The sum of what I can remember from talks with him, is this:

"He crossed the plains in safety. Somewhere in that expanse, he had to lighten one of his wagons and one thing abandoned was a chest of books, among them law-books, which he cached.

"At this time one of the liveliest centers in California was Stockton, located at the head of a navigable channel or slough that connected with the San Joaquin River, up which steamers plied from San Francisco. Stockton was the bustling supply depot of the so-called Southern Mines, as distinguished from those in the Sacramento section to the north. These diggings were the heart of the Bret Harte country and locale of most of his stories.

"My father never resumed the law after he came to California, nor would he accept political office. Instead he opened a large merchandising store in Stockton. While the mines were producing he prospered, but he was always kind-hearted and liberal and gave credit freely, more so as the mines began to fail and people came to be in need. He said with pride that he had never sued a man for a bill. I said he never accepted office, but he did accept one. As a matter of civic duty he became the second mayor of Stockton, the city having its own troubles because of the lessening of the mining boom. Bridges were needed across channels made by mountain streams emptying into the slough. He advanced the money for these from his own funds, repayment to be made when the city had the cash. This never happened. He quit business and took up farming and stock raising, having with that instinct of the Kentuckians and Missourians of those days, acquired some land, a considerable farm just out of Stockton.

"Known for his exact honesty and just principles my father was much sought in his merchant days to act as umpire in disputes and to settle various affairs. I get this from some reminiscences I saw published some time ago in a Stockton paper. Gold miners would leave their buckskin bags of the metal in his safe without receipt or weighing.

"My mother was a Creole, born in New Orleans, and it was because Capt. Charles M. Weber, a young German who had served as an officer in the Mexican war, fight-

ing with the United States forces, obtained a land grant and on it founded the city of Stockton, that she happened to come to California. Her father was Etienne Richard, a notary of New Orleans, high in Masonry, and her mother was a strong-minded German woman, native of Alsace-Lorraine. Weber, as a German immigrant, had been given work by her father and provided with a home by him. My grandfather died shortly before the California gold discovery and when the excitement was at its highest my grandmother received a letter from Captain Weber, advising her to sell everything and come to the new El Dorado. She sacrificed furniture, plate, everything, as so many did in those days, took my mother from a girls' seminary and boarded a ship for the Isthmus. My mother at sixteen crossed the Isthmus of Panama, largely on mule back. They took steamer for San Francisco from this side and then to Stockton. At Panama, while waiting months for a steamer my grandmother nursed cholera cases without pay.

"In Missouri histories I have read, I have noted that my father's native state is given as Tennessee, but I am sure he told me when I was about sixteen and asking something about his life,—he never voluntarily talked about himself—that he was born in Mt. Sterling, Vernon County, Kentucky. Maybe there isn't such an address, but that seems to cling in my memory. My Aunt Sarah Graves, Miss Lily Graves' mother, was born in Tennessee, I believe.

"I do not know at what age my father went to Missouri. I think he told me that as a young man he was a deputy city attorney in St. Louis. This must have been in the '30s. He told me he saw the site of Chicago when there were just a few buildings there and remarked that we would all have plenty of money if he had bought a lot there and held it.

"I have heard him say that he attended the Black Academy. I know he was founded in Latin and Greek, having a classical education. I can remember Plutarch's lives and such books among his library. I could never ask him a question in history, or regarding the meaning of a word or anything that I wanted to know, that he couldn't answer readily, so I suppose that whatever school he attended was a pretty good one.

"Remember hearing him mention Senator Benton. I got the impression they were closely associated. Think he told me something once about a new military office that was to be created—commander of all the United States forces—and Senator Benton was to resign and receive this appointment and my father was to be named United States Senator in his place by the Legislature. I may have this all wrong. It was while he was Governor, if at all.

"I have heard he was a capable dancer. Dressing in all the fashion of the day he attended social functions with gusto, though always regarded as a man of much dignity. He was one of the social beaux in Stockton, meeting my mother at one of the various functions of the time.

"He was always a church man. During his later years he joined the Christian church, my mother, though formerly an Episcopalian, going with him into that church.

"Miss Lilian Graves, 168 Parsons Avenue, Webster Groves, daughter of my father's sister, Mrs. Sarah C. Graves, and teacher of English in Mary Institute, can tell you more, doubtless, than I can. She may have papers or letters of her mother that will be of use. Edward Livingston Edwards, a brother, was circuit judge in the district where Jefferson City is located, and Patrick Edwards, another brother, was circuit judge in the Neosho territory. Philip Graves, Miss Graves' nephew, is city attorney of Neosho. Another member of the family is my cousin, Mrs. James M. Carpenter, Jr., St. Louis. Her brother is E. Percy Noel, former foreign correspondent for the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* service and now in France. Mrs. Addie Biggers, a cousin, whose husband was formerly an executive of the Simmons Hardware Company, is with Miss Graves. George Edwards, grandson of Uncle Livingston, as we called the Jefferson City judge, is a practicing attorney in Kansas City. Col. W. E. Stringfellow, attorney, St. Joseph, is a cousin.

"Ten children were born to my father and mother. Two boys died, leaving eight of us alive, six men and two daughters. My sister, Mrs. Sarah S. Green, living in Boise, Idaho, is an artist and designer of the Idaho State seal, which has its honored place in the dictionary.

"I am sorry this jumble has attained such length, for I realize that for your purpose there is not a great deal to be gleaned from it, and you have to read much to get little. But you know when we get started writing about our own we are likely to be verbose, so pardon me."

³ Austin Augustus King, a representative from Missouri; born in Sullivan County, Tennessee, September 21, 1802; attended the public schools; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1822, and commenced practice in Jackson, Tennessee; moved to Columbia, Missouri, in 1830, and continued the practice of law; served as a colonel in the Black Hawk War; member of the State House of Representatives in 1834 and 1836; moved to Richmond, Missouri, in 1837, having been appointed circuit judge of the fifth circuit, and served until 1848; Governor of Missouri 1848-1853; resumed the practice of law in Richmond, Missouri; delegate to the Democratic National Conventions at Charleston and at Baltimore in 1860; again circuit judge from 1862 until 1863, when he resigned; elected as a Union Democrat to the Thirty-eighth Congress (March 4, 1863-March 3, 1865); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1864 to the Thirty-ninth Congress; resumed the practice of law; died in St. Louis, Missouri, April 22, 1870.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁴ James S. Rollins was born at Richmond, Madison County, Kentucky, April 19, 1812; in 1829 he moved from Madison County, Kentucky, to Thralls Prairie, in Boone County, Missouri; served as volunteer in the Missouri troops under Colonel Gentry during the Black Hawk war, in 1832; in 1836 he became one of the editors of the *Columbia Patriot*, a whig paper; in 1838 he represented Boone County in the General Assembly; he drafted the bill passed in February, 1839, fixing the site of the State University; in 1840 he was reelected to the General Assembly; in 1844 he was a delegate to the National Whig Convention, at Baltimore; in 1846 he was elected to the State Senate; in 1848 he was nominated by the Whigs for Governor of Missouri, and in the General Assembly received the complimentary vote of the Whigs for United States Senator; in 1850 he was appointed by President Fillmore a member of the Board of Examiners to West Point Military Academy; in 1852 he was an elector on the Whig presidential ticket. He died near Columbia, Missouri, January 9, 1888.

⁵ Thomas L. Price was born near Danville, Va., on January 19, 1809; moved to Missouri in 1831 and settled in Jefferson City; first mayor of Jefferson City, 1839-1842; elected lieutenant-governor in 1848; member of the General Assembly 1860-1862; elected as a Democrat to Congress in 1860, to fill the vacancy caused by the expulsion of John W. Reid; delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Chicago in 1864, and at New York City in 1868. He died in Jefferson City, July 15, 1870.

⁶ John F. Ryland was born in the County of King and Queen, Va., November 2, 1797; came to Missouri in 1820 and located in Franklin, Howard County; in 1832 appointed circuit judge by Governor Dunklin; in 1849 appointed supreme judge by Governor King; in 1851 elected supreme judge for a term of six years; died September 10, 1873.

⁷ Hamilton Rowan Gamble was born in Winchester, Va., November 29, 1798; came to Missouri in 1818; prosecuting attorney of Howard County; secretary of state in 1824; practiced law in St. Louis and was associated with such men as Benton, Bates, Barton and Geyer; a conservative Union man of much force; appointed governor in 1861 by the Convention; died in St. Louis, January 31, 1864.

⁸ Wilson Brown was a native of Maryland, a physician by profession, and at an early day settled in Cape Girardeau County; married into the Gibony family, became one of the most potential and forceful politicians in the state, and was a zealous anti-Benton man; state auditor in 1849. He died August 27, 1855.

⁹ Abiel Leonard was born May 16, 1797, at Windsor, Vermont; came to Missouri about 1819, and finally located at Franklin, Howard County; in 1824 fought a duel with Thomas Berry, in which Berry was killed; in 1855 was appointed to succeed Hamilton R. Gamble on the Supreme Bench. He died in 1863.

¹⁰ Hancock Lee Jackson was born in Madison County, Kentucky, May 12, 1796; came to Missouri in 1821, and settled in Howard County; on the organization of Randolph County he became the first sheriff; in 1831 he was a member of the com-

mission that located the seat of justice of Monroe County; was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1845; in 1856 was elected to the State Senate; in 1860 was the Breckinridge candidate for governor, at which time his cousin, Claiborne F. Jackson, a Douglas Democrat, was elected; under President Buchanan he held the office of United States Marshal for the Western District of Missouri. He died at Salem, Oregon, March 19, 1876.

¹¹ Robert M. Stewart was born in Truxton, Courtland County, New York, on March 12, 1815; in 1838 he was in Louisville practicing law and doing newspaper work; in 1838 he was in St. Charles, Missouri, and finally located in St. Joseph; in 1845 he was a member of the State Constitutional Convention; in 1846 he was elected to the State Senate; he was the father of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railway enterprise. He died September 21, 1874.

¹² Ephraim B. Ewing was born in Todd County, Kentucky, in 1819; his parents came to Missouri in 1820; he began the practice of law in 1851; in 1848 he was appointed secretary of state; in 1856 he was appointed attorney-general; in 1859 he was appointed to the Supreme Court, and in 1860 the place was vacated by the convention; in 1872 he was elected Supreme Judge. He died in June, 1873.

¹³ James Proctor Knott was born in Raywick, Kentucky, August 29, 1830; moved to Memphis, Missouri, in 1850; admitted to the bar in 1851; member of the General Assembly in 1857; returned to Kentucky in 1863; member of Congress from Kentucky, 1867 to 1871; again a member of Congress from 1875 to 1883; Governor of Kentucky, 1883 to 1887; died at Lebanon, Kentucky, January 18, 1911.

¹⁴ Thomas C. Reynolds located in St. Louis in 1846, coming from South Carolina; in 1853 he was appointed United States district attorney; in 1861 he went South with Governor Jackson, and when Jackson died, was "Governor of Missouri without a Capitol;" he went with Shelby to Mexico. He died by suicide in St. Louis, March 30, 1887.

¹⁵ When the provisions of the Test Oath were published the people were informed of its odious provisions. It provided that at any election held by the people under this constitution, or in pursuance of any law of this state, or under any ordinance or by-law of any municipal corporation, no person shall be deemed a qualified voter, who has ever been in armed hostility to the United States, or to the lawful authorities thereof, or to the government of this state, or has ever given aid, comfort, countenance, or support to persons engaged in any such hostility; or has ever in any manner adhered to the enemies, foreign or domestic, of the United States, either by contributing to them, or by unlawfully sending within their lines, money, goods, letter, or information; or has ever disloyally held communication with such enemies; or has ever advised or aided any person to enter the service of such enemies; or has ever, by act or word, manifested his adherence to the cause of such enemies, or his desire for their triumph over the arms of the United States, or his sympathy with those engaged in exciting or carrying on rebellion against the United States; or has ever, except under overpowering compulsion, submitted to the authority, or been in the service of the so-called "Confederate States of America," or has left this state and gone within the lines of the armies of the so-called "Confederate States of America," with the purpose of adhering to said states or armies; or has ever been a member of, or connected with, any order, society, or organization, inimical to the government of the United States, or to the government of this state; or has ever been engaged in guerilla warfare against loyal inhabitants of the United States, or in that description of marauding commonly known as "bushwhacking"; or has ever knowingly and willingly harbored, aided, or countenanced, any person so engaged; or has ever come into or left this state for the purpose of avoiding enrollment for a draft into the military service of the United States; or has ever, with a view to avoid enrollment in the militia of this state, or to escape the performance of duty therein, or for any other purpose, enrolled himself, or authorized himself to be enrolled, by or before any officer, as disloyal, or as a Southern sympathizer, or in any other terms indicating his disaffection to the government of the United States in its contest with rebellion, or his sympathy with those engaged in such rebellion; or, having ever voted at any election by the people of this state, or in any other of the United States, or in any of their territories, or under the United States,

shall thereafter have sought, or received, under claim of alienage, the protection of any foreign government, through any consul or other officer thereof, in order to secure exemption from military duty in the militia of this state, or in the army of the United States; nor shall any such person be capable of holding, in this state, any office of honor, trust, or profit, under its authority; or of being an officer, councilman, director, trustee, or other manager of any corporation, public or private now existing or hereafter established by its authority; or of acting as a professor or teacher in any educational institution, or in any common or other school; or of holding any real estate, or other property, in trust for the use of any church, religious society, or congregation. But the foregoing provisions in relation to acts done against the United States shall not apply to any person not a citizen thereof, who shall have committed such acts while in the service of some foreign country at war with the United States, and who has, since such acts, been naturalized, or may hereafter be naturalized, under the laws of the United States, and the oath of loyalty hereinafter prescribed, when taken by such person, shall be considered as taken in such sense.

¹⁶ John Cabell Breckinridge, a representative and a senator from Kentucky, and a vice president of the United States, born near Lexington, Kentucky, January 21, 1821. He was elected to Congress by the Democratic party in 1851 and 1853, and in 1856 was elected vice president with James Buchanan as President. He was nominated for President in 1860 by the Southern Democrats and received seventy-two electoral votes. Subsequently elected to the Senate, he took his seat in March, 1861, but went South in September and took arms as a brigadier-general in the Confederate Army. In 1865 he was made Confederate secretary of war. After the surrender of Lee he went to Europe, but returned in 1868. He died in Lexington, Kentucky, May 17, 1875.—“Biographical Directory of the American Congress.”

¹⁷ Stephen Arnold Douglas, a representative and a senator from Illinois; born in Brandon, Vermont, April 23, 1813; completed preparatory studies in Brandon Academy; learned the cabinetmaker's trade; moved to a farm near Clifton Springs, New York; entered Canandaigua Academy in 1832 and studied law; in 1833 moved to Cleveland, Ohio, where he was sick for four months; he then visited several western cities, finally settling in Winchester, Illinois, where he taught school and resumed the study of law; was admitted to the bar in 1834 and commenced practice in Jacksonville, Morgan County, Ill.; elected state's attorney for the Morgan circuit in 1835; member of the State House of Representatives in 1836 and 1837; register of the land office at Springfield in 1837; unsuccessful Democratic candidate for election in 1838 to the Twenty-sixth Congress; appointed secretary of state of Illinois during the session of the Legislature 1940-41, and at the same session was elected one of the judges of the State Supreme Court; elected as a Democrat to the Twenty-eighth, Twenty-ninth and Thirtieth Congresses, and served from March 4, 1843, until his resignation on March 3, 1847, at the close of the Twenty-ninth Congress, having been elected senator; elected to the United States Senate in 1847; reelected in 1853 as a Popular Sovereignty Democrat, and again in 1859, defeating Abraham Lincoln, and served from March 4, 1847, until his death; unsuccessful candidate for the nomination for President on the Democratic ticket in 1852 and 1856; nominated for President by the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore in 1860 and received twelve electoral votes for President of the United States; died in Chicago, Illinois, June 3, 1861.—“Biographical Directory of the American Congress.”

CHAPTER III

MISSOURI'S REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS

IN THE SENATE

Continuing with outstanding representation, Missouri's congressional delegation in the American Congress during this epoch ranked high in character and ability. No state could dare boast of greater statesmen than were those men whom Missouri had so honored and whose public services reflected credit to the state which had honored them.

In 1844 David R. Atchison, who had been appointed by Governor Reynolds to the United States Senate in 1843 to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Lewis F. Linn, was elected by the General Assembly to fill out the term expiring in 1848. At the same session Thomas H. Benton was reelected for his fifth successive term to expire in 1850. David R. Atchison's services in the Senate were of a character that gave him great distinction and a high standing in the opinions of the members of that body. He was one of the great men who have represented Missouri in Congress, and with great popularity in the state. William F. Switzler described him as a man of imposing presence, six feet, two inches high. He was the soul of honor, a fine conversationalist, and possessed a great memory. As a man he was plain, jovial and simple in his tastes. He was a Democrat by nature and education, with profound sympathies for what Lincoln called "The common people." He was not an orator but regarded language as most ornamental when ornamented the least. He was noted as being one of the distinguished Missourians who started the movement that acquired the "Platte Purchase."

During Senator Atchison's second term his advocacy of governmental policies were in direct conflict with those advocated by Senator Benton. Naturally, a bitter feeling was engendered and Atchison's reelection in 1849 was bitterly but unsuccessfully opposed by Benton. Benton failed to be reelected in 1850 and Atchison was a victim of the deadlock in 1855. Switzler, in his "History of Missouri," says:

"The eighteenth general assembly, William Newland (Whig), of Ralls, speaker; Sterling Price (Dem.), of Chariton, governor, met December 25, 1854. Atchison's term expired on the 4th of March following, and he was a candidate for reelection. Thomas H. Benton and A. W. Doniphan (Whig) were also nominated. Many ballotings were held, generally resulting as follows: Atchison, 56; Doniphan, 59; Benton, 40. On the twenty-fifth ballot Atchison was withdrawn and William Scott, judge of the Supreme Court, was substituted. No election. Finally Scott was withdrawn and Governor Sterling Price nominated. Still no election.

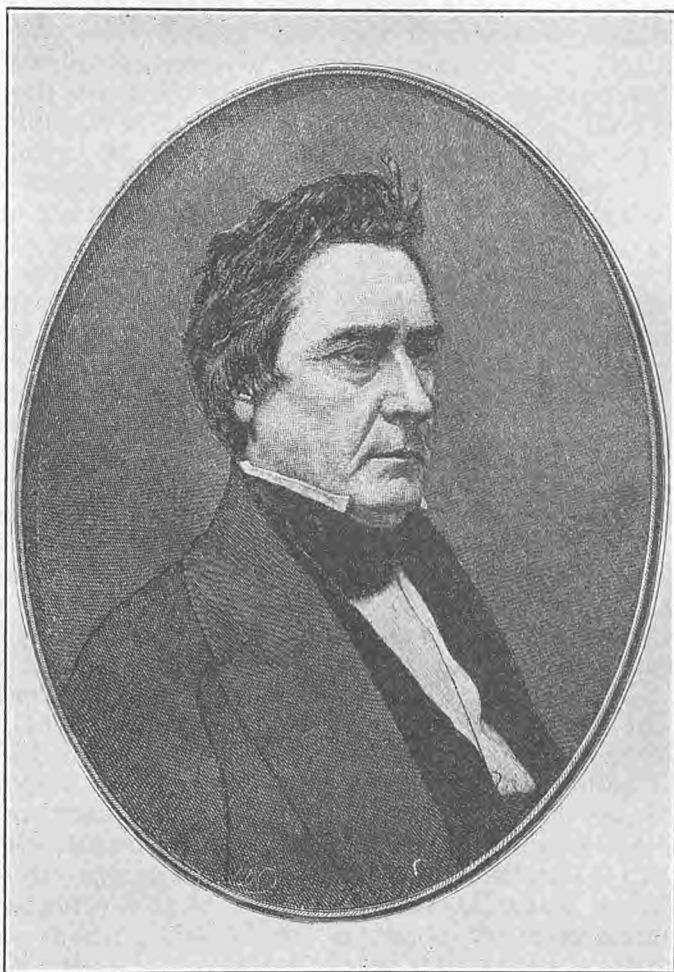
Whereupon he was withdrawn and Atchison again entered the race. After forty-one unsuccessful ballots the joint session, by a vote of 88 to 63, adjourned until convened by concurrent resolution of the two houses. No other joint meeting was held during that session, for on March 5 the Legislature adjourned till the first Monday of November ensuing. It convened on that day, and on December 13 adjourned sine die, without even attempting to select a senator. At the next session, commencing December 29, 1856, James S. Green¹ (anti-Benton Democrat) was elected General Atchison's successor for the short term, and Trusten Polk² anti-Benton (then governor), for the long term, to succeed Senator Geyer³ (Whig). This closed Atchison's senatorial service, and he retired to his magnificent estate of 1,700 acres, in Clinton County, beloved by his neighbors and highly esteemed by all his countrymen, a typical old Kentucky gentleman."

WAS DAVID RICE ATCHISON REALLY PRESIDENT?

In "A study in American Politics," by Theodore C. Atchison, in the *Missouri Historical Review* of July, 1930, there are given a number of reasons to prove that Senator David Rice Atchison was President of the United States until after the formal inauguration of President Taylor, March 5, 1849. He says, in part:

"During the senatorial career, beginning, as we have seen, on the 4th day of December, 1843, and ending March 3rd, 1855, Atchison was sixteen times chosen president *pro tempore* of the Senate. Through all the years of the Republic, from its organization to this time, no senator of the United States has received from his colleagues more signal evidence of their confidence and trust than his repeated designation as president *pro tempore* of the Senate conferred upon Senator Atchison, and the very great responsibility which election to that position bestowed upon him can be better appreciated when it is recalled that under the act of Congress, approved March 1, 1792, establishing the order of the Presidential succession, it was provided, 'That in case of removal, death, resignation or inability both of the President and the Vice President of the United States, the President of the Senate for the time being shall act as President of the United States until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.'

"Excepting the election held on August 8th, 1846, which was Senator Atchison's first election as president *pro tempore* of the Senate, and that held on January 11th, 1847, he was sixteen times unanimously chosen president *pro tempore* of the Senate. At the election of August 8th, 1846, though he had been a member of the Senate less than three years, after a spirited contest, in which the names of several senators were considered by secret ballot, Senator Atchison was on the 8th ballot elected. The journal of the Senate of that day records that Senator Atchison was escorted to the chair by Senators John C. Calhoun and Lewis Cass. In the election held January 11th, 1847, upon which occasion Daniel Webster declared that it was 'a matter of very great importance to the people that there should



HON. DAVID R. ATCHISON

Senator from Missouri, 1843-1855. Served as President of the United States March 3-5, 1849. While acting as a member of the United States Senate he served as President Pro Tem of that body. The inauguration day of Zachary Taylor as President fell on Sunday, March 4, 1849, and President Polk's term of office having expired March 3, 1849, Senator Atchison, by virtue of his office was technically President of the United States until after the formal inauguration of President Taylor on March 5, 1849

always be such an officer as President of the Senate *pro tempore* in order that the presidential succession should be assured, in a secret ballot that followed, forty-eight Senators being present and voting, including Senator Atchison, forty-seven ballots were cast for Senator Atchison, and one ballot for Senator Sturgeon, of Pennsylvania.

"On March 3rd, 1847, with the second session of the 29th Congress to expire at midnight of that day, the Vice President of the United States, the Hon. George M. Dallas, vacated the chair so that a president *pro tempore* of the Senate might be elected, to serve in the emergency provided for in the act of Congress establishing the presidential succession, from the adjournment of the Senate that day until the convening of the thirtieth Congress, December 6th, 1847; and upon motion of Daniel Webster, Senator Atchison was again unanimously chosen president *pro tempore* of the Senate. As Daniel Webster was then held in veneration scarcely less than succeeding generations have held him, it was, no doubt, very gratifying to Senator Atchison to be nominated and elected upon the motion of that great statesman.

"Again, in pursuance of the purpose to secure the presidential succession, shortly before the first session of the thirtieth Congress was adjourned *sine die*, on August 14th, 1848, Senator Atchison was again unanimously elected president *pro tempore* of the Senate, and continued to hold that office until the re-assembling of Congress on the 4th day of December, 1848, upon which date, as it is recorded in the journal of the Senate, he 'resumed the Chair as President of the Senate *pro tempore*; and by virtue of his office, the vice president being absent, opened the Senate on that day.

"That David R. Atchison was vice president of the United States from April 18th, 1853, to his resignation of that office on the 4th day of December, 1854, there can be no question. On the 4th of March, 1853, Franklin Pierce was inaugurated president of the United States. William R. King, the newly elected vice president was absent, being then in Cuba, and ill. Unable to come to Washington, under a special provision of Congress the oath of vice president was administered to him in Havana. He recovered sufficiently to reach his home in Alabama, and died there on the 18th day of April, 1853. Upon the day of the inauguration of Franklin Pierce as president, Senator Atchison was again elected president *pro tempore* of the Senate. By virtue of that office, he became, upon the death of William R. King, on April 18th, 1853, vice president of the United States. That he was considered by the Senate to be vice president is evidenced by a resolution introduced in that body on the 7th day of December, 1854, which read as follows: 'That there be paid out of the contingent fund to the Hon. David R. Atchison the difference between the amount which he has already received as president *pro tempore* of the Senate, and the compensation of the vice president, from the date of his election by the Senate as their President *pro tempore* to the commencement of the present Session, according to the practice which has heretofore prevailed.'

"'The Biographical Directory of the American Congress,' 1774 to 1903, published by the government, in reference to the presidency *pro tempore*

of the Senate held by Senator Atchison, says: 'This office made David R. Atchison President of the United States during Sunday, March 4, 1849, as General Taylor was not sworn into office until the following day.' The last edition of the Directory, 1774-1927, in its biographical sketch of Senator Atchison, makes no reference to his having been president by virtue of his position as president *pro tempore* of the Senate."

BENTON'S DEFEAT THROUGH COALITION

In 1850 there were elected to the General Assembly 55 Benton Democrats, 38 anti-Benton Democrats and 64 Whigs. Intense interest even beyond the borders of Missouri attended this campaign and the meeting of the General Assembly in January, 1851. Benton had served in the United States Senate thirty years, a longer number of years than any other senator had ever served. He was a national figure, looked upon by many as a possible candidate for the Presidency. He had stood with courage against nullification and any suggestion against the Union, and had he been retained in the Senate for another term it is asserted by eminent historians that the Civil war would have been prevented, at least for years. For some years after his retirement from the Senate he was importuned to join in many political movements. It is said he declined an appointment as chief justice of the United States Supreme Court. When asked if he would accept the presidential nomination of a new party, he wrote from Washington, D. C., on March 12, 1856, referring to his literary plans, the following: "This work is enough for me and of more dignity (to say nothing of anything else) than acting a part in the slavery agitation, which is now the work of both parties and which, in my opinion, is to end disastrously for the Union, let which side will prevail. A new man unconnected with the agitation is what the country wants."

Of the result of Henry S. Geyer's¹ election, William Hyde wrote the following:

"Although in the canvass no criticism, no denunciation of the course of the anti-Benton Democrats could be too severe for the imperious leader of his faithful followers, scarcely was the result of the election known before the latter began overtures for the votes of the recalcitrant wing of the party. The opposition of the Whigs to the Jackson resolutions at the previous session afforded grounds, too, as they thought, for such an alliance as would result in the return of Benton to the Senate. On the other hand, seventy-eight votes were necessary to elect, requiring an addition of twenty-three to Benton's forces to effect the purpose. It was soon found that no calculation could be made upon accessions from the Whigs. Like the Austrian phalanx they 'stood like a living wall, a human wood.' Among the anti-Benton Democrats and a leader of their forces was Robert M. Stewart of Buchanan, a man of great strength of purpose and good organizing abilities. His candidate was B. F. Stringfellow, and it is an anomaly of that period that while Stringfellow was one of the most radical of states rights men, Stewart was himself among the firmest opponents of disunion or secession. But the times were productive of rapid and

anomalous transformations. Atchison, who was now a fierce advocate of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and who became a vehement, fire-eating pro-slavery leader in the border troubles, was, when elected senator in 1843, and for several years thereafter, strenuously opposed to the extension of slavery.

"In the ranks of the Whigs, who, in the superior numbers and organization, saw an opportunity for a party triumph which had never occurred afterwards, there were no dissensions. In the person of Henry S. Geyer they had all the elements of a successful candidate. He had been an officer of the United States Army in the war of 1812; been a member of the Territorial Legislature in 1818; been five times elected to the State Legislature and twice speaker of the House; been one of the revisers of the Constitution of 1820, and left upon that instrument the stamp of his great legal abilities; had been offered by Fillmore the position of secretary of war; and he was sound on the 'previous question.' Besides, his integrity of character was stainless and above reproach.

"With these entries, Benton, Stringfellow and Geyer, the contest opened, two members absent and one deceased since the election. The joint balloting began January 10, 1851, and continued for ten or twelve days, neither party losing or gaining unless by temporizing changes, when, on the fortieth ballot, the anti-Benton Democrats, under Stewart's leadership, broke, and the race ended—Geyer, 80; Benton, 55; Stringfellow, 18; scattering (anti-Benton), 5."

David R. Atchison was a candidate for reelection to the Senate in 1854. Thomas H. Benton stumped the state against him in characteristic Benton manner. It resulted that in the session of the General Assembly in 1855 there was a deadlock, and from 1855 to 1857 Henry S. Geyer was the sole representative of the state in the U. S. Senate. In some histories Geyer is claimed as a Whig. In a biographical sketch in the "Directory of American Congress" he claimed himself as a Democrat. In 1850 he declined a place in the cabinet of President Fillmore, who was elected to Congress for several terms from New York as a Whig.

Preceding his election as United States senator in 1857, James S. Green had served two terms in Congress from the Third District, in 1847 and 1849. In 1856 he had again been elected to Congress, but before the meeting of the Congress to which he had been chosen, the General Assembly of Missouri elected him to the United States Senate to succeed David R. Atchison.

During his comparatively short service in the Senate, Green attained great distinction as a statesman and debater.

James G. Blaine⁴ in "Twenty Years of Congress," says: "From the day that the administration of Mr. Polk began, the question of slavery in the Territories had been a subject of controversy between the two parties. When the Missouri Compromise was repealed, and the Territories were left without slavery inhibition or restriction, the agitation began which ended in the overthrow of the Democratic Party and the election of Mr. Lincoln.

"It will always remain as one of the singular contradictions in the political history of the country, that after seven years of almost exclusive

agitation of this one question, the Republicans, the first time they had the honor as a distinctive political organization to enforce the cardinal article of their political creed, quietly and unanimously abandoned it. And they abandoned it without a word of explanation. Mr. Sumner, Mr. Wade and Mr. Chandler, the most radical men of the Senate on the Republican side, sat still and allowed the bill to be passed precisely as reported by James S. Green of Missouri, who had been the ablest defender of the Democracy in that body.

"James Stephen Green, who was so prominent in this legislation, who prepared and reported the bill, and who was followed by a unanimous Senate, terminated his public service the day Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated. He was then but forty-four years of age, and had served only four years in the Senate. No man among his contemporaries had made so profound an impression in so short a time. He was a very strong debater. He had peers, but no master in the Senate. Mr. Green on one side and Mr. Fessenden on the other, were Senators whom Douglas most disliked to meet, and who were the best fitted in readiness, in accuracy, in logic to meet him. Douglas rarely had a debate with either in which he did not lose his temper, and to lose one's temper in debate is generally to lose one's cause.

"His premature death was a loss to the country. He was endowed with rare powers which, rightly directed, would have led him to eminence in public service."

A few days after Trusten Polk became governor the General Assembly elected him to the United States Senate, to succeed Henry S. Geyer. He received 101 votes; Thomas H. Benton 23, and Hamilton R. Gamble 34. In the Senate he followed the course of the Southern Democrat and became an outspoken advocate of the cause of the South.

William Hyde wrote, thirty-five years afterwards, the impressions Trusten Polk made upon him as a newspaper reporter in the state campaigns of 1856 and 1857:

"Governor Polk was a college-bred man, having been graduated at Yale. He was 24 years old when he reached Missouri from his native state of Delaware, and was at that time a smart young lawyer. As a speaker he was polished and often eloquent, and at the bar he was a successful practitioner; but as a senator the pages of history shed no great luster on his name."

FOOT NOTES, CHAPTER III, THIRD EPOCH

¹ James Stephen Green, a representative and a senator from Missouri; born near Rectortown, Fauquier County, Virginia, February 28, 1817; attended the common schools; moved to Alabama and thence to Missouri about 1838; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1840, and commenced practice in Canton, Missouri; presidential elector on the Democratic ticket of Polk and Dallas in 1844; delegate to the State Constitutional Convention in 1845; elected as a Democrat to the Thirtieth and Thirty-first Congresses (March 4, 1847-March 3, 1851); was not a candidate for renomination in 1850; charge d'affaires to Colombia from May 24, 1853, to August 13, 1854; appointed minister resident June 29, 1854, but did not present his credentials; elected as a Democrat to the Thirty-fifth Congress, but did not take his seat, having been elected to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy in the term commencing March 4, 1855,

and served from January 12, 1857, to March 3, 1861; died in St. Louis, Missouri, January 19, 1870.—“Biographical Directory of the American Congress.”

There are quite a number of those related to Senator James S. Green who have risen to distinction in the Democratic Party. Among them, Hon. James F. Green, at present a circuit judge of St. Louis, and whose home was formerly at Hillsboro, Missouri, while he was serving as judge of the Eighth Judicial Circuit, and his son, Ernest A. Green, who has for years been active in the political affairs of St. Louis, and a lawyer of prominence.

² Trusten Polk was born near Bridgeville, Sussex County, Delaware, May 29, 1811; attended the common schools, and was graduated from Yale College in 1831; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1835, and commenced practice in St. Louis, Missouri; delegate to the Missouri State Constitutional Convention in 1845; presidential elector on the Democratic ticket of Cass and Butler in 1848; inaugurated as governor of Missouri in January, 1857, but soon afterwards resigned; elected as a Democrat to the United States Senate, and served from March 4, 1857, to January 10, 1862, when he was expelled for disloyalty; during the Civil war served as colonel in the Confederate Army; judge in the military courts of the department of Mississippi in 1864 and 1865; resumed the practice of law in St. Louis, Missouri, and died there April 16, 1876; interment in Bellefontaine Cemetery.—“Biographical Directory of the American Congress.”

³ Henry S. Geyer, a senator from Missouri; born in Frederick, Frederick County, Maryland, December 9, 1790; was instructed privately by an uncle; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1811, and practiced in Frederick until May 2, 1813; during the War of 1812 was commissioned first lieutenant in the Thirty-sixth Regiment Maryland Infantry May 20, 1813, and served until June 15, 1815; settled in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1815 and resumed the practice of his profession; member of the Territorial assembly in 1818; delegate to the State Constitutional Convention in 1820; member of the State House of Representatives 1820-24, and served as speaker in 1820, 1822, and 1824; declined the portfolio of secretary of war tendered by President Fillmore in 1850; elected as a Democrat to the United States Senate, and served from March 4, 1851, to March 3, 1857; was not a candidate for reelection; resumed the practice of law in Saint Louis, and was one of the counsel in the Dred Scott case; died in St. Louis, Missouri, March 5, 1859.—“Biographical Directory of the American Congress.”

⁴ James G. Blaine was born January 31, 1830; representative and senator from Maine, in seven succeeding congresses; secretary of state in 1881; unsuccessful candidate for President in 1884; died January 27, 1893.

CONGRESS—1845—HOUSE

In 1845 the five members from Missouri were again elected at large and the delegation was composed of James Bowlin of St. Louis, who was elected in 1843; James H. Relfe of Washington County; Sterling Price¹ of Chariton County, who soon after resigned to go to the Mexican war, where he occupied a distinguished command and which brought to him great influence in the political affairs of the state; William McDaniel of Marion County succeeded Price; John Smith Phelps² of Greene County, began a career of sixteen years in Congress, which concluded with the beginning of the Civil war, when he retired to join the Union Army; Leonard H. Sims³ of Greene County, which gave Greene County two members of the delegation.

Leonard H. Sims went to Congress and distinguished himself by a speech on the Oregon question, in which he said: “Why! Mr. Speaker, the ox drivers of Missouri, armed only with their cattle whips can thrash all the British troops in that quarter, and make the British lion scamper off

with his tail between his legs, and take refuge in the far-off forests of the North and mingle his doleful whine with the wolf's long howl from Onolaska's shore." The Oregon boundary question was pending.

Singular to relate, the next time that the Missouri delegation was elected at large was in 1932 when two congressmen were elected from Greene County—James E. Ruffin and Ruben T. Wood, of Springfield.

CONGRESS—1847

In 1847 the state was divided into five Congressional Districts. James B. Bowlin was elected from the First District. During his life he gained much distinction in the affairs of St. Louis and his services in Congress, and is spoken of briefly by the historians of the time as a man of high character.

John Jameson of Callaway County was elected from the Second District, and had been a member of Congress in 1843; James Stephen Green of Lewis County from the Third District, which was the beginning of a career that reached the United States Senate in 1857; Willard P. Hall⁴ of Buchanan County from the Fourth District, which was the beginning of a long career in the history of the state that carried him to the governorship in 1862; John S. Phelps of Greene County from the Fifth District.

Judge Henry S. Priest, as the historian of Willard P. Hall, says: "When the Whigs of 1846 in Missouri had joined with 'Polk Democrats' of that year against Benton as a 'Jackson Democrat' and the Van Buren Democrats, or 'Free Soilers,' the parties were so confused in Missouri that all historians so far in print fail to enable any reader of the present to comprehend what such a change as that undergone by Willard P. Hall meant to his mind and emotions, as it did to so many other loyal Missourians threatened with an enforced choice between loyalty to Missouri and loyalty to the Union. As he saw his choice, he was loyal to both his state and the Union in the uncompromising opposition to the Confederate states and to the secession of Missouri." As a lawyer he is ranked by his successors as a type of the best in theory and in practice. Judge Elijah H. Norton said of him: "As a lawyer, he is the peer of any man in the state."

CONGRESS—1849

In 1849 James B. Bowlin of St. Louis was elected from the First District, to serve his fourth term in the House.

W. Van Ness Bay⁵ of Franklin County was elected from the second District. In 1862 he was appointed to a place on the Supreme Bench by Governor Willard P. Hall. Bay was elected to the Supreme Bench in 1863. He was ousted in 1865, with Judge John D. S. Dryden, by the Radical Constitution.

James S. Green was reelected from the Third District, Willard P. Hall from the Fourth District, and John S. Phelps from the Fifth District.

CONGRESS—1851

John Fletcher Darby⁶ of St. Louis, a Whig, was elected from the First District to succeed James B. Bowlin. Darby was prominent in the history of St. Louis, and a writer of some accomplishment. His "History of Old St. Louis" covers a multitude of subjects of an interesting character, and is often quoted.

Gilchrist Porter⁷ of Pike County, a Whig, was elected from the Second District to succeed W. V. N. Bay; John G. Miller⁸ of Cooper County, a Whig, from the Third District, to succeed James S. Green; Willard P. Hall of Buchanan County from the Fourth District, this time as a Union-Democrat; John S. Phelps, of Greene County from the Fifth District.

CONGRESS—1853

In 1853 the Congressional Delegation from Missouri was increased to seven. Thomas Hart Benton of St. Louis was elected from the First District, succeeding John F. Darby, a Whig. It must have been some satisfaction to this Grand Old Man in his declining years to recall the treatment he received from the Whigs in 1850.

Alfred W. Lamb⁹ of Marion County was elected from the Second District, succeeding Gilchrist Porter, a Whig; John G. Miller of Cooper County, a Whig, from the Third District; Mordecai Oliver¹⁰ of Ray County from the Fourth District, succeeding Willard P. Hall; John S. Phelps of Greene County from the Fifth District.

James J. Lindley¹¹ of Lewis County, a Whig, and Samuel Caruthers¹² of Madison County, a Democrat, were elected at large.

CONGRESS—1855

Luther M. Kennett¹³ of St. Louis, a "Know-Nothing," was elected from the First District, which was included in the territory of St. Louis. The "Know-Nothing" movement in Missouri had reached its ascendancy in the state in the election of 1855. Its strength was practically in the city, for in the election of 1857 Francis P. Blair, Jr., a Democrat, redeemed the district.

Gilchrist Porter of Pike County, a Whig, who had been elected in 1851, came back in the Second District, succeeding Alfred W. Lamb.

J. J. Lindley of Lewis County, a Whig, who had been elected at large in 1853, with Samuel Caruthers, was returned to Congress from the Third District, defeating John G. Miller, a Whig.

Mordecai Oliver of Ray County was elected from the Fourth District; Thomas P. Akers¹⁴ of Lafayette County, a Whig, from the Fifth District, to fill out the term of John G. Miller, who died.

In adding two members to the Missouri delegation other districts were formed, and John S. Phelps was thrown into the Sixth District, and again elected. Samuel Caruthers of Madison County, a Democrat, who had been elected at large in 1853, was elected from the new Seventh District

CONGRESS—1857

Francis P. Blair, Jr.,¹⁵ of St. Louis, who had become a power in the Democratic Party, defeated Luther M. Kennett of St. Louis, a "Know-Nothing," and redeemed the First District for the Democrats. He began a career at this time that was to carry him to the United States Senate in 1871, and to posthumous fame as a patriot and citizen.

Thomas L. Anderson¹⁶ of Marion County was elected from the Second District. He gained his first prominence in what was termed the "boundary war" between Iowa and Missouri, along the border of Clark County. The cutting of bee trees and a question of taxes brought about an ugly condition, and armed forces were threatening each other. Thomas L. Anderson by a great oratorical effort had much to do with bringing about peace.

John B. Clark¹⁷ of Howard County was elected from the Third District. He became one of the most noted characters in the state. Of a rugged individuality he became a power in political affairs. General James Craig, who served with Clark in Congress, often told of the important part Clark had in the Charleston Convention in 1860. He said that the committee on platform was so evenly divided that Clark had the deciding vote. The convention split, the Northern Democrats convened at the Baltimore Convention and nominated Stephen A. Douglas. Clark was strong for Douglas, and his action at Charleston which sent to convention to Baltimore, where Clark made a speech supporting Douglas, contributed much to the Douglas nomination.

James Craig¹⁸ of Buchanan County was elected from the Fourth District. He was perhaps one of the most distinguished men Missouri ever sent to Congress and it is said that few ever surpassed him as a lawyer and public speaker.

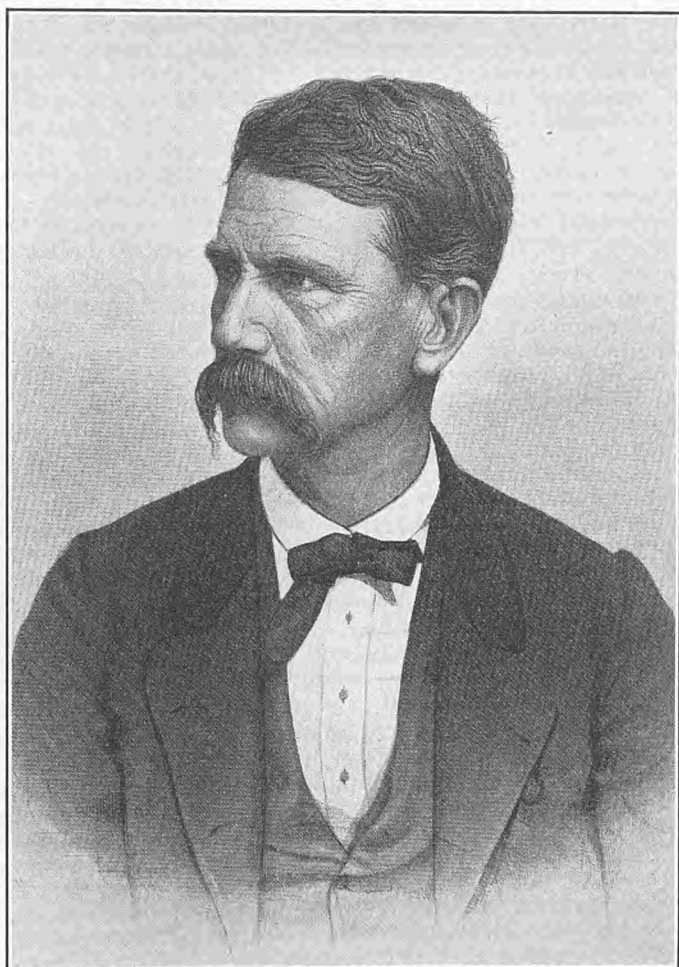
Samuel H. Woodson¹⁹ of Jackson County was elected from the Fifth District, succeeding Thomas P. Akers, a Whig; John S. Phelps from the Sixth District, and Samuel Caruthers from the Seventh.

This was the first time since 1849 that the Missouri delegation in Congress had been solidly Democratic.

CONGRESS—1859

John Richard Barrett²⁰ of St. Louis was elected from the First District, succeeding Francis P. Blair, Jr., Thomas L. Anderson from the Second District; John B. Clark from the Third District; James Craig from the Fourth District; Samuel H. Woodson from the Fifth District; John S. Phelps from the Sixth District; John W. Noell²¹ of St. Francois County from the Seventh District, succeeding Samuel Caruthers of Madison County.

This is another solid Democratic delegation from Missouri.



HON. FRANK P. BLAIR
United States Senator and Major General in Federal Forces
during the Civil War



HON. FRANK S. MILLER

United States Senator and Mayor of Chicago, Illinois, 1891-1895. Born in Chicago, Illinois, 1847. Graduated from the University of Chicago, 1870. Practiced law in Chicago. Elected Mayor of Chicago, 1891. Re-elected, 1895. Elected United States Senator, 1895. Served until 1901. Died in Chicago, Illinois, 1901.

FOOT NOTES, CONGRESS, 1845-1859

¹ Sterling Price, a representative from Missouri; born near Farmville, Prince Edward County, Virginia, September 20, 1809; completed preparatory studies and attended Hampden-Sidney College, Virginia; studied law, was admitted to the bar, and practiced; moved to Fayette and later to Keytesville, Missouri; member of the State House of Representatives 1840-1844 and served as speaker; elected as a Democrat to the Twenty-ninth Congress, and served from March 4, 1845, to August 12, 1846, when he resigned to participate in the Mexican war; colonel of the Second Regiment Missouri Infantry August 12, 1846; brigadier general of Volunteers July 20, 1847; honorably discharged November 25, 1848; returned to Missouri and engaged in agricultural pursuits on the Bowling Green prairie; governor of Missouri 1853-1857; state bank commissioner 1857-1861; during the Civil war served in the Confederate Army as a major-general and took part in many engagements; after the war went to Mexico, but later returned to Missouri; died in St. Louis, Missouri, September 20, 1867.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

² John Smith Phelps, a representative from Missouri; born in Simsbury, Hartford, Connecticut, December 22, 1814; attended the common schools and was graduated from Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut in 1832; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1835, and commenced practice in Simsbury; moved to Springfield, Greene County, Missouri, in 1837; member of the State House of Representatives in 1840; elected as a Democrat to the Twenty-ninth and to the eight succeeding Congresses (March 4, 1845-March 3, 1863); was not a candidate for renomination in 1862; during the Civil war enlisted as a private in Captain Coleman's company of Missouri infantry; promoted to lieutenant-colonel October 2, 1861, and to colonel December 19, 1861; mustered out, May 13, 1862; appointed by President Lincoln in July, 1862, military governor of Arkansas; resumed the practice of his profession in Springfield; unsuccessful Democratic candidate in 1868 for governor of Missouri; governor of Missouri 1877-1881; resumed the practice of law; died in St. Louis, Missouri, November 20, 1886.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

³ Leonard H. Sims, a representative from Missouri; born in North Carolina; received a limited schooling; moved to Springfield, Greene County, Mo.; held several local offices; elected as a Democrat to the Twenty-ninth Congress (March 4, 1845-March 3, 1847).—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁴ Willard Preble Hall, a representative from Missouri; born at Harpers Ferry, Jefferson County, Virginia (now West Virginia), May 9, 1820; attended a private school in Baltimore, Maryland; was graduated from Yale College in 1839; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1841, and commenced practice in Sparta, Buchanan County, Missouri, in 1842; appointed circuit attorney in 1843, in which capacity he served several years; presidential elector on the Democratic ticket of Polk and Dallas in 1844; during the Mexican war enlisted as a private in the First Missouri Cavalry under Colonel Alexander Doniphan, and subsequently promoted to lieutenant; was appointed by General Kearny, together with Colonel Doniphan, to construct the code of civil laws for the territory taken from Mexico; elected as a Democrat to the Thirtieth, Thirty-first, and Thirty-second Congresses (March 4, 1847-March 3, 1853); resumed the practice of law; moved to St. Joseph, Missouri, in 1854, and continued the practice of his profession; unsuccessful candidate for election to the United States Senate in 1856; member of the constitutional convention of Missouri in 1861 that determined the relations of Missouri to the Union and the other states and decided in favor of the Union; provisional lieutenant governor of Missouri in 1864 and 1865; again resumed the practice of law; died at his home in St. Joseph, Missouri, November 2, 1882.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁵ William Van Ness Bay, a representative from Missouri; born in Hudson, New York, November 23, 1818; attended the public schools; studied law and was admitted to the bar; moved to Union, Franklin County, Missouri, in 1836, and commenced the practice of law; member of the State House of Representatives 1844-1848; elected as a Democrat to the Thirty-first Congress (March 4, 1849-March 3, 1851); resumed the

practice of law; appointed judge of the State Supreme Court in 1862; elected to this position in 1863, and was removed by Governor Fletcher in 1865; moved to St. Louis, Missouri, and resumed the practice of law; retired in 1886 and moved to Eureka, Missouri, where he died, February 10, 1894.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁶ John Fletcher Darby, a representative from Missouri; born in Person County, North Carolina, December 10, 1803; attended the public schools; moved with his father to Missouri in 1818, where he worked on a farm; moved to Frankfort, Kentucky, in 1825; studied law, was admitted to the bar and afterwards practiced in St. Louis, Missouri; mayor of St. Louis 1835-41; member of the Missouri Senate in 1838; elected as a Whig to the Thirty-second Congress (March 4, 1851-March 3, 1853); returned to St. Louis and engaged in banking; died near Pendleton Station, Warren County, Missouri, May 11, 1882.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁷ Gilchrist Porter, a representative from Missouri; born in Windsor, near Fredericksburg, Virginia, November 1, 1817; received a limited schooling; studied law, was admitted to the bar, and commenced practice in Bowling Green, Missouri; elected as a Whig to the Thirty-second Congress (March 4, 1851-March 3, 1853); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1852 to the Thirty-third Congress; elected to the Thirty-fourth Congress (March 4, 1855-March 3, 1857); circuit judge 1866-1880; resumed the practice of law; died in Hannibal, Marion County, Missouri, November 1, 1894.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁸ John Gaines Miller, a representative from Missouri; born in Danville, Ky., November 29, 1812; attended the common schools and was graduated from Centre College, Danville, Ky., studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1834; moved to Boonville, Missouri, in 1835; member of the State House of Representatives in 1840; elected as a Whig to the Thirty-second, Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth Congresses, and served from March 4, 1851, until his death near Marshall, Saline County, Missouri, May 11, 1856.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁹ Alfred William Lamb, a representative from Missouri; born in Stamford, Delaware County, New York, March 18, 1824; moved with his parents to Ralls County, Missouri, in 1836; attended Doctor Ely's school in Ely, Missouri; studied law, was admitted to the bar, and commenced practice in Hannibal, Missouri; elected as a Democrat to the Thirty-third Congress (March 4, 1853-March 3, 1855); declined to be candidate for renomination in 1854; resumed the practice of law; died in Hannibal, Marion County, Missouri, April 20, 1888.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁰ Mordecai Oliver, a representative from Missouri; born in Anderson County, Kentucky, October 22, 1819; attended the common schools; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1842, and commenced practice in Richmond, Missouri; prosecuting attorney for the fifth judicial circuit in 1848; elected as a Whig to the Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth Congresses (March 4, 1853-March 3, 1857); elected as a Unionist secretary of state of Missouri in 1861; resumed the practice of law in St. Louis, Missouri; judge of the criminal court 1889-1893; moved to Springfield, Greene County, Missouri, where he died April 25, 1898.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹¹ James Johnson Lindley, a representative from Missouri; born in Mansfield, Richland County, Ohio, January 1, 1822; moved with his parents to Cynthiana, Kentucky, in 1836; attended Woodville College, Ohio; moved to St. Louis, Missouri, in 1843; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1846; and commenced practice in Monticello, Missouri; elected circuit attorney in 1848 and 1852; elected as a Whig to the Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth Congresses (March 4, 1853-March 3, 1857); was not a candidate for reelection in 1856; moved to Davenport, Iowa, in 1858 and continued the practice of law; commissioned to investigate the condition of Iowa troops serving in the Civil war; after the war practiced his profession in Chicago until 1868, when he moved to St. Louis, Missouri; judge of the circuit court of the eighth judicial district of Missouri 1871-1883; moved to Kansas City, Missouri; retired from business activities; died at the home of a son in Nevada, Missouri, April 18, 1891.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹² Samuel Caruthers, a Representative from Missouri; born in Madison County, Missouri, October 13, 1820; was graduated from Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tennessee; studied law, was admitted to the bar, and commenced practice in Fredricktown, Madison County, Missouri; moved to Cape Girardeau, Missouri, in 1844; held several local offices; elected as a Whig to the Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth Congresses (March 4, 1853-March 3, 1857); reelected as a Democrat to the Thirty-fifth Congress (March 4, 1857-March 3, 1859); died in Cape Girardeau, Cape Girardeau County, Missouri, July 20, 1860.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹³ Luther Martin Kennett, a representative from Missouri; born in Falmouth, Pendleton County, Kentucky, March 15, 1807; attended private schools; deputy county clerk of Pendleton County in 1822 and 1823 and of Campbell County, Kentucky, in 1824; moved to St. Louis, Missouri, in 1825; employed in a mercantile establishment; later engaged in lead mining and the manufacture of shot in Jefferson and St. Francois counties, Missouri; returned to St. Louis in 1842; city alderman 1843-1846; declined to be a candidate for reelection; spent several years in Europe on account of ill health, returning to St. Louis in 1849; vice president of the Pacific Railroad Company; mayor of St. Louis 1850-1853; president of the St. Louis & Iron Mountain Railroad in 1853; elected by the American Party to the Thirty-fourth Congress (March 4, 1855-March 3, 1857); unsuccessful candidate for reelection; retired to his country home near St. Louis, Missouri; went to Europe in 1867, where he remained until his death in Paris, France, April 12, 1873.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁴ Thomas Peter Akers, a representative from Missouri, born in Knox County, Ohio, October 4, 1828; attended school in Cleveland, Ohio; was graduated from an Ohio college; studied law and was admitted to the bar; taught school for a time in Kentucky; moved to Lexington, Missouri, in 1853; professor of mathematics and moral philosophy in Masonic College, Lexington, Missouri, 1855 and 1856; pastor of the local Methodist Church; elected by the American Party to the Thirty-fourth Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the death of John G. Miller, and served from August 18, 1856, to March 3, 1857; moved to New York City, and became vice president of the gold board; owing to ill health moved to Utah, and shortly thereafter returned to Lexington, Lafayette County, Missouri, where he died on April 3, 1877.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁵ Francis Preston Blair, Jr., a representative and a senator from Missouri; born in Lexington, Kentucky, February 19, 1821; moved with his father to Washington, D. C., when nine years old; attended a private school in that city and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; was graduated from Princeton College in 1841; studied law at Transylvania University, Lexington, Kentucky, was admitted to the bar in 1842, and commenced practice in St. Louis in 1843; enlisted as a private in the regiment of Colonel Doniphan during the Mexican war, and served as attorney general of the Territory when General Kearny took New Mexico; resumed the practice of law in St. Louis; member of the State House of Representatives 1852-1856; elected as a Free-Soiler to the Thirty-fifth Congress (March 4, 1857-March 3, 1859); successfully contested the election of John R. Barrett to the Thirty-sixth Congress, and served from June 8 to June 25, 1860, when he resigned; unsuccessful candidate for reelection to the Thirty-sixth Congress to fill the vacancy caused by his own resignation; delegate to the Republican National Convention at Chicago in 1860; elected to the Thirty-seventh Congress, and served from March 4, 1861, until his resignation in July, 1862, to become a colonel in the Union Army; served on the staff of Gen. William T. Sherman; presented credentials as a member elect to the Thirty-eighth Congress, and served from March 4, 1863 to June 10, 1864, when he was succeeded by Samuel Knox, who contested the election; unsuccessful democratic candidate for vice president of the United States in 1868; again a member of the State House of Representatives in 1870; elected as a Democrat to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Charles D. Drake, and served from January 20, 1871, to March 3, 1873; was not a candidate for reelection owing to ill health; state insurance commissioner in 1874; died in St. Louis, Missouri, July 8, 1874. The people of Missouri erected a statue to his memory in Forest Park, St. Louis, and the State

Legislature presented to the United States Government the statue which stands in Statuary Hall of the Capitol, Washington, D. C.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁶ Thomas Lilbourne Anderson, a representative from Missouri; born near Bowling Green, Green County, Kentucky, December 8, 1808; attended the rural schools; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1828, and commenced practice in Franklin, Simpson County, Kentucky; moved in 1830 to Palmyra, Marion County, Missouri, where he continued the practice of law; member of the state House of Representatives 1840-1844; presidential elector on the Whig ticket in 1844, 1848, 1852, and 1856; member of the State Constitutional Convention in 1845; elected by the American Party to the Thirty-fifth Congress and as an Independent Democrat to the Thirty-sixth Congress (March 4, 1857-March 3, 1861); was not a candidate for renomination in 1860; resumed the practice of law in Marion County, Missouri; died in Palmyra, Mo., March 6, 1885.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁷ John B. Clark, a representative from Missouri; born in Madison County, Kentucky, April 17, 1802; attended the country schools; studied law; was admitted to the bar in 1824, and practiced in Fayette, Missouri; clerk of the Howard County Courts, 1824-1834; Colonel of Missouri Mounted Volunteers in the Black Hawk war in 1832; major general of militia in 1848; member of the State House of Representatives 1850 and 1851; elected as a Democrat to the Thirty-fifth Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of James S. Green; reelected to the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congresses and served from December 7, 1857, until expelled July 13, 1861; a senator from Missouri in the First Confederate Congress and a representative in the Second Confederate Congress; brigadier general of Missouri Confederate State troops; practiced law until his death in Fayette, Howard County, Missouri, October 29, 1885.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁸ James Craig, a representative from Missouri; born in Washington County, Pennsylvania, February 28, 1818; attended the public schools; moved to Mansfield, Ohio, in 1821; studied law, and was admitted to the bar in New Philadelphia, Ohio, in 1839; moved to St. Joseph, Missouri, in 1844, where he commenced the practice of law; captain of a volunteer company in the Mexican war, and served until 1848; State's attorney for the twelfth judicial circuit 1852-1856; member of the State House of Representatives in 1856 and 1857; elected as a Democrat to the Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth Congresses (March 4, 1857-March 3, 1861); unsuccessful candidate for renomination in 1860; resumed the practice of law; during the Civil war was commissioned brigadier-general of Volunteers by President Lincoln March 21, 1862; was the first president of the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad and the first comptroller of the city of St. Joseph; negotiated the Platt purchase, which comprised all of north-west Missouri; died in St. Joseph, Missouri, October 22, 1888.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁹ Samuel Hughes Woodson, a representative from Missouri; born near Nicholasville, Jessamine County, Kentucky, October 24, 1815; attended the public schools; was graduated from Centre College, Danville, and the law department of Transylvania University, Lexington, Ky., was admitted to the bar in 1838 and commenced the practice of law in Independence, Jackson County, Missouri, in 1840; member of the State House of Representatives in 1853 and 1854; delegate to the State Constitutional Convention in 1855; elected on the American Party ticket to the Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth Congresses (March 4, 1857-March 3, 1861); was not a candidate for renomination in 1860; resumed the practice of his profession in Independence; became affiliated with the Democratic Party; was judge of the twenty-fourth judicial circuit of Missouri from March, 1875, until his death in Independence, Missouri, June 23, 1881.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

²⁰ John Richard Barrett, a representative from Missouri; born in Greensburg, Green County, Kentucky, August 21, 1825; attended the common schools and Centre College, Danville, Kentucky; moved to St. Louis, Missouri, in 1839; was graduated from the St. Louis University in 1843; studied law and practiced; member of the State House of Representatives in 1852 and served four terms; became identified with the St. Louis Agricultural Society and organized its successful exhibitions; presented

credentials as a Democratic Member elect to the Thirty-sixth Congress, and served from March 4, 1859, to June 8, 1860, when he was succeeded by Francis P. Blair, Jr., who contested his election; subsequently elected to the same Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Francis P. Blair, Jr., and served from December 3, 1860, to March 3, 1861; unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1860 to the Thirty-seventh Congress; moved to New York City and was engaged, among other occupations, in building docks; died in New York City, November 2, 1903; interment in Cave Hill Cemetery, Louisville, Kentucky.—“Biographical Directory of the American Congress.”

²¹ John William Noell, a representative from Missouri; born in Bedford County, Virginia, February 22, 1816; completed preparatory studies; moved with his parents to Perry County, Missouri, in 1833; engaged in milling and storekeeping; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1843, and commenced practice in Perryville, Missouri; clerk of the circuit court for Perry County 1841-1850; member of the State Senate 1850-54; elected as a Democrat to the Thirty-sixth, Thirty-seventh, and Thirty-eighth Congresses, and served from March 4, 1859, until his death in Washington, D. C., March 14, 1863.—“Biographical Directory of the American Congress.”

FOURTH EPOCH—1861-1870

A DECADE OF CIVIL WAR, RADICALISM AND OPPRESSION

CHAPTER I

THE STATE ADMINISTRATION

Coming to this period in the history of the Democratic Party of Missouri there was an absence of unity among the leaders. The great disciple of victory had passed on and was beyond the turmoil and strife of Party discord. Indomitable Benton was asleep in the silent precincts of Bellefontaine, awaiting the "be-all and end-all of time."

The state and nation were in the throes of disunion. There was no one with compelling influence to speak for peace or an organization with the power to prevent the calamity that was to drench a part of the country in blood, and which was to bring sorrow and affliction to many homes.

In his inaugural address January 3, 1861, Governor Claiborne F. Jackson said, in part:

"The destiny of the slave-holding states of this Union is one and the same. So long as a state maintains slavery within her limits, it is impossible to separate her fate from that of her sister states who have the same social organizations. * * * The identity, rather than the similarity of their domestic institutions—their political principles and party usages—their common origin, pursuits, tastes, manners and customs—their territorial contiguity and intercommercial relations—all contribute to bind together in one brotherhood the states of the South and the Southwest. Missouri will not be found to shrink from the duty which her position upon the border imposes; her honor, her interests, and her sympathies point alike in one direction, and determine her *to stand by the South*. * * * So far as Missouri is concerned I do not fear to misrepresent the sentiments of her citizens by saying that they have ever been devoted to the Union, and will remain in it, so long as there is any hope of its maintaining the spirit and guarantees of the Constitution."

The General Assembly acted promptly on the Governor's request for a convention, the chief purpose of which was to "define the political relations of the State of Missouri to the government of the United States." According to the provisions of the act authorizing the convention, the delegates were elected on February 18, 1861, and to the surprise of many the majority of the delegates were for the Union. The Convention met on February 28, 1861, and Sterling Price was made president over Nathaniel Watkins by a vote of 75 to 15. After a short session the Con-

vention adjourned to meet in St. Louis on March 4. The Convention so far had accomplished little, yet its expressions were not in keeping with the opinion of Governor Jackson who conscientiously believed that the people of Missouri favored secession and under certain conditions would so determine.

No question in the history of the state caused as much controversy and feeling as the resolution "To define the relations of Missouri to the Federal Union." Of the selection of the members of the Convention to meet in February, 1861, John F. Philips,¹ who was a member, said:

"In some respects that Convention was the most remarkable body of men ever assembled in the history of the state. With a few exceptions they were not of the class usually found in legislatures or popular assemblages. They were grave, thoughtful, discreet, educated men, profoundly impressed with the great responsibilities of their positions. Among those were judges of the Supreme Court, ex-governors, ex-state senators and representatives, leading lawyers, farmers, merchants, bankers and retired business men, representing the varied, vital interests of their communities. No intelligent man can look over the debates of that body, extending over two years or more, without being deeply impressed with the idea of their tremendous intellectual power and sense of moral, patriotic obligation."

In the last days of the session of the General Assembly Waldo P. Johnson was elected to the United States Senate to succeed James S. Green. The General Assembly adjourned on March 28, 1861, without having accomplished anything toward solving the question for which it was created.

Events were moving rapidly to a crisis, and when on April 15, 1861, President Lincoln² called on Missouri for its quota of men for military service, Governor Jackson replied in these emphatic words:

"Executive Department of Missouri.
Jefferson City, April 17, 1861.

To the Hon. Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

Sir:—Your dispatch of the 15th inst., making a call on Missouri for four regiments of men for immediate service has been received. There can be, I apprehend, no doubt but these men are intended to form a part of the President's army to make war upon the people of the seceded States. Your requisition, in my judgment, is illegal, unconstitutional and revolutionary in its objects, inhuman and diabolical, and cannot be complied with. Not one man will the State of Missouri furnish to carry on such an unholy crusade.

(Signed) C. F. JACKSON,
Governor of Missouri."

The Governor called the General Assembly to convene in extra session on May 2, 1861, in which he reiterated his former statement. In the midst of this session the capture of Camp Jackson³ occurred. There were various efforts made to conciliate and pacify the serious situation, the last

of which was the meeting at St. Louis between General Lyon, Col. Frank P. Blair, Jr., Major F. A. Conant on one side, and Governor Jackson, General Sterling Price and Col. Thomas L. Snead on the other. The differences could not be peacefully adjusted.

On June 12, 1861, Governor Jackson issued a proclamation calling into service 50,000 state militia "for the purpose of repelling invasion and for the protection of the lives, liberty and property of the citizens of the state."

Governor Jackson left the Capital, and in September issued a proclamation calling the General Assembly to meet at Neosho on October 21. Thirty-nine members of the House and ten members of the Senate responded. An act declaring the union between Missouri and the United States dissolved, passed both branches of this fragmentary legislature, and the connection between the State and the Union was broken.

When Governor Claiborne F. Jackson left Jefferson City on July 12, 1861, the state was left without the semblance of a state government. The first session of the State Convention to consider the relations of the state of Missouri to the Federal Union had adjourned on March 22, 1861, subject to call by its executive committee. A second session of the Convention assembled at Jefferson City July 20, 1861. Sterling Price, its president, had joined the Confederacy and Robert Wilson was elected president in his stead.

At this meeting the "Ouster Ordinance" was adopted, which vacated the offices of governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary of state and members of the General Assembly.

The Convention on July 31, 1861, inaugurated the Provisional Government of Missouri. Hamilton R. Gamble was elected governor, Willard P. Hall, lieutenant-governor, and Mordecai Oliver, secretary of State.

On January 31, 1864, Governor Gamble died in St. Louis, and Willard P. Hall became governor.

From the time of vacating the office of governor by Claiborne F. Jackson to the November election in 1864 there had been nothing done by the government excepting war measures and the construction of Radical organization that was to control the affairs of the state for some years.

The Radical Convention met at Jefferson City, September 1, 1863. The demands of the Convention were set forth in several drastic resolutions, one calling for the resignation of Governor Gamble. In this Convention, Charles D. Drake⁴ became most prominent. He came to Missouri from Ohio in 1834. He had been successively a Whig, a Know-Nothing, and a Democrat, and in 1860 had supported Douglas for President and Claiborne F. Jackson for Governor. Now he was the leader and spokesman for the Radicals.

In the judicial election of 1863, Barton Bates, William V. N. Bay and John D. S. Dryden,⁵ were elected supreme judges, the last victory won by the Conservatives. It now became a contest between the Conservatives and the Radicals. The death of Governor Gamble was a serious blow to the former. The Radicals were incensed at President Lincoln's refusal to let them dominate affairs in Missouri, and voted against his renomina-

tion in the Republican Convention at Cleveland in 1864, supporting John C. Fremont.

At the election in 1864, the Radicals elected Thomas C. Fletcher governor over Thomas L. Price, the Conservative, and gained control of the General Assembly, and a victory in favor of a Constitutional Convention. They controlled the Convention, and on January 11, 1865, passed an ordinance for immediate emancipation of the slaves.

The Convention met in St. Louis, January 6, 1865, and was called to order by Charles D. Drake. Carl Schurz said of Drake, "I doubt whether, as a leader, he was ever popular with the Republican rank and file in Missouri, but many of those in the country districts stood in awe of him."

"To his political foes," says Shoemaker, in "Missouri, The Mother of States" (Vol. 2, pp. 168-69), "Drake's strong convictions were but evidence of his intolerance, while the confidence in the infallibility of his own opinions, which he strikingly exhibited, together with the ill-concealed contempt for the opinions of others, were equally irritating. Drake gloried in the name 'Radical,' assumed responsibility for the policy of his party, and 'swayed the convention as he would his class in Sunday School.'

"Chief among the problems before the convention was the enactment of clauses designed to protect the purity of the elective franchise. The solution of this question, in the opinion of the Radical leaders, was of great importance and a special committee on the Elective Franchise was authorized during the early days of the convention. The membership of this committee included Drake and several of the lesser lights of the Radical party, chief among whom were David Bonham and W. H. Folmsbee. (It was reported of Folmsbee that 'he hated rebels and he hated all conservatives worse than rebels.' He was the author of one of the most radical provisions of the oath of loyalty, that concerning the clergy. Bonham, likewise a follower of Drake, 'looking for all the world like one of Cromwell's Roundheads, dug up out of his grave at Woodstock,' represented the views of the northwestern border counties). That the suffrage question was of vital concern to the party in power was obvious. The restrictions placed on its exercise during the war had been of considerable assistance to the Unionists in the election of 1864. Oaths of loyalty and of allegiance in Missouri had been in force since the early days of the war, and had had a gradual development. At its third meeting, in October, 1861, the convention passed the first oath of loyalty ever promulgated in Missouri."

All through the turmoil of these days, there were some courageous spirits who did everything in their power to stay the extreme measures advocated by Drake and his followers. Francis P. Blair, Jr., had begun to dispute the policy of the Radicals. He had been the confidential adviser of President Lincoln and said "The Radicals of Missouri are attempting to build up a party upon a spirit of exasperation, retaliation and revenge. Is this a fit formation for any party to rest upon? Can peace, prosperity and tranquillity be expected from those who act with such motives? Can any secure or enduring principles of government be based upon such sentiments?"

In the election of 1864, when the franchise restrictions were severe and the Test Oath was in force, it required courage to cast a Democratic vote in some sections of the state. R. McD. Smith, of Slater, Missouri, furnishes an interesting illustration of this condition.^{5a}

On July 1, 1865, it was announced that the Radical Constitution had been ratified by the people. In the meantime the Ousting Ordinance adopted by the Convention had gone into effect May 1, 1865. It declared vacant 842 offices of civil officials. Judge Bates⁶ of the Supreme Court resigned and Judges John D. S. Dryden and William V. N. Bay were ousted. The Radicals were now in complete control of the state.

After the election of 1866 a secret meeting was held by the Radical leaders. B. Gratz Brown was a leading figure and, it is said, favored Negro Suffrage. Charles D. Drake opposed this, but resolutions were adopted favoring general amnesty to all and suffrage to the Negro. While there was some indication of a weakening of the Radical sentiment in 1867, it was discounted by the defeat of B. Gratz Brown for United States Senator by Charles D. Drake, the Radical leader.

ORGANIZE TO THROW OUT RADICALS

In 1866 the leaders of the Missouri Democracy began to organize to overthrow the Radicals, who had fastened on the state the odious "Test Oath" law and other obnoxious restrictions. A few Democrats throughout the state had the courage to offer themselves as candidates, one of the most conspicuous being William F. Switzler of Columbia, for Congress. The Secretary of State, Francis Rodman, was under suspicion by the Radical leaders, as he had passed on the vote of Callaway County favoring Switzler.

In 1868 the Democratic Party began to assume a more aggressive attitude in the political affairs of the State and Nation. In the Presidential campaign a former Missourian, Ulysses S. Grant,⁷ headed the Republican ticket. Horatio Seymour⁸ was the Democratic nominee for President, and for vice president Francis P. Blair of Missouri was chosen. The first Democratic State Convention was held in May, 1868, and decided upon holding a state nominating convention in August. Everything was to be done that would bring to the support of this party all the anti-Radicals in the state. It being necessary to nominate a Union-Democrat, the choice was John S. Phelps of Greene County, for Governor. He had been a Douglas Democrat, had served eighteen years in Congress, supported Lincoln, and had been military governor of Arkansas. As a candidate Phelps made a wonderful showing, despite the fact it was estimated that 100,000 Democrats were disfranchised.

The election of 1868 was of some advantage to the Democrats, and with much discouragement to the Radicals. While the entire Radical ticket was elected, Carl Schurz, a Liberal Republican, was elected United States senator by the general assembly in 1869.

The Republican split came in the State nominating convention at Jefferson City, August 31, 1870. The issue was enfranchisement of those who had been in the Confederate Army, or in sympathy with the Con-

federacy. Two reports were made from the committee on platform. The majority of the committee reported in favor of a very liberal policy. The minority of the committee reported differently, but when the two reports reached the convention, the report of the minority was adopted. The supporters of the majority report, about two hundred and fifty delegates, withdrew and nominated a state ticket with B. Gratz Brown for governor. Each of the factions put out a full state ticket. The following extracts from the two platforms show the differences of opinion which led to division:

Majority of Liberal Platform: "Fourth. That the time has come when the requirements of public safety, upon which alone the disfranchisement of a large number of citizens could be justified, has clearly ceased to exist, and that the convention, therefore, true to the solemn pledges recorded in our National and State platforms, declares itself unequivocally in favor of the adoption of the constitutional amendments commonly called the suffrage and office holding amendments, believing that under existing circumstances, the removal of political disabilities, as well as the extension of equal political rights and privileges to all classes of citizens, without distinction, is demanded by every consideration of good faith, patriotism and sound policy, and essential to the integrity of republican institutions, to the welfare of the state, and to the honor and preservation of the Republican Party."

Minority or Radical Platform. "Third. That we are in favor of re-enfranchising those justly disenfranchised for participation in the late rebellion, as soon as it can be done with safety to the state, and that we concur in the propriety of the Legislature having submitted to the whole people of the state the question whether such time has now arrived; upon which question we recognize the right of any member of the party to vote his honest conviction."

MADE NO NOMINATIONS

The Democrats refrained from making nominations that year, with the result that the Liberal Republican ticket received a majority of over forty thousand.

The result of the Liberal Republican victory in 1870 can be traced more directly to the influence of Francis P. Blair. B. Gratz Brown had been uncertain and full of equivocation, on some occasions as Radical as any of them. The letter that Blair wrote to James O. Broadhead, was the most important act to influence the split in the Radical ranks, and his canvass of the state was of as strong a character as that of Benton against the Jackson Resolutions.

The Broadhead letter was as follows:

"Washington, June 20, 1868.

"Colonel James O. Broadhead:"

"Dear Colonel: In reply to your inquiries I beg to say that I leave to you to determine, on consultation with my friends from Missouri, whether my name shall be presented to the Democratic

convention, and to submit the following as what I consider the real and only issue in this contest:

"The reconstruction policy of the radicals will be complete before the next election; the states so long excluded, will have been admitted; negro suffrage established, and the carpet-baggers installed in their seats in Congress. There is no possibility of changing the political character of the Senate, even if the Democrats should elect their President, and a majority of the popular branch of Congress. We cannot therefore, undo the radical plan of reconstruction by congressional action; the Senate will continue a bar to its repeal. Must we submit to it? How can it be overthrown? It can be overthrown only by the authority of the Executive, who is sworn to maintain the Constitution, and who will fail to do his duty if he allows the Constitution to perish under a series of congressional enactments which are in palpable violation of its fundamental principles.

"If the President, elected by the Democracy, enforces or permits others to enforce the reconstruction acts, the radicals by the accession of twenty spurious senators and fifty representatives control both branches of Congress and his administration will be as powerless as the present one of Mr. Johnson.¹⁰

"There is but one way to restore the government and the Constitution, and that is for the President-elect to declare these acts null and void, compel the army to undo its usurpation at the South, disperse the carpet-bag state governments, allow the white people to organize their own governments and elect senators and representatives. The House of Representatives will contain a majority of Democrats from the North, and they will admit the representatives elected by the white people of the South, and with the coöperation of the President, it will not be difficult to compel the Senate to submit once more to the obligations of the Constitution. It will not be able to withstand the public judgment, if distinctly invoked and clearly expressed, on this fundamental issue, and it is the sure way to avoid all future strife to put the issue plainly to the country.

"I repeat that this is the real and only question which we should allow to control us. Shall we submit to the usurpations by which the government has been overthrown, or shall we exert ourselves for its full and complete restoration? It is idle to talk of bonds, greenbacks, gold, the public faith and the public credit. What can a Democratic President do in regard to any of these, with a Congress in both branches controlled by carpet-baggers and their allies? He will be powerless to stop the supplies by which the idle negroes are organized into political clubs—by which an army is maintained to protect these vagabonds in their outrages upon the ballot. These, and things like these, eat up the revenues and resources of the government and destroy credit—make the differences between gold and greenbacks. We must restore the Constitution before we can restore the finances, and to do this we must have a President who will execute the will of the people by trampling into dust the usurpations of Congress known as the reconstruction acts. I wish to stand before the convention upon this issue, for it is one which embraces everything else that is of

value in its large and comprehensive results. It is the one thing that includes all that is worth a contest, and without it there is nothing that gives dignity, honor, or value to the struggle.

"Your friend,
(Signed) "FRANK P. BLAIR."

Of the Broadhead letter and of the passing of Blair, William Hyde said:

"Probably no politician's record contains so striking a contrast as his in its wide and divergent range. Denounced as an abolitionist in 1852, as an organizer of the 'black jaegers' in 1861, and later as a military satrap sending his old neighbors into exile, behold him in 1868 as the Democratic nominee for Vice President on a platform arraigning the party supporting Grant for its 'unparalleled oppression and tyranny,' and for subjecting ten of the states to 'Military despotism and negro supremacy'! The war over, General Blair was no longer a Republican. His canvass of the state in 1866, at a time when Missouri was ruled as with a rod of iron by Drake and Loan and the most radical influences, was a rare exhibition of manly daring. At places where he had appointments to speak, notably at Warrensburg, Louisiana and Osceola, armed ruffians were on hand to intimidate him, yet not only was he not frightened from his purpose, but in the most contemptuous as well as the coolest manner, he hurled defiance in their teeth, as he bravely spoke of the test-oath and the vigorous methods of disfranchisement in vogue. And as intimidation covered before Blair's well-directed blows, the Democratic feeling, which had been crushed into the very ground, began to be revived, to strengthen and to grow."

In an article relating to "State Aid to Railroads," Hon. John Silvers, of Butler, Missouri, says he believes no political history of the state would be complete that did not contain a story of the achievements of the State democracy; also, an exposition of the political conduct of the State's affairs by the Republican Party when it was in power.¹¹

FOOTNOTES—CHAPTER I—FOURTH EPOCH

¹ John Finis Philips, a Representative from Missouri; born in Thralls Prairie, Boone County, Mo., December 31, 1834; attended the common schools and the University of Missouri at Columbia, and was graduated from Centre College, Danville, Ky., in 1855; studied law; was admitted to the bar in 1857, and commenced practice in Georgetown, Pettis County, Mo.; member of the State constitutional convention in 1861; during the Civil war was commissioned colonel in 1862, and commanded the Seventh Regiment Missouri Volunteer Cavalry; served until the close of the war and was commended for gallantry by Gov. Willard B. Hall; resumed the practice of his profession at Sedalia, Mo.; served as a mayor; delegate to the Democratic National Convention at New York City in 1868; unsuccessful candidate for election in 1868 to the Forty-first Congress; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-fourth Congress (March 4, 1875-March 3, 1877); elected to the Forty-sixth Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Alfred M. Lay, and served from January 10, 1880, to March 3, 1881; unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1880 to the Forty-seventh Congress; moved to Kansas City, Mo., in 1881, and resumed the practice of law; commissioner of the Missouri Supreme Court 1883-1885; judge of the Kansas City court of appeals 1885-1888; appointed United States judge of the western district of

Missouri by President Cleveland in 1888, and served until 1910, when he retired from public life; died at Hot Springs, Ark., while on a visit, March 13, 1919.—“Biographical Directory of the American Congress.”

² Abraham Lincoln, a Representative from Illinois and a President of the United States; born in Hardin County, Ky., February 12, 1809; moved with his parents to a heavily timbered tract of land on Little Pigeon Creek, Ind., in 1816; attended a log-cabin school at short intervals and was self-instructed in elementary branches; at the age of nineteen was intrusted with a cargo of farm products, which he took to New Orleans and sold; moved with his father to a forest location in Macon County, Ill., in 1830, and a little later to an unbroken prairie farm in Coles County, Ill.; hired himself to a Sangamon County trader named Denton Offutt, whom he assisted in the construction of a flatboat for trading upon the rivers and also in maintaining a general store in New Salem, Menard County, Ill.; read the principles of law and works on surveying; during the Black Hawk war he volunteered in a company of Sangamon County Rifles organized in Richland, Ill., April 21, 1832; was elected its captain, and served until May 25 following, when the company was mustered out of service; re-enlisted as a private, and served until mustered out June 16, 1832; returned to New Salem, Ill., and was unsuccessful as a candidate for the State house of representatives; encountered reverses that were generally attributed to his partner; applied himself to the study of law; postmaster of New Salem 1833-1836; deputy county surveyor 1834-1836; elected a member of the State house of representatives in 1834, 1836, 1838, and 1840; declined to be a candidate for renomination; was admitted to the bar in 1836; moved to Springfield, Ill., in 1837 and engaged in the practice of law; elected as a Whig to the Thirtieth Congress (March 4, 1847-March 3, 1849); did not seek a renomination in 1848; an unsuccessful applicant for Commissioner of the General Land Office under President Taylor; tendered the Governorship of Oregon Territory, but declined; unsuccessful Whig candidate for election to the United States Senate before the legislature of 1855; chosen by the Republican Party to oppose Stephen A. Douglas for the United States Senate in 1858, and the debate between the candidates made memorable the campaign in which Douglas was final victor; elected as the first Republican President of the United States, and was inaugurated March 4, 1861; unanimously renominated in the convention of June 8, 1864, and was inaugurated for a second term March 4, 1865; was shot by J. Wilkes Booth while attending Ford's Theater in the city of Washington, D. C., on the night of April 14, 1865, and died the following day.—“Biographical Directory of the American Congress.”

³ Michael K. McGrath, of St. Louis, formerly secretary of state of Missouri, says that the outer lines of historic Camp Jackson correspond exactly with what is now Compton Avenue on the east, Laclede Avenue on the south, Olive Street on the north and Grand Avenue on the west; General D. M. Frost's (commanding the brigade) headquarters, southwest corner of Lindell and Theresa avenues; Colonel John Knapp's headquarters (First Regiment), on the block between Lindell, Theresa, Pine and Grand; Colonel John S. Bowen (Second Regiment), in the block between Theresa, Lindell, Pine and Channing. The quartermaster's stores and mess hall were on Lawton Avenue, east of Theresa, and the parade and drill ground on the blocks between Laclede, Pine, Theresa and Grand.

Champ Clark said: “Camp Jackson is slurred over with an occasional paragraph in the books of history, but it was the turning point in the war west of the Mississippi, and was the work of Frank P. Blair, Jr., the Kentuckian, the Missourian, the slave owner, the patrician, the lionine soldier, the patriotic statesman.”

⁴ Charles Daniel Drake, a Senator from Missouri; born in Cincinnati, Ohio, April 11, 1811; attended St. Joseph's College, Bardstown, Ky., in 1823 and 1824, and Patridge's Military Academy, Middletown, Conn., in 1824 and 1825; appointed midshipman in the United States Navy in 1825 and served four years, when he resigned; studied law, and was admitted to the bar in Cincinnati in 1833; moved to St. Louis, Mo., in 1834 and continued the practice of his profession; member of the State house of representatives in 1859 and 1860; presidential elector on the Republican ticket of Lincoln and Johnson in 1864; member of the State constitutional convention in 1865; elected as a Republican to the United States Senate, and served from March 4,

1867, to December 19, 1870, when he resigned to accept a judicial position; appointed chief justice of the Court of Claims and served until January, 1885, when he retired; died in Washington, D. C., April 1, 1892.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁵ John D. S. Dryden, lawyer and jurist, was born March 27, 1814, in Washington County, Virginia. After obtaining a common school education, supplemented by a short attendance at an old-time academy, he studied law and was admitted to the bar in Missouri, to which State he had come as a boy, in 1829. In 1845 he formed a partnership with Thomas L. Anderson, of Palmyra, which continued in existence until 1848. He practiced thereafter in Northeast Missouri until 1862, and became recognized as one of the leaders of the bar in that portion of the State. In the year last named he was appointed judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri by Gov. Hamilton R. Gamble, and in 1864 was elected to the supreme judgeship. In the fall of 1865 he removed his residence from Palmyra to St. Louis, and, retiring from the supreme bench, engaged in the practice of his profession in this city as head of the firm of Dryden & Lindley. This partnership was dissolved in 1871 by reason of Judge Lindley's election as judge of the circuit court. Thereafter he practiced in connection with his son, John W. Dryden, under the firm name of Dryden & Dryden, until his death. The only public office which he held after his retirement from the supreme bench was that of representative in the State Legislature as a member of the Thirtieth General Assembly. He was known throughout his life as a Benton Democrat, and during the Civil war was a firm supporter of the National Government. He died in St. Louis, in 1886.—"Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis," by William Hyde and Howard L. Conard.

^{5a} There is probably no man in Saline County who ever got a bigger thrill out of voting the Democratic ticket than Madison Gilliam, 92-year-old citizen of Gilliam, Missouri. The occasion was 1864, when Abraham Lincoln was the candidate for President on the Republican ticket and Gen. George B. McClelland was the Democratic nominee.

Mr. Gilliam, who was in sympathy with the South during the war between the States, had found it necessary to leave his home in Saline County, near Cambridge, after he had been accused of aiding some of Bill Anderson's men who had been wounded in a fight with Federal soldiers. He had gone to the home of his wife's people in Nodaway County when the incident referred to above occurred.

Early in the morning of the election in 1864, Mr. Gilliam and a man named Turner who wanted to vote the Democratic ticket went to their voting precinct which was at Wyatt's Schoolhouse in Nodaway County. On arriving at the schoolhouse they found the polls in charge of armed Federal home guards who had brought a rope with them and announced on opening the polls that any man who voted against Abe Lincoln would be hanged. Being hanged did not appeal to Gilliam and Turner and, since they had no intention of voting the Republican ticket, they withdrew for consultation and waited to see what would happen if any of their neighbors voted the Democratic ticket. They waited all day and the bluff of the home guards had worked. Not a vote had been cast for McClelland, the Democratic candidate. It was near the time for the polls to close when the two young Democrats went behind the schoolhouse for another consultation. Turner said, "I am going to vote the Democratic ticket and as I am a single man I'll vote first, and then if they hang me you won't have to vote."

Then Gilliam drew his revolver and said: "All right, Turner, you can vote first but this thing has six loads in it and I will be standing right behind you and if any of those devils lay their hands on you I'll blow the wax out of their ears."

The ballots were on separate sheets of paper; the Republican on white paper and the Democratic on red. The two young men walked up to the polls with Turner in front and Gilliam just behind him. Turner had his ticket folded tight in his hand and dropped it into the hand of one of the judges while Gilliam waited to see what would happen. The election judge quickly dropped the ticket in the box, pretending not to see the color. This did not suit Gilliam, who wanted everybody to know he was a Democrat, so drawing his ticket from his vest pocket he unfolded it and held it up before all the judges, then passed it to one of them and stood there quietly while the

judge folded it up and put it in the box. Then, taking his place between Turner and the armed judges he backed to the door, with his hand on his gun ready to beat them to the draw if any of them made a motion to do so.

None of the soldiers made an attempt to follow the two young men out of the building and after they were outside Gilliam sent word to his young wife that he wouldn't be home for several days; and crossed the river, where he stayed with some friends until he was sure the soldiers were not after him. There were only two votes cast for the Democratic ticket at that Democratic precinct that day and when Gilliam returned to his home he accused his father-in-law of voting for Lincoln; but the old man said no. He voted the white ticket but he tore Lincoln's name off of it before he folded it up to hand it to the judge.

⁶ Barton Bates was born February 29, 1824, in St. Louis; he was the eldest son of Edward Bates; studied law under Hamilton R. Gamble; was president of the North Missouri Railroad (now the Wabash); in 1862 was appointed Judge of the Supreme Court by Governor Gamble; in 1863 was elected to the same position; resigned in February, 1865. He died December 29, 1891.

⁷ Ulysses Simpson Grant, eighteenth President of the United States, was born at Point Pleasant, Ohio, April 27, 1822. He was of Scottish ancestry, though his family had been American in all its branches for eight generations. He was a descendant of Mathew Grant, who arrived at Dorchester, Massachusetts, in May of 1630. His father was Jesse R. Grant, and his mother's maiden name was Hannah Simpson. His parents were married in Clermont County, Ohio, in 1821, and Ulysses S. Grant was the eldest of six children. He passed his boyhood on his father's farm in Ohio, and attended the village school until 1839, when he was appointed to a cadetship in the United States Military Academy at West Point by Honorable Thomas L. Hamer, then a member of Congress from Ohio. In this connection it is of interest to note the fact that an error in the appointment gave him a name which he ever afterward bore. At his birth he was christened Hiram Ulysses, but as a boy he was always called by his middle name. Mr. Hamer, thinking this his first name, and that his middle name was probably that of his mother's family, inserted in the official appointment the name Ulysses S. He was graduated from the Military Academy in 1843, standing twenty-first in a class of thirty-nine. He was commissioned, on graduation, as a brevet second lieutenant, was attached to the Fourth Infantry regiment and assigned to duty at Jefferson Barracks. He was commissioned second lieutenant in 1845, and served in the war with Mexico, first under General Taylor and then under General Scott, taking part in every battle from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico. He was made captain in 1853. The year following he resigned and established his home on the farm near St. Louis, which is now known as "Grant's Farm," the country estate of the late August A. Busch. He was one of the first to offer his services to his country when the Civil war broke out, and became colonel of an Illinois volunteer regiment. In May he was made brigadier-general receiving his commission as such while stationed at Ironton, Mo., and placed in command at Cairo. He occupied Paducah, broke up the Confederate camp at Belmont, and in February, 1862, captured Forts Henry and Donelson. He was then promoted to major-general, conducted the battle of Pittsburg Landing, or Shiloh, and for a while was second in command to Halleck. He performed excellent service in the West and Southwest, especially in the vicinity of the Mississippi River and at and near the Tennessee River, in 1863. He was created a lieutenant-general March 1, 1864, and awarded a gold medal by Congress. He issued his first order as general-in-chief of the armies of the United States at Nashville, March 17, 1864. In the grand movements of the armies in 1864 he accompanied that of the Potomac, with his headquarters "in the field," and he remained with it until he signed the articles of capitulation at Appomattox Court House, April 9, 1865. In 1866 he was promoted to General of the United States Army. After the war Grant fixed his headquarters at Washington. When President Johnson suspended Stanton from the office of Secretary of War—August 12, 1867—Grant was put in his place, *ad interim*, and held the position until January 14, 1868, when Stanton was reinstated by the Senate. In 1868 General Grant was elected President of the United States by the Republican party, and was reelected in 1872. He retired

from the office March 4, 1877. He died on Mount McGregor, near Saratoga, New York, July 23, 1885.—"Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis," by William Hyde and Howard L. Conard.

⁸ Horatio Seymour, statesman, born at Pompey Hill, Onondaga County, New York, in 1810. After serving three terms, with marked ability, in the New York legislature, in 1852 was elected governor on the Democratic ticket. At the outbreak of the Civil war he was decidedly in favor of the supremacy of the constitution, and as governor showed conspicuous energy and ability in raising troops. He was elected governor again in 1862, but was defeated for this office in 1864. In 1868 he was the Democratic nominee for the presidency, but was defeated by Grant. As an orator Mr. Seymour was easy, agreeable and powerful, rising often into true eloquence. He died February 12, 1886.

⁹ James Overton Broadhead was born at Charlottesville, Albemarle County, Virginia, May 29, 1819. At the age of eighteen, after a year spent at the University of Virginia, he removed to Pike County, Missouri, where he was admitted to the bar in the year 1842. In 1845 he was a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention, in 1847 a member of the State House of Representatives from Pike County, a State Senator in 1851, a member of the committee of safety in St. Louis in 1861, and in the same year a delegate to the State Convention which assembled to determine upon the course of the State on the issue of Union or secession. Appointed to be district attorney of the United States during this year, he soon resigned his office in order to discharge more pressing public duties growing out of the exigencies of the war. In 1863 he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of volunteers by President Lincoln, and immediately appointed provost marshal-general of the Military Department of Missouri. Elected a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1875, he labored incessantly in the formation of the constitution adopted in that year. He was retained as special counsel for the government in the famous "Whiskey Ring" cases in St. Louis in 1876, and in 1878 was made president of the American Bar Association. In the year 1882 he was elected to Congress, and served with distinction on the judiciary committee of the house during his term, declining a renomination. President Cleveland, in 1885, appointed him special commissioner to make examination with reference to the "French Spoliation Claims," in pursuance of which duty he spent several months in France examining the government archives, and upon his report Congress took the first action toward making provision for the payment to the descendants of those whose claims had been ignored for nearly a century. Soon after the completion of this duty, he was appointed minister to Switzerland, which office he held until about two years before his death. He died in St. Louis, August 7, 1898.—"History of Missouri," by William Hyde.

¹⁰ Andrew Johnson was born in Raleigh, N. C., December 29, 1808; self-educated, never attended school; moved to Tennessee in 1826; elected as a Democrat to Congress, 1843-1853; governor of Tennessee, 1853-1857; U. S. Senator, 1857-1862; resigned; appointed by President Lincoln military governor of Tennessee; elected as a war Democrat Vice President of the United States on the Republican ticket headed by Abraham Lincoln, in 1864; upon the death of Lincoln, 1865, he became President; after three months of impeachment proceedings in Congress, was acquitted; died at the home of his daughter, near Elizabethton, Carter County, Tennessee, July 31, 1875.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹¹ There is one epoch in the history of the State, that at one time was discussed in the political arena, that the younger generation have lost sight of and probably forgotten. It was entombed in the Legislative Acts of the State of Missouri of the 1860s. It is difficult to find, and a diligent student would be compelled to make some careful investigation before he could write the story of that time and those events.

In the development of the State of Missouri prior to the Civil war, means of transportation was very important, water-ways of the State were inadequate and over a vast stretch of domain there could be no transportation for commerce of the State other than by railroads. Under these circumstances railroad transportation was very much needed. The United States Government recognized the needs of

railroad facilities in the development of the Middle West. Some year prior to the Civil war, when the public domain in the State was large, the United States granted to four proposed lines of railroad a vast amount of public land to aid in the construction of these lines. The State of Missouri under democratic control also visioned the importance of railroads in the development of the state's natural resources and for the convenience and accommodation of its inhabitants. For the purposes of encouraging construction of the roads as proposed, the State of Missouri loaned its credit to the corporations organized to construct and operate the lines of the roads. A large amount of State Bonds were issued, the proceeds of which went to these private corporations. To protect the inhabitants of the State and to prevent the State from losing the amount of aid given, the State took first mortgages on all the railroads' property, including the lands donated by the United States.

In course of time the railroads so built by aid of the State, were unable to perform the contracts entered into with the State of Missouri, and the mortgages became in default. One line of railroad, at least, was sold and became the property of the State, including all lands conveyed by the mortgage.

Thus matters stood, when the tide of the Civil war swept over the State, which ultimately resulted, after peace, in Republican rule. The party whose life has been dominated and nourished by greed, graft and favoritism displayed its chief characteristics in the management of the property belonging to the State of Missouri, acquired by virtue of its mortgage liens, and its rights under those that had not been foreclosed.

By a series of Legislative Acts, it surrendered all the State's prior rights and yielded its advantageous position with reference to the railroads so aided. The railroad owned by the State was conveyed outright to a corporation organized to take over such railroad, including the lands donated by the United States, not even reserving a small tract of land to serve as a public park, a fish hatchery or a game preserve.

The railroad corporation borrowed on its property so acquired, a large sum of money for which it gave its first mortgage on the property as security. The State, by Legislative Acts, accepted second mortgage bonds as evidence of the debt due it.

Default on the first mortgage was an easy means of transferring all the rights of the State to some other corporation organized by the same bunch of grafters that had first taken over the property. It is quite probably that default was contemplated and designed at the very inception of the transaction in order to unburden the property belonging to the corporation, from the State debt. At least default took place and a foreclosure of the first mortgage and a sale of the property followed. The State lost all it had loaned in aid of the project.

Too late to salvage anything from the wreck of this experiment with the republicanism, the democracy again came into power and found the State burdened with the great bonded debt, from this evidence of high finances, graft and favoritism, by the Republican Party.

The facts relative to the nefarious transaction can be ascertained with all dates and legislative acts which authorized them, but it would take time and patience to dig them out of the old Statutes of the State. If it is deemed worth while by the Editors of the proposed history it would not take one familiar with the laws of the State of Missouri long to make a complete display of the whole situation.

MISSOURI'S REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS

CHAPTER II

THE SENATE

Waldo P. Johnson¹ was elected United States Senator in 1861, and on January 10, 1862, he was expelled from the Senate, charged with disloyalty.

In the years immediately following the Civil war, he was wont to say, "I doubt very much if any man who was in the Confederate Army or whose father was in the Confederate Army will ever be Governor of Missouri." Judge Johnson sat in the United States Senate until after the Battle of Bull Run and until after his resolutions looking to peace were defeated in the summer of 1861. He then joined his fortunes with the Confederacy, was wounded in battle and went to Richmond as one of the two senators in the Confederate Congress from Missouri. From personal experience he knew political conditions at that time in the North perhaps better than any other Missourian. He would add to the remark just quoted, "I doubt this for the reason that just about the time the delegates assemble, and are about to nominate some man like Cockrell or Vest, the convention will be inundated by telegrams purporting to come from the eastern part of the United States, but in reality manufactured in the city of St. Louis, saying that this is a Presidential year, and the nomination of an ex-rebel for governor of Missouri may endanger the election of a democratic president, as well as defeat some Democrat who is running for justice of the peace in Maine."

His character was made the subject of many glowing tributes. Honorable Banton G. Boone, the Attorney General of Missouri, in presenting to the Supreme Court a tribute from the bar of St. Louis and Henry County, said:

"Brilliant and commanding as was the public and professional career of Judge Johnson, his private life shone with a still more resplendent luster. He was possessed of thought, a purity of purpose and nobility of action worthy of emulation. A career full of earnest endeavor and honorable action is equally the pride and glory of the state, and among all the great names of Missouri, both of the living and the dead, there is none more honored than that of Waldo P. Johnson."

Robert Wilson² of Andrew County, listed as a Conservative, was appointed to succeed Waldo P. Johnson by Provisional Governor Hall in the absence of Governor Gamble.

In 1862 John B. Henderson³ of Pike County, a Republican, was appointed United States senator by Provisional Governor Hall in the absence of Governor Gamble.

In 1863 B. Gratz Brown⁴ of St. Louis, a Republican, was elected United States Senator by the General Assembly for a term ending March 4, 1867. Brown was succeeded by Charles D. Drake, who resigned in 1871. David F. Jewett of St. Louis, a Republican, was appointed to succeed Drake, and in 1869 Carl Schurz⁵ of St. Louis, a Republican, was elected United States Senator by the General Assembly.

FOOT NOTES—CHAPTER II—FOURTH EPOCH

¹ Waldo Porter Johnson (nephew of Joseph Johnson), a Senator from Missouri; born in Bridgeport, Harrison County, Virginia, September 16, 1817; attended public and private schools, and was graduated from Rector College, Pruntytown, Taylor County, Virginia, in 1839; studied law, was admitted to the bar, and commenced practice in Harrison County, Virginia, in 1841; moved to Osceola, St. Clair County, Missouri, in 1842 and continued the practice of law; served in the war with Mexico as a member of the First Missouri Regiment of Mounted Volunteers; member of the State house of representatives in 1847; elected circuit attorney in 1848 and judge of the seventh judicial circuit in 1851; resigned in 1852 and resumed the practice of law; member of the peace convention of 1861 held in Washington, D. C., in an effort to devise means to prevent the impending war; elected as a Democrat to the United States Senate, and served from March 17, 1861, to January 10, 1862, when he was expelled from the Senate; served in the Confederate Army during the Civil war; attained the rank of lieutenant colonel of the Fourth Missouri Infantry; was twice wounded in the Battle of Pea Ridge, March 8, 1862; engaged in recruiting and organizing troops for General Price's army; appointed member of the Senate of Confederate States to fill a vacancy; resided in Hamilton, Canada, from August, 1865, to April, 1866; returned to Osceola, Missouri, and resumed the practice of his profession; president of the State constitutional convention in 1875; died in Osceola, Missouri, August 14, 1885.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

² Robert Wilson, a Senator from Missouri; born near Staunton, Va., in November, 1803; moved to Howard County, Mo., in 1820; taught school; probate judge of Howard County in 1825; clerk of the circuit and county courts in 1829-1840; appointed brigadier general of the State forces in 1837 and served during the so-called Mormon war; studied law, was admitted to the bar, and commenced practice in 1840; moved to Huntsville, Mo.; member of the State house of representatives in 1844; moved to Andrew County, Mo., in 1852; served in the State senate in 1854; chosen as a Union delegate to the State convention called to determine the attitude on secession in 1861 and elected vice president of the convention, later acting as president; appointed as a Unionist to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the expulsion of Waldo P. Johnson, and served from January 17, 1862, to November 13, 1863, when a successor was elected; engaged in agricultural pursuits; died in Marshall, Saline County, Mo., May 10, 1870.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

³ John Brooks Henderson, a Senator from Missouri; born near Danville, Pittsylvania County, Va., November 16, 1826; moved with his parents to Lincoln County, Mo., in 1832; pursued academic studies; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1848, and practiced; member of the State house of representatives 1848-1856; presidential elector on the Democratic ticket of Buchanan and Breckinridge in 1856 and of Douglas and Johnson in 1860; delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Charleston in 1860; member of the State convention in 1861; commissioned a brigadier general in the State militia in 1861; appointed and subsequently elected to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the expulsion of Trusten Polk; reelected in 1863, and served from January 17, 1862, to March 3, 1869; special United States attorney for prosecution of whisky ring at St. Louis in 1865; appointed a commissioner to treat with hostile tribes of Indians in 1867; moved to Washington, D. C., in 1891, and resided there until his death, April 12, 1913.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁴ Benjamin Gratz Brown, a Senator from Missouri; born in Lexington, Ky., May 28, 1826; completed preparatory studies; was graduated from Transylvania University, Lexington, Ky., in 1845, and from Yale College in 1847; studied law in Louisville, Ky., was admitted to the bar in 1849, and commenced practice in St. Louis, Mo.; member of the State house of representatives 1852-1858; one of the founders of the *Missouri Democrat*, and its chief editor 1854; unsuccessful candidate for election in 1857 as Governor of Missouri; took an active part in preventing the secession of Missouri in 1861; during the Civil war enlisted in the Union Army; raised a regiment and commanded it; led a brigade against Price and Van Dorn; elected as a Democrat to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the expulsion of Waldo P. Johnson, and served from November 13, 1863, to March 3, 1867; Governor of Missouri in 1871; unsuccessful Democratic candidate for Vice President of the United States on the ticket with Horace Greeley in 1872; resumed the practice of law; died in Kirkwood, near St. Louis, Mo., December 13, 1885.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁵ Carl Schurz, a senator from Missouri; born in Liblar, near Cologne, Germany, March 2, 1829; was educated at the Gymnasium of Cologne and the University of Bonn; having taken part in the revolution of 1848, he was compelled to flee from Germany; was a newspaper correspondent in Paris and later taught school in London; emigrated to the United States in 1852 and settled in Philadelphia, Pa.; moved to Watertown, Wis., in 1855; studied law, was admitted to the bar and practiced in Milwaukee, Wis.; unsuccessful candidate for Lieutenant Governor of Wisconsin; delegate to the Republican National Conventions at Chicago in 1860 and 1868; appointed minister to Spain in 1861, but soon afterwards resigned; during the Civil war was appointed brigadier general of Volunteers in the Union Army; engaged in newspaper work after the war in St. Louis, Mo.; elected as a Republican to the United States Senate, and served from March 4, 1869, to March 3, 1875; was not a candidate for reelection in 1874; served in the Cabinet of President Hayes as Secretary of the Interior from March 12, 1877, to March 4, 1881; editor of the *New York Evening Post* 1881-1884; contributor to *Harper's Weekly* 1892-1898; president of the National Civil Service Reform League 1892-1901; died in New York City May 14, 1906.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

The American Medical Association is a non-profit corporation organized for the purpose of promoting the interests of the medical profession and the public. It was founded in 1847 and has since that time been the leading organization of the medical profession in the United States. The Association's primary concern is the advancement of the medical profession and the improvement of the medical service to the public. It accomplishes this through a variety of means, including the publication of the Journal of the American Medical Association, the holding of annual meetings, and the advocacy of legislation and public policy. The Association also provides a wide range of services to its members, including continuing medical education, insurance, and retirement plans. The Journal of the American Medical Association is one of the most important and influential medical journals in the world. It is published weekly and contains a wide variety of articles, including original research, clinical reports, and reviews. The Journal is read by a large number of physicians and other medical professionals, and it is also widely cited in the medical literature. The Journal's content is determined by a board of editors, who are chosen by the Association's members. The board of editors is responsible for ensuring that the Journal's content is of the highest quality and that it is relevant to the interests of the medical profession and the public. The Journal's success is a testament to the dedication and hard work of the Association's members and staff, and it is a source of pride for the entire medical profession.

CHAPTER III

MISSOURI REPRESENTATIVES

CONGRESS—1861—HOUSE

Francis P. Blair, Jr., of St. Louis, was elected from the First District. He resigned to join the Union forces in the Civil war and James R. Barrett of St. Louis, a Union-Democrat, was elected to succeed him.

James S. Rollins of Boone County, a Whig, was elected from the Second District. William Hyde wrote, thirty-five years afterwards, his impressions of James S. Rollins in the campaigns of 1860:

"James S. Rollins of Boone County was an old-time Whig in the days of that party, had been its candidate for governor at the time Austin King was elected in 1848, and before that a delegate to the convention which nominated Henry Clay for President. He was the Whig candidate for United States senator in '48-49, and was a member of the Legislature at the preceding session, and was well-equipped in every respect for a great campaign on the stump. Perhaps no more effective public speaker has ever raised his voice in Missouri than Rollins. Of magnificent intellectual attainments, splendid physique, superb address, imperturbable good nature, fluent in speech and graceful in gesture, he was a born orator. Polish and suavity seemed to be inhaled from the air he breathed. He was, in fact, too polite for impressing strangers altogether with ideas of his sincerity, for whilst he was always plausible, he frequently left just the least particle of a notion that he was somewhat superficial. With Henry Clay as his political ideal he was early imbued with Clay's sentiments on the subject of emancipation and colonization, and these remained with him, but he seemed always apprehensive that those around him would not distinguish between the attitude and that of abolitionism. He was not as bold a man as Blair, whom he greatly admired, but his surroundings were different; as what might do for Blair in the freer atmosphere of St. Louis would have been hazardous to the ambition of one living in the country, where any phase of anti-slavery feeling was associated in some degree with negro equality and the underground railroad. Thus Rollins felt himself handicapped, as it were, and often forced to do skillful piloting. Moreover, he was wrapped up in the welfare of Boone County and the promotion of the interests of the State University at Columbia, to which he devoted all his energies."

John Bullock Clark of Howard County was elected from the Third District. Clark was expelled for disloyalty, and William A. Hall¹ of Randolph County, a Democrat, was elected in his stead. Hall, like his distinguished kinsman, Willard P. Hall, was an uncompromising Union-

Democrat. His reasons against secession were, in part: "The geographical position of Missouri makes her essential to the North and even if the North should consent to the secession of every other slaveholding state, it will never consent to the secession of Missouri. She lies in its pathway to the West. She commands the navigation of the Missouri and all its tributaries, of the Upper Mississippi, the Illinois, the Ohio, the Tennessee, and the Cumberland. Never will the North and the Northwest permit the navigation of these great rivers to be controlled by a powerful foreign nation, for their free navigation is essential to the prosperity of these regions. They might let the mouths of the Mississippi be held by a weak confederacy of cotton states, but never by a powerful people of which Missouri would form a part. Our feelings and our sympathies strongly incline us to go with the South in the event of a separation; but passion and feeling are temporary, interest is permanent. The influence of geographical position will continue so long as the face of the earth remains as it is, and the position of Missouri and the navigation of the Mississippi will be great and important interests long ages after the feelings and passions which now dominate the country shall have passed away and been forgotten."

Elijah H. Norton² of Platte County, a whig, was elected from the Fourth District. This was the beginning of the career that made this man one of the most influential democrats in the state after the Civil war. He was appointed Supreme Judge in 1876 by Governor Phelps, and elected Supreme Judge in 1878 for a term of ten years.

John W. Reid³ of Jackson County was elected from the Fifth District. Reid was expelled for disloyalty and Thomas L. Price of Cole County was elected in his stead. In 1848 Thomas L. Price was elected lieutenant-governor on the ticket with Governor Austin A. King.

John S. Phelps of Greene County was elected from the Sixth District, making the ninth time he had been honored in succession with this position; John W. Noell of St. Francois County was elected from the Seventh District.

CONGRESS—1863

In 1863 Missouri was given two additional congressmen. John W. Noell of St. Francois County was elected, this time from the Third District. Noell died, and John G. Scott of Jefferson County, a Republican, was elected to succeed him.

Austin A. King of Ray County was elected from the Sixth District, as a Union Democrat. He had served with distinction as governor of Missouri from 1848 to 1852.

William A. Hall of Randolph County was elected, this time from the Eighth District; James S. Rollins of Boone County from the Ninth District, this time he came back to Congress as a democrat.

CONGRESS—1865

The Radical government was in power during this period. The Test Oath, which disfranchised more than 100,000 voters, was in full force.

John Hogan⁴ of St. Louis was elected from the First District, and George W. Anderson⁵ of Pike County from the Ninth District.

CONGRESS—1867

Thomas Estes Noell of St. Francois County was elected from the Third District. Noell died, and John R. McCormick of Iron County was elected to succeed him.

Joseph W. McClurg, a republican, who was serving his third term in Congress from the Fifth District, was elected governor of Missouri in 1868. John H. Stover⁶ of Morgan County, a democrat, was elected to succeed McClurg.

George W. Anderson of Pike County was elected from the Ninth District.

CONGRESS—1869

Erastus Wells⁷ of St. Louis, was elected from the First District as a democrat. Erastus Wells, the father of Rolla Wells, one of the most popular mayors St. Louis ever had, was without doubt the Father of Street Transportation. To give some idea of its inception, Walter B. Stevens in his history "St. Louis, the Fourth City" (vol. I, p. 315) says, in part:

"The present generation can hardly conceive of a demand for public transit on the route selected from Third and Market streets to the upper ferry. But in 1844 those were terminal points between which travel suggested the need of a line of public vehicles. The city was growing along the river. Expansion westward came later. The second bus line put on the streets ran southward from the National hotel to the arsenal.

"The venture of Erastus Wells proved successful. Two conditions contributed to the success. Judgment as to the route was vindicated by the receipts. At the outset, Mr. Wells rigidly observed the schedule. At first he drove the bus and collected the fares. The hour and minute for departure from the National Hotel and the upper ferry were established and adhered to. If when the time came to start Wells didn't have a passenger, he drove away as punctually and cheerfully as if he had a load. People going over the route learned that the time card could be depended upon. This, it is said, had as much as anything else to do in determining the gradually increasing patronage. Calvin Case went into the omnibus business with Mr. Wells extensively. Other lines were started. Never forgetting his earliest experience, Mr. Wells insisted after he became a manager of several lines, instead of a driver of one home-made omnibus, upon strictest observance of the schedules."

In "St. Louis, the Future Great City," L. U. Reavis (p. 211) says of Erastus Wells:

"In politics Mr. Wells was a democrat, who received many votes from those who politically opposed him. In Congress he was a close observer, a diligent worker in behalf of the state and the city of St. Louis. * * * Through his efforts Congress appropriated \$2,000,000 for building the post office and Custom House. Until his advent into Congress not a dollar

had ever been appropriated for the improvement of the Mississippi River between the mouth of the Missouri River and the Meramec. He secured an appropriation of \$200,000 to improve this part of the river, and \$300,000 to improve the channel to Cairo. He was largely instrumental in the passing by Congress of the 'Eads Jetty' Bill."

John R. McCormick⁵ of Iron County was elected from the Third District.

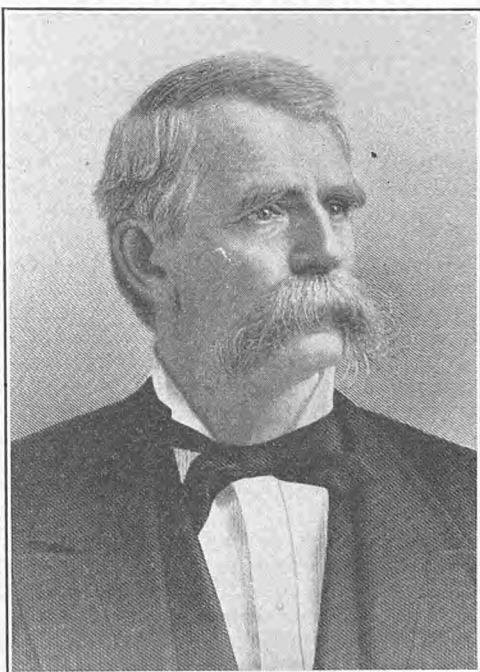
FOOT NOTES—CHAPTER III—FOURTH EPOCH

¹ William Augustus Hall (father of Uriel Sebree Hall), a Representative from Missouri; born in Portland, Maine, October 15, 1815; moved with his parents to Virginia; attended the public schools and Yale College; studied law, was admitted to the bar, and practiced; moved to Fayette, Howard County, Mo., in 1841; presidential elector on the Democratic ticket of Polk and Dallas in 1844; judge of the circuit court in 1847; during the Mexican war served as captain; delegate to the State constitutional convention in 1861; elected as a Democrat to the Thirty-seventh Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the expulsion of John B. Clark; reelected to the Thirty-eighth Congress, and served from January 20, 1862, to March 3, 1865; was not a candidate for renomination in 1864; delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Chicago in 1864; resumed the practice of law and also engaged in agricultural pursuits; died near Darksville, Randolph County, Mo., December 15, 1888.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

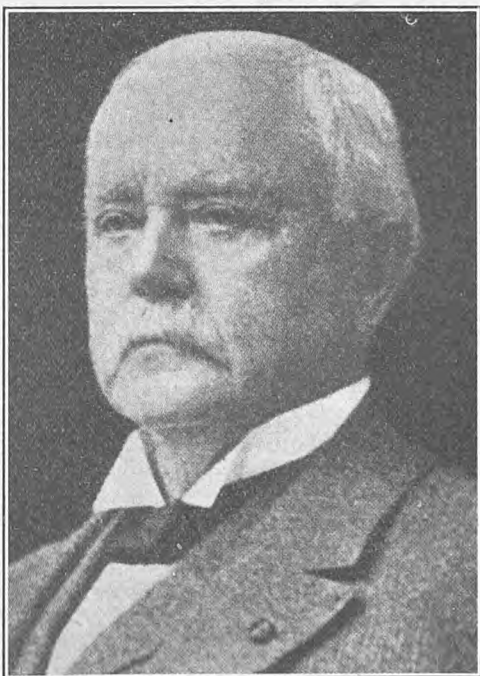
² Elijah Hise Norton, a Representative from Missouri; born in Russellville, Logan County, Ky., November 24, 1821; attended the public schools and Centre College, Danville, Ky., was graduated from the law department of Transylvania University, Lexington, Ky., in 1842; was admitted to the bar, and commenced practice in Platte City, Mo., in 1845; county attorney in 1850; judge of the Circuit Court of Missouri 1852-1860; elected as a Democrat to the Thirty-seventh Congress (March 4, 1861-March 3, 1863); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1862 to the Thirty-eighth Congress; delegate to the State constitutional convention in 1875; appointed and subsequently elected as judge of the State supreme court, and served from 1876 to 1879; resumed the practice of law and the care of his estate; died in Platte City, Platte County, Mo., August 5, 1914.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

³ John William Reid, a Representative from Missouri; born near Lynchburg, Bedford County, Va., June 14, 1821; attended the common schools; moved to Missouri in 1840; taught school; studied law, was admitted to the bar, and commenced practice in Jefferson City, Mo., in 1844; served as captain in the Mexican war; member of the State house of representatives 1854-1856; elected as a Democrat to the Thirty-seventh Congress, and served from March 4, 1861, to August 3, 1861, when he withdrew; during the Civil war served in the Confederate Army as volunteer aide to General Price; appointed a commissioner to adjust claims against the Confederate Government; settled in Kansas City, Mo.; resumed the practice of his profession and engaged in banking; died at Lees Summit, Jackson County, Mo., November 22, 1881.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁴ John Hogan, a Jackson Democrat; joined the Whigs in 1833, at Alton, Illinois; formerly itinerant Methodist preacher; in 1836 elected to the Illinois Legislature from a strong Democratic county; served with Gen. James Shields, Stephen A. Douglas, Abraham Lincoln, and others; in 1840 made an active canvass in Indiana, Iowa, Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky and Tennessee, for Harrison, for President; in 1841 appointed Register of the Land Office at Dixon, Illinois, by President Harrison; removed by President Tyler, subsequently reappointed, but again removed for refusal to contribute for campaign purposes; came to St. Louis in 1850, and when the Whigs undertook to shoulder the Know-Nothing Party, he allied himself again with the Democrats; in 1856 supported Douglas against Lincoln; appointed Postmaster in 1858 by President Buchanan, and removed in 1861 by President Lincoln; in 1864



HON. ERASTUS WELLS
Member of Congress and Father of Street
Transportation in Missouri



HON. JOHN F. PHILIPS
United States District Court Judge

THE
JOURNAL OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

Vol. 100
Part 1
1970

THE
JOURNAL OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

Vol. 100
Part 1
1970

THE
JOURNAL OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

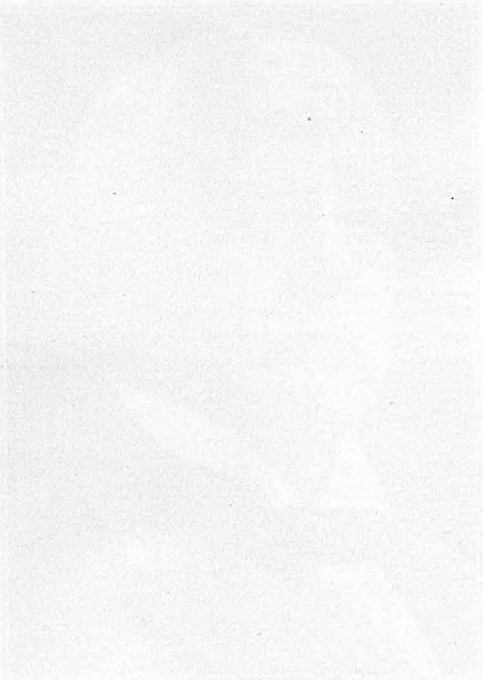
Vol. 100
Part 1
1970

THE
JOURNAL OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

Vol. 100
Part 1
1970

THE
JOURNAL OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

Vol. 100
Part 1
1970



THE
JOURNAL OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

Vol. 100
Part 1
1970

was elected to Congress from the First District, which embraced a quarter part of St. Louis and several outlying townships; served on the committee of Ways and Means; opposed application of Internal Revenue Tax to home industries; was particularly a man of broad views; died in St. Louis, Mo., February 5, 1892.

⁵ George Washington Anderson, a Representative from Missouri; born in Jefferson County, Tenn., May 22, 1832; attended the public schools; and was graduated from Franklin College, Tennessee; moved to St. Louis, Mo., in 1853; studied law, was admitted to the bar in Louisiana, Pike County, Mo., in 1854, and practiced; member of the State house of representatives in 1859 and 1860; presidential elector on the Republican ticket of Lincoln and Hamlin in 1860; served in the State senate in 1862; during the Civil war was captain of Company A, Pike County Home Guards (Missouri), from June 12 to July 17, 1861, when he was elected colonel of the regiment, and served until the organization was disbanded on September 3, 1861; colonel of the Forty-ninth Regiment Enrolled Missouri Militia from August 13, 1862, to January 25, 1863, and from September 29 to December 1, 1864; elected as a Radical Republican to the Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Congresses (March 4, 1865-March 3, 1869); declined to be a candidate for renomination in 1868; resumed the practice of law; died while on a visit to his brother at Rhea Springs, Tenn., February 26, 1902.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁶ John Hubler Stover, a Representative from Missouri; born in Aaronsburg, Center County, Pa., April 24, 1833; completed preparatory studies at Bellefonte Academy; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1857, and commenced practice in Bellefonte, Pa.; held several local offices; district attorney of Center County 1860-1862; during the Civil war enlisted in the Union Army in 1861 as a private, and was successively chosen captain and major; commissioned colonel of the One Hundred and eighty-fourth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry; after the war moved to Versailles, Morgan County, Mo., and resumed the practice of law; district attorney of Morgan County from 1866 to 1868; elected as a Republican to the Fortieth Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Joseph W. McClurg, and served from December 7, 1868, to March 3, 1869; was not a candidate for renomination in 1868; resumed the practice of his profession; engaged in the real-estate business and also interested in mining pursuits at Versailles, Mo.; delegate to the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia in 1876; unsuccessful candidate for election in 1876 to the Forty-fifth Congress; died at Aurora Springs, Mo., October 27, 1889.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁷ Erastus Wells, a Representative from Missouri; born in Sackets Harbor, Jefferson County, N. Y., December 2, 1823; attended the public schools; moved to St. Louis, Mo., in 1842; established the first omnibus line in that city, and subsequently inaugurated the first street railroad company; member of the Board of Aldermen of St. Louis 1853-1867; president of the Missouri Railroad Co. 1859-1883; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-first and to the three succeeding Congresses (March 4, 1869-March 3, 1877); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1876 to the Forty-fifth Congress; elected to the Forty-sixth Congress (March 4, 1879-March 3, 1881); was not a candidate for renomination in 1880; president of the Laclede Gas Light Co. 1880-1883; retired from active business; died in St. Louis, Mo., October 2, 1893.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁸ A plan for the construction, at one of the passes, of jetties, which, in Mr. Eads' language, "are simply *dikes or levees under water*, and are intended to act as banks to the river, to prevent its expanding and diffusing itself as it enters the sea. It is a notable fact that where the banks of a river extend boldly out into the sea, no bar is formed at the entrance. It is where the banks, or jaws of earth, are absent, as is the case in delta-forming rivers, that the bar is an invariable feature. The bar results from the diffusion of the stream as it spreads out fan-like in entering the sea. The diffusion of the river being the cause, the remedy manifestly lies in contracting it, or in preventing the diffusion."

⁹ James Robinson McCormick, a Representative from Missouri; born near Irondale, Washington County, Mo., on August 1, 1824; attended the public schools in Washington County, Mo.; received private instruction and entered Transylvania University,

Lexington, Ky., as a medical student; was graduated from the Memphis (Tenn.) Medical College in 1849 and commenced practice in Wayne County, Mo.; moved to Perry County in 1850 and continued the practice of his profession; delegate to the State constitutional convention in 1861; during the Civil war served as a surgeon in the Sixth Regiment Missouri Volunteer Infantry, Union Army; served in the State senate in 1862, but resigned on account of duties in the army; brigadier general of militia in 1863; after the war located in Arcadia, Mo., and resumed the practice of medicine; again served in the State Senate in 1866, but resigned the following year; elected as a Democrat to the Fortieth Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Thomas W. Noell; reelected to the Forty-first and Forty-second Congresses, and served from December 17, 1867, to March 3, 1873; was not a candidate for reelection in 1872; moved to Farmington, Mo., in 1874; practiced medicine and engaged in the drug business; died in Farmington, St. Francois County, Mo., May 19, 1897.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

FIFTH EPOCH—1871-2

RULE OF REASON, RESTORATION OF CIVIL LIBERTY AND REVIVAL OF DEMOCRACY

CHAPTER I

THE STATE ADMINISTRATION

The election of the Liberal Republican ticket in 1870, headed by B. Gratz Brown as governor, put a new face on the politics of the state. The Democrats supported the Liberal Republican ticket, as every effort was being exerted to eradicate the obnoxious Test Oath and the other restrictive measures that had been legalized by the Radical government. But for the future it was not hoped that any organization could be perpetuated under such conditions. Regarding the Liberal Republican movement Frederick N. Judson, who was secretary to Governor Brown, summed up the situation in this way:

"The completeness of its success was the cause of its disappearance. A party based upon a single issue, called into being to meet a single emergency, could not in the nature of things become permanent. Its policies remained permanently adopted by the state, and though its party life was short, it is entitled to the imperishable glory of having destroyed the last vestiges of the Civil war in Missouri. A nobler record no party could have.

"The members of the Liberal Republican Party returned to the Republican or Democratic Parties, as their opinions or prejudices inclined them. The greater number, doubtless, returned to the Republican Party; this was certainly true as to the German-American voters who had contributed very largely to the liberal movement.

"The extent of the disfranchisement which was ended by the Liberal Republican success may be estimated by a comparison of the total vote at different elections. The total vote in 1860, the last election before the Civil war, was 165,000. In 1864, while the Civil war was raging, it was 103,000. In 1870, the year of the Liberal Republican success, when the colored voters, enfranchised under the fifteenth amendment, voted for the first time, the total was 167,000, showing but a slight increase over 1860, though there had been a very heavy increase in population. In 1872, the first election after the removal of the disabilities, the total vote was 272,000, being an increase of over 100,000 from the two years before."

Beginning the year 1871 the Democrats had little in the state or government service from which a nucleus of organization could be perfected. Francis P. Blair, Jr., represented Missouri in the United States Senate

and Erastus Wells of St. Louis, John R. McCormick of Iron County, A. Comingo of Jackson County, James G. Blair of Lewis County and Andrew King of St. Charles County were the Democrats in the House.

In the General Assembly, Henry C. Brockmeyer, Richard D. Lancaster, T. J. O. Morrison, and James S. Rollins were in the Senate. In the House were James McPike of Marion, R. P. C. Wilson of Platte, Pinky Mabrey of Ripley, Nicholas M. Bell,¹ N. C. Claiborne,² John I. Martin,³ of St. Louis, George F. Chilton of Shannon, George W. Kitchen of Stoddard, and Sheldon A. Wight of Vernon.

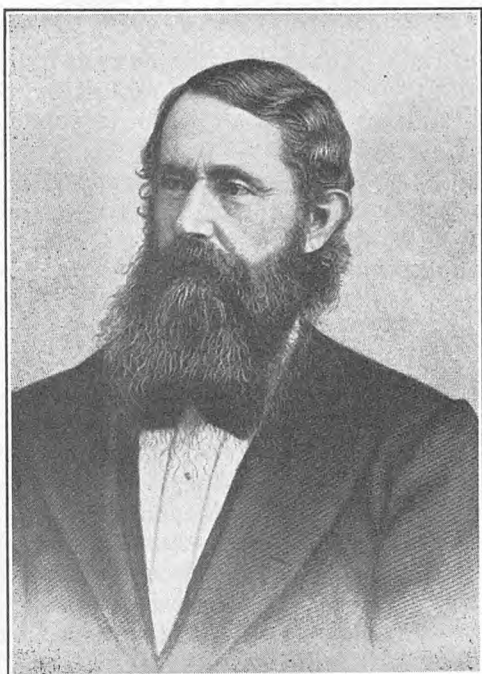
In the opening of the campaign in 1872, when Brown's term as governor was half over, the Missouri Liberals issued a call for a proper representation of the state in a National mass convention to assemble at Cincinnati in May. Francis P. Blair, Jr., and B. Gratz Brown attended this convention and there was some sentiment favoring Brown to head the National ticket. However, the result was that Horace Greeley⁴ was nominated for President and B. Gratz Brown for vice president. Thomas S. Barclay, the historian of the Brown administration, says that Carl Schurz was bitterly disappointed at this, though he supported the ticket. Barclay also says:

BROWN'S CAREER ENDED

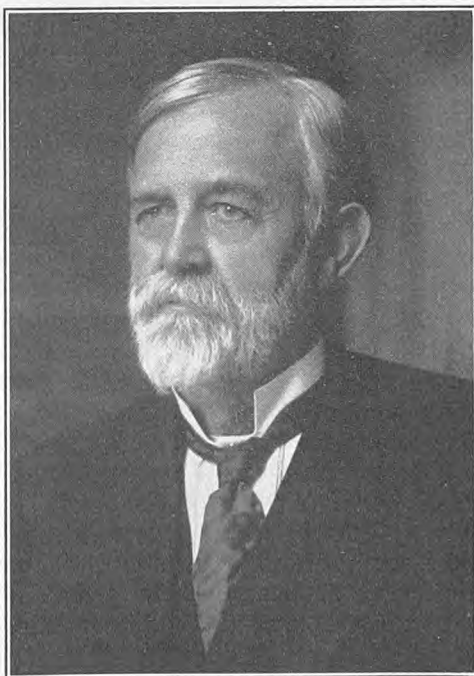
"With the collapse of the Liberal movement Brown's long and active political career ended. It had covered the most turbulent and interesting period of Missouri history, and had been attended with a somewhat varying degree of success. As a Benton Democrat, an Emancipationist, a Unionist, a Republican, a Liberal Republican and a Democrat, he had participated in the eventful years from 1850 to 1872. While Brown lacked Blair's remarkable courage, he had the same spirit of independence which was a powerful factor in his political career."

In 1872 the Democrats and the Liberal Republicans held separate conventions but agreed on a ticket which gave both parties representation, and which included two ex-Confederates. The Democrats desired to nominate William H. Hatch for governor. Colonel Hatch was an ex-Confederate and came near receiving the nomination and would have done so, but for the representations that the effect outside of Missouri might be damaging to the Democratic National Ticket.

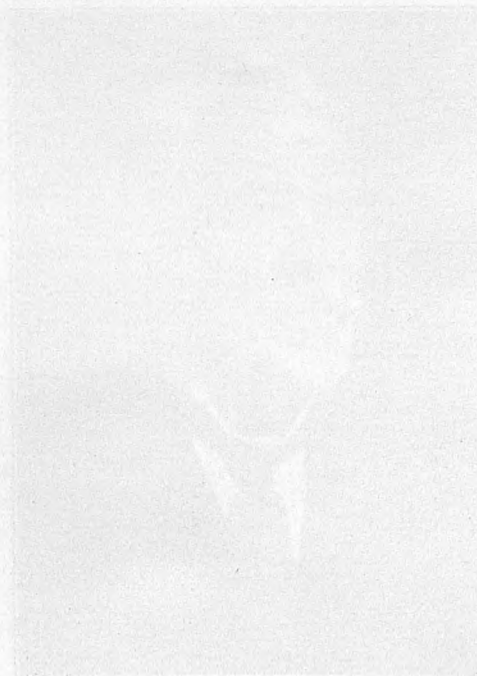
In 1872 the Democrats had several excellent men from whom to select their gubernatorial candidate. These were indicated in the first few ballots which were taken. There was James S. Rollins of Boone County; Joseph L. Stephens of Cooper; Norman J. Colman of St. Louis; William H. Hatch of Marion; R. P. C. Wilson of Platte; John S. Phelps of Greene. Rollins was favored by the powerful and influential St. Louis *Republican*; he also was strong through his interest in the State University. Stephens had a strong hold on the business men of the state. Colman's influence was gained largely through his editorship of the *Rural World*, a widely circulated agricultural publication. The Confederate element backed Hatch. The very excellence of the material promised a long drawn out struggle. The first ballot showed Rollins as high man, with 211 votes, but still



HON. B. GRATZ BROWN
Nineteenth Governor



HON. NICHOLAS M. BELL
Father of Foreign Parcel Post



THE HON. THE CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF CANADA
THE HON. THE CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF CANADA
THE HON. THE CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF CANADA

lacking 214 to give him the necessary majority. On the third ballot Hatch jumped into the lead with 291 votes, followed by Stephens with 260 and Rollins with 271. Suddenly while the roll of candidates was being called for the fourth ballot, R. H. Rose of Jasper County, presented the name of Silas Woodson⁵ of Buchanan County, president of the convention, as a compromise candidate. The nomination was received with such enthusiasm that Woodson was nominated by acclamation.

The officers elected, with their Civil war affiliations, were as follows:
Governor—Silas Woodson, War Democrat.

Lieutenant-Governor—Charles P. Johnson,⁶ in Union Army.

Secretary of State—Eugene F. Weigel, in Union Army.

State Treasurer—Harvey W. Salmon,⁷ in Confederate service.

State Auditor—George B. Clark, in Confederate service.

Attorney-General—H. Clay Ewing, Union man.

Register of Lands—Frederick Salomon, in Union Army.

Superintendent of Public Schools—John Montieth, Union man.

Judges of the Supreme Court—Henry M. Vories, Union man.

Washington Adams,⁸ no record.

Thomas A. Sherwood,⁹ Union man.

The Fifth Epoch of this history can be appropriately ended by a review of the past four years by Carl Schurz, who had been elected to the United States Senate in 1869; as a Republican:

"I am one of those who, in 1870, went out of the convention of the party in whose ranks I had served for fifteen years, for the purpose of doing an act of justice to a large number of our fellow-citizens in a manner calculated to produce the best possible effect upon the future development of the state. The motives which led me to take a step so venturesome for a public man I have never since seen any reason to be ashamed or to repent of. Many thousands of our citizens were then disfranchised in consequence of their attitude during the Civil war. For five years after the close of the great conflict, they had been paying taxes, and a large majority of them had been bearing all the burdens and performing all the duties of citizenship without enjoying any of its political privileges. While such exceptional restrictions were dictated by the policy of self-preservation as war measures, at a time when the issues and results of the conflict were still trembling in the scale, I thought their continuation an unjustifiable wrong and hardship after those issues and results were firmly secured. Moreover, those restrictive laws had put into the hands of the party to which I belonged means to perpetuate its power, which could not fail to lead, and indeed had led, to most grievous tyrannical and demoralizing abuses. It appeared to me, as it did to thousands of Republicans, that it was time to make an end of this. I thought also that if a large number of Republicans stepped before those who had been deprived of their political rights, saying: 'We, members of the dominant party, which might, by maintaining disfranchisement, perpetuate its ascendancy ever so long, actuated as we are by a sense of justice and the impulse of fraternal feeling, restore to you, freely and voluntarily, all the rights and political privileges of which you have been deprived'—such an act

would go far to wipe out forever all the old passions and animosities of past conflicts, and unite the whole people of the state in the bonds of mutual confidence and good understanding. I thought also that such an act of justice, voluntarily performed at the risk of our political fortunes, would, as an example of political independence, be well calculated to disarm for the future that partisan spirit which so frequently has stood, and now stands, in the way of good government."

During the administration of Governor Woodson the Democrats began to retrieve their losses in the state. The Whig element had entirely disappeared, most of which was absorbed by the Democrats. So apparent was this that now many of those who had been most prominent and influential Whigs were aspiring for preferment in the counsels and conventions of the Democratic Party.

ALLAYED DISCORD

Governor Woodson's administration did much to allay the discord and strife of the Civil war, which was more destructive to the political and social life of Missouri than that of any other state, except those that had been ravaged by real war.

The spirit of expediency, however, was still strong, indicating that much must be accomplished before the Democratic Party could ignore in the state those sentiments looking to assisting the Democratic Party of the Nation.

"The two outstanding things about the election of 1872 in Missouri were," according to Shoemaker, in "The Mother of States," (Vol 2, pp. 257-58), "first, the feeling of political sectionalism which manifested itself, and, secondly, the increase in articulation of Democratic and Liberal Republican sentiment. Grant carried but 39 of Missouri's 114 counties, or 34.21 per cent; in terms of total number of votes cast, he received 119,196 out of a total of 270,630 cast, or some 44 per cent. The counties which Grant carried may be roughly divided into two groups, one group consisting of sixteen counties stretching across the northern portion of the state, adjacent to the Iowa border, and the other group cutting a wide swath from the southwest to the center of the state, then thinning out to end in a thread on which were strung Osage, Gasconade, Franklin, and Warren counties. The northern group consisted of Atchison, Holt, Nodaway, Andrew, Worth, DeKalb, Harrison, Daviess, Caldwell, Mercer, Grundy, Sullivan, Linn, Schuyler, Adair and Clark counties. Only Scotland County of those counties bordering on Iowa gave a majority to Greeley and this, out of a total vote cast of 2,004, was 256. Gentry County, surrounded on all sides by counties carried by Grant, gave Greeley a majority of 152 in a total vote of 2,210.

"The two extreme southwestern counties of McDonald and Barry swung to Greeley, the former by a majority of fourteen in a total vote of 300, and the latter by 72 in a total of 1,446. Wright, Howell, and Perry were carried by the regular Republicans, though these counties were surrounded on at least three sides by Liberal Republican and Democratic sentiment.

"Between the northern and southwest-central Republican units, there stretched the great Liberal Republican and Democratic territory made up of 39 counties; and the great southeastern territory composed of 32 more of the same political stripe. The river counties, with the exception of Clark and Perry on the Mississippi, and Osage, Gasconade, Franklin, Warren, Atchison, and Holt on the Missouri, gave majorities to Greeley.

"The presidential election in Missouri four years earlier had given Grant a majority of 24,982 over Seymour, but the re-enfranchised Democratic voting strength entirely wiped out this Republican superiority. Even some of those counties which, in the 1872 election, gave Grant a majority did so for the most part by a very close margin. For instance, border counties like Atchison, Nodaway, Worth, Harrison, and Mercer gave Grant majorities ranging from eighty-five in Worth to 674 in Mercer, the latter county proving to be one of the kindest in the state to Grant in the matter of votes. And in little Schuyler County, just below the Iowa line, Grant was able to eke out a majority of four, receiving 792 of the 1,580 votes cast.

"Contrast this with the showing made by Greeley in such counties as Boone, Jackson, Howard, and those in the southeastern corner of the state! In Boone alone Greeley's majority was 2,206 in a total of 4,192 cast; in Pemiscot Grant received but ten votes to Greeley's 476. St. Louis County (this time including the City of St. Louis) with its strong German Liberal Republican element, gave Greeley 2,698 more votes than it gave Grant, the former polling 19,399 to the latter's 16,701.

"Woodson's election was even more striking in attesting to the renaissance of Democratic articulation in Missouri. Whereas Grant had carried thirty-nine counties, Henderson¹⁰ had to be content with but thirty-three. Daviess, Sullivan, Schuyler, and Clark in the north, and Osage and Franklin on the Missouri River, counties which Grant had carried, indicated a preference for Woodson over Henderson. Not only did all the counties supporting Greeley also support Woodson, but in practically every such instance Woodson's majority was greater than Greeley's had been. In the final count Woodson ran 3,206 votes ahead of Greeley in Missouri.

"The Democratic party had come all the way from a mere political expression in 1865 to a position of political supremacy in 1872. It had proved itself to be a thoroughly reconstructed party, with well-oiled party machinery which enabled it to assume and maintain control of the state government for a quarter of a century.

"The 1872 election proved to be the swan-song for the Missouri Liberal Republicans. The party disintegrated rapidly, its components linking up with one or the other of the main parties. The probability is that most of them were absorbed in the weakened Republican party, which was now to undergo a reconstruction akin to that of the Democracy."

FOOTNOTES—EPOCH FIVE—CHAPTER I

¹ Nicholas Montgomery Bell was born in Lincoln County, Missouri, November 2, 1842; died at St. Louis, August 30, 1931. He moved to Oregon in 1864, and was chairman of the Oregon delegation to the National Democratic Convention in 1868, and then located in St. Louis. He was a member of the State Legislature in 1870 and

1872. He was the first excise commissioner of St. Louis, being appointed by Governor Stone. He was U. S. superintendent of foreign mails in 1885 to 1889. He was secretary of the National Democratic Convention in 1896. "Nick" Bell, as he was familiarly known, was a prominent and dominating character in the affairs of the Democratic Party of St. Louis and the state for many years, and was without doubt one of the most widely known Missourians. During his time in the Missouri Legislature he was an aggressive and active member. He was one of the most prominent and confidential friends of William Joel Stone, and was ever alert in the latter's behalf. In his administration as superintendent of foreign mails, under Grover Cleveland, he made a great record, many reforms being perfected. His gruffness, sincerity and open manner of conversation made him quite a favorite with the president.

² Nathaniel C. Claiborne was born in Franklin County, Virginia, February 15, 1822; in 1857 moved to Missouri, locating in Kansas City; in 1860 was elected to the General Assembly; moved to St. Louis in 1861; elected to the General Assembly in 1869; died April 21, 1911.

³ John I. Martin was born in St. Louis, May 24, 1846; admitted to the bar in 1877. "In 1868," William Hyde says, "he organized and commanded the largest political Democratic organization in the West. Under the auspices of the Democratic National Committee he stumped Illinois, Ohio and Indiana. In 1876 he was conspicuous in the management of the Tilden campaign. In 1884 he was presidential elector. In 1888 he was grand marshal of the great Democratic parade given at St. Louis during the National Convention that renominated Grover Cleveland for president. He was a member from St. Louis of the General Assembly in 1875 and 1877, when he was speaker *pro tem* of the House. He was married to Clara E. LaBarge, daughter of Captain La Barge, who was killed when the steamboat *Saluda* blew up in 1856."

He became a national character when he served for so many years as the sergeant-of-arms of the Democratic National Convention including the Baltimore Convention in 1912. He was perhaps on familiar terms with more distinguished Democrats than any man in the history of the nation.

⁴ Horace Greeley, a representative from New York; born in Amherst, N. H., February 3, 1811; attended the public schools; apprenticed to the art of printing in East Poultney, Vt., 1826-1830; worked as a journeyman printer in Erie, Pa., in 1831, and later in New York City; commenced the publication of the *Morning Post* January 1, 1833, but it was soon discontinued; published the *New Yorker* 1834-1841; edited the *Log Cabin* in 1840; founded the *New York Tribune* April 10, 1841, and edited it until his death; elected as a Whig to the Thirtieth Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the unseating of David S. Jackson, and served from December 4, 1848, to March 3, 1849; was not a candidate for reelection in 1848; visited Europe in 1851, and was chairman of one of the juries at the World's Fair in London; commissioner to the Paris Exposition in 1855; delegate to the Republican National Convention at Chicago in 1860 from Oregon, being denied a place on the New York delegation; unsuccessful candidate for Senator in 1861; presidential elector on the Republican ticket of Lincoln and Johnson in 1864; delegate to the State constitutional convention in 1867; at the close of the Civil war advocated universal amnesty, and in May, 1867, offered bail for Jefferson Davis, former President of the Southern Confederacy; in November, 1867, was appointed United States minister to Austria, but declined; unsuccessful Republican candidate for election in 1870 to the Forty-second Congress; nominated by the Liberal Republicans in Cincinnati in 1872 and by the Democrats in Baltimore for the Presidency, but was defeated by General Grant; died near New York City, November 29, 1872.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁵ Silas Woodson was born May 18, 1819, near Barbersville, Knox County, Ky. He was admitted to the bar in Knox County; elected to the General Assembly of Kentucky in 1842; was a member of the Constitutional convention in Kentucky in 1849; in 1850 he moved to Missouri and settled in St. Joseph and formed a law partnership with B. M. Hughes; after his term as governor he returned to St. Joseph and resumed the practice of law. He died October 9, 1896.

⁶ Charles Philip Johnson was born in Lebanon, Ill., January 18, 1836; came to St. Louis when nineteen years of age; was admitted to the bar in 1857; elected city attorney in 1859; supported Abraham Lincoln in 1860 for President, and was strong for the Union; declined to contest a congressional election as opposed to Francis P. Blair; elected to the General Assembly in 1864; assisted in the election of B. Gratz Brown as U. S. senator in 1863; in 1865 he opposed the drastic provisions of the Drake Constitution; in 1872 elected lieutenant-governor on the ticket with Silas Woodson; he became one of the noted criminal lawyers of the country; he died May 21, 1920.

⁷ Harvey Wallis Salmon was born January 26, 1839, in Greenville District, South Carolina; he was the seventh of nine children. His father Ezekiel James Salmon, was born July 5, 1798, and engaged in farming until 1839, when he removed to Missouri and settled near Versailles, Morgan County, where he followed agriculture and stock raising.

Harvey spent his early years on his father's farm and going to school in Versailles, Mo. When the Civil war began in 1861 he joined the Confederacy under Robert McCullough's Regiment of Missouri State Guards, and served in the battles of Carthage, Wilson Creek, Dry Wood and Lexington. His regiment was mustered out and he returned to Morgan County on recruiting service. He was taken prisoner and confined ten months in St. Louis, Alton and Johnson's Island; he was exchanged and joined Brigadier-General Parsons' command in Arkansas, served on his staff as chief ordnance officer, with the rank of lieutenant; remained with his command in all the campaigns until the surrender at Shreveport, Louisiana, in 1865.

He returned to Missouri, and in 1866 located at Clinton, Henry County. In company with Paul F. Thornton, G. Y. Salmon and D. C. Stone, established, in 1869, the banking house of Thornton, Salmon and Company, at Nevada. In 1872 he was elected state treasurer on the Democratic ticket with Governor Woodson. In one of his messages to the Legislature the governor said: "For the honesty, perseverance and energy with which Harvey W. Salmon had transacted the arduous duties of state treasurer, he was worthy of high commendation."

On November 16, 1871, Harvey W. Salmon and Miss Kate Kimbrough were married. She was the daughter of John S. Kimbrough of Clinton, formerly of Springfield, Missouri. There were five children: H. W., Jr., J. Y., M. K., Louise and W. D.

In 1896 he was chairman of the Democratic State Committee, when William Jennings Bryan was the presidential nominee. He was always a power in the conferences. He died in St. Louis, April 27, 1927.

⁸ Washington Adams was born in Christian County, Ky., in 1814; in 1816 located in Howard County, Mo.; moved to Boonville in 1835; in 1871 appointed supreme judge by Governor Brown; in 1872 elected supreme judge on the ticket with Governor Woodson; member of the Constitutional Convention in 1875.

⁹ Thomas A. Sherwood, Greene County (Democrat); born June 2, 1834, in Eatonton, Putnam County, Georgia; educated in Mercer University, Georgia, and Shurtleff College, Illinois; came to Missouri in 1852; resided in the counties of St. Louis, Cape Girardeau, Scott, Newton, Lawrence and Greene; graduated in law at Cincinnati law school in 1857; admitted to the bar in 1857; elected in 1872 judge of the Supreme Court; reelected November 7, 1882; chief justice for six years; died in January, 1898.

¹⁰ John B. Henderson, former U. S. senator, and Radical Republican candidate for governor against Woodson.

MISSOURI'S REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS

CHAPTER II

THE SENATE

In 1871 the General Assembly elected Francis Preston Blair, Jr., to the United States Senate to succeed Daniel F. Jewett, who had been appointed by Governor Brown to succeed Charles D. Drake. Drake resigned to become a judge of the U. S. Court of Claims at Washington, D. C.

After a brilliant and conspicuous career in the Union Army during the Civil war, Blair returned to Missouri to contend for the "Rule of Reason, the Restoration of Civil Liberty and Revival of Democracy." The record he made is one of the most conspicuous and eventful in the history of the state.

Champ Clark said Frank Blair "was pronounced by General Grant to be one of the two best volunteer officers in the service, John A. Logan, 'the black eagle of Illinois,' being the other. In Sherman's famous march to the sea Blair commanded a corps, and was considered the Marshall Ney of the army." Continuing his great tribute, Mr. Clark asserted:

"Frank Blair, with his military laurels fresh upon him, within a few days after Lee surrendered, returned to his state, which had been ravaged by fire and sword, holding aloft the olive branch, proclaiming to the world that there were no rebels any more, that his fellow-citizens who had fought for the South were entitled to equal rights with the other citizens, that real peace must 'tinkle with the shepherd's bells and sing among the reapers' of Missouri. He took the ragged and defeated Confederates by the hand and, in the words of Abraham to Lot, said, 'We are brethren.'

"When he came out of the army, with his splendid military and civil record, it may be doubted whether there was any official position, however exalted, beyond his reach if he had remained with the Republicans. I have always believed, and do now believe, that by severing his connection with them he probably threw away the vice presidency—possibly the presidency itself—a position for which most statesmen pant even as the hart panteth for the waterbrook. During his long, stormy and vicissitudinous career he always did what he thought was right for right's sake, leaving the consequences to take care of themselves. That he was ambitious of political preferment there can be no question; but office had no charms for him if it involved sacrifice of principle."

In his address at the unveiling of the statues of Benton and Blair, in Statuary Hall at the National Capitol, U. S. Senator Francis M. Cockrell said of Francis P. Blair, in part:

"This constitution by proclamation of the governor took effect July 4, 1865; was called the Drake constitution, from Hon. Charles D. Drake, vice president of the convention, and its reputed author.

"It contained the most stringent and proscriptive provisions in regard to the test oaths required of voters—persons capable of holding any office or position of honor, trust, or profit, State, corporate, municipal, institutional, or fiduciary, and of attorneys, and teachers in our schools, male and female, and even ministers of the gospel of peace and good will.

"General Blair took a bold and fearless stand against such measures and all proscription, refused to take the oath in order to vote, and brought suit in the courts to test his right. With General Blair the Union was the main question. When the Union arms had triumphed, an indissoluble Union of indestructible States had been secured, secession with slavery and all opposition to the Union had been forever buried in the grave of the dead Confederacy, beyond resurrection, and our old flag waved in honor, glory, and power from ocean to ocean, and from the Lakes to the Gulf, every tongue confessing and every knee bowing to its peaceful and rightful sway, General Blair believed that humanity, Christianity, the wisest statesmanship, as well as the very best interest of our common country, demanded peace, reconciliation, and fraternity, that the wounds and bruises of the war might be healed, its wastes and devastations repaired, and our people, North and South, East and West, become one people, citizens of our common country in fact as in law, with like sympathies, feelings, aspirations, interests, and rights. He did not believe that proscription was the proper method to such ends.

"He warmly supported General Grant's intercession in behalf of General Lee and other paroled Confederate officers and soldiers on the ground that their paroles, so long as they obeyed the laws, protected them from arrest and trial.

"General Blair's efforts to restore to the proscribed people of Missouri equal rights of citizenship were as heroic and fearless as were his efforts to preserve the integrity of the Union and to overthrow all opposition to it.

"So intense and embittered were the feelings of the extreme radical element in many counties that freedom of public discussion did not exist, and public meetings were broken up and threats made that no Democrat should address them.

"General Blair, in the early summer of 1866, made a series of speeches in many different counties in Missouri. At many places efforts were made to break up his meetings and prevent him speaking and even to take him from the stand. He never quailed nor flinched, but boldly and defiantly denounced those creating the disturbances in the bitterest and most withering terms, and never failed to speak as long as he chose and to say whatever he pleased, and by these efforts removed every hindrance to the utmost freedom of public discussion ever thereafter. I refer to these incidents in his illustrious life to show his heroic and courageous nature and his uncompromising devotion to what he believed to be right, and not to revive the dead embers of hate and bitterness en-

gendered by that fratricidal war, for 'anathema marantha' be to him who would rekindle the dead embers of hate and sectional animosities."

CONGRESS—HOUSE

Democratic representation in the 43rd Congress included Erastus Wells of St. Louis who was reelected from the First District; John R. McCormick of Iron County reelected from the Third District; A. Comingo¹ of Jackson County elected from the Sixth District; James G. Blair² of Lewis County from the Eighth District; Andrew King³ of St. Charles County from the Ninth District.

FOOTNOTES, CONGRESS, 1871-2

¹ Abram Comingo, a representative from Missouri; born near Harrodsburg, Mercer County, Kentucky, January 9, 1820; attended the common and high schools and was graduated from Centre College, Danville, Kentucky; studied law, and was admitted to the bar in Harrodsburg, Kentucky, in 1847; moved to Independence, Missouri, in 1848 and commenced the practice of law; delegate to the Missouri State convention in February, 1861; appointed provost marshal of the sixth district of Missouri in May, 1863; elected recorder of deeds of Jackson County in 1868; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-second and Forty-third Congresses (March 4, 1871-March 3, 1875); was not a candidate for renomination in 1874; resumed the practice of law in Independence, Missouri; appointed by President Grant in 1876 a member of the commission to arbitrate with the Sioux Indians for the possession of Sioux lands in Dakota bordering on the Black Hills; moved to Kansas City, Missouri, in 1881; retired from public life; died in Kansas City, Missouri, November 10, 1889.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

² James Gorrall Blair, a representative from Missouri; born near Blairville, Ky., January 1, 1825; was self-educated, having attended the public schools only three months; moved to Monticello, Lewis County, Mo., in 1840 and engaged in agricultural pursuits; elected circuit clerk in 1848 and served until 1854; studied law, was admitted to the bar, and commenced practice in Canton, Mo., in 1854; delegate to the Republican State convention in 1870; elected as a Liberal Republican to the Forty-second Congress (March 4, 1871-March 3, 1873); was not a candidate for renomination in 1872; resumed the practice of law and also engaged in agricultural pursuits; died in Monticello, Lewis County, Mo., March 1, 1904.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

³ Andrew King, a representative from Missouri; born in Greenbrier County, Va. (now West Virginia), March 20, 1812; attended the common schools; studied law, was admitted to the bar, and commenced practice in St. Charles, Mo.; member of the State Senate in 1846; served in the State House of Delegates in 1858; judge of the Circuit Court for the Nineteenth Judicial District of Missouri 1859-1864; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-second Congress (March 4, 1871-March 3, 1873); resumed the practice of law; died in Jefferson City, Mo., November 18, 1895.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

SIXTH EPOCH—1873-1888

DEMOCRATIC SUPREMACY; STATE ECONOMY AND REHABILITATION OF STATE FINANCES

CHAPTER I

THE ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR WOODSON

The election of Silas Woodson as Governor in 1872 put an end to the Liberal Republican Party. The Democrats at the beginning of the campaign of 1874 faced an improved condition. Francis P. Blair, Jr., was in the United States Senate and the General Assembly in 1873 had elected Lewis Vital Bogy as his colleague.

In taking over the office of governor in January, 1873, Governor Woodson voiced the experiences of the past and what should be done in the future, when in his inaugural address he said in part the following:

"We all know the causes of complaint against those who have moulded and shaped the policies of the recent past in Missouri. We know, because we have seen and felt, the bad effects of proscriptive partisanship in the enactment as well as in the enforcement, of our laws. All of us can point out the evils of the past, and assign to each its appropriate cause so clearly, that no one will be found sufficiently reckless to contest our assertion. If I am right in the position assumed, you can but agree with me when I say that, unless we adopt a different policy, the same evil results must follow us that have followed those who preceded us.

"No legislator, no executive, no judicial or ministerial officer under our form of government, has the moral right to act as a partisan. The duties devolved upon us all, under the Constitution, and required by our official oaths, pertain to the State, to the people, not to individuals or to parties. Hence, I assume, that in shaping our policies as to people, we should never look to effects upon parties, but to effects upon the people. That legislation which is inspired by partisan zeal, and which can only be had at the sacrifice of justice or the general good, is, and can but be, vicious, and meriting the condemnation of every patriot. And, allow me, at the outset of my address, to say in all candor, and with the most solemn emphasis that I can possibly command, that this General Assembly, and the whole incoming administration of the State government, will prove a disastrous failure, unless we show by our acts, that in all we do, and in all we say, the public good alone inspires us. Can we, gentlemen, rise to the height of the great argument? Can we thus sink the partisan in the patriot? Can we forget the bitter memories of the past, its hates, its misrule and oppression, and consecrate our official lives to the service

of the State? If we can, and will, rest assured that the people will sustain, and the good and true men of all parties will bless us. I pledge you, gentlemen of the General Assembly, in joint session convened, that while I am governor of the State, her interest, her honor, her prosperity, shall control my every official act. Let us, gentlemen, in this spirit go to work; resolved that not one dollar shall be improperly spent; that we will reform every abuse in the administration of the affairs of the State that comes to our knowledge; remedy, as far as we are able, every defective law; inaugurate all wise policies within our ability; advance all existing ones demanded by the public good, and do all we can, through every instrumentality within our reach, to put our beloved State upon that sure, firm, and certain road that will most assuredly, and in the shortest possible time, make her the first in the glorious galaxy of American States.

"Gentlemen, one other thought and I close. The eyes of the nation are upon us. All power in Missouri, in every department of the government, is in the hands of the Democratic party. Such is the case in few other States in the American Union. Our political enemies, at home and abroad, will scrutinize all our acts, and, rest assured take advantage of every error we may commit. We can perpetuate our power, gentlemen, only in one way, and that is, by doing right, and showing by our works, that we, as a party, have been in earnest in all our pledges of economy and reform, and in every assurance given by us to the people, of an honest administration of all the affairs of the government, while in our hands—by protecting and preserving inviolate the honor of the State, in promptly discharging, or satisfactorily arranging, all of its obligations; by fostering every great interest committed to our care; developing our resources; encouraging immigration; enforcing the laws fully and impartially; by forgetting the dead issues of the past, and keeping pace with the demands of the progressive age in which we live. Let us calmly pursue the line of policy I have indicated, and never be driven from it by the menaces of enemies, the persuasion of friends, or the seductive influences of individual ambition, and you may rest assured that Heaven will bless and the people approve our course."

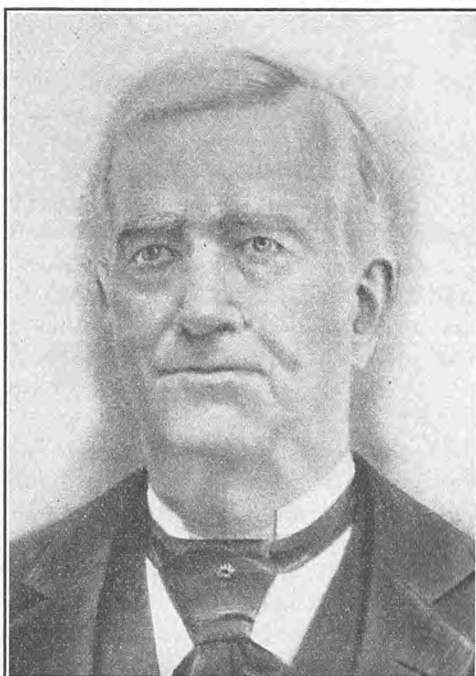
THE HARDIN ADMINISTRATION

During the two years of the Woodson administration the Democratic Party began to organize its forces to again take over the state government. The Whig influences had about disappeared, the most influential members of that party had joined the Democrats. There was no ground for discord among the leaders, and the absorbing task now was to remove all the influences that were in any way responsible for oppression by the radical government.

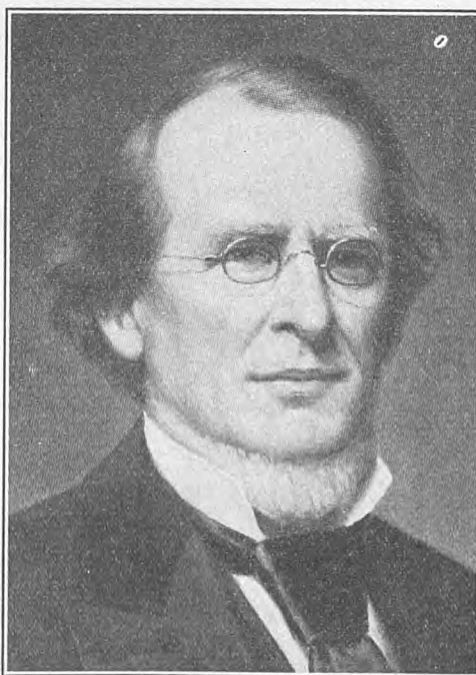
The ticket elected in 1874, with its Civil war affiliations, follows:

Governor—Charles H. Hardin,¹ member of Governor Jackson's Neosho Legislature and afterward neutral.

Lieutenant-Governor—Norman J. Colman,² Union man.



HON. SILAS WOODSON
Twentieth Governor



HON. CHARLES H. HARDIN
Twenty-first Governor

of the...
of the...

the...
the...

the...
the...

the...
the...

the...
the...

the...
the...

the...
the...

the...
the...

the...
the...

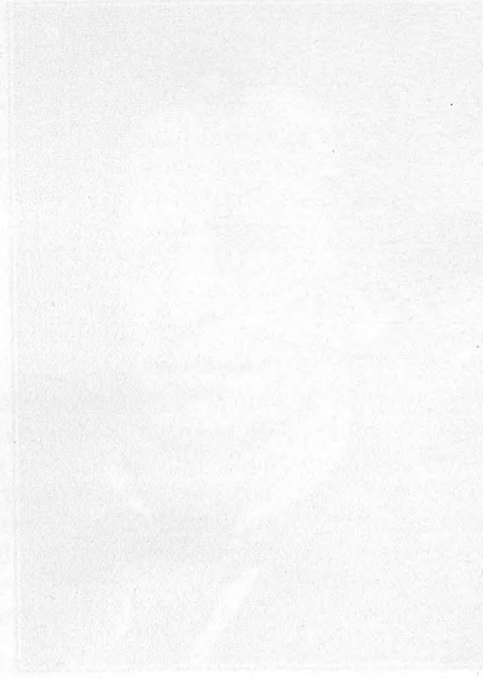
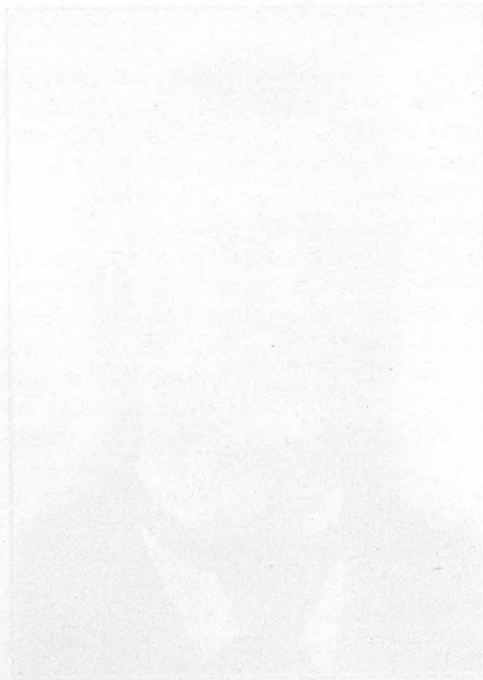
the...
the...

the...
the...

the...
the...

the...
the...

the...
the...



the...
the...

the...
the...

the...
the...

the...
the...

the...
the...

the...
the...

the...
the...

the...
the...

the...
the...

the...
the...

the...
the...

the...
the...

the...
the...

the...
the...

Secretary of State—Michael K. McGrath,³ in Kelley's regiment, C. S. A.

State Treasurer—Joseph W. Mercer,⁴ lost an arm in the Confederate service.

State Auditor—Thomas Holladay,⁵ no record.

Attorney General—John A. Hockaday,⁶ no record.

Register of Lands—George Deigel, in Federal Army.

Superintendent of Public Schools—Richard D. Shannon, no record.

Judges Supreme Court—Edward A. Lewis, no record; Warwick Hough,⁷ staff officer under Lee, Polk and Taylor, C. S. A.; W. B. Napton, no record.

In his "History of Missouri, The Mother of States" (Vol. 2, p. 276), Shoemaker says: "Hardin found the state burdened with a debt of many millions, the result of expenditures during the Civil war, and on account of ill-advised and poorly managed attempts to extend aid to the various railroad building enterprises in Missouri. The outstanding bonds of the state were drawing a high rate of interest and were selling on the market for considerably less than par. Of course, much of this was due to the unwise administration of her affairs during the preceding decade, but regardless of where the blame properly belongs, the fact remains that Hardin came into office faced with a serious financial problem. He immediately instituted a program of economy, and during his two years in office he reduced the state indebtedness \$632,000, and by the refunding of bonds at a lower rate of interest effected a saving of over \$51,000 per year in interest charges. This was done without increasing taxes or at the expense of the educational eleemosynary institutions of the state, but by eliminating useless and wasteful expenditures and by accounting more strictly for every dollar spent."

In the General Assembly the Democrats were represented by men of distinction and influence. In the Senate were Waller Young, Theodore Brace, Web M. Rubey, Dan H. McIntyre, Joshua Ladue, Firmin A. Rozier, J. Ed. Belch, Celsus Price, John H. Terry, Michael Phelan. T. J. O. Morrison was president *pro tem*.

In the House—Charles Bryan of Barry County; James N. Bradley of Bates; James H. Lay of Benton; W. R. Wilhite of Boone; James Shields of Carroll (soon to become United States Senator); James M. Bohart of Clay; John E. Organ of Dent; James H. Barrett of Dunklin; Banton G. Boone of Henry; William H. Phelps of Jasper; William H. Priest of Lincoln; Josiah M. Anthony of Madison; Frank M. Turner of Marion; William M. Downing of Putnam; Thomas C. Reynolds, Stilson Hutchins, John J. O'Neill and John I. Martin of St. Louis; Matt W. Hall of Saline; George F. Chilton of Shannon; John Nesbit of Shelby, William S. Relfe of Washington. Banton G. Boone was speaker and V. M. Hobbe was chief clerk.

Governor Hardin was the last governor under the infamous Drake Constitution. The new constitution was drafted and approved in 1875.

"I can truthfully say," said George G. Vest, "that among all the public

men I have known, Governor Hardin was one of the purest and best. He had some of the best and wisest qualities that adorn human nature. He was public spirited, earnest, courageous, and possessed of the best talent in the world—common sense—which is necessary to success in public and private life. I have never regretted my course in supporting his nomination for governor."

"Governor Hardin has filled the gubernatorial chair," said William A. Thompson in an editorial in the old *St. Louis Times*, "in a manner highly creditable to himself, and his consent would have been all that was necessary to secure his reelection. It is seldom, indeed, that a governor gives such universal satisfaction as has the present incumbent. He has honestly labored to give the people of our state a government that would be beneficial to them all. He has never allowed political bias to sway him from the plain path of duty, and when we say he has made the most popular as well as the most efficient governor Missouri has ever had we only publish the sentiment of a very large majority of the people of the state."

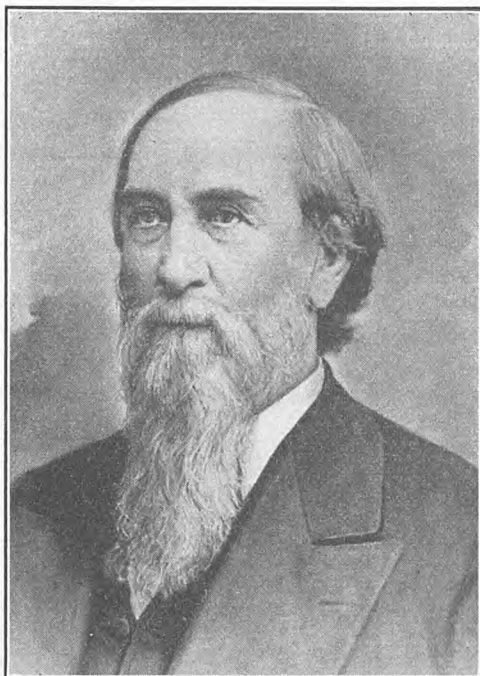
THE PHELPS ADMINISTRATION

The Tilden-Hayes contest for the presidency in 1876 almost overshadowed the state campaign. The Democratic Party nationally had now become an organization to be reckoned with, and the nomination of Tilden⁸ had inspired the party workers with great enthusiasm and activity. Grant was still in the White House, betrayed by friends and confounded by the exposure of the Great Whiskey Scandal⁹ which broke into publicity in 1875; the Republican Party was on the defensive nationally, disrupted and disorganized in the state. Francis P. Blair, who had done so much to rid the state of the Radical element of the Republican Party which had brought on the state a condition of anarchy, had gone on and "to our purposes was no more."

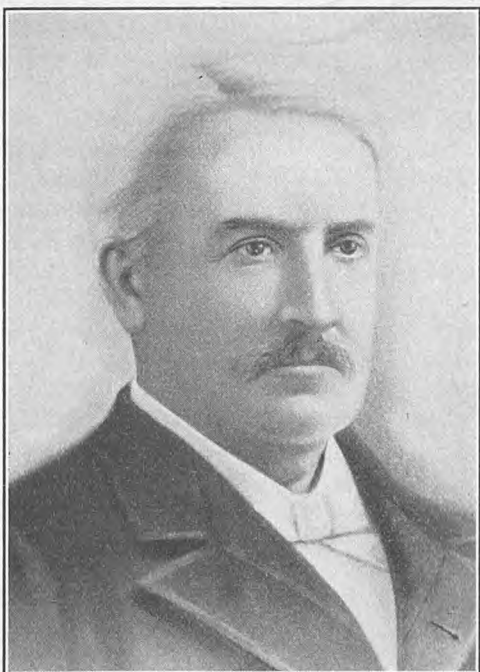
John S. Phelps had served eighteen years in Congress, during which he commanded the attention of the entire country for character and close attention to affairs of the nation during the most critical years in its history. His last term in Congress expired in 1862, when he joined the forces of the Union in the Civil war. After that, in 1868, he was the nominee for governor against John W. McClurg, the Radical, and made a campaign against difficulties too strong to surmount, when at least 100,000 Democrats were disfranchised by the Drake Constitution.

George Graham Vest was a candidate for governor in 1876, and had a strong following. The sentiment, supported by some of the national leaders, that the nomination of a Confederate for governor of Missouri would affect the national ticket in some of the other states, was still an influence in the state and in the nominating convention. John S. Phelps was chosen to head the ticket.

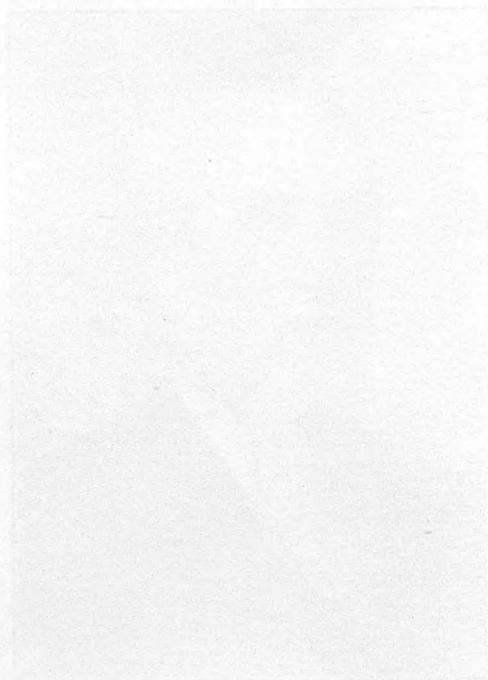
The ticket elected in 1876, with its Civil war affiliations, was as follows:



HON. JOHN S. PHELPS
Twenty-second Governor



HON. THOMAS T. CRITTENDEN
Twenty-third Governor



FOR THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Governor—John S. Phelps, colonel of Phelps' Cavalry, U. S. A.
Lieutenant-Governor—Henry C. Brockmeyer,¹⁰ colonel of Enrolled Militia.

Secretary of State—Michael K. McGrath, in Kelley's regiment, C. S. A. (reelected).

State Treasurer—Elijah Gates,¹¹ colonel of a Confederate regiment in Cockrell's brigade.

State Auditor—Thomas Holladay, no record.

Attorney-General—Jackson L. Smith,¹² Union man.

Register of Lands—James E. McHenry,¹³ no record.

Judges Supreme Court—Elijah H. Norton,¹⁴ Union man; John W. Henry, Union man.

Railroad Commissioners—John Walker, no record; John S. Marmaduke, Confederate general; James Harding, in Confederate army.

In 1876, under the new Constitution, began the four-year terms of state officers. A survey of those holding political positions elected by the Democratic organization, which had begun now "to function on all cylinders," indicates that the party had reached the ascendancy in the affairs of the state relinquished when Claiborne F. Jackson vacated the gubernatorial office in July, 1861.

In 1876 Samuel J. Tilden of New York, was nominated for President and Thomas A. Hendricks¹⁵ of Indiana, for vice president, and it seemed that all the discordant elements and factions became aroused and organized for the Democratic National and State Tickets. In fact, it was the first time since the Civil war that the party was in such a harmonious spirit. Phelps campaigned the state as it had never been campaigned before, and only a few times since. The record of Tilden in New York and Hendricks in Indiana inspired the rank and file with ardor and enthusiasm and the Democratic Party assumed the conduct of state affairs in the coming January.¹⁶

In the General Assembly there were many distinguished Democrats to assist the administration in legislative matters. In the Senate was Waller Young, R. P. C. Wilson, Sam C. Major, Jr., Web M. Rubey, John B. Newberry, T. J. O. Morrison, John R. Claiborne, J. H. Terry and W. S. Pope.

In the House—Marshall Arnold of Scott County; Benj. F. McDaniel and Samuel Davis of Saline; John J. O'Neill, Robert A. Campbell and Charles A. Pollock of St. Louis; Jasper N. Burks of Ste. Genevieve; F. C. Nesbit of St. Clair; James L. Farris of Ray; James F. White of Randolph; H. H. Priest of Ralls; William C. Wells of Platte; Albert P. Morehouse of Nodaway; H. J. Deal of Mississippi; John F. Williams and Peyton Hurst of Macon; Samuel Byrns of Jefferson; Leigh B. Woodside of Dent; Ashley W. Ewing of Cole; D. H. McIntyre of Audrain; Ed. A. Donelan of Buchanan.

During the administration of Governor Phelps, three men were sent to the United States Senate from Missouri. In 1877 David H. Armstrong was appointed to succeed Lewis V. Bogy, who died in office on Septem-

ber 20, 1877. Armstrong served until the meeting of the General Assembly in January, 1879, when General James Shields was elected to serve out the remaining part of the Bogy term. Shields was followed in the Senate by George Graham Vest, who served continuously from 1879 to 1903. His election was a tribute to him from those who had followed his political aspirations of years, and who were disappointed that for expedient reasons he had been forced to stand aside.

In his reflections on Missourians of the period of 1850 to 1860 William Hyde said:

"Phelps was not brilliant, nor was he by any means a captivating speaker. He was earnest, laborious, faithful and honest; in his later years easily beguiled by flattery, but never cajoled into an official act reflecting discredit on his party or himself. He was sixteen years in Congress, and came to be a 'boss,' in a way, over Democracy in Southwest Missouri, as he was perennially a candidate and kept the 'hickory nut brigade' continually working for him. He made a good, conservative governor, and upon the whole was a useful man to the state."

The last scene of all that ends this eventful history. A man who had given all his time to his country and state returns to the private walks of life full of military and civic honors with this, his Valedictory:

"And now, as I am about to return to private life, I can say that during my official career, in whatever position I may have served, I here endeavored faithfully to discharge the duties which devolved on me, and here sought to promote the prosperity and welfare of the people of this great commonwealth. My administration of the laws of this state is a part of its history. It is spread out before the people for their observation, and to their judgment I cheerfully entrust the record I have made."

THE CRITTENDEN ADMINISTRATION

In 1880 the Missouri Democrats received, as in 1876, appeals from the national leaders for a state ticket that would help and contribute to the election of Winfield Scott Hancock¹⁷ for President. A distinguished Confederate in the person of John S. Marmaduke was an avowed candidate for governor, and had considerable support, but the wishes of the national leaders were complied with by the nomination for governor of a popular and distinguished man in Thomas T. Crittenden, over Marmaduke and John A. Hockaday.

The state ticket, giving the Civil war affiliations of the candidates, which was elected by a majority of 54,034, was as follows:

Governor—Thomas T. Crittenden, lieutenant-colonel Seventh Missouri Cavalry, Missouri State Militia, Federal.

Lieutenant-Governor—Robert A. Campbell,¹⁸ Fifth Regiment, Missouri State Militia; adjutant Henderson's Brigade, Federal.

Secretary of State—M. K. McGrath, Kelley's regiment, C. S. A. (reelected).

State Treasurer—Philip E. Chappell, Union man.

State Auditor—John Walker,¹⁹ no record.

Attorney-General—Daniel H. McIntyre,²⁰ lieutenant, Tenth Missouri Cavalry; Marmaduke's Brigade; also, captain in Shelby's Brigade, C. S. A.

Register of Lands—Robert McCulloch, C. S. A.

Judge Supreme Court—Robert D. Ray, Union man.

Railroad Commissioner—George C. Pratt, Union man.

Governor Crittenden's administration was one of the most successful of any since the Civil war. The animosities of the internecine strife had abated. The men elected on the ticket with the Governor were of exceptional character and ability.

Prominent Democrats in the Senate included Samuel Byrns, Thomas Mabrey, T. J. O. Morrison, David A. DeArmond, John T. Heard, James N. Bradley, Benjamin F. Dobyns and Louis F. Cottey.

Among those in the House: Robert Drum of Bollinger County, C. G. Daniel of Audrain; James W. Kneisley of Boone; Robert P. Liles of Butler; Edmond A. Donelan of Buchanan; William Hereford of Clinton; John M. Wood of Clark; H. Clay Ewing of Cole; Sam C. Major Jr., of Howard; Walker S. Sears and Lysander A. Thompson of Macon; Josiah M. Anthony of Madison; H. J. Deal of Mississippi; Thomas P. Bashaw of Monroe, who was speaker; Sol Hughlett of Montgomery; William Dawson of New Madrid; Mathew J. Reynolds of Pike; Frank P. Wiley of Randolph; V. C. Yantis of Saline; John R. Rippey of Schuyler; Joseph S. Richardson of Stoddard; Charles P. Johnson and Richard M. Wray of St. Louis.

The governorship under Thomas T. Crittenden passed through what might be termed the train-robbing period. For several years the state had been harrassed by this character of crime that seemed to have been a heritage of the Civil war. The most notorious actors were supposed to be Frank and Jesse James.

On the 28th of July, 1881, Governor Crittenden issued the proclamation that was to terminate this character of lawlessness, so far as the James brothers were concerned. Not long after this proclamation was issued Bob Ford killed Jesse James in Jesse's home in St. Joseph. This was so unexpected that it soon brought about the surrender of Frank James, and this was accomplished in such a manner that it attracted no attention until it was announced by the press.

Frank R. O'Neil of the *Post-Dispatch* staff was commissioned to handle the matter, and it has never been divulged just how it was accomplished, though several romances have been written about it. No one ever knew what arrangement there was between O'Neil and the governor. O'Neil met the governor in the Madison Hotel, by appointment, and told the governor that "on a certain day at a certain hour, he would walk into the governor's office with Frank James, and Frank would lay his guns on the table, surrendering unconditionally."

Frank James had been indicted in Daviess County for the murder of Wm. Westfall, killed in the train holdup at Winston. James' trial occurred at Gallatin, Missouri, and no trial in the history of the state caused so much publicity. The trial was held before Judge C. H. S. Goodman, at Gallatin, commencing August 21, and ending September 6, 1883.

The following were the attorneys: For the State—W. D. Hamilton, Prosecuting Attorney of Daviess County; Col. J. H. Shanklin, Trenton; M. A. Lowe, Trenton; H. C. McDougal, Gallatin; J. F. Hicklin, Gallatin; William H. Wallace, prosecuting attorney of Jackson County, Kansas City. For the defense—Wm. M. Rush, Gallatin; John M. Glover, St. Louis; J. H. Slover, Independence; Gen. C. T. Garner, Richmond; Judge John F. Philips, Kansas City; Charles P. Johnson, St. Louis; Joshua W. Alexander, Gallatin.

Nine speeches were made, Mr. Wallace's being the closing one. The *Kansas City Times*, *Kansas City Journal*, *St. Joseph Gazette*, *St. Louis Republic*, *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* and *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* had representatives at Gallatin during the entire trial.

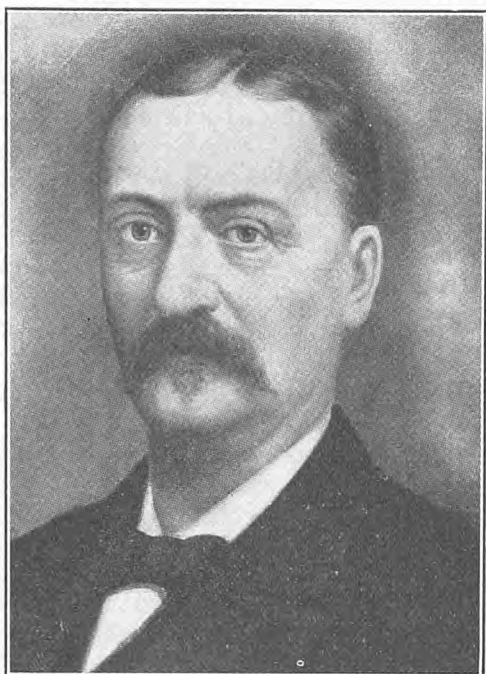
The climax of the trial came when the speeches for the defense and the state were made. As the writer recalls it, the speeches of Charles P. Johnson and John F. Philips for James and that of W. H. Wallace for the State were of most force. Johnson stood high as a defense attorney; Philips, an officer in the Union army, made the plea that many thought gave James freedom. The speech of W. H. Wallace for the state was highly commended by the press, and was one of the most extensive and elaborate ever made in a criminal case.

THE MARMADUKE-MOREHOUSE ADMINISTRATION

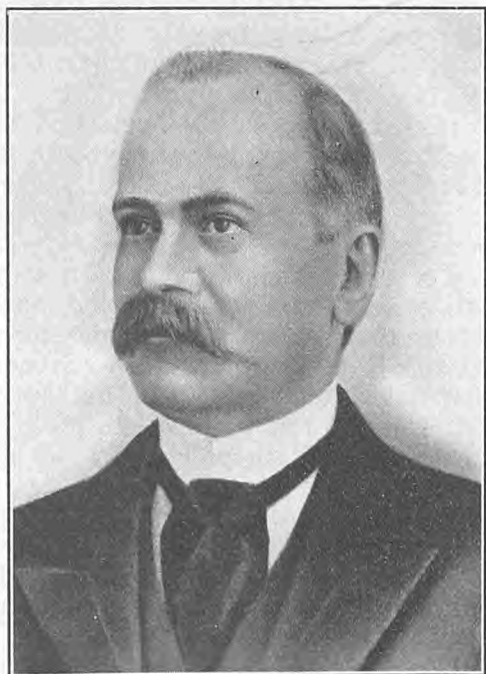
In 1884 the influence of the Civil war had disappeared, and with the nomination of Grover Cleveland as the Democratic candidate for President there was no appeal from the national leaders regarding the character of the state ticket. John S. Marmaduke had aspired to the nomination in 1880, and this time he was chosen. This honor had come to his father, Meredith M. Marmaduke, in 1844. Meredith Marmaduke was elected lieutenant-governor in 1844 on the ticket with Governor Thomas Reynolds. Reynolds committed suicide February 9, 1844, at the mansion in Jefferson City, and Marmaduke became governor. John S. Marmaduke had aspired to the governorship for some time, and expediency had prevented his nomination, owing to his having been so prominent as a Confederate officer in the Civil war.

Two of the most important occurrences of the Marmaduke administration was the governor's contest to obtain a law governing the railroads and the great railroad strike in 1887. The regular session of the General Assembly adjourned without passing a law that the Governor required, and a special session was called, which finally agreed on a law which the administration approved.

The state ticket elected in 1884, showing the Civil war affiliations of the different men who composed it, follows:



HON. JOHN S. MARMADUKE
Twenty-fourth Governor



HON. ALBERT P. MOREHOUSE
Twenty-fifth Governor

Governor—John S. Marmaduke,²¹ major general, C. S. A.
 Lieutenant-Governor—Albert P. Morehouse,²² Federal army.
 Secretary of State—Michael K. McGrath, in Kelley's regiment,
 C. S. A. (reelected).
 State Treasurer—James M. Seibert,²³ too young to enlist.
 State Auditor—John Walker, no record.
 Attorney-general—Banton G. Boone,²⁴ C. S. A.
 Register of Lands—Robert McCulloch, a Confederate brigadier.
 Railroad Commissioner—William G. Downing, a Union man.
 Judge Supreme Court—Francis M. Black, in Federal army.

There were now many distinguished Democrats in the General Assembly. In the Senate was Waller Young, Horatio F. Simrall, Wesley Halliburton, William M. VanCleve, James M. Proctor, David A. Ball, William G. Downing, John W. Farris, William Hunter, Robert B. Oliver, Thomas T. Hathaway, and others.

In the House—William H. Kennan of Audrain County; William A. Fly of Barry; William H. Haynes and Edmond A. Donelan of Buchanan; Nicholas D. Thurmond of Callaway; Louis Salisbury of Chariton; John M. Wood of Clark; Frank B. Webb of Crawford; Joshua W. Alexander of Daviess; John E. Organ of Dent; Joseph T. Wilson of Dunklin; Stephen Cooper of Howard; Andrew VanWormer of Howell; G. H. Claycomb of Jasper; Reed McCormack of Jefferson; William H. Carter of Lafayette; Horace P. Tate of Lewis; George T. Dunn of Lincoln; James G. Donnell of Madison; Henry V. Warren of Maries; Lewis M. Danforth of Mississippi; Joseph W. Atterberry of Monroe; Houston W. Johnson of Montgomery; Edward Robb of Perry; W. D. Steele of Pettis; James O. Allison of Ralls; J. L. Farris of Ray; Nat M. Shelton of Schuyler; John W. Priest of Scotland; Isaac Hunter of Scott; Jefferson D. Storts of Shannon; W. R. Goodykoontz of Washington; Henry W. Bond, George A. Castleman, Thomas J. Ward and Richard M. Wray of St. Louis. John M. Wood of Clark County was speaker.

Governor John S. Marmaduke died December 28, 1887, and Lieutenant-Governor Albert P. Morehouse became governor.

The new governor had been prominent in state affairs for many years, and had a strong following in what might be termed the Platte Purchase—Northwest Missouri. He established the *Nodaway Democrat* in 1849 at Maryville. It was an outspoken Jeffersonian publication, one of its main contentions in its early days was to remove the restrictions placed on the people by the Drake Constitution, which was accomplished in 1870.

Governor Morehouse served out the term of the lamented Marmaduke with credit to himself and the state. In 1888 he became a candidate for governor, but was defeated for the nomination by David R. Francis.

There was practically no change in the personnel of the state officers during the term that Governor Morehouse served.

The Sixth Epoch of this history of Missouri Democracy finds the party in complete supremacy in the state, with the most economical

system of government in operation, and a complete rehabilitation of state finances.

During the Woodson administration the state debt was refunded and a Third Teachers' College was established at Cape Girardeau.

Coming after Woodson, Hardin instituted additional economies and during his term in office reduced the state indebtedness over \$600,000, done without imposing taxes.

So, passing through the period where party sentiment had to be put aside, and expediency made the means of bringing the Democratic Party through the reconstruction years, relieving the disfranchised of their humiliations, and returning to the people a sane and human government, the record stands to which the moving finger of time may point with pride.

FOOTNOTES, CHAPTER I, SIXTH EPOCH

¹ Charles Henry Hardin was born in Trimble County, Kentucky, July 15, 1820; his father moved to Missouri the same year, stopping first, at old Franklin, in Howard County, finally locating at Columbia; after his school term he began the study of law, and was admitted to the bar by Judge William Scott, then one of the judges of the Supreme Court; in 1848 he was elected circuit attorney for the Second Judicial Circuit, composed of the counties of Audrain, Boone, Callaway, Howard, Randolph and Macon; in 1852, 1854 and 1858 he represented Callaway County in the lower house of the General Assembly; in 1855, though a Whig, he was selected as one of three to revise and codify the Missouri Statutes; in the session of 1859, Charles H. Hardin and J. Proctor Knott were selected to conduct the impeachment proceedings against Judge Albert Jackson before the Senate; in 1860 he was elected state senator from the district composed of Boone and Callaway counties, and went to Neosho and attended the fragment session of the General Assembly in October, 1861, called by Governor Jackson to meet there. After that he returned to his home and remained neutral as far as the war was concerned. After retiring from the office of the governor he returned to his farm near Mexico, Audrain County, Missouri, where he died July 29, 1892.

² Norman J. Colman was born near Richfield Springs, N. Y., May 16, 1827. He obtained an academic education, then went to Louisville, Ky., where he taught school, attended the Louisville Law University, took the degree of bachelor of laws and his license to practice, and located at New Albany, Ind., where he began the practice of his profession in partnership with M. C. Kerr (his former room and class mate, who became speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States and died while holding that office). They soon obtained a fine practice, and Mr. Colman was elected district attorney, which office he held one year, and then removed to St. Louis, Mo., continuing the practice of his profession. But having a strong love for rural pursuits, he purchased a country home, and began the publication of an agricultural paper under the name of *Colman's Rural World*. In the Civil war he was a Union man, and lieutenant-colonel of the Eighty-fifth Regiment of Enrolled Missouri Militia. In 1865 he was elected to the Missouri Legislature. In 1868 he was nominated by his party (Democratic) for lieutenant-governor, but with his entire party ticket was defeated. In 1874 he was again nominated for lieutenant-governor and was elected. He was a member of the board of curators of the State University for sixteen years. He was president of the State Horticultural Society, of the State Live Stock Breeders' Association, of the State Board of Agriculture, and of many other state and national associations organized to advance the interests of the farmer. In 1885, when appointed by President Cleveland to be United States commissioner of agriculture, he enlarged the sphere of the department, adding several important divisions. Under his administration it became one of the executive departments of the government on February 11, 1889, and he was appointed by the President the first secretary of

agriculture. On his retirement from the office Mr. Colman received from the president of the Republic of France, through its minister of agriculture, the Cross of "Officier du Merite Agricole," accompanied by a gold medal and the decoration of the order. He died in St. Louis in 1912.

³ Michael K. McGrath was born at Ballymartle, County Cork, Ireland, September 29, 1833; came to America in 1851, landing at St. Johns, New Brunswick; about 1856 came to St. Louis; being a wonderful penman obtained a position in the Recorder's office; in 1861 was deputy of the criminal court; during the Civil war was a member of Kelley's regiment, C. S. A.; in 1874 was elected secretary of state on the ticket with Governor Hardin, and served four terms in this office, until January, 1889; in 1869 was married to Miss Kate Kelley, daughter of Colonel Joseph Kelley of St. Louis; died January 28, 1913.

⁴ Joseph Wayne Mercer was born in Platte City, Missouri, February 25, 1845; spent his early manhood near Lees Summit; joined the Confederate forces and was wounded in the battle at Lexington; in 1874 was elected state treasurer on the ticket with Governor Hardin; died March 13, 1906.

⁵ Thomas Holladay was born in Madison County, Missouri, in 1834; was elected probate judge of Madison County in 1860; admitted to the bar in 1863; receiver in the United States Land office at Ironton, Mo., in 1867; was elected state auditor on the ticket with Governor Hardin in 1874; reelected state auditor in 1876; died July 31, 1904.

⁶ John A. Hockaday was born in Fulton, Missouri, in 1836; was admitted to the bar in 1859; was prosecuting attorney of Callaway County in 1864; in 1866 was appointed one of Missouri's delegates to the National Peace Convention held at Philadelphia; in 1868 was a candidate for attorney general on the Democratic state ticket and was defeated with the presidential ticket; in 1871 was an elector on the Greeley and Brown ticket; in 1874 was elected attorney general on the ticket with Governor Hardin; died in 1903.

⁷ Warwick Hough was born in Loudoun County, Virginia, June 26, 1836; in 1860 was appointed adjutant general of Missouri by Governor Claiborne F. Jackson, went South and served until the governor's death; in 1863 he joined the Confederate forces, served under General Stephen G. Lee, until the end of the war, in 1865; in 1874 was elected supreme judge on the ticket with Governor Hardin.

⁸ Samuel Jones Tilden, born in Lebanon, New York, in 1814. He was elected to the State Assembly in 1845, and in 1846 was a member of the State Constitutional Convention. From 1855 more than half the railway corporations in the North were his clients. By 1868 he had become the leader of the Democratic party in New York State. His determined opposition and practical measures broke up the Tweed ring. He was elected in 1874 governor of New York and in 1876 was Democratic candidate for President. The election was so close that a contest arose, the dispute being finally settled by the decision of an electoral commission. The electoral vote, as declared finally, was 185 for Hayes; 184 for Tilden. In 1880 and in 1884 a re-nomination was pressed upon him, but he declined.

⁹ "The great whiskey frauds culminating in 1875, are a part of the history of American politics. No ring was ever before formed embracing such gigantic scope and including among its chief instigators and membership, such distinguished government officials. The original intention of the organizers, adopting suggestions from the highest authority in the land, was to make the ring co-extensive with the nation, with headquarters in all the large cities, for the purpose of raising a campaign fund with which to advance the interests of President Grant in his aspirations for a second term. So far as my personal knowledge extends, the money received from the distillers and rectifiers was used according to the original intention of the members, until Grant's reelection, when, the purposes of the organization having been accomplished, but with the management of the colossal fraudulent undertaking thoroughly in hand, it was decided to continue the appropriation of the revenue and to make the members of the ring the beneficiaries of the fund. During congressional and municipal campaigns, however, a part of this fund was always used in the inter-

ests of the Republican candidates."—Gen. John McDonald, in his "Secrets of the Great Whiskey Ring," 1880.

¹⁰ Henry C. Brockmeyer was born August 12, 1828, near Minden, Prussia; came to America at the age of sixteen; came to St. Louis in August, 1848; in 1858 he located on a farm in Warren County; returned to St. Louis and resumed studies in German philosophy and made a literal translation of the logic of "Hegel;" joined the Union forces in 1861; in the General Assembly from Warren County in 1861 to 1864; in 1870 was elected to the State Senate from St. Louis; in 1876 was elected lieutenant-governor on the ticket with Governor Phelps; was a great friend of Francis P. Blair; died in St. Louis in 1906.

¹¹ Elijah Gates was born December 17, 1827, in Garrard County, Ky.; at the age of nineteen moved to Platte County, Mo.; joined the Confederate forces under Price, and was chosen colonel; participated in the battles of Wilson's Creek, Lexington, Mo., Elkhorn, Iuka, Corinth, Champion Hills and Big Black; in 1864 was a prisoner but was released and rejoined his regiment at Mobile; assumed command of Cockrell's brigade; in 1876 was elected state treasurer on the ticket with Governor Phelps; died in St. Joseph, Mo.

¹² Jackson Leomides Smith was born January 31, 1838, in Callaway County, Mo.; admitted to the bar in 1860; in 1876 was elected attorney general on the ticket with Governor Phelps; was elected to the Kansas City Court of Appeals in 1888; died November 13, 1908.

¹³ James E. McHenry was born May 18, 1836, at Jefferson City, Missouri; in 1854 was chief clerk in the secretary of state's office; in 1865 he located in Kansas City; in 1868 was elected judge of the Common Pleas Court; in 1876 was elected register of lands, and reelected in 1878; died September 29, 1903.

¹⁴ Elijah Hise Norton. See p. 172.

¹⁵ Thomas A. Hendricks, vice president of the United States, was born in Muskingum County, Ohio, in 1819. He studied law and practiced in Indiana, serving from 1851 to 1869 in the Indiana Legislature and in both Houses of Congress. In 1872 was elected governor of Indiana. In 1876 and 1884 was a candidate for the vice presidency. He lost the election in the former year, but was elected with Grover Cleveland in the latter year. He died in 1885.

¹⁶ Tilden and Hendricks, as the Democratic candidates for president and vice president, respectively, were unquestionably elected. However, with the Grant administration, repudiated but still in power, the popular will of the voters of the Nation was overwhelmed through a bitter partisanship that never before, nor has it since been paralleled in American political affairs. The deal by which Tilden and Hendricks were counted out and the expressed will of the American people thwarted was accomplished by an electoral commission provided for by act of Congress, January 29, 1877. It was composed of five senators, chosen by the Senate; five members of the House of Representatives, chosen by the House; and five associate justice of the Supreme Court, four of whom were designated by the Act of Congress, and the fifth selected by the four. It was found, on counting the electoral votes in the presence of the two houses of Congress, that there were conflicting certificates from four states—Louisiana, Florida, Oregon and South Carolina. These certificates were referred to the commission, which by a vote of eight to seven—following the line of party division in the commission—decided that the certificate of electoral votes cast for Hayes and Wheeler, the Republican candidate, was the legal certificate. The decision of the commission, according to the terms of the statute, became irrevocable; the disputed votes were counted accordingly; and Hayes and Wheeler were found duly elected, by a majority of one electoral vote. The important question before the commission was whether an electoral certificate being in form confessedly according to law, it was competent for Congress or the commission to go behind the same and take evidence *abunde* in support of alleged irregularities committed before such certificate was issued. The majority of the commission took the negative. The decision was bitterly resented by the Democratic party, which maintained that its candidates had been rightfully elected and had been deprived of their just rights.

¹⁷ Winfield Scott Hancock, a soldier, was born in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, in 1824; graduated at West Point in 1844, served as lieutenant in the Mexican war, and was made captain in 1855; In 1861 he was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers, and served with distinction in the early years of the war, on the Peninsula, at Antietam, and at Fredericksburg. He commanded a corps at Gettysburg and was wounded. In 1864 he took command of the second corps of Grant's army, and at the battle of Spotsylvania captured nearly 4,000 prisoners and twenty pieces of artillery. In 1864 he was made brigadier-general in the regular army and major-general in 1866, and held several commands until 1880, when he was nominated by the Democratic party as its candidate for the Presidency. He was defeated by Garfield, the Republican candidate; died in 1886.—"Winston's Encyclopedia," Vol. V.

¹⁸ Robert Alexander Campbell was born in Bowling Green, Missouri, September 2, 1832; studied law under James O. Broadhead; admitted to the bar in 1860; enlisted in the Union Army; reenlisted in the Forty-ninth Missouri Cavalry; in 1861 he served as secretary of the convention on "Relation of the State of Missouri to the Union;" at the close of the war resumed the practice of law at Bowling Green; was president of the Missouri River Railway Company; held the position until the road was leased to the Chicago & Alton Railroad Company; in 1868 to 1876 was in the General Assembly from Pike County; moved to St. Louis; in 1880 elected lieutenant-governor on the ticket with Governor Crittenden; in 1885 was comptroller of the City of St. Louis; died in St. Louis, March 26, 1926.

¹⁹ John Walker was a member of the General Assembly from Howard County in 1873; was later railroad commissioner; elected in 1880 State Auditor on the ticket with Governor Crittenden; was reelected in 1884 on the ticket with Governor Marmaduke; his administration of the office was of a character that gave him great popularity; brought his family with him from Howard County, and they were quite prominent in Jefferson City society; one of his daughters became the wife of William M. Ledbetter and one the wife of William S. Brotherton. Mr. Ledbetter was for a long time city editor of the *Globe-Democrat*, and he then became managing editor of the *St. Louis Republic*. John Walker died September 30, 1892.

²⁰ Daniel H. McIntyre was born May 5, 1833, in Callaway County, Missouri; educated in Westminster College, graduated in 1861; entered the Confederate service and remained through the Civil war doing duty in Missouri, Mississippi, Arkansas and Texas; was in the Battle of Wilson's Creek, where he was wounded; after the war located in Audrain County; in 1871 began the practice of law in Mexico, under Governor Hardin, and was admitted to the bar; in 1872 was prosecuting attorney of Audrain County; in 1874 was a member of the State Senate; in 1876 again a member of the General Assembly; in 1880 was elected attorney general on the ticket with Governor Crittenden; died January 1, 1910.

²¹ John Sappington Marmaduke was born on his father's farm in Saline County, Missouri, March 14, 1833; appointed to West Point by Congressman John S. Phelps; graduated in 1857; sent to the Seventh U. S. Cavalry under Col. Albert Sidney Johnston, where he served in the Mormon war in Utah; when the Civil war came he consulted his father, former Governor Meredith Marmaduke as to his joining the Confederacy, who disapproved of his leaving the Union; he joined General Price, resigned, and went to Richmond and was commissioned lieutenant-colonel under General Hardee; was soon transferred to his old commander, General Albert Sidney Johnston; took conspicuous part in the desperate battle of Shiloh, where he was wounded, and made a brigadier general because of his bravery and ability displayed; was transferred to Arkansas and promoted to the rank of major general; while serving under General Walker the saddest incident of his life occurred, a quarrel, not of his initiative, between him and General Walker; challenged by Walker, in a duel Walker was killed; was elected governor in 1884, and served until his death, December 28, 1887.

²² Albert P. Morehouse was born July 11, 1835, near Ashley, Delaware County, Ohio; with his family moved to Nodaway County, Missouri, in 1856; was admitted to the bar in 1860, in Montgomery County, Iowa; in 1862 began the practice of law in Maryville, Mo.; in 1872 was a delegate to the Baltimore National Convention, and in

1876 to the St. Louis Convention; in 1876 he was elected to the General Assembly; in 1884 was elected lieutenant governor on the ticket with Governor Marmaduke; on the death of Governor Marmaduke, December 28, 1887, he became Governor; unsuccessful candidate for governor in 1888 against David R. Francis; died September 30, 1891.

²³ James Monroe Seibert was born in Cape Girardeau County, February 3, 1847. After serving in several county offices, in 1884, he was elected state treasurer; in 1888 he was elected state auditor, and was reelected in 1892 and 1896. Under the Dockery administration he was excise commissioner for the Missouri Pacific Railroad, in which position he served for many years, until he was retired on a pension. In the history of the Democratic Party, no man ever had a more extended acquaintance throughout the state. As this is written Mr. Seibert is in the Missouri Pacific Hospital in St. Louis in a precarious condition of health.

²⁴ Banton Gallatin Boone was a direct lineal descendant of Daniel Boone, a Kentucky pioneer, and a grandson of Captain Samuel Boone, one of the earliest settlers of Callaway County. In 1854 he located in Lincoln County, associated in the publication of the *Troy Gazette*, the first newspaper published in that county; in 1856 removed to Henry County; in 1861 joined the Confederate Army; in 1874 was a member of the General Assembly; in 1875 was speaker of the House; in 1884 was elected attorney general on the ticket with Governor Marmaduke, and after term of this office returned to Henry County; died February 11, 1900.

MISSOURI'S REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS

CHAPTER II

THE SENATE

Lewis Vital Bogy¹ of St. Louis, was elected to the U. S. Senate by the General Assembly in 1873. The Democrats held a caucus to select the one to be voted on by the joint session. Those considered for the place included Francis P. Blair, Jr., John S. Phelps, James S. Rollins, Lewis V. Bogy, George G. Vest, James O. Broadhead. Bogy was finally chosen over Blair by a vote of 64 to 47. When the joint session met, Bogy, the Democrat, received 111 votes, John B. Henderson, the Republican candidate, 43.

It seems the irony of fate that the heroic record by Francis P. Blair, Jr., in his fight against the Test Oath, and the other penalties imposed on the people by the Radical government, should not have caused his reelection to the U. S. Senate. His strong convictions and his courageous political record were overlooked. He had been a Benton Democrat, a Republican, an unconditional Union man, and had done much to reorganize the disrupted Democratic Party.

Francis Marion Cockrell² of Johnson County, was elected U. S. senator by the General Assembly in 1875. Cockrell was a strong candidate for governor in 1874. When Charles H. Hardin was nominated Cockrell accepted his defeat so graciously that there was no opposition to his election. Thus began a career in the Senate of the United States of thirty years, equaling the period that Thomas H. Benton served in that body. This also gave Missouri the honor of having two distinguished men serve in the United States senate for a period of sixty years.

Senator Cockrell began his senatorial career in 1875, and soon attracted the serious attention of the Senate. He was a man of commanding presence, and became the most indefatigable worker in that body. Every request from a constituent received his personal attention, and it is a historical fact that his replies to letters always ended with the request to "Command me freely."

On September 20, 1877, Senator Bogy died, and Governor Phelps appointed David H. Armstrong³ of St. Louis, to serve out the Bogy term until the meeting of the General Assembly. On January 21, 1879, the General Assembly elected James Shields⁴ to serve out the balance of the Bogy term. Commenting on this Champ Clark said: "Old General John B. Clark kept John Sherman from being speaker of the House of Representatives in a notable session of Congress just previous to the Civil war, and hated General Shields most cordially."

"When he heard that the latter had been elected to the Senate for thirty-nine days, General Clark said: 'Thank God! Old Shields has got a nubbin' at last.' The way he happened to be elected for that short period was this: When Senator Lewis V. Bogy,—'Bogus,' as Colonel Thomas Hart Benton scornfully denominated him,—died in the fifth year of his senatorial term, Governor John Smith Phelps appointed, as a chair warmer for himself he hoped, Col. David H. Armstrong, a fine old gentleman, but only a local St. Louis politician.

MOST HATED MAN

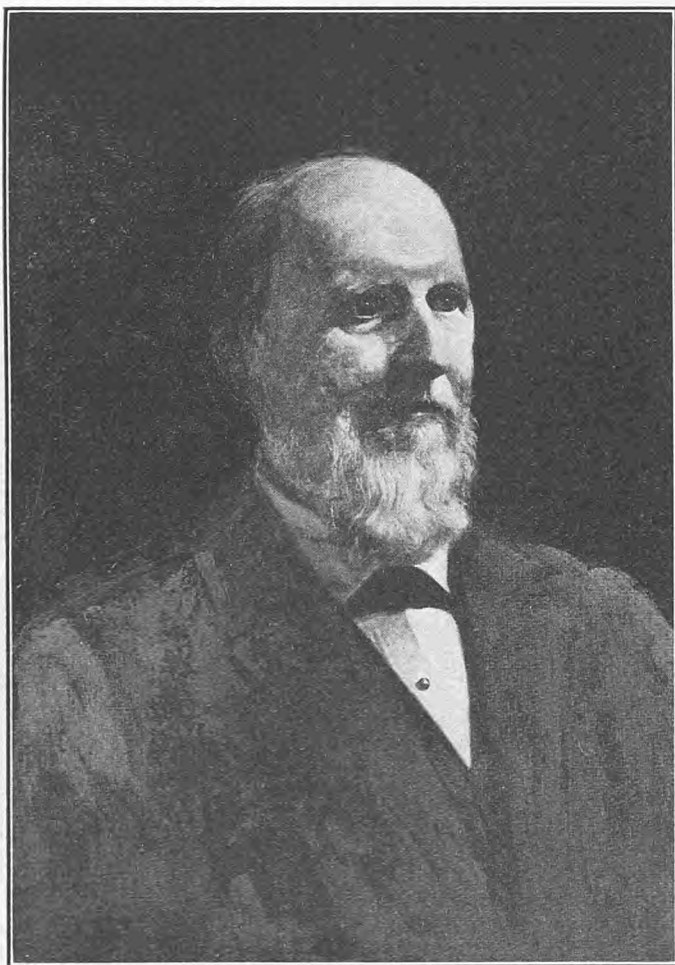
"The man most hated in Missouri for conduct during the Civil war was Gen. John McNeil. While he was in command in Northeast Missouri, it was reported to him that a 'bushwhacker' had shot a Union man; whereupon McNeil took twelve citizen prisoners, charged with being Confederate sympathizers, out of jail at Palmyra and had them shot—without even the semblance of a trial—in retaliation, which performance is known to this day and will be forever known as 'the Palmyra massacre.' Unluckily for Colonel Armstrong, while he was serving in the Senate by appointment, President Hayes nominated General McNeil for some position in the Indian service, which nomination had to be confirmed by the Senate, and Colonel Armstrong voted to confirm him, because, as it was alleged, General McNeil saved his life during the war.

"However that may be his vote so thoroughly angered the people of Missouri that when the Legislature met it flatly refused Colonel Armstrong the courtesy of an election to the Senate for the remaining thirty-nine days of the Bogy term, and gave it to brave old General Shields. The chances are the fact that it would confer on Shields the unprecedented honor of senatorial service from three states had some influence, as he was exceedingly popular with both Democrats and Republicans."

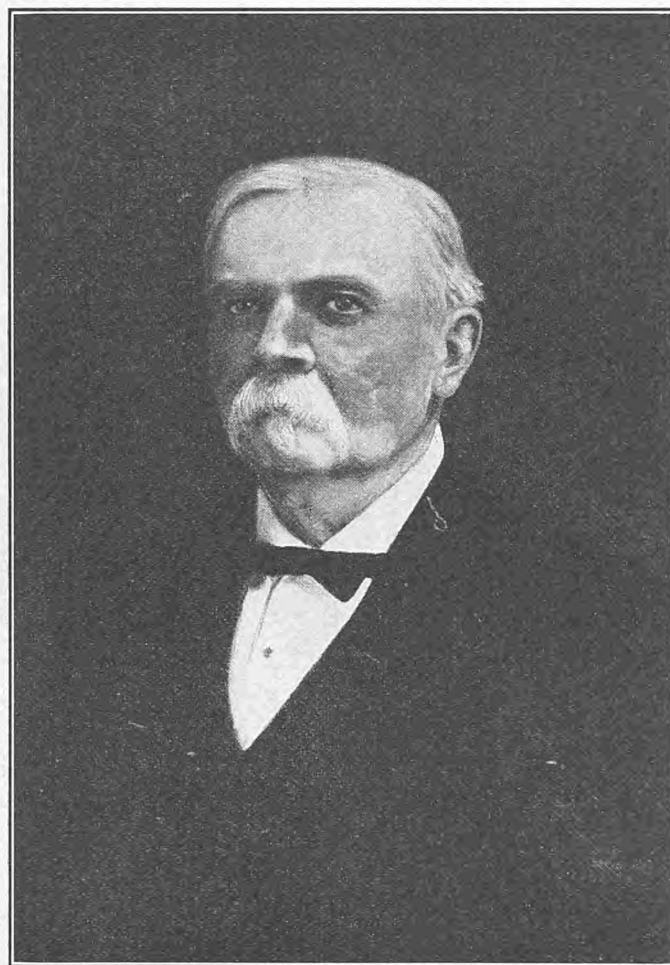
In 1879 the General Assembly elected George Graham Vest,⁵ of Pettis County, to the United States Senate for a term of six years. Popular always, he had been forced to stand aside for expediency when the Democratic Party was making the struggle for its very existence against Radicalism and Oppression. Now began a career unsurpassed in the political life of the Nation, and he became one of the enduring characters of the time.

Henry Lamm, a member of the Missouri Supreme Court, and a Republican, gave an interesting resume of George Graham Vest, when he said:

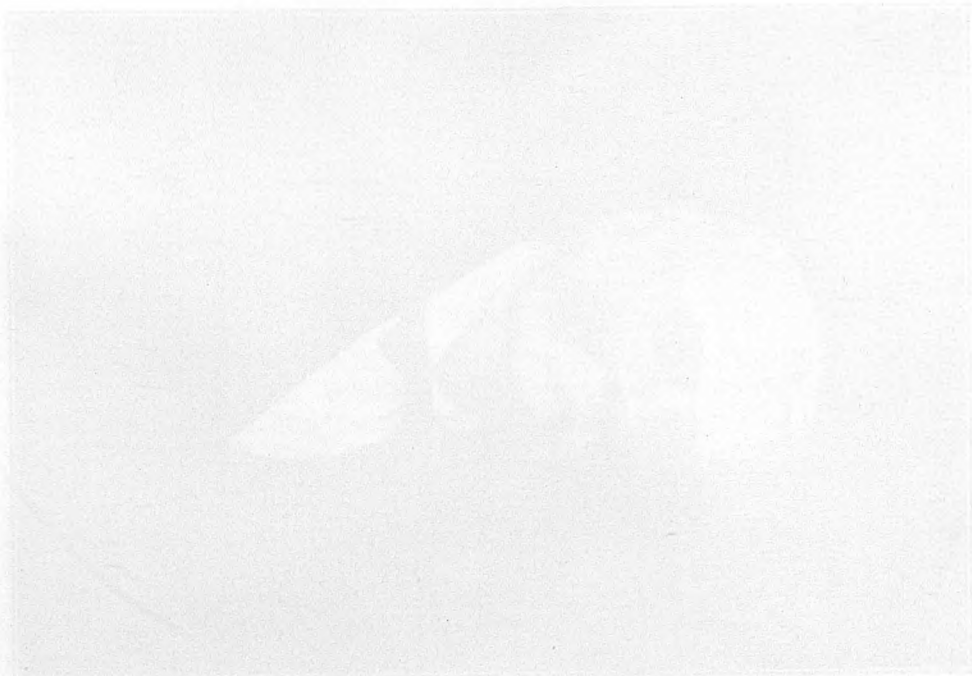
"With his sheepskin in his pocket, he seems to have coquetted somewhat with literature as a makeshift and started a newspaper at Owensboro, Kentucky, presumably of Whig tendencies, as his father was a Whig and he leaned that way in his youth. Selling out his newspaper and enamored of California, then the mecca of many adventurous and aspiring spirits, in 1853 he determined to cross the plains aiming at Independence, Missouri, to join one of the freighting caravans outfitting there, and to establish himself on the Pacific coast as a lawyer. Coming



HON. FRANCIS MARION COCKRELL
United States Senator



HON. GEORGE GRAHAM VEST
United States Senator



ICEBERG SEEN FROM
OFFSHORE (1911)



ICEBERG AND REMAINS OF
SHIP (1911)

up the Missouri river to Independence, tradition has it that he and two traveling companions, friends from Kentucky, fell into financial reverses by some misadventure and Vest was constrained to return home by coach, the water falling below navigation in the river. The coach overturned eighty miles east of Independence in the northern limits of Pettis county, and it is more than likely to this incident is due the casting of his lot with Missouri; for he was certainly on his way to his old Kentucky home at the time, the purpose of his trip abandoned, and there were tender and strong ties of love to draw him homeward. In his college days at Danville he had wooed and won Miss Sallie Sneed of that place, whom he afterwards married. Crippled in the shoulder by the overturning of the coach, he was entertained on the plantation of Joseph C. Higgins and possibly attended by Dr. Fox of Georgetown. Recovering and meeting Kentucky settlers who had known his father and who were drawn to him by admiration and the ties of kindred tastes, among them John S. Jones, an old time plains freighter, he was taken on a hunting trip in the edge of Saline County, to the Saline Springs, now known as McAllister Springs. First the buffalo and then the elk had drifted west to escape the rifle of the pioneer frontiersman, but the deer and wild turkey yet lingered in this hunter's paradise. There is no man alive who can now, even in faint outline, draw a recognizable picture of the land young Vest was in, on the western edge of 'the Boone's Lick Country'—a country the fame of whose buffalo, elk, wild honey and wild turkeys, rich grasses, rich soils and genial climate broke through the trackless wilderness on the tongue of rumor thirty or forty years before Vest came, and lured the sons of Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee and the Carolinas, first as stray hunters, then in groups of daring settlers and finally in streams of immigrants to its borders. Vest was captivated by what he saw on this trip and Missouri won his heart; for he was a born hunter, loving the open air and scenes close to the heart of nature, the sound of running water and the cadences of hounds in chase—active of foot and a dead shot.

"Won to Missouri by the game, fish, wilderness of the prairie flowers, and congenial society of the many Kentuckians here, in 1853 he swung out his shingle and opened a law office at Georgetown and modestly commenced a career which made him 'senator of two republics.' In 1853 he was, say, five feet six inches in height, weighing about 110 pounds, with fiery red hair, a face fair, in which boyish freckles still showed, a short neck with an uncommonly large head set unusually well down on his shoulders. His eyes were blue with a tinge of gray which latter color afterwards may have become somewhat accentuated with age and his eyebrows and eyelashes dark and pronounced. He had a form of the singular make-up of being almost as tall when sitting as standing, and the breadth of shoulder and reach of arm of a larger man and indicative of power.

"Mr. Vest had a mobile countenance, a wise and kindling eye, and a voice in perfect command. It had a resonant tremor, farreaching and effective, with powers of imitation and personification such as you hear

in great actors. These parts, coupled with his abounding wit and excellent fancy, made him a raconteur and conversationalist of high order. Wherever he was, whether in a side room at the courthouse relating reminiscences of early practice and incidents in causes he had been in, to other lawyers, or by a roaring campfire on a fishing trip making the night seem short with story of adventure or recitals of the incidents of the day, or in the cloakroom of the Senate discussing architecture with Morrill, or Shakespeare or international law with Cushman K. Davis, or books and fishing with Quay, or on the hustings tingling the blood of Missouri Democrats, or on the floor of the Senate discussing tariff and finance, or before a jury in a box twisting the life out of the other side, or at a banquet table scintillating with humor and repartee, or entertaining at his own fireside, he was the same many-sided, remarkable man. And those of us who had a chance hung about him as the beasts did about Orpheus' lyre or the bees did about the lips of Plato and Sophocles."

In 1881 the General Assembly reelected Francis M. Cockrell to his second term in the U. S. Senate. His influence and popularity in the Senate had grown until he was one of the most distinguished men in that body, and in Missouri no one stood above him in the affection and respect of the people.

FOOT NOTES, SIXTH EPOCH, THE SENATE

¹ Lewis Vital Bogy, a Senator from Missouri; born in Ste. Genevieve, Missouri, April 9, 1813; attended the public schools; employed as clerk in a mercantile establishment; studied law in Illinois, was graduated from a law school in Lexington, Kentucky in 1835, and commenced practice in St. Louis; served in the Black Hawk war; member of the board of aldermen of St. Louis in 1838; member of the State House of Representatives in 1840, 1841, 1854 and 1855; commissioner of Indian affairs in 1867 and 1868; president of the City Council of St. Louis in 1872; one of the projectors of the St. Louis & Iron Mountain Railway; acting president of the company for two years; elected as a Democrat to the United States Senate, and served from March 4, 1873, until his death in St. Louis, Missouri, September 20, 1877.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

² Francis Marion Cockrell (brother of Jeremiah Vardaman Cockrell), a senator from Missouri; born in Warrensburg, Johnson County, Mo., October 1, 1834; attended the common schools; was graduated from Chapel Hill College, Lafayette County, Mo., in July, 1853; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1855, and practiced in Warrensburg, Mo.; served in the Confederate Army, and was promoted from the rank of captain to that of brigade commander; appointed brigadier general July 18, 1863; captured at Fort Blakely, Ala., April 9, 1865; paroled May 14, 1865; at the close of the Civil war resumed the practice of law; elected as a Democrat to the United States Senate; reelected four times, and served from March 4, 1875, to March 3, 1905; appointed by President Roosevelt a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission on March 6, 1905, and served until December 31, 1910; appointed in 1911 a United States commissioner to reestablish the boundary line between Texas and New Mexico; civilian member of the Board of Ordnance in the War Department, which position he held until his death in Washington, D. C., December 13, 1915.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

³ David Hartley Armstrong, a Senator from Missouri; born in Nova Scotia, Canada, October 21, 1812; attended Maine Wesleyan Seminary; taught school in New Bedford, Mass., 1833-1837; moved to St. Louis, Mo., in 1837, and thence to Lebanon, Ill., where he taught in McKendree College; returned to Missouri and



WHERE SENATOR GEORGE G. VEST DELIVERED HIS FAMOUS
"EULOGY ON THE DOG"
Johnson County Courthouse, Warrensburg

THEY WERE THE FIRST TO BE SEEN BY THE
EYES OF THE WHITE MAN. THE FIRST TO
BE SEEN BY THE EYES OF THE WHITE MAN.
THEY WERE THE FIRST TO BE SEEN BY THE
EYES OF THE WHITE MAN. THE FIRST TO
BE SEEN BY THE EYES OF THE WHITE MAN.
THEY WERE THE FIRST TO BE SEEN BY THE
EYES OF THE WHITE MAN. THE FIRST TO
BE SEEN BY THE EYES OF THE WHITE MAN.



WHERE SENATOR GEORGE F. VEST HAD BEEN HIS FATHER
THEY WERE THE FIRST TO BE SEEN BY THE
EYES OF THE WHITE MAN. THE FIRST TO
BE SEEN BY THE EYES OF THE WHITE MAN.
THEY WERE THE FIRST TO BE SEEN BY THE
EYES OF THE WHITE MAN. THE FIRST TO
BE SEEN BY THE EYES OF THE WHITE MAN.
THEY WERE THE FIRST TO BE SEEN BY THE
EYES OF THE WHITE MAN. THE FIRST TO
BE SEEN BY THE EYES OF THE WHITE MAN.
THEY WERE THE FIRST TO BE SEEN BY THE
EYES OF THE WHITE MAN. THE FIRST TO
BE SEEN BY THE EYES OF THE WHITE MAN.

became principal of the public school at Benton, 1838-1847; comptroller of St. Louis 1847-1850; postmaster of St. Louis 1854-1858; member of the board of police commissioners 1873-1876; member of the board of freeholders which framed the present city charter of St. Louis in 1876; appointed as a Democrat to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Lewis V. Bogy, and served from September 29, 1877, to January 26, 1879, when a successor was elected and qualified; was not a candidate for election in 1878; died in St. Louis, Mo., March 18, 1893.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁴ James Shields, a senator from Illinois, Minnesota, and Missouri, born in Altmore, County Tyrone, Ireland, May 10, 1810; attended a hedge school, private schools, and pursued classical studies; emigrated to the United States in 1823; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1832, and commenced practice in Kaskaskia, Randolph County, Ill.; member of the State House of Representatives in 1836; auditor of the state in 1839; judge of the Supreme Court of Illinois in 1843; commissioner of the General Land Office 1845-1847; during the Mexican war was commissioned brigadier-general of volunteers July 1, 1846; brevetted major general April 18, 1847, "for gallant and meritorious conduct at the Battle of Cerro Gordo, Mexico;" honorably discharged July 24, 1848; appointed governor of Oregon Territory by President Polk; resigned in 1849; elected as a Democrat to the United States Senate from Illinois for the term commencing March 4, 1849; upon his appearance to take his seat on March 5, 1849, a resolution was presented raising the question of his eligibility; took his seat on March 6, 1849, but on March 15, 1849, the Senate declared his election void on the ground that he had not been a citizen of the United States the number of years required by the Constitution; again elected for the same term, and served from October 27, 1849, to March 3, 1855; unsuccessful candidate for reelection; moved to Minnesota in 1855; upon the admission of Minnesota as a state into the Union was elected to the United States Senate, and served from May 11, 1858, to March 3, 1859; unsuccessful candidate for reelection; moved to California; during the Civil war served in the Union Army as brigadier general of Volunteers from August 19, 1861, to March 28, 1863, when he resigned and returned to California; moved to Carrollton, Mo., and resumed the practice of law; member of the State House of Representatives in 1874 and 1879; appointed adjutant general of Missouri in 1877; served as railroad commissioner; elected to the United States Senate from Missouri on January 22, 1879, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Lewis V. Bogy, and served from January 27, 1879, to March 3, 1879; declined to be a candidate for renomination; died in Ottumwa, Wapello County, Iowa, June 1, 1879.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁵ George Graham Vest, a Senator from Missouri; born in Frankfort, Franklin County, Ky., December 6, 1830; was graduated from Centre College, Danville, Ky., in 1848 and from the law department of Transylvania University, Lexington, Ky., in 1853; was admitted to the bar in 1853 and commenced practice in Georgetown, Mo.; moved to Boonville, Mo., in 1856; Democratic presidential elector on the Douglas and Johnson ticket in 1860; member of the State House of Representatives in 1860 and 1861; judge advocate in General Price's Confederate forces in Missouri in 1862; served in the House of Representatives of the Confederate Congress from February, 1862, to January 12, 1865, when he resigned, having been appointed to fill a vacancy in the Confederate Senate; resumed the practice of law in Sedalia, Mo., in 1865; moved to Kansas City in 1877; elected as a Democrat to the United States Senate; reelected in 1885, 1891, and 1897, and served from March 4, 1879, to March 3, 1903; on account of failing health retired from public life and resided at Sweet Springs, Saline County, Mo., until his death August 9, 1904.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

MISSOURI'S REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS

CHAPTER III

CONGRESS—1873—HOUSE

In 1873 the Congressional Districts in Missouri were changed and the state was now entitled to thirteen congressmen.

Erastus Wells, of St. Louis, for two terms the representative from the old First District, was elected from the Second District; William H. Stone,¹ of St. Louis was elected from the Third District; Robert A. Hatcher² of New Madrid County from the Fourth District.

Richard Parks Bland³ was elected from the Fifth District. This was the beginning of a career in Congress that was characterized by his great fight for silver. The reader can get a comprehensive view of Bland by what Walter B. Stevens says in his "Centennial History of Missouri" (Vol II, pp. 845-46) :

"Bland was intensely sincere. He was full of his subject when he took the floor. Those who differed from him called him a crank, sometimes ridiculed his conclusions, but never charged him with not believing what he said. Mr. Bland was never inconsistent in his life. When he announced a line of action for himself he followed it. Nothing but the crack of doom could turn him aside. Bland was the ablest bimetallist of his party. His devotion to the principle was more than political in the shallow acceptance of that word. For years Mr. Bland had been in correspondence with the leading bimetallists of Great Britain and France. His fame was greater abroad than it was at home. The extent to which he was consulted by foreign writers and authorities on the subject was known to very few in this country. Of the general acceptance of the bimetallic standard in the near future Mr. Bland had not the slightest doubt. And he based his expectation upon something more tangible than a sanguine temperament. For several years Mr. Bland had been doing his best to keep his party in line, in order that it might get credit for the general remonetization of the white metal. And when he, with his private sources of information, thought he saw success certain, he found himself standing alone and his party fleeing from the silver issue as if it were a specter."

Thomas T. Crittenden⁴ of Johnson County was elected from the Seventh District. Crittenden had already become prominent in the state, and his election to Congress was the beginning of his rise to the governorship in 1880.

Abram Comingo, previously elected from the old Sixth District of Jackson County, was elected from the new Eighth District. John B.

Clark, Jr.,⁵ of Howard County, was elected from the new Eleventh District. His father, John Bullock Clark, Sr., of Howard County, was elected to Congress in 1857. He served with some distinction in that body when slavery, nullification and secession were disturbing the country. He was reelected in 1861 and expelled for disloyalty to the Union, and William A. Hall of Randolph County was elected in his stead. Clark immediately associated himself with the Confederacy and became a brigadier-general in the Missouri State troops.

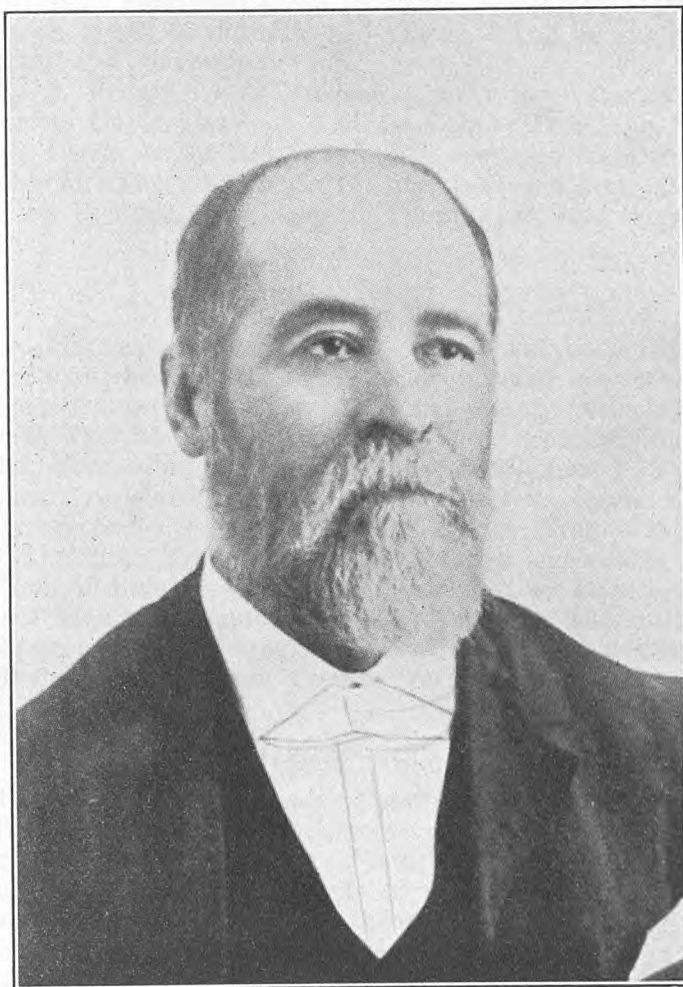
John M. Glover⁶ of Lewis County was elected from the Twelfth District; Aylett H. Buckner⁷ of Audrain County from the Thirteenth District.

CONGRESS—1875

Edward C. Kehr⁸ of St. Louis was elected from the First District; Erastus Wells of St. Louis from the Second District; William H. Stone of St. Louis from the Third District; Robert A. Hatcher of New Madrid County from the Fourth District; Richard P. Bland of Laclede County from the Fifth District.

Charles H. Morgan⁹ of Barton County was elected from the Sixth District. Walter B. Stevens in his "Centennial History of Missouri" (Vol. II, p. 209) says: "At an early period Charles H. Morgan was sent to Congress as a Democrat to represent the lead and zinc district of Southwest Missouri. Years afterwards he came back as a Republican from the same district, elected on a protection platform. Mr. Morgan was a very mild-mannered man, but had a record for personal bravery. He was a Union soldier from Wisconsin, and fought in many of the greatest battles of the Civil war. He was repeatedly captured and made his escape from Confederate prisons five times. One of his escapes was extremely novel. He and other prisoners were locked up in a box car, to be shipped back into the interior of Virginia for confinement in one of the southern prison camps, of which he had experienced a foretaste on a previous occasion. A Confederate guard was in the same car with the prisoners, to prevent their escape, and strict vigilance was kept upon every movement. Morgan and a friend, nevertheless, managed to regain their liberty under the very eyes of the sentinel. While lying on their blankets they cut a hole through the floor of the car with a knife, concealing the aperture with their blankets until they had produced an opening large enough to allow their bodies to pass through. So quietly was the work done that neither the guard nor their fellow prisoners surmised the truth. As soon as an opportunity presented itself, and the car was dark enough to conceal their movements, they opened the aperture and dropped through to the roadbed. They gained the adjoining woods and were furnished with provisions by an old negro couple. In the course of a few days they were again in the camp of a Union army."

John F. Philips of Pettis County was elected from the Seventh District, succeeding Thomas T. Crittenden. Walter B. Stevens in his "Centennial History of Missouri" (Vol I, p. 941) says: "Of all Missourians, John F. Philips knew longest and most intimately the bench and bar of



John Tracy
D. P. Bland

The Missouri Commoner

the Center State, during the century closing. Boy and man, lawyer and jurist, his recollections went back to the pioneers. Close relationship with his profession continued down to 1919. Repeatedly Judge Philips was called upon to tell of those he had known. And he responded with delightful detail and charming diction."

Benjamin J. Franklin¹⁰ of Jackson County was elected from the Eighth District; David Rea¹¹ of Andrew County from the Ninth District; John B. Clark, Jr., of Howard County, reelected from the Eleventh District; John M. Glover of Lewis County, reelected from the Twelfth District; Aylett H. Buckner of Audrain County, reelected from the Thirteenth District.

CONGRESS—1877

Robert A. Hatcher of New Madrid County was reelected from the Fourth District; Richard P. Bland of Laclede County reelected from the Fifth District; Charles H. Morgan of Barton County reelected from the Sixth District; Thomas T. Crittenden of Johnson County from the Seventh District, succeeding John F. Philips; Benjamin J. Franklin of Jackson County, reelected from the Eighth District; David Rea of Andrew County, reelected from the Ninth District; Henry M. Pollard¹² of Livingston County from the Tenth District, succeeding Rezin A. DeBolt, a "Liberal-Republican-Democrat"—as history states it; John B. Clark, Jr., of Howard County, reelected from the Eleventh District; John M. Glover of Lewis County, reelected from the Twelfth District; Aylett H. Buckner of Audrain County, reelected from the Thirteenth District.

CONGRESS—1879

Martin L. Clardy¹³ of St. Francois County, was elected from the First District. He served five times consecutively in Congress and became prominent in that body. Afterwards returning to Missouri in 1889 he became vice president and chief counsel of the Missouri Pacific Railroad. He was a politician of great influence throughout the state, and a man of much personal charm and a host of friends. His influence in Southeast Missouri was perhaps greater than that of any other Democrat of his day.

Walter B. Stevens in his "Centennial History of Missouri" (Vol. II, pp. 207-208) says:

"When Martin L. Clardy was a member of Congress, he spent many an hour reading over the Congressional debates of earlier years. One day Mr. Clardy, to his amazement, heard delivered upon the floor of the House a speech which he had shortly before perused in a dust-covered volume fifteen years old. The speech-writer who had sold the product had simply copied it from the Record, going back far enough as he supposed to escape detection. But there was another surprise in stock for Mr. Clardy. Before the recollection of the first incident had faded he found, away back earlier than the war, this same speech. Whether that was the original speech he never discovered, but he did learn that

there had been at least two thefts of it, and that it had done duty for three statesmen, two of whom had probably paid well for the mechanical act of copying."

Erastus Wells of St. Louis was reelected from the Second District; R. Graham Frost¹⁴ of St. Louis from the Third District; Lowndes H. Davis¹⁵ of Cape Girardeau County from the Fourth District, succeeding Robert A. Hatcher; Richard P. Bland of Laclede County, reelected from the Fifth District; James R. Waddill¹⁶ of Greene County from the Sixth District, succeeding Charles H. Morgan.

Alfred M. Lay¹⁷ of Cole County from the Seventh District. Lay died in 1879, and John F. Philips of Pettis County was elected in his stead.

Samuel L. Sawyer¹⁸ of Jackson County was elected from the Eighth District, succeeding Benjamin J. Franklin; Gideon F. Rothwell¹⁹ of Randolph County from the Tenth District; John B. Clark, Jr., of Howard County, reelected from the Eleventh District.

William H. Hatch²⁰ of Marion County was elected from the Twelfth District, succeeding John M. Glover. Hatch began a career in Congress which extended over a period of sixteen years, during which time he became one of the most conspicuous members of the body. He was more thoroughly posted in relation to the tariff laws than any man of his time. He stood preeminent in his advocacy of enhancing the duties of the Commissioner of Agriculture. As a member of the Agricultural Committee he contested through three sessions for this department, when at the close of the 1887 Congress President Cleveland signed the bill creating the office of Secretary of Agriculture. Missouri furnished the first secretary in the person of that grand citizen and Democrat, Norman J. Colman.

Aylett H. Buckner of Audrain County was reelected from the Thirteenth District.

CONGRESS—1881

Martin L. Clardy of St. Francois County was reelected from the First District; Thomas Allen²¹ of St. Louis was elected from the Second District. Allen died, and James H. McLean²² of St. Louis was elected in his stead.

R. Graham Frost of St. Louis was reelected from the Third District; Lowndes H. Davis of Cape Girardeau County, reelected from the Fourth District; Richard P. Bland of Laclede County, reelected from the Fifth District; John B. Clark, Jr., of Howard County, reelected from the Eleventh District; William H. Hatch of Marion County, reelected from the Twelfth District; Aylett H. Buckner of Audrain County, reelected from the Thirteenth District.

CONGRESS—1883

In 1883 the Congressional districts were changed by act of the General Assembly of May 5, 1882, Missouri having become entitled to fourteen congressmen.

William H. Hatch was elected from the First District; Armstead M. Alexander²³ of Monroe County from the Second District.

Alexander Monroe Dockery²⁴ of Daviess County was elected from the Third District. This was the beginning of service in Congress of sixteen years, ending in 1899. No member of Congress ever took his work more seriously or did it more thoroughly than Dockery. In the late years of his congressional career he had aspirations to be governor of Missouri. This was realized in 1900 when he was elected governor.

James N. Burnes²⁵ of Buchanan County was elected from the Fourth District. He served three terms with some distinction in Congress, and was quite a power in the politics of Northwest Missouri, in the old convention days.

Alexander Graves²⁶ of Lafayette County was elected from the Fifth District; John Cosgrove²⁷ of Cooper County from the Sixth District.

Aylett H. Buckner of Audrain County was elected from the new Seventh District. He was prominent in the campaigns of the Democratic Party, and when the Ninth District was formed he was elected as its first representative. During his five terms in Congress he became distinguished by his speeches on banking and currency, which attracted national attention.

John J. O'Neill²⁸ of St. Louis was elected from the Eighth District; James O. Broadhead of St. Louis from the Ninth District; Martin L. Clardy of St. Francois County from the Tenth District; Richard P. Bland of Laclede County from the Eleventh District; Charles H. Morgan of Barton County from the Twelfth District; Robert W. Fyan²⁹ of Webster County from the Thirteenth District; Lowndes H. Davis of Cape Girardeau County from the Fourteenth District.

CONGRESS—1885

William H. Hatch of Marion County was reelected from the First District; John B. Hale³⁰ of Carroll County from the Second District, succeeding Armstead M. Alexander; Alexander M. Dockery of Daviess County, reelected from the Third District; James N. Burnes of Buchanan County from the Fourth District; John T. Heard³¹ of Pettis County from the Sixth District, succeeding John Cosgrove; John E. Hutton³² of Audrain County from the Seventh District, succeeding Aylett H. Buckner.

John E. Hutton moved to Mexico in 1865, and in 1873 became the owner and publisher of the *Intelligencer*. In 1879 he added a daily edition to the paper, which was a success, and which has continued under different publishers until the present time. He was president of the Missouri Press Association in 1878 and 1879.

John J. O'Neill of St. Louis was reelected from the Eighth District.

John M. Glover of St. Louis was elected from the Ninth District. Glover had removed from Lewis County, which was in the old Twelfth District, from which he had served three terms in Congress. In 1878 he was defeated by William H. Hatch, in one of the most hectic campaigns that ever occurred in the state.

Martin L. Clardy of St. Francois County was reelected from the Tenth District.

William Joel Stone³³ of Vernon County was elected from the Twelfth District, succeeding Charles H. Morgan. This was the first appearance in a high place of a man who was to impress his personality and political acumen on the state and nation.

William Dawson³⁴ of New Madrid County was elected from the Fourteenth District, succeeding Lowndes H. Davis.

CONGRESS—1887

William H. Hatch of Marion County was reelected from the First District, Charles H. Mansur³⁵ of Livingston County elected from the Second District, Alexander M. Dockery of Daviess County, reelected from the Third District.

James N. Burnes of Buchanan County was reelected from the Fourth District. Burnes died in 1889, and Charles F. Booher³⁶ of Andrew County was elected in his stead.

John T. Heard of Pettis County was reelected from the Sixth District, John E. Hutton of Audrain County from the Seventh District, John J. O'Neill of St. Louis from the Eighth District, John M. Glover of St. Louis from the Tenth District, Richard P. Bland of Laclede County from the Eleventh District, William J. Stone of Vernon County from the Twelfth District and James P. Walker³⁷ of Stoddard County from the Fourteenth District, succeeding William Dawson.

FOOTNOTES, CONGRESS, 1873-1887

¹ William Henry Stone, a representative from Missouri; born in Shawangunk, N. Y., November 7, 1828; attended the common schools; moved to St. Louis, Mo., in 1848 and engaged in the manufacture of iron; became president of the St. Louis Hot Pressed Nut & Bolt Co. upon its organization in 1867; served in the State House of Representatives; member of the St. Louis Board of Water Commissioners from July 5, 1871, to November 15, 1873, when he resigned, having been elected to Congress; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-third and Forty-fourth Congresses (March 4, 1873-March 3, 1877); was not a candidate for renomination in 1876; resumed business interests; died in Asbury Park, N. J., July 9, 1901.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

² Robert Anthony Hatcher, a representative from Missouri; born in Buckingham County, Va., February 24, 1819; attended private schools in Lynchburg, Va.; studied law, was admitted to the bar in Kentucky, and commenced practice at New Madrid, Mo., in 1847; circuit attorney for several years; member of the State House of Representatives 1850 to 1851; during the Civil war enlisted in the Confederate Army and attained the rank of major; delegate to the State convention in 1862; member of the Confederate Congress 1864 and 1865; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-third, Forty-fourth and Forty-fifth Congresses (March 4, 1873-March 3, 1879); resumed the practice of law; died in Charleston, Mo., December 4, 1886.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

³ Richard Parks Bland, a representative from Missouri; born near Hartford, Ohio County, Ky., August 19, 1835; received an academic education; moved to Missouri in 1855, thence to California, and later to that portion of Utah which is now the State of Nevada; taught school for several years; studied law, was admitted to

the bar, and commenced practice in Virginia City; also interested in mining; treasurer of Carson County from 1860 until the organization of the State government of Nevada; returned to Missouri in 1865 and continued the practice of law in Rolla; moved to Lebanon, Marion County, in August, 1869; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-third and to the ten succeeding Congresses (March 4, 1873-March 3, 1895); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1894 to the Fifty-fourth Congress; elected to the Fifty-fifth and Fifty-sixth Congresses, and served from March 4, 1897, until his death; in 1896 was a strong candidate for the Democratic nomination for President and received two hundred and ninety votes; died in Lebanon, Mo., June 15, 1899.—“Biographical Directory of the American Congress.”

⁴ Thomas Theodore Crittenden, a representative from Missouri; born near Shelbyville, Shelby County, Ky., January 1, 1832; attended the primary schools at Cloverport, Ky., was graduated from Centre College, Danville, Ky., in 1855; served as registrar of Franklin County in 1856; studied law in Frankfort, Ky., was admitted to the bar in 1858, and commenced practice in Lexington, Mo.; served in the Union Army during the Civil war from 1862 to 1864, being commissioned captain and later lieutenant colonel of the Seventh Missouri Cavalry Militia Regiment; was wounded at the Battle of Westport, near Kansas City, Mo., October 23, 1864; moved to Warrensburg in 1865 and continued the practice of law; appointed attorney general of Missouri by Gov. Willard P. Hall in 1864 to fill out the unexpired term of Alkman Welch, deceased; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-third Congress (March 4, 1873-March 3, 1875); was not a candidate for renomination in 1874; again elected to the Forty-fifth Congress (March 4, 1877-March 3, 1879); governor of Missouri 1881-1885; moved to Kansas City in 1885, and continued the practice of law; United States consul general at the City of Mexico from April 5, 1893, to 1897; referee in bankruptcy from 1898 until his death in Kansas City, Mo., May 29, 1909.—“Biographical Directory of the American Congress.”

⁵ John Bullock Clark, Jr., a representative from Missouri; born in Fayette, Howard County, Mo., January 14, 1831; attended Fayette Academy, and the University of Missouri at Columbia; spent two years in California for travel and adventure; returned to the East, and was graduated from the law department of Harvard University in 1854; was admitted to the bar, and practiced in Fayette, Mo., from 1855 until the commencement of the Civil war, when he entered the Confederate Army as a lieutenant; promoted successively to the rank of captain, major, colonel, and brigadier general; resumed the practice of law in Fayette, Mo., elected as a Democrat to the Forty-third and to the four succeeding Congresses (March 4, 1873-March 3, 1883); unsuccessful candidate for renomination in 1882; Clerk of the National House of Representatives 1883-1889; engaged in the practice of law in Washington, D. C., until his death there, September 7, 1903.—“Biographical Directory of the American Congress.”

⁶ John Milton Glover, a representative from Missouri; born in St. Louis, Mo., June 23, 1852; attended Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.; studied law, was admitted to the bar, and commenced practice in St. Louis; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-ninth and Fiftieth Congresses (March 4, 1885-March 3, 1889); resumed the practice of law in St. Louis; moved to Denver, Colo., and continued the practice of his profession until incapacitated by ill health; died in Pueblo, Colo., October 20, 1929.—“Biographical Directory of the American Congress.”

⁷ Aylett Hawes Buckner, (nephew of Aylett Hawes and cousin of Richard Hawes and Albert Gallatin Hawes), a representative from Missouri; born in Fredericksburg, Va., December 14, 1816; attended Georgetown College, Washington, D. C., and the University of Virginia at Charlottesville; engaged in teaching for several years; moved to Palmyra, Mo., in 1837; served as deputy sheriff; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1838, and commenced practice in Bowling Green, Mo., became editor of the *Salt River Journal*; elected clerk of the Pike County court in 1841; moved to St. Louis, Mo., in 1850 and continued the practice of law; attorney for the Bank of the State of Missouri in 1852; appointed commissioner of public works in 1854 and served until 1855; returned to Pike County and settled on a farm near Bowling Green; elected judge of the third judicial circuit in 1857; delegate to the convention

held in Washington, D. C., in 1861, in an effort to devise means to prevent the impending war; moved to St. Charles, Mo., in 1862 and became interested in the manufacture of tobacco in St. Louis; also engaged in mercantile pursuits; moved to Mexico, Audrain County; member of the Democratic central committee in 1868; delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore in 1872; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-third and to the five succeeding Congresses (March 4, 1873-March 3, 1885); declined to be a candidate for reelection in 1884 and retired from public life; died in Mexico, Mo., February 5, 1894.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁸ Edward Charles Kehr, a representative from Missouri; born in St. Louis, Mo., November 5, 1837; pursued an academic course; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1858, and commenced practice in St. Louis; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-fourth Congress (March 4, 1875-March 3, 1877); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1876 to the Forty-fifth Congress; engaged in the practice of law in St. Louis, Mo., until his death in that city on April 20, 1918.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁹ Charles Henry Morgan, a representative from Missouri; born in Cuba, Allegany County, N. Y., July 5, 1842; was graduated from the Albany (N. Y.) Law School, and was admitted to the bar and commenced practice in Lamar, Barton County, Mo., in 1868; prosecuting attorney of Barton County, Mo., four years; member of the Missouri House of Representatives 1872-1874; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-fourth and Forty-fifth Congresses (March 4, 1875-March 3, 1879); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1878 to the Forty-sixth Congress; elected to the Forty-eighth Congress (March 4, 1883-March 3, 1885); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1884 to the Forty-ninth Congress; delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Cincinnati in 1880; presidential elector at large on the Democratic ticket of Cleveland and Thurman in 1888; elected to the Fifty-third Congress (March 4, 1893-March 3, 1895); unsuccessful candidate for renomination in 1894; served in the war with Spain as lieutenant colonel of the Fifth Missouri Volunteer Infantry; moved to Joplin, Mo., in 1907 and engaged in mining; elected as a Republican to the Sixty-first Congress (March 4, 1909-March 3, 1911); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1910 to the Sixty-second Congress; died in Joplin, Jasper County, Mo., January 4, 1912.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁰ Benjamin Joseph Franklin, a representative from Missouri; born in Maysville, Mason County, Ky., in March, 1839; attended private schools, and Bethany College, Bethany, Va. (now West Virginia), 1849-1851; taught school; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1859, and commenced practice in Leavenworth, Kans.; elected to the State Senate of Kansas in 1861, but due to the outbreak of the Civil war never served; entered the Confederate Army as a private, was promoted to the rank of captain, and served throughout the Civil war; moved to Columbia, Mo., and engaged in agricultural pursuits; moved to Kansas City, Mo., in 1868 and resumed the practice of law; prosecuting attorney for Jackson County, Mo., 1871-1875; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-fourth and Forty-fifth Congresses (March 4, 1875-March 3, 1879); was a candidate for renomination, but withdrew; again engaged in the practice of law in Kansas City, Mo.; appointed United States consul at Hankow, China, in 1885; returned to the United States in 1890 and settled in Phoenix, Ariz., and engaged in the practice of law; appointed governor of the Territory of Arizona, and served from April 18, 1896, to July 29, 1897; died in Phoenix, Ariz., May 18, 1898.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹¹ David Rea, a representative from Missouri; born near New Marion, Ripley County, Ind., January 19, 1831; attended the common schools; moved to Missouri with his parents, who settled in Andrew County in 1842; engaged in agricultural pursuits near Rosendale; taught school in the country 1849-1854; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1862, and commenced practice in Savannah, Mo., in 1863; during the Civil war enlisted in the Union Army and served successively as first lieutenant, captain, quartermaster, and lieutenant colonel; resumed the practice of his profession in Savannah; member of the board of education; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-fourth and Forty-fifth Congresses (March 4, 1875-March 3, 1879); unsuc-

cessful candidate for reelection in 1878 to the Forty-sixth Congress; retired from public life, and engaged in the practice of law in Savannah, Mo., until his death in that city on June 13, 1901.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹² Henry Moses Pollard, a representative from Missouri; born in Plymouth, Windsor County, Vt., June 14, 1836; attended the common schools; was graduated from Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., in 1857; moved to Milwaukee, Wis., where he studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1861; returned to Vermont and served during the Civil war in the Union Army as major in the Eighth Regiment Vermont Volunteers; moved to Chillicothe, Mo., in 1865 and commenced the practice of law; mayor in 1874; county attorney in 1876; elected as a Republican to the Forty-fifth Congress (March 4, 1877-March 3, 1879); unsuccessful candidate for reelection to the Forty-sixth Congress; moved to St. Louis, Mo., in 1879 and continued the practice of law in that city until his death on February 24, 1904.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹³ Martin Linn Clardy, a representative from Missouri; born in Farmington, Ste. Genevieve County, Mo., April 26, 1844; attended the St. Louis University and the University of Mississippi at Oxford; was graduated from the University of Virginia at Charlottesville; served in the Confederate Army until the close of the Civil war and retired with the rank of major; studied law, was admitted to the bar, and commenced practice in Farmington, St. Francois County, Mo.; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-sixth and to the four succeeding Congresses (March 4, 1879-March 3, 1889); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1888 to the Fifty-first Congress; delegate at large to the Democratic National Convention at Chicago in 1884, which nominated Cleveland and Hendricks; resumed the practice of his profession in Farmington, Mo.; moved to St. Louis, Mo., in 1894, having been appointed general attorney for the Missouri Pacific and St. Louis & Iron Mountain Railway Co's.; elected vice president and general solicitor in 1909 and served until his death in St. Louis, Mo., on July 5, 1914.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁴ Richard Graham Frost, a representative from Missouri; born in St. Louis, Mo., December 29, 1851; attended St. John's College, New York City, the University of London, England, and the St. Louis, (Mo.) Law School; was admitted to the bar and practiced in St. Louis, Mo.; unsuccessfully contested as a Democrat, the election in 1876 of Lyne S. Metcalfe to the Forty-fifth Congress; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-sixth Congress (March 4, 1879-March 3, 1881); presented credentials as a member-elect to the Forty-seventh Congress, and served from March 4, 1881, until March 2, 1883, when he was succeeded by Gustavus Sessinghaus, who contested his election; resumed the practice of law; died in St. Louis, Mo., February 1, 1900.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁵ Lowndes Henry Davis, a representative from Missouri; born in Jackson, Cape Girardeau County, Mo., December 13, 1836; was graduated from Yale College in 1860 and from the Louisville University Law School in 1863; admitted to the bar and commenced practice in Jackson, Mo.; State attorney for the tenth judicial district of Missouri 1868-1872; presidential elector on the Democratic ticket of Greeley and Brown in 1872; member of the State constitutional convention in 1875; member of the State House of Representatives 1876-1878; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-sixth, Forty-seventh and Forty-eighth Congresses (March 4, 1879-March 3, 1885); engaged in agricultural pursuits and in stock raising; died in Cape Girardeau, Mo., February 4, 1920.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁶ James Richard Waddill, a representative from Missouri; born in Springfield, Greene County, Mo., November 22, 1842; attended private schools and Springfield College; during the Civil war enlisted as a private in the Union Army, and served from 1861 to 1863, when he resigned, having attained the rank of first lieutenant; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1864, and commenced practice in Springfield, Mo.; prosecuting attorney of Greene County 1874-1876; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-sixth Congress (March 4, 1879-March 3, 1881); resumed the practice of law and also engaged in mining operations near Joplin, Mo.; died in Deming, Luna County, N. Mex., June 14, 1917.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁷ Alfred Morrison Lay, a representative from Missouri; born in Lewis County, Missouri, May 20, 1836; moved with his parents to Benton County in 1842; attended private schools and was graduated from Bethany College, Virginia (now in West Virginia), in 1856; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1857, and commenced practice in Jefferson City, Missouri; appointed United States district attorney for the western district of Missouri by President Buchanan, and served until his resignation in 1861; enlisted as a private in the Missouri State Guard and was subsequently promoted to the rank of major; returned to Missouri when the command disbanded; served as captain of ordnance, Confederate Army; was captured, confined in the military prison at Alton, Illinois and exchanged at Aikens Landing, Virginia; again appointed captain; and assigned to the Tenth Missouri Cavalry; made quartermaster for the regiment and assistant quartermaster for the brigade, and served until the close of the Civil war; resumed the practice of law in Jefferson City, Missouri; member of the State constitutional convention in 1875; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-sixth Congress, and served from March 4, 1879, until his death in Washington, D. C., December 8, 1879.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁸ Samuel Locke Sawyer, a representative from Missouri; born in Vernon, New Hampshire, November 27, 1813; was graduated from Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, in 1833; studied law and was admitted to the bar in Amherst, New Hampshire, in 1836; moved to Lexington, Missouri, in 1838 and practiced; elected circuit attorney of the sixth judicial circuit of Missouri in 1848 and reelected in 1852; delegate to the Missouri constitutional convention in 1861; delegate to the Democratic National Convention at New York City in 1868; elected judge of the twenty-fourth judicial circuit, and served from 1871 until February 14, 1876, when he resigned; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-sixth Congress (March 4, 1879-March 3, 1881); was not a candidate for renomination in 1880; resumed the practice of law and also engaged in banking; died in Independence, Missouri, March 29, 1890.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁹ Gideon Frank Rothwell, a representative from Missouri; born near Fulton, Callaway County, Mo., April 24, 1836; was graduated from the University of Missouri at Columbia; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1864, and commenced practice in Huntsville, Randolph County, Mo.; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-sixth Congress (March 4, 1879-March 3, 1881); unsuccessful candidate for renomination in 1880; resumed the practice of law in Moberly, Mo.; presidential elector on the Democratic ticket of Cleveland and Hendricks in 1884; appointed in 1889 a member of the board of curators of the University of Missouri, and served as its president 1890-1894; died in Moberly, Mo., January 18, 1894.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

²⁰ William Henry Hatch, a representative from Missouri; born near Georgetown, Scott County, Ky., September 11, 1833; attended the Schools of Lexington, Ky.; studied law, was admitted to the bar in September, 1854, and practiced; circuit attorney 1858 and 1860; during the Civil war served in the Confederate Army; commissioned captain and assistant adjutant general December, 1862, and in March, 1863, assigned to duty as assistant commissioner of exchange of prisoners under the cartel and continued in this position until the close of the war; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-sixth and to the seven succeeding Congresses (March 4, 1879-March 3, 1895); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1894 to the Fifty-fourth Congress; engaged in agricultural pursuits; died near Hannibal, Marion County, Mo., December 23, 1896.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

²¹ Thomas Allen, a representative from Missouri; born in Pittsfield, Mass., August 29, 1813; attended Pittsfield Academy and Berkshire Gymnasium, and was graduated from Union College in 1832; studied law in New York City, was admitted to the bar in 1835 and commenced practice in that city in 1832; moved to Washington, D. C., and established the *Madisonian* in 1837; printer to the House of Representatives 1837-1839; printer to the United States Senate 1839-1842; moved to St. Louis, Mo., in 1842; member of the State senate 1850-1854; was a contractor upon internal improvements and projected and built more than 1,000 miles of railway; in 1852 drove the first steam locomotive that had ever crossed the Mississippi River; president of

the St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern Railway, but subsequently sold all his railway interests and retired from active pursuits; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-seventh Congress, and served from March 4, 1881, until his death in Washington, D. C., April 8, 1882.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

²² James Henry McLean, a representative from Missouri; born in Ayrshire, Scotland, August 13, 1829; reared in Nova Scotia, Canada; emigrated to the United States in 1842 and settled in Philadelphia, Pa.; employed as a clerk in a drug store; moved to St. Louis, Mo., in 1849, and in the following year to New Orleans, La.; to take charge of financial operations of the Lopez expedition to Cuba; returned to St. Louis in 1851; studied medicine and surgery; was graduated from the St. Louis (Mo.) Medical College in 1863 and practiced in St. Louis; elected as a Republican to the Forty-seventh Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Thomas Allen, and served from December 15, 1882, to March 3, 1883; died in Dansville, Livingston County, N. Y., August 12, 1886.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

²³ Armstead Milton Alexander, a representative from Missouri; born near Winchester, Clark County, Ky., May 26, 1834; moved to Monroe County, Mo., with his parents, who settled near Paris; attended the common schools; worked at the blacksmith trade in 1848; engaged in gold mining in California in 1849; was graduated from Bethany College, Bethany, Va. (now West Virginia), in 1853; moved to Paris, Mo., and became engaged in business; served in the Confederate Army during the Civil war; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1870, and commenced practice at Paris, Mo., but did not sign the record there until 1881; prosecuting attorney of Monroe county, 1872-1876; delegate to the State constitutional convention in 1875; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-eighth Congress (March 4, 1883-March 3, 1885); resumed the practice of law; died in Paris, Mo., November 7, 1892.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

²⁴ Alexander Monroe Dockery, a representative from Missouri; born near Gallatin, Daviess County, Mo., February 11, 1845; attended the common schools and Macon Academy, Macon, Mo.; studied medicine, was graduated from the St. Louis (Mo.) Medical College March 2, 1865, and commenced practice near Linneus, Linn County; attended lectures at Bellevue College, New York City, and Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, during the winter of 1865-66; returned to Missouri and settled in Chillicothe, where he continued the practice of his profession for seven years; president of the Board of Education of Chillicothe, Mo., 1870-72; served as county physician of Livingston County; abandoned medicine in March, 1874, and returned to Gallatin, Mo., where he assisted in organizing the Farmers' Exchange Bank, of which he was cashier; one of the curators of the University of Missouri at Columbia 1872-1882; chairman of the congressional committee of his district; member of the City Council of Gallatin 1878-1881; mayor 1881-1883; delegate to and chairman of the Democratic State conventions in 1886 and 1901; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-eighth and to the seven succeeding Congresses (March 4, 1883-March 3, 1899); was not a candidate for renomination in 1898; governor of Missouri 1901-1905; delegate to the Democratic National Convention at St. Louis in 1904; appointed third assistant postmaster general on March 17, 1913, and served until his resignation on March 31, 1921, owing to failing health; died in Gallatin, Mo., December 26, 1926.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

²⁵ James Nelson Burnes, a representative from Missouri; born in Marion County, Ind., August 22, 1827; moved with his parents to Platte County, Mo., in 1837; attended the common schools; was graduated from the Harvard Law School in 1853; was admitted to the bar and commenced practice in Missouri; attorney of the district of Missouri in 1856; presidential elector on the Democratic ticket of Buchanan and Breckinridge in 1856; judge of the court of common pleas 1868-1872; engaged in banking and the construction of railroads; president of the Missouri Valley Railroad Co.; principal owner and president of the St. Joseph Waterworks Co.; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth, and Fiftieth Congresses, and served from March 4, 1883, until his death; had been reelected to the Fifty-first Congress, but died before the commencement of the congressional term in Washington, D. C., January 23, 1889.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

²⁶ Alexander Graves, a representative from Missouri; born in Mount Carmel, Covington County, Miss., August 25, 1844; attended Centre College, Danville, Ky.; at the outbreak of the Civil war joined the Confederate Army and served under Gen. N. B. Forrest; paroled with him in Gainesville, Ala., May, 1865; after being mustered out returned to college, and was graduated from Oakland (now Alcorn) University, Mississippi, in July, 1867; studied law, and was graduated from the University of Virginia at Charlottesville in June, 1869; was admitted to the bar and practiced law in Lexington, Mo.; city attorney in 1872; prosecuting attorney of Lafayette County, Mo., in 1874; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-eighth Congress (March 4, 1883-March 3, 1885); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1884 to the Forty-ninth Congress; continued the practice of law until his death in Lexington, Mo., December 23, 1916.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

²⁷ John Cosgrove, a representative from Missouri; born near Alexandria Bay, Jefferson County, N. Y., September 12, 1839; attended the district schools and the Redwood (N. Y.) School; studied law in Watertown, was admitted to the bar in October, 1863, and commenced practice in New York; moved to Booneville, Mo., in 1865 and continued the practice of law; city attorney of Booneville in 1870 and 1871; elected prosecuting attorney of Cooper County in 1872; delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore in 1872 and at San Francisco in 1920; again city attorney of Booneville from April, 1877, to April, 1878, and from April, 1879, to April, 1881; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-eighth Congress (March 4, 1883-March 3, 1885); was renominated in 1884, but withdrew before election day; resumed the practice of law in Booneville, Mo., where his death occurred on August 15, 1925.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

²⁸ John Joseph O'Neill, a representative from Missouri; born in St. Louis, Mo., June 25, 1846; attended the common schools; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1870, and commenced practice in St. Louis; engaged in the manufacture of gold pens; member of the State House of Representatives 1872-1878; member of the municipal assembly 1879-1881; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth, and Fiftieth Congresses (March 4, 1883-March 3, 1889); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1888 to the Fifty-first Congress; elected to the Fifty-second Congress (March 4, 1891-March 3, 1893); successfully contested the election of Charles F. Joy to the Fifty-third Congress, and served from April 3, 1894, to March 3, 1895; was not a candidate for renomination in 1894; resumed the practice of law; died in St. Louis, Mo., February 19, 1898.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

²⁹ Robert Washington Fyan, a representative from Missouri; born in Bedford Springs, Bedford County, Pa., March 11, 1835; attended the common schools; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1858, and commenced practice in Marshfield, Webster County, Mo.; county attorney in 1859; during the Civil war entered the Union Army in June, 1861; as lieutenant colonel in Colonel Hampton's regiment, Webster County Home Guards, which was disbanded; in the same year was a captain and major in the Twenty-fourth Regiment Missouri Volunteer Infantry and colonel of the Forty-sixth Regiment Missouri Volunteer Infantry; circuit attorney in 1865 and 1866; circuit judge of the fourteenth judicial circuit of Missouri from April, 1866, to January, 1883, having four years to serve when elected to Congress; member of the State Constitutional Convention in 1875; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-eighth Congress (March 4, 1883-March 3, 1885); elected to the Fifty-second and Fifty-third Congresses (March 4, 1891-March 3, 1895); resumed the practice of law; died in Marshfield, Mo. July 28, 1896.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

³⁰ John Blackwell Hale, a representative from Missouri; born in Brooks (now Hancock) County, Va. (now West Virginia), February 27, 1831; attended the common schools; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1849, and commenced practice in Brunswick, Mo.; member of the State House of Representatives 1856-1858; presidential elector on the Democratic ticket of Douglas and Johnson in 1860; colonel of the Sixty-fifth Regiment Missouri Militia and of the Fourth Provisional Regiment Missouri Militia in the United States service during the Civil war; delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Chicago in 1864, which nominated Seymour and Blair; presidential elector on the Democratic ticket of Greeley and Brown in 1872;

member of the Missouri constitutional convention in 1875; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-ninth Congress (March 4, 1885-March 3, 1887); unsuccessful candidate for renomination on the Democratic ticket and defeated for reelection as an Independent; resumed the practice of law; died in Carrollton, Mo., February 1, 1905.—“Biographical Directory of the American Congress.”

³¹ John Thaddeus Heard, a representative from Missouri; born in Georgetown, Pettis County, Mo., October 29, 1840; attended the public schools and was graduated from the University of Missouri at Columbia in 1860; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1862, and practiced several years in Sedalia, Pettis County, Mo.; member of the State House of Representatives 1872-1875; served in the State Senate 1880-1884; employed in 1881 by the fund commissioners of the State to prosecute and adjust all claims of the State against the General Government; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-ninth and to the four succeeding Congresses (March 4, 1885-March 3, 1895); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1894 to the Fifty-fourth Congress; delegate to the Democratic National Convention at St. Louis in 1904; engaged in banking; retired from active business in 1922; died while on a visit to Los Angeles, January 27, 1927.—“Biographical Directory of the American Congress.”

³² John Edward Hutton, a representative from Missouri, born in Polk County, Tenn., March 28, 1828; moved with his parents to Troy, Lincoln County, Mo., in 1831; attended the common schools; taught school and at the same time studied medicine; attended lectures at Pope's Medical College, St. Louis, Mo.; was graduated in medicine and began practice in Warrenton, Mo., in 1860; in the Civil war entered the Union Army and was commissioned colonel of the Fifty-ninth Regiment Missouri Volunteer Infantry; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1864, and commenced practice in Warrenton, Mo.; moved to Mexico, Mo., in 1865 and continued to practice law until 1873, when he became the owner and publisher of the *Intelligencer*, a Democratic newspaper; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-ninth and Fiftieth Congresses (March 4, 1885-March 3, 1889); was not a candidate for renomination in 1888; resumed his activities as a physician and also engaged in the practice of law; died in Mexico, Mo., December 28, 1893.—“Biographical Directory of the American Congress.”

³³ William Joel Stone, a representative and a senator from Missouri; born near Richmond, Madison County, Ky., May 7, 1848; attended the public schools of Richmond, Ky.; was graduated from the University of Missouri at Columbia in 1867; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1869, and commenced practice in Bedford, Ind.; moved to Columbia, Mo., where he was city attorney for a few months in 1870, and later in the same year moved to Nevada, Mo., and continued the practice of law; prosecuting attorney of Vernon County, Mo., in 1873 and 1874; was presidential elector on the Democratic ticket of Tilden and Hendricks in 1876; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, and Fifty-first Congresses (March 4, 1885-March 3, 1891); was not a candidate for renomination in 1890; governor of Missouri 1893-1897; member of the Democratic National Committee 1896-1904, and its vice chairman 1900-1904; moved to St. Louis in 1897, and continued the practice of law; returned to Jefferson City in 1903; elected to the United States Senate, and took his seat March 4, 1903; reelected in 1909 and again in 1914, and served until his death; was chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations during the period of the Great war; died in Washington, D. C., on April 14, 1918.—“Biographical Directory of the American Congress.”

³⁴ William Dawson, a representative from Missouri; born in New Madrid, New Madrid County, Mo., March 17, 1848; was graduated from the Christian Brothers' College, St. Louis, Mo., in 1869; elected sheriff and collector of New Madrid County in 1870 and 1872; member of the State House of Representatives in 1878; reelected in 1880 and 1882; elected as a Democrat to the Forty-ninth Congress (March 4, 1885-March 3, 1887); engaged in the land business in New Madrid, Mo.—“Biographical Directory of the American Congress.”

³⁵ Charles Harley Mansur, a representative from Missouri; born in Philadelphia, Pa., March 6, 1835; attended Lawrence Academy, Groton, Mass.; studied law, and was admitted to the bar in Richmond, Mo., August 30, 1856, and practiced law; member of the Board of Education of Chillicothe for eight years; member of the Democratic

State Central Committee 1864-1868; delegate to the Democratic National Convention at New York City in 1868; prosecuting attorney of Livingston County 1875-1879; joint nominee of the Democrats and Liberal Republicans for Congress in 1872, and again the nominee of the Democrats in the same district in 1880; delegate at large to the Democratic National Convention at Chicago in 1884; elected as a Democrat to the Fiftieth, Fifty-first and Fifty-second Congresses (March 4, 1887-March 3, 1893); was not a candidate for renomination in 1892; appointed by President Cleveland second comptroller of the treasury on May 29, 1893, and served until September 30, 1894; assistant comptroller from October 1, 1894, until his death in Washington, D. C., April 16, 1895.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

³⁶ Charles Ferris Booher, a representative from Missouri; born in East Groveland, Livingston County, N. Y., January 31, 1848; attended the common schools and the Geneseo Academy, Geneseo, N. Y., taught school and studied law; was admitted to the bar in 1871 and commenced practice in Savannah, Mo.; prosecuting attorney of Andrew County 1877-1879 and 1883-1885; presidential elector on the Democratic ticket of Hancock and English in 1880; mayor of Savannah, Mo., 1886-1890; elected as a Democrat to the Fiftieth Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the death of James N. Burnes, and served from February 19 to March 3, 1889; elected to the Sixtieth and to the six succeeding Congresses, and served from March 4, 1907, until his death; was not a candidate for renomination in 1920; died in Savannah, Andrew County, Mo., January 21, 1921.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

³⁷ James Peter Walker, a representative from Missouri; born near Memphis, Lauderdale County, Tenn., on March 14, 1851; attended the public schools and the Boys' College at Durhamville, Tenn.; employed in early youth as a clerk in a country store; moved to Missouri in 1867 and settled near Kennett, Dunklin County; engaged in agricultural pursuits; moved to Point Pleasant, New Madrid County, in 1871 and engaged in transportation on the Mississippi River; engaged in the dry-goods business at Dexter, Mo., in 1876 and later, in 1882, in the buying and selling of grain; delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Cincinnati in 1880 which nominated Hancock and English; unsuccessful candidate for the Democratic nomination for Congress in 1885; elected as a Democrat to the Fiftieth and Fifty-first Congresses, and served from March 4, 1887, until his death; unanimously nominated as the Democratic candidate for reelection to the Fifty-second Congress on the day he died in Dexter, Stoddard County, Mo., July 19, 1890.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

SEVENTH EPOCH—1889-1904

CONTINUANCE OF DEMOCRATIC SUPREMACY AND THE PROGRESSIVE ADMINISTRATION OF STATE AFFAIRS

CHAPTER I

THE STATE ADMINISTRATION

Coming to the governorship in 1889 from a prominent place in the commercial life of the state and nation, David R. Francis¹ began his career as chief executive with the same energy and activity that characterized him in the many executive positions which he had been called to fill. He early began to establish contact with those who were to be associated with him in official life, and whose coöperation he hoped to have.

THE FRANCIS ADMINISTRATION

All those who made up the state government under Governor Francis were men of unusual ability. Stephen N. Claycomb,² lieutenant-governor; Alexander A. Lesueur,³ secretary of state; Lon V. Stephens,⁴ treasurer; James M. Seibert, auditor; John M. Wood,⁵ attorney general.

There can be no question that the coming into the official life of the state of a business man of the character and executive ability of David R. Francis did much to improve the efficiency of state government, and left a lasting impression for the guidance of state affairs for the future.

In his "Centennial History of Missouri" (Vol. II, p. 499), Walter B. Stevens, who some years afterwards became the biographer of David R. Francis, says:

"Within three months after Mr. Francis became governor he had established such personal relations with the lawmakers as enabled him to make his administration effective. He gave a series of receptions in the mansion. He dined the senators and representatives twenty at a time. When he went to lunch he was accompanied by chairmen or whole committees to talk over pending legislation. With the needs before their eyes, the legislators passed appropriations to refurnish the mansion and to make it worthy of the state. To the credit of the Francis administration was placed this first appropriation since the Civil war. On the recommendations and personal arguments of the governor, the first Australian ballot law, the schoolbook commission and uniform text-book law, the reduction of the tax rate, the appointment of a geological survey

commission, and a long list of what properly may be termed as constructive laws of the state, the value of which the years have shown, were placed upon the books."

In "The Messages and Proclamations of the Governors," Floyd C. Shoemaker says:

"To the credit of the Francis administration were enacted the first Australian ballot law, the schoolbook commission and uniform text-book law, the reduction of the tax rate, the geological survey commission and a long list of what may well be called constructive measures.

"But the greatest achievement of the Francis administration was the salvation of the University of Missouri. Represented at Washington by John T. Heard, Missouri obtained the refund of what was known as the direct tax imposed on the state by the national government at the time of the Civil war, \$600,000. Many bills to apply this money were put forward in the legislature. The economists, always with us, wanted to buy and retire state bonds to that amount. Governor Francis sent in a message, urging that the money be added to the endowment of the state university. How well and with what cogent reasoning he presented the needs, that message tells. The movement gained headway slowly, but the bill passed with conditions calling for changes in the management. Further legislation brought about a bi-partisan board of nine curators only five of whom could be of one political party and only one of whom could be from a congressional district. Furthermore, the new legislation put the appropriations for the university on a business basis, holding the money in the state treasury until needed and drawn by proper voucher for actual expenditures.

"For his policies and his acts Governor Francis was called 'The second father of the University.' He ranked with James S. Rollins as one of the two men who had done most for the institution. William K. Bixby once amended the title with the suggestion that 'James S. Rollins should be called the grandfather and David R. Francis the father of the University.'"

The Francis administration may be referred to as one of the most active in the history of Missouri. Bringing with him an extensive experience in the commercial life of the state and nation, he kept the state's business going with the same activity as he had in the commercial enterprises to which he had been associated.

Beginning the session of the General Assembly in 1889, the Democratic Party was in possession of all the state offices. The character of the membership of the General Assembly was as high as it had ever been in the history of the state.

In the Senate there was George A. Castleman, Berry G. Thurman, Madison R. Smith, Green Clay, John C. Piersol, James E. Hazell, Samuel P. Sparks, Houston W. Johnson, Samuel C. Major, James W. Seabee, Nathaniel M. Shelton, Norton B. Anderson and Michael G. Moran. Houston W. Johnson, of Montgomery County, was president *pro tem*.

In the House—Cyrus F. Clark, of Audrain County; Roger B. Gladden, of Barry; John B. Newberry, of Bates; Waller Young and Benjamin F.



HON. DAVID R. FRANCIS
Twenty-sixth Governor. Secretary of the
Interior and Ambassador to Russia

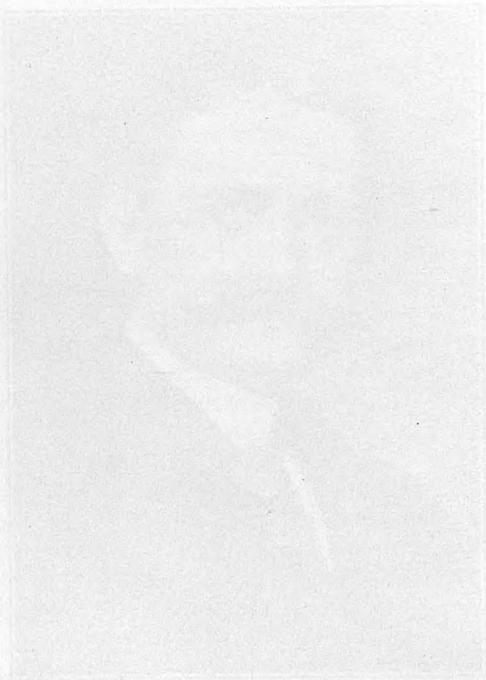
Published weekly, except the last two issues which are published bi-weekly, in January and July. Subscription price, \$5.00 per annum in advance. Single copies, 15 cents. Entered as second-class matter, October 3, 1917. Postpaid. Accepted for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917. Authorized to mail at special rate of postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917. Publication of this journal is authorized by the American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. 60610.

Copyright, 1918, by American Medical Association. All rights reserved. Reproduction by any means without permission is prohibited.

Published by the American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. 60610.

Subscription orders, notices of change of address, and other correspondence should be sent to the Editor, American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. 60610.

Advertisements should be sent to the Business Manager, American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. 60610.



The following is a list of the names of the members of the American Medical Association who have been elected to the office of President for the year 1918.

Dr. J. C. Brannan, of the State of Illinois, was elected President of the American Medical Association for the year 1918.

Dr. J. C. Brannan, of the State of Illinois, was elected President of the American Medical Association for the year 1918.

Dr. J. C. Brannan, of the State of Illinois, was elected President of the American Medical Association for the year 1918.

Dr. J. C. Brannan, of the State of Illinois, was elected President of the American Medical Association for the year 1918.

Dr. J. C. Brannan, of the State of Illinois, was elected President of the American Medical Association for the year 1918.

Dr. J. C. Brannan, of the State of Illinois, was elected President of the American Medical Association for the year 1918.

Dr. J. C. Brannan, of the State of Illinois, was elected President of the American Medical Association for the year 1918.

Dr. J. C. Brannan, of the State of Illinois, was elected President of the American Medical Association for the year 1918.

Dr. J. C. Brannan, of the State of Illinois, was elected President of the American Medical Association for the year 1918.

Dr. J. C. Brannan, of the State of Illinois, was elected President of the American Medical Association for the year 1918.

Dr. J. C. Brannan, of the State of Illinois, was elected President of the American Medical Association for the year 1918.

Dr. J. C. Brannan, of the State of Illinois, was elected President of the American Medical Association for the year 1918.

Dr. J. C. Brannan, of the State of Illinois, was elected President of the American Medical Association for the year 1918.

Dr. J. C. Brannan, of the State of Illinois, was elected President of the American Medical Association for the year 1918.

Dr. J. C. Brannan, of the State of Illinois, was elected President of the American Medical Association for the year 1918.

Dr. J. C. Brannan, of the State of Illinois, was elected President of the American Medical Association for the year 1918.

Dr. J. C. Brannan, of the State of Illinois, was elected President of the American Medical Association for the year 1918.

Dr. J. C. Brannan, of the State of Illinois, was elected President of the American Medical Association for the year 1918.

Dr. J. C. Brannan, of the State of Illinois, was elected President of the American Medical Association for the year 1918.

Dr. J. C. Brannan, of the State of Illinois, was elected President of the American Medical Association for the year 1918.

Dr. J. C. Brannan, of the State of Illinois, was elected President of the American Medical Association for the year 1918.

Dr. J. C. Brannan, of the State of Illinois, was elected President of the American Medical Association for the year 1918.

Stewart, of Buchanan; Robert P. Liles, of Butler; Nicholas D. Thurmond, of Callaway; Ed. W. Turner, of Clinton; Edwin Silver, of Cole; William F. Johnson, of Cooper; Edward A. Seay, of Dent; E. C. O'Day, of Greene; John H. Estill, of Howard; Mann Ringo, of Iron; Robert A. Hicklin, of Lafayette; Horace P. Tate, of Lewis; George T. Dunn, of Lincoln; Lysander A. Thompson, of Macon; Frank R. Newberry, of Madison; W. Shields McClintic, of Marion; Joseph J. Russell, of Mississippi; Robert N. Bodine, of Monroe; Abraham R. Hunter, of New Madrid; Champ Clark, of Pike; James O. Allison, of Ralls; Willard C. Hall, of Randolph; John F. Morton of Ray; Thomas W. Mabrey, of Ripley; Harry S. Shaw, of Ste. Genevieve; Frank P. Sebree and Robert L. Brown, of Saline; C. C. Fogle, of Schuyler; Ben F. Hunter, of Scott; W. O. L. Jewett, of Shelby; George Houck, of Stoddard; James W. Underwood, of Vernon.

On the Supreme Court of the State the Democrats were well fortified in the following: Robert D. Ray, of Carroll County; Thomas A. Sherwood, of Greene; Francis M. Black,⁶ of Jackson; Theodore Brace,⁷ of Monroe; Shepard Barclay,⁸ of St. Louis.

THE STONE ADMINISTRATION

The campaign of 1892 was fought on the tariff issue. Grover Cleveland, defeated in 1888, was again the nominee for President, and William Joel Stone was the nominee for governor. This election can be pointed to with pride as a clear-cut Democratic victory. Nationally the Democrats swept the country—the Presidency, the Senate and the House of Congress. The election brought a man into the councils of the Democratic Party in the State, and another into that of the Democratic Party of the nation, who were to stamp their characters upon the state and nation in party service and loyalty and to the principles of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson, as examples for political posterity, William Joel Stone as governor of Missouri, and Champ Clark as Congressman from the Ninth Missouri District.

Governor Stone was inaugurated in January, 1893. He was surrounded by a cabinet composed of John B. O'Meara,⁹ lieutenant-governor; Alexander A. Lesueur, reelected secretary of state; Lon V. Stephens, reelected treasurer; James Monroe Seibert, auditor; Robert F. Walker,¹⁰ attorney general.

In his message to the General Assembly, Governor Stone said:

"During the year 1894 the sum of \$7,417,041 was collected, distributed and receipted into the treasuries of the respective districts for the maintenance of the common and high schools of the state. No state has done, or is doing, more for public education than Missouri.

"The crown of our great educational system is the University. The boys of the state must stand by it. The state itself must stand by it with money; support it with money and administer it with wisdom."

In the General Assembly of 1893 there were many prominent and active Democrats. In the Senate Emmett B. Fields, John F. Morton, Clement C. Dickinson, Nick M. Bradley, A. R. McNatt, Frank M.

McDavid, George T. Lee, John E. Marshall, Frank H. Farris, John L. Bradley, E. M. Zevely and John P. Collins.

In the House—Thomas L. Harper of Bates County; James C. Gillespy of Boone; Charles S. Shepherd, John G. Parkinson and Albert B. Duncan of Buchanan; Robert B. Oliver of Cape Girardeau; Newlin Conklin of Carroll; J. T. Wells of Dunklin; John A. Woods of Howard; John T. Crisp and Michael E. Casey of Jackson; Charles D. Stewart of Knox; John W. Terrill of Maries; James H. Whitecotton of Monroe; J. W. Farley of Platte; John M. Atkinson of Ripley; Peter H. Huck of Ste. Genevieve; Robert L. Haines of Saline; Lee T. Witty of Scotland; Lon B. Williams of Scott; H. J. Simmons of Shelby; Richard J. Collins, Thomas Leonard and Colin M. Selph of St. Louis.

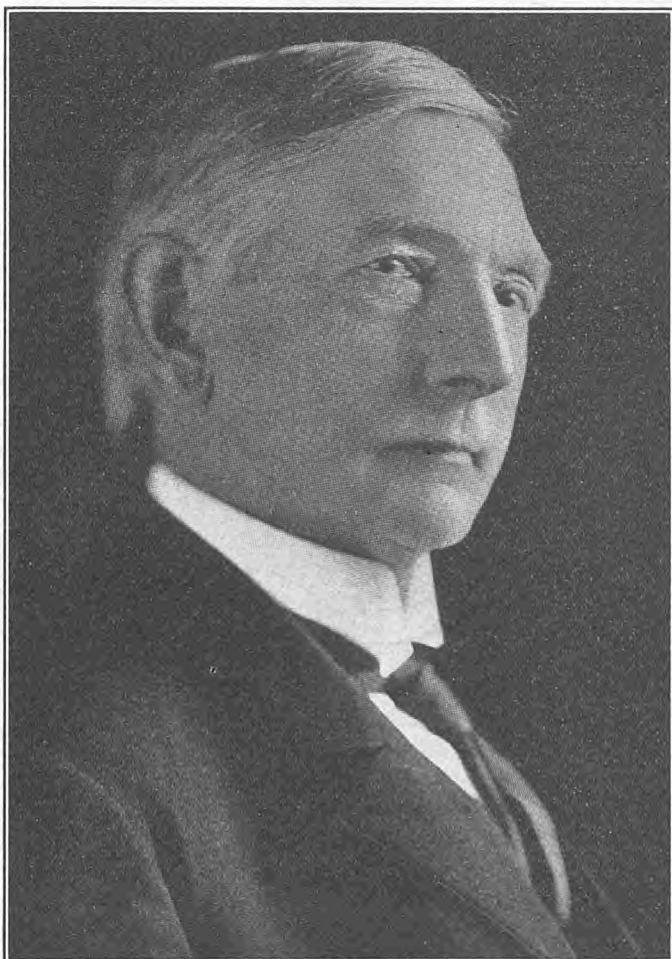
The best analysis of the character of William Joel Stone is given by Champ Clark when he said:

"He was one of the most skillful and successful political leaders the state ever had. After a long and stormy career he had attained a sort of suzerainty over the Missouri Democrats. He did not accomplish that difficult feat by brass band methods or by using a meat ax. He did it by persuasion, by diplomacy, by consultation, and above all by being an exceptionally good listener. When he was in St. Louis, Kansas City, Jefferson City, St. Joe, or any other city or town in Missouri, the most prominent Democrats called on him in his rooms and consulted with him.

"He preferred that way of doing things to large and boisterous crowds; and because he did pursue that wise and successful procedure his enemies—and he possessed a large and enthusiastic assortment of them—fastened upon him the sobriquet of "Gum Shoe Bill" which his friends and admirers, who composed a mighty host, took up and converted into a term of affection. He was elected to the House three times, to the governorship once, and to the Senate three times. Notwithstanding the awful storm of vituperation which broke upon him in the later months of his life, I have no sort of doubt that he would have remained in the Senate for fifteen years more had he lived so long. Even before his death the storm was receding.

"What manner of man was he? In his prime he was physically the typical Kentuckian—tall, slender, sinewy, lean of flank, high of head. He always reminded me of a Kentucky race horse in his best estate, needing neither the whip nor spur to urge him on.

"The dramatic quality he possessed in a large degree. His long black forelock, which was forever tumbling into his eyes, was one of his principal properties in public speeches. His deft manipulation of that raven forelock was a joy to his friends and an irritation to his enemies. He loathed a double-dealer; a hypocrite, a mountebank or a liar. He never pretended to be better than he was; he loved his friends, who fully returned his love; and, after being the stormy petrel of Missouri for a generation, grew ever gentler with increasing years and forgave his enemies except a very few who had treated him too outrageously and slandered him so maliciously that they had forfeited any claim to forgiveness."



HON. WILLIAM JOEL STONE
Twenty-seventh Governor and United States Senator

LAZARUS' STORY

At the end of William Joel Stone's term as governor, he located in St. Louis. Public office had gained him little financially. His hand was ever "open to melting charity." His political career was unparalleled in the history of the state. The only man who was ever elected congressman, governor and United States senator from Missouri. An incident of this man's high ideals is taken from the *St. Louis Star* of March 8, 1926:

"Sam Lazarus, St. Louis capitalist and railroad owner and builder, who will be buried today, helped many persons by friendly tips to acquire wealth, but Lazarus had one close friend who never would accept a tip of that kind and who threw away a chance to make an honest fortune because he considered it unethical for a man in public office to make money that way. The friend was the late United States Senator Stone of Missouri.

"Lazarus told the story a year ago to a reporter for the *Star* whom he knew, but jokingly insisted that it should not be printed 'till after I'm dead.' Lazarus' objection was that it would be bringing himself too much publicity for a friendly act.

"As told by Lazarus, when he started one of his railroad building projects in Texas during Stone's career as senator, he determined on several townsites in advance. The country was raw prairie and the land could be bought for from \$5 to \$20 an acre.

"'Stone was a poor man and I knew it,' Lazarus said. 'He had his salary as senator and that was about all. He threw away scores of opportunities to become wealthy through his position in the senate. It was money that could have been made without transgressing any law, and by most persons would have been regarded as legitimate.'

"'I told Stone about my railroad and suggested that he buy 100 acres where one of the future towns was to be and hold it, as I knew there was bound to be a big rise in value as soon as the road was built. I had made similar large investments myself.'

"'Stone first said he had no money to invest. I offered to lend it but he refused. He said it might not look well for a United States senator to engage in a transaction of that sort because the railroads were being regulated by the government through the Interstate Commerce Commission and there were questions coming up frequently regarding railroad legislation on which he had to vote.'

"'I didn't say anything to Stone about it, but I was convinced in my own mind that Stone was wrong, so I bought 100 acres as a future townsite and had the deed put in his name and recorded, without his knowledge. I made out a note for the amount of the investment at 6 per cent interest and left it unsigned. Stone never knew a thing about it for three years.'

"'The railroad was built and the town ready to be laid out, and the land jumped in value to \$100 an acre. It was a good time to sell, so I wrote Stone, who was in Washington, telling him what I had done, enclosing the deed for him to sign, and the note. I told him I'd make the sale for him and remit the difference, amounting to almost \$10,000.'

"Back came a letter from Stone with the unsigned note, telling me he would have nothing whatever to do with the transaction, even to signing the deed, unless I would promise not to send him the profit or any share of it. 'I had nothing to do with this, Sam, you know it. I can't afford to jeopardize my reputation for honesty by even taking part in a friendly deal like this,' Stone wrote, 'I'll never touch a cent of it. Nobody ever has accused me of using my influence as a senator or my personal friendship to make money for myself, and I'll not begin now.'

"Lazarus said Stone later signed the deed to permit Lazarus to sell the land, but the senator was so indignant that Lazarus never renewed the offer and took the profit himself.

"Senator Stone died a poor man."

THE STEPHENS ADMINISTRATION

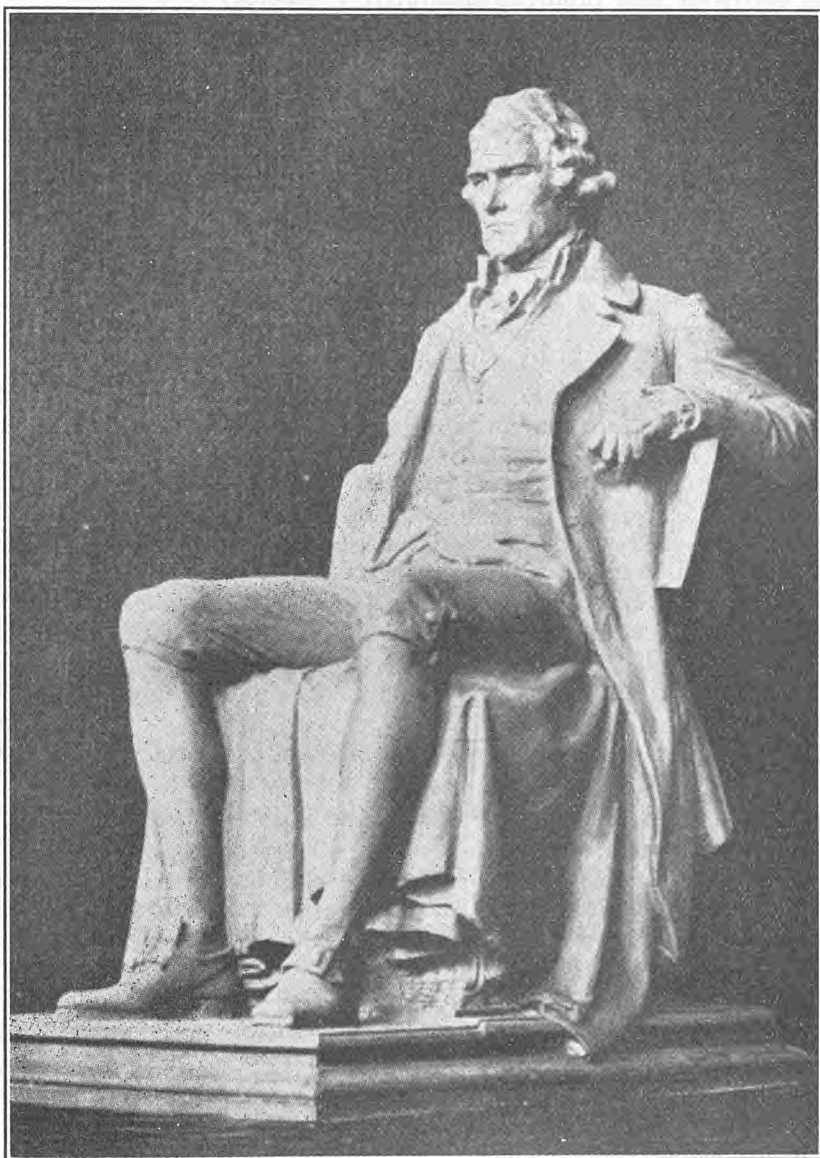
From 1893 to the beginning of 1896 the country passed through the worst business depression since 1873. The Republican landslide in 1894 reduced the Democratic membership in the lower house of Congress to four; the Republicans having eleven; and was the first reverse the party had sustained since the Woodson election in 1872.

In trying to retrieve the misfortunes of 1894, a Democratic conference was held at Pertle Springs, in August, 1895. The main object of this conference was to obtain control of the Democratic State Committee and place it in the hands of the silver element. Richard P. Bland became the presiding officer. Under his leadership resolutions were passed demanding that the United States provide for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. The farmer, the labor unions, and the Populists¹¹ had maintained that the depression of 1893 was caused by insufficiency of currency.

At this meeting a committee composed of thirty-four members issued a call for a State Democratic Convention to be held at Pertle Springs on April 5, 1896, to elect delegates to a National Convention to be held in July at Chicago. The Convention was held and it declared for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, and endorsed Richard P. Bland for President.¹²

At the Chicago Convention in 1896 the Missouri delegation, led by William Joel Stone, Champ Clark and a number of the prominent Democrats, was enthusiastic for the nomination of Bland. As the convention was agreed on a silver platform, there was no reason why the great disciple of bimetalism should not have been chosen. There is no disguising the fact that the failure to give Bland the nomination was a grievous disappointment to many Missourians, but there was never more enthusiasm and activity put into a campaign than that of 1896.

While the Democrats of Missouri were greatly disappointed with the defeat of Richard P. Bland for the presidential nomination at Chicago, no state gave to William Jennings Bryan¹³ a more enthusiastic support than the Democratic organization of Missouri.



STATUE OF THOMAS JEFFERSON

The work of Karl Bitter. Placed in the arch of the Jefferson Memorial,
Forest Park, St. Louis, by the Louisiana Purchase Exposition



STATUE OF THOMAS JEFFERSON

The statue of Thomas Jefferson, placed in the hall of the Jefferson Memorial, is a work of art. It is a full-length standing figure, facing slightly to the right. The statue is made of a light-colored material, possibly marble or stone, and is wearing a long coat and a cravat. The background is dark and indistinct.

Lon Vest Stephens¹⁴ was elected governor by a plurality of 43,333. The losses in the congressional delegation were retrieved by the election of twelve Democrats to three Republicans. Bland was returned to Congress from the Eighth District and Champ Clark from the Ninth.

The state officers associated with Governor Stephens were August H. Bolte, lieutenant-governor; Alexander A. Lesueur, secretary of state; Edward C. Crow, attorney-general; Frank L. Pitts,¹⁵ state treasurer; James M. Seibert, auditor.

In the General Assembly there were many who became prominent in the affairs of the Democratic Party in the future.

In the Senate was Henry H. Hohenschild, William R. Goodykoontz, John E. Marshall, James Orchard, Robert Drum, James P. O'Bannon, W. Shields McClintic, Elliott W. Major, Charles E. Peers, Ben M. Anderson, John F. Morton and Richard D. Lancaster.

In the House—W. J. Ward of Stoddard County; George W. Chinn of Shelby; W. F. Collier of Shannon; Lon B. Williams of Scott; George T. Collins of Scotland; Mathew Coffey of Schuyler; Matt W. Hall, of Saline; Robert L. Macey of Ray; William A. Wight of Randolph; Carey W. Cole of Ralls; Wallace J. Davis of Pike; Orville M. Barnett of Pettis; Thomas W. Hawkins of Marion; John G. Slate of Maries; Web. M. Rubey of Macon; J. F. Tandy of McDonald; Omer H. Avery of Lincoln; John W. Farris of Laclede; Harry R. Wamsley, John T. Crisp of Jackson; John E. Organ of Dent; William F. Johnson of Cooper; J. Ed. Bohart of Clinton; Thomas W. Martin of Barton; Prichard B. Hood of Barry; James Bradley of Audrain.

William Muir Williams of Cooper County was elected to the Supreme Bench.

Roy D. Williams, the historian of Governor Stephens' administration, says:

"Governor Stephens was one of the largest influences which brought to St. Louis the great World's Fair in 1904, to commemorate the anniversary of the Louisiana Purchase. He was not alone interested in having the World's Fair in the great city of the State, but it was in his term that the State Fair at Sedalia was started on its road to permanency.

"The Federal Soldiers' Home at St. James, Missouri, and the Confederate Soldiers' Home at Higginsville, were both established during his administration, thus illustrating the broad charity that knew no difference, in extremity, between those who had worn the blue and those who had donned the gray.

"That Governor Stephens was a sincere friend of higher education is shown by his recommendation and the passage, through his influence, of the Collateral Inheritance Law, which brought much-needed revenue to the cause of higher education in Missouri."

During the Stephens administration the bill consolidating the street railways of St. Louis was passed, in which it authorized the issuing of transfers between lines, enabling a patron to reach a destination for one fare.

EDITOR STEPHENS

The late and gifted William Marion Reedy wrote of Lon V. Stephens this interesting comment:

"In brief time the *Advertiser* awakened Boonville and Missouri to the fact that there was a man behind it—a man who had something to say, was not afraid to say it, and knew how best to say it, so that it might stick in the minds of the readers. He had the rhetorical gift, humor, wit and inclusive sympathy. When occasion demanded, he was effective in invective and sarcasm, and now and then there was a savor in his writing of the bucolic idyllic. 'Lon' Stephens still keeps up his connection with the *Advertiser* in occasional contributions and these writings bear no trace of world-weariness, but are fresh with the spirit of the simpler, serener life of the better country town of the days that are no more. And where there appears a paragraph signed 'L. V. S.,' bearing upon State politics, there is no politician in the State who does not take notice of its significance, for 'L. V. S.' has political foresight *in excelsis*; it comes of the subtle sympathy he has with the thought and feeling of the people. He is a good judge of men and has the flair for discovering leaders. His 'Silver Nuggets' attracted national attention, and helped to make him governor, by, perhaps, the largest majority the State has ever given. His 'Sharps and Flats' will ever be remembered in Missouri, especially by those who had in one way or the other lost out in the confidence of Governor Stephens. Nearly every politician in the State, Democrat and Republican, has a copy of Stephens' 'Sharps and Flats' pigeon-holed for immediate reference."

THE DOCKERY ADMINISTRATION

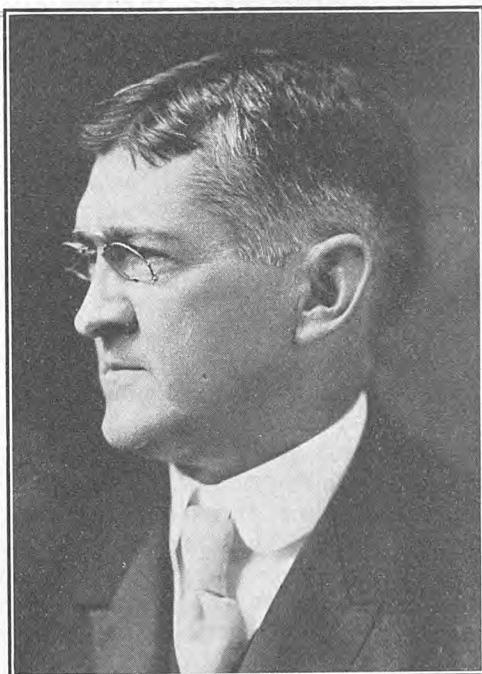
After serving sixteen years in Congress from the Third Missouri District, Alexander Monroe Dockery came into the governorship in 1900. He had given some of the best years of his life to service of the people, and was well equipped in every way for the head of the state government. The preceding governments of Francis, Stone and Stephens had given to the State the same service that had characterized the management of State affairs since 1874, when the party emerged from the strife of Civil war and Radical intolerant impositions.

Governor Dockery's associates in the state government were: Sam B. Cook,¹⁶ secretary of state; Robert P. Williams,¹⁷ treasurer; Albert O. Allen,¹⁸ auditor; Edward C. Crow, reelected attorney-general.

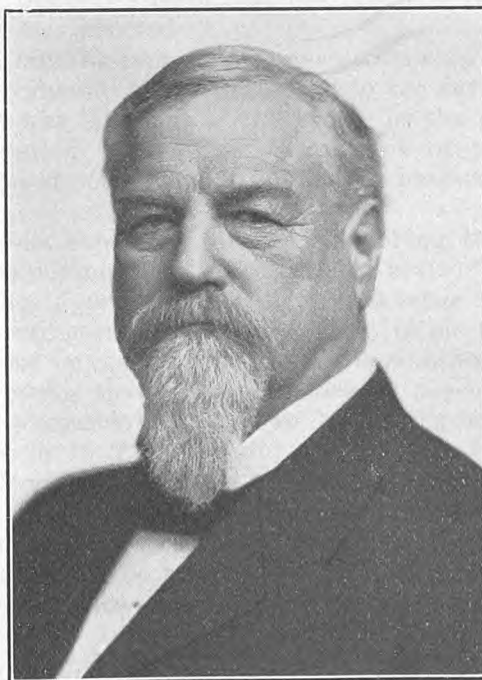
August H. Bolte¹⁹ was elected lieutenant-governor.

There were some prominent Democrats in the General Assembly in 1901 to assist the Dockery administration. In the Senate was Emmett B. Fields, Charles W. Clark, John F. Morton, Thomas L. Rubey, Emert A. Dowell, H. Clay Heather, Stephen Cooper, Emmett D. Martin, Nick M. Bradley, John F. Tandy, George T. Lee, James Orchard, John E. Marshall, Frank H. Farris, E. M. Zevely, John P. Collins, John W. Drabell.

In the House—Rhodes Clay of Audrain County; Thomas L. Harper of Bates; Albert B. Duncan of Buchanan; Newlin Conklin of Carroll; A. S.



HON. LON V. STEPHENS
Twenty-eighth Governor



HON. ALEXANDER M. DOCKERY
Twenty-ninth Governor

J. Lehr of Carter; Sterling S. Ball of Clark; John Williams of Clay; William L. Nelson of Cooper; James T. Blair of DeKalb; Clement C. Dickinson of Henry; Albert L. Kirby of Howard; Thomas Hackney of Jasper; Joseph B. Shelby of Lafayette; Edgar B. Woolfolk of Lincoln; Thomas W. Hawkins of Marion; James H. Whitecotton of Monroe; J. W. Farley of Platte; Andrew J. McCullum of Ripley; John L. Bradley of St. Francois; Peter H. Huck of Ste. Genevieve; Matt W. Hall and Robert L. Haines of Saline; Lon B. Williams of Scott; Edmond T. Eversole of Washington; R. L. Ward of Wayne; William P. Lightholder and Matt J. Holland of St. Louis.

As the Dockery administration was one of the most outstanding in the history of the state, and concludes the most eventful period in the annals of the state, some of the facts ought to be recorded for remembrance.

A legal innovation much favored by Governor Dockery was the law passed March 9, 1901, taxing the franchises of railroad, street railroad, bridge, telegraph, telephone, conduit, water, electric light and gas companies, and all similar corporations, owning, operating and managing public utilities and all *quasi* public corporations possessing special and peculiar privileges and authorized by law to perform any public service. This proved a very great step in the right direction and has become a part of the history of the time.

CONSOLIDATION OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS

It was during Dockery's term that the first law for the consolidation of school districts was enacted.

At this time a binding-twine plant was established in the penitentiary that proved very valuable to the State and to the farmers. A fine addition to the prison was built out of the profits of the prison.

During this period the railroad properties of the state found an increased valuation of some \$33,000,000 on the assessment rolls for taxation purposes.

More money was expended for schools during the four years than had been expended during the previous twelve years.

The *Kansas City Journal* stated that on October 19, 1900: "Dockery promised at a meeting in Turner Hall, that, if elected, he would have Missouri out of debt by the second year of his administration. We might add, the record reveals that Governor Dockery presided over a meeting that celebrated the cancellation of all of Missouri's bonded debt, save its school certificates, in 1903."

The Seventh Epoch of Missouri Democracy, showing Democratic Supremacy and the Progressive Administration of State Affairs—a history of party government unparalleled in the annals of the state, and for a long period of years—can be referred to with pride by those who hold in reverent memory the men who were active participants in its accomplishment.

On March 10, 1913, President Woodrow Wilson appointed Alexander M. Dockery third assistant postmaster general. This met with the hearty approval of Speaker Champ Clark, Senator Wm. J. Stone and Hon. J. W.

Alexander. The Senate confirmed the appointment on March 13th, and on March 17th, 1913, Mr. Dockery assumed charge of the financial end of the post office department, which included the finance, postal savings bank, stamp, money order, registry, classification and redemption divisions, for all of which he was well qualified, and in which capacity he served throughout the two administrations of President Wilson. During these two terms the deposits in the Postal Savings Bank grew from \$30,000,000 to \$175,000,000. Dockery organized the post office department with its 300,000 employees, the greatest single government establishment in the world in times of peace, into a great machine to sell war savings stamps and more than a billion dollars' worth were sold—83 per cent of which sales were credited to postmasters.

FOOTNOTES, SEVENTH EPOCH, CHAPTER I

¹ David Rowland Francis was born October 1, 1850, in Richmond, Ky., came to St. Louis, Mo., about 1870 and engaged in the mercantile business, under his uncle D. P. Rowland; afterwards, in 1877, established the D. R. Francis Commission Co.; president of the Merchants Exchange at the age of 34; in 1885 elected mayor of St. Louis; in 1888 elected governor of Missouri; under his administration the Australian Ballot law was enacted; in 1896 became secretary of the interior under President Cleveland; in 1898 began preliminaries for the World's Fair of 1904, of which he became president; in 1916 was appointed Ambassador to Russia by President Wilson; at the expiration of the World war returned to America; died in St. Louis January 15, 1927, after a long illness.

² Stephen N. Claycomb of Jasper County, was elected lieutenant-governor in 1888 on the ticket with David R. Francis; was elected to the General Assembly in 1885, where he became a prominent and active member; died at Joplin, June 6, 1930.

³ Alexander A. Lesueur was born in St. Louis, November 25, 1842; joined Captain Joseph Kelley's Company, C. S. A.; after conspicuous service, at the end of the war in 1865 he settled in Lafayette County, Mo.; represented Lafayette County in the General Assembly in 1879; in 1882 was president of the Missouri Press Association; in 1888 was elected secretary of state, reelected in 1892 and 1896; under the administration of the secretary of state's office the "Official Manual of the State of Missouri" was inaugurated; died in Burbank, California, in 1924.

⁴ Edward T. Noland of Jackson County was elected state treasurer in 1888, on the ticket with Governor Francis. He resigned March 2, 1890, and was succeeded by Lon V. Stephens under appointment of Governor Francis. Noland removed to St. Francois County, where he died some years later.

⁵ John M. Wood was speaker of the House in 1885, coming from Clark County to the Legislature; was elected in 1888 on the ticket with Governor Francis; located in St. Louis after his term in this office; died January 25, 1926.

⁶ Francis Marion Black was born July 24, 1836, in Champaign County, Ohio; located in Kansas City in 1864, where he practiced law; in 1875 was a member of the Constitutional Convention; in 1884 elected judge of the Supreme Court; died in 1895.

⁷ Theodore Brace was born in June, 1835, in Allegany County, Maryland; in 1856, was admitted to the bar; in January, 1857, located in Paris, Mo.; in 1861 joined the Confederate service, member of the Third Missouri Cavalry; participated in many battles, including Pea Ridge, Ark.; captured by the Union forces and imprisoned in St. Louis; returned to Paris and resumed the practice of law, shattered in health; in 1874 elected to the State Senate; in 1886 elected supreme judge; in 1896 reelected supreme judge; died May 27, 1921.

⁸ Shepard Barclay was born November 3, 1847, in St. Louis, Mo.; graduated in law at the University of Virginia; began the practice of law in St. Louis in 1872; elected circuit judge in St. Louis in 1882; elected judge of the Supreme Court in 1888; resigned this position in 1898 and returned to the practice of law in St. Louis.

⁹ John B. O'Meara was born in St. Louis, Mo., June 4, 1850; was one of the first to form a company of Missouri State Militia; after the Civil war, under Governor Major he served as adjutant general; elected lieutenant governor in 1892 on the ticket with William Joel Stone; died in St. Louis, July 2, 1926.

¹⁰ Robert Franklin Walker was born near Versailles, Mo., March 29, 1850; in 1885 was appointed assistant attorney general under Banton G. Boone; elected attorney general in 1892; president of the Missouri Bar Association in 1907; in 1912 elected judge of the Supreme Court; in 1922 reelected judge of the Supreme Court; in 1926 the University of Missouri conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws; died in Jefferson City, November 19, 1930.

¹¹ "The People's Party was officially born at the St. Louis convention of February, 1892, and a month later the call was issued for the organization of the party in Missouri. Rapid progress was made, and by the end of June an effectual organization had been built up. Dissenting elements withdrew and stood by the old party standards. Chief among these was U. S. Hall, who later ran for Congress on the Democratic ticket.

"On June 21, 1892, the first state convention of the People's Party assembled at Sedalia, for the purpose of nominating a state ticket. Most of the delegates were 'bona fide farmers.' Leverett Leonard was the unanimous choice of the delegates for governor, and his name was placed at the head of the ticket. Other nominees were George W. Williams of Polk County, for lieutenant-governor; David B. Page of Kansas City, for secretary of state; J. B. Dines of St. Louis, for state auditor; and D. N. Thompson of Bates County for state treasurer.

"The platform was written with the design of satisfying as many of the dissatisfied elements in the state as possible. The labor element was represented by a demand for an eight-hour day for urban labor, union label protection, employers' liability, abolition of child labor and competition of convict labor, and pay based on labor, regardless of sex. Those who demanded reform in state government were recognized in the demands for the abolition of the state railroad commission, reduction of official salaries to 'rewards for similar services in private life,' and the repeal of the special jury law which enabled corporations to have jury trial by jurymen who were members of some corporation. Equal suffrage for both sexes was endorsed.

"The first campaign of the People's Party in Missouri was disappointing from the viewpoint of placing candidates in office. Not a single People's Party candidate was elected to either state or local offices. Stone carried the state with 265,044, to Warner's 235,383, and Leonard's 37,262. His plurality over Warner was 29,661, but he fell far short of securing a majority vote.

"The Populist presidential candidate, Weaver, showed greater strength than Leonard in Missouri, even allowing for the natural increase in the presidential vote. Weaver's total vote in Missouri was 41,204, though he failed to carry a single county. Cleveland, the Democratic candidate, easily won in Missouri, with 268,400 votes, to the Republican Harrison's 227,646. It is noteworthy that the Democratic vote increased over that of 1888, while the Republican vote decreased."—"Missouri, Mother of the West," by Williams and Shoemaker (Vol. II, p. 429).

¹² Charles Leslie Freeman, of St. Charles, Missouri in a thesis "Missouri, Key State in the Free Silver Movement" says in part:

"Missouri Democracy's contribution in making the silver issue a national one was most substantial. As the period under consideration is one of gathering momentum in the interest of silver, and one in which a number of leaders in various states played significant roles, it is essential that we determine what leadership was given the movement within our State. The strategic position of Missouri in the Middle West with much of the wealth and business interests of its citizens in the South and West made it a battle-ground for silver.

"Missouri was an acknowledged leader among the Mississippi Valley states. This prominence developed first because of the wisdom of its statesmen. The figures in this movement varied in intellectual capacity, integrity, and sometimes motive, but rarely did they vary in their approval of, or antagonism against a silver currency.

"An opportunity of developing sentiment in favor of free coinage was given to a number of men. There were, first of all, the leaders in the National Congress. Foremost in this group was Richard Parks Bland, who had been an advocate of free silver coinage for more than two decades. While Bland's influence in the silver crusade reached beyond the confines of his adopted state, the same could hardly be said for William Joel Stone. Stone's influence in the movement was largely restricted to his state, where he was regarded as a convincing leader. In contrast with Bland, he was not considered one who would take the initiative.

"The role played by Francis Marion Cockrell was a quiet but substantial one. Regarded as one of the most distinctly loyal senators whom Missouri had ever sent to Washington, he was unselfish and unswerving in his devotion to the free silver cause from the time of his entrance into the Senate in March, 1875, until his withdrawal from public life in 1899. Cockrell was the lone native son of Missouri in what may be called the free silver triumvirate of Bland, Stone, and Cockrell.

"Not far behind these acknowledged leaders was a group of lesser individuals, at least one of whom—Champ Clark—was to become a conspicuous national figure in the Democracy. As a popular advocate of silver coinage, his influence extended beyond his congressional district. His accession to the silver ranks was of real advantage, for he was an able and aggressive leader, and an orator of high order.

"Other representatives active in the interest of silver were David A. DeArmond, whom Bell calls the scholar of the Missouri delegation; William H. Hatch, Alexander M. Dockery, John T. Heard and John C. Tarsney.

"Our narrative would be incomplete were it to omit the names of Sam Cook, Earl R. Britt and John W. Farris, as men who played vital roles, particularly in forcing the issue of the Pertle Springs convention. Too much significance cannot be attached to this meeting. As every great political and economic movement has had men behind the scenes actuated by high and honorable motives, so did the free silver movement in Missouri. Bland and Cockrell found their reward in the satisfaction of a battle well fought; Stone was compensated in the same way, as well as in further political preferment; but as for Cook, Britt, and Farris, it is doubtful if they had any anticipation of political reward.

"This much then can be said for those men who led the silver movement in Missouri: they sought to change the currency by remonetizing silver as it was before the alleged crime of 1873. They were the aggressors; their numbers were great; and their ranks were organizing rapidly. Consequently, they declared political war on all *goldites* without reluctance. With Missouri rural Democracy as their constituency, they were justified in expressing confidence in their strength.

"Principal aggressor in the dodging and evasive tactics of the gold Democrats was that eminent St. Louisan, David Rowland Francis. He was always a sound money or gold man. To him the free silver movement was but an hysteria which improved economic conditions would be certain to remedy. He was regarded by the public as the strategist of the gold Democrats in the state.

"Late in 1893 Representative Bland declared that Missouri was the state to take the lead in silver legislation, and that the time for action was at hand. He despaired of postponing the issue and enthusiastically voiced the state's pre-eminent position. He was convinced that the demonetization of silver would 'reduce the agricultural classes to penury, and the laboring classes to mere slavery.' Referring to the Democratic convention at Chicago in 1892, he said Missouri could have defeated Cleveland had she led off for a Western man. Missouri was the second Democratic state in the Union in the Electoral College and it had the largest electoral vote of any reliably Democratic state except New York.

"Missouri representatives had fought hard and with almost unanimity during the extra session of 1893 to prevent the repeal of the silver purchase clause of the Sherman act.

"Early in January, 1893, when it was clear that efforts to repeal the Sherman act would fail during the regular session, some agitation developed for the calling of a special session, to consider the nation's financial situation. In all events, the silver leaders were optimistic, because the Senate Finance Committee was being recast without representatives from the gold faction. Senator Vest was made a member of this committee, and in this capacity he labored diligently for the silver forces during the ensuing Congress.

"Cleveland waited until June 30, before he issued the call for an extra session of Congress. He did this, as he told Representative Cobb, in order to give the rural areas of the country ample opportunity to consider the subject of repeal. The damage to the country which would result from a failure to repeal the Sherman act was in his opinion incalculable. Missouri silverites were hardly sympathetic with this view, and now their champion, Bland, was to register and they to echo a protest against further silver demonetization. He called attention to the fact that in the last Congress he had done all in his power to have a free coinage bill passed. At that time the *goldites* urged the tariff as the important issue. Now, he said, the tariff had been brushed aside, the president had called a special session of Congress, and the way was being cleared for complete silver demonetization. If the Sherman law was repealed outright, he declared a silver panic would be created throughout the world and result in universal demonetization. He sounded the challenge to the *free silverites* that if they ever intended to realize the free coinage of silver, they would have to fight for it immediately.

"When Congress assembled on August 7, *silverites* agreed that the most critical time for silver and silver legislation since the demonetization act of 1873 had arrived. Bland said that the friends of free coinage had no hopes of securing the enactment of such a law, for it was well known that President Cleveland would veto any measure of this sort. Along with other *silverites*, Bland hoped that an amendment to the repeal bill might be secured, which would result either in the defeat of the bill or greatly mitigate the consequences of repeal. In addition, the extra session might serve some purpose in testing the sincerity of those who were fighting silver coinage at the ratio of 16 to 1. These anticipations of the *free silverites* proved correct."

¹³ William Jennings Bryan, a representative from Nebraska; born in Salem, Marion County, Ill., March 19, 1860; attended the public schools and Whipple Academy, Jacksonville, Ill.; was graduated from Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill., in 1881; studied law at Union College in Chicago, was graduated in 1883; moved to Lincoln, Nebr., in 1887 and continued the practice of law; delegate to the Democratic State convention in 1888; elected as a Democrat to the Fifty-second and Fifty-third Congresses (March 4, 1891-March 3, 1895); declined to be a candidate for reelection in 1894; unsuccessful candidate for election to the United States Senate in 1894; delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1896, 1904, 1912, 1920 and 1924; unsuccessful Democratic candidate for President of the United States in 1896, 1900, and again in 1908; was indorsed by the Populist and Silver Republican parties in the first and second campaigns; during the Spanish-American war raised the Third Regiment Nebraska Volunteer Infantry in May, 1898, and was commissioned colonel; established a newspaper, *The Commoner*, at Lincoln, Nebr., in 1901; made a tour of the world in 1905 and 1906; engaged in editorial writing and lecturing; secretary of state of the United States in the Cabinet of President Wilson and served from March 4, 1913, until June 9, 1915, when he resigned; resumed his former pursuit of delivering chautauqua lectures and was an author; established his home in Miami, Fla., in 1921; died while attending court in Dayton, Tenn., July 26, 1925.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁴ Lon Vest Stephens was born in Boonville, Mo., December 1, 1858; in early life became editor of the *Boonville Advertiser*; his "Silver Nuggets" and "Sharps and Flats" attracted national attention; in 1890 was appointed by Governor Francis state treasurer; in 1892 was elected state treasurer on the ticket with Governor Stone; in 1896 was elected governor; after his term of office expired located in St. Louis; died January 10, 1923.

¹⁵ Frank L. Pitts of Monroe County, was elected state treasurer in 1896 on the ticket with Governor Stephens; he served with distinction in the Confederate Army and lost an arm in the service. He died February 3, 1905.

¹⁶ Sam B. Cook was born at Fount Royal, Va., January 11, 1852; in his boyhood came to Warren County, Missouri; at the age of 26 he was elected sheriff and collector; reelected in 1880; moved to Mexico in 1885; for several years was editor and publisher of the *Mexico Intelligencer*; head of the Democratic State Committee 1896-1900; in 1900 elected secretary of state; in 1916 elected to the State Senate; was president of the Central Missouri Trust Co. for many years; died in Jefferson City, February 4, 1931.

¹⁷ Robert P. Williams of Howard County was elected in 1900, treasurer on the Democratic ticket with Governor Dockery. He died in Fayette, Missouri, July 14, 1910.

¹⁸ Albert O. Allen was born December 12, 1842, in Madison County, Mo., at the age of sixteen was appointed deputy county clerk of New Madrid; in 1861 joined the Confederate Army; served through the war and participated in many of the severest engagements; returned to New Madrid and became editor of the *Record*; in 1872 was elected to the General Assembly; chief clerk in the state auditor's office in 1874; in 1900 elected state auditor; died April 4, 1926.

¹⁹ August H. Bolte, of Franklin County, was elected lieutenant-governor in 1900 on the ticket with Governor Dockery. He was prominent in the counsels of the Democratic Party and was a candidate for governor in the primary of 1908. He died June 24, 1920.

MISSOURI'S REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS

CHAPTER II

THE SENATE

In 1891 the General Assembly reelected George Graham Vest for his third term in the United States Senate. Vest had now reached a prominence in the nation that was steadily increasing, and he was without doubt one of the great characters of the time. His strength with the Democrats of Missouri was at its height.

Senator Vest, speaking upon the Supreme Court decision declaring the income tax law unconstitutional, was especially notable. After he had analyzed briefly the decision of the Supreme Court and had read from the opinions of the minority justices who sustained the income tax law, Senator Vest took up the action of one of the justices who had changed his original opinion and had made the majority against the law. He said:

"If I had made the declarations which have come from these two justices of the Supreme Court of the United States I should be charged with partisan malice and misrepresentation. Coming from distinguished lawyers, holding the highest judicial positions in the country, of life tenure and removed from personal and political motives, I submit that those declarations, from that source, constitute the most fearful arraignment of this court of last resort found in the judicial annals of the country.

"I have said that I do not propose to analyze this decision, nor shall I trust myself to enter into conjectures as to the reasons that caused one member of the court, after agreeing, on deliberate argument, as to the constitutionality of the largest portion of the law, in two weeks afterward, upon a motion for a rehearing, to reverse his opinion and fasten upon the country 'the sordid despotism of wealth.'

"This justice unquestionably had the right to change his opinion—it is the highest prerogative of a judicial officer—but I must say most respectfully that it is a matter of regret that he did not see proper to put upon record the reasons that caused him to make the change; that he did not stand before the American people as the only member of the court really responsible for this far-reaching and terrible judicial decision."

In one of his many interesting articles on the Early West, in the *St. Louis Star-Times*, Homer Bassford tells how pioneer promoters tried to rent Yellowstone Park for two dollars an acre and cut it up into concessions, and the government seriously considered the plan until Senator

Vest saved the land which two St. Louis trappers discovered,—Jim Coulter and Jim Bridger. However, he says that Cornelius Hedges of Montana first gave the official description of the Yellowstone's wonders. When the matter developed to the setting up of claims, Senator Vest began to look into the matter. Bassford says:

CROOKS DIDN'T SUCCEED

"The pressure brought to bear on Congress was very great and effectively applied, since few men knew much about conditions in Yellowstone Park or even where it was. But pressure and influence could not move Senator Vest when he knew that he was right. He stood like a rock, making a noble fight in the interest of the people. For years the issue seemed doubtful, and for years it was true that the sole hope of those who were devoted to the interests of the park lay in Senator Vest. After a long struggle, right triumphed and the contract between the Interior Department and the private interests was never made.

"The Senator many times afterward said to friends that the achievement of which he was proudest in a long time of public service was his victory in saving the Park as a national possession, free to all and maintained in its pristine beauty and wonder for ages to come. Not many years before his death, sitting in the sun on the porch of his cottage at Sweet Springs, the fine little old Senator talked to a visiting correspondent:

"The glories of Yellowstone now seem to be safe. There is nothing in the world just like it. Within its vast area the Great Architect has created scenes that give us pause and bring us to the sober thoughts of life and its meaning. There is gathered what we call phenomena, but they are merely the speech of Nature in its grandest garb.

"Nowhere can such geysers be found, nowhere lakes of such entrancing color, nowhere more beautiful or more awe-inspiring mountains. The canyon, along with its falls, is a world wonder. The lake another. Those prismatic pools, stretches of black forest and the weird shapes of what is called the volcanic formation are but details of a mighty whole. Small wonder that the honest Coulter and Bridger were not believed.' "

In 1893 the General Assembly reelected Francis Marion Cockrell to the United States Senate for his fourth term.

With a knowledge of the legislative needs of the Middle West gained through his thorough and painstaking study of governmental economics, Senator Cockrell could not approve of the policies enunciated by President Cleveland in his inaugural address of 1893, nor in his message to the Congress. Senator Cockrell, true to his convictions, had a prominent part in the discussions on the floor of the Senate in which the Nation's financial policies was the compelling subject.

Cockrell's arraignment of President Cleveland was one of the most remarkable speeches ever made on the Senate floor. It filled fifty-four pages of the congressional record. He said, in part:

"The financial question has been brought to the front. It is not the fault of Congress. The President had the right to call Congress together

for whatever purpose he desired. He exercised that right, and he called us together upon the financial question, and when he convened us he had gone to the end of his executive power. The responsibility now rests with us as to what we shall do. The responsibility rests with him for having Congress here. We did not call ourselves into existence here. He brought us here. He is responsible for that, and we are responsible for what we do. Why should we bow to England? If we are going to adopt a financial policy, why not adopt that of France, the country that stood by us in the days of the revolution and helped us achieve our independence, and today is a sister republic. Why should we bow the knee to England? Are we not old enough to establish a financial system? We are a hundred years old. That is a great age.

"Can you find any other nation on earth that has not established its own policy? The President has had fears that these lowering clouds were about to swamp the country ever since 1885. There is no danger to the Democratic Party. When Mr. Cleveland and every senator here, and every member of the other House and all members of that grand old party who compose it today, shall have passed to that bourne whence no traveler returns, the Democratic Party will only be in its youthful vigor and manhood."

In 1897 the General Assembly reelected George Graham Vest to the United States Senate for his fourth term in that body and in 1899 the General Assembly reelected Francis Marion Cockrell to the United States Senate for his fifth term—thirty years. This equaled the time of Thomas Hart Benton, and gave to Missouri the record of having two of its distinguished Democrats serve in the highest legislative assemblage, perhaps in the world, a period of sixty years.

In 1903 the General Assembly elected William Joel Stone to the United States Senate to succeed George Graham Vest, who was not a candidate for reelection. Senator Vest was in impaired health. The life of this indomitable man, who had reached the highest place in the love and respect of his party, and who had fought the battle of life from a lowly start to a pinnacle of fame possessed by few men, was drawing to an end.

In his "Centennial History of Missouri" (Vol. II, p. 499), Walter B. Stevens speaks of Stone's forcefulness:

"Conservative forcefulness might be said to have been a distinguished characteristic of William J. Stone. One of the best illustrations of it was given at a convention of governors of southern states held at Richmond in 1893. Missouri's chief executive became the strong personality in that gathering. Each governor had with him a staff of from two to ten gentlemen deeply interested in the subject of immigration. These gentlemen were prepared to talk. But speeches were tabooed from the beginning. The first rule which the governors adopted sent every proposition to a committee without debate. When this committee met it had before it a stack of suggestions a foot high. The entire collection was turned over to a subcommittee composed of Governors Stone of Missouri and Foster of Louisiana and Mr. George Armistead of Tennessee. The

bulky mass was ignored. A brief pointed address, without reference to politics, congratulatory upon what the South had done in the way of development and hopeful as to increased immigrations, was drafted. When the convention met again this address was read and adopted. Governor Brown immediately moved adjournment *sine die*. The whole thing was over. Some of the older men in the body, accustomed to the old southern style of much freedom of speech in convention, were a little dazed. As they went out of the convention to their hotels they asked each other why it was necessary to come to Richmond if this was all that was intended. The address was in the handwriting of Governor Stone, of Missouri. It was written after a frank discussion, in which the other members of the subcommittee, Governor Foster, of Louisiana, and Mr. Armistead, of Tennessee, agreed with the Missouri governor that something short and clean-cut, without politics or rancor, was what the situation called for."

Francis M. Cockrell belonged to the Benton line of senators representing Missouri in the United States Senate. Of the 112 years to the year 1932 Cockrell and Benton had served the state sixty years.

The Barton Line: David S. Barton, Alexander Buckner, Lewis F. Linn, David R. Atchison, James S. Green, Waldo P. Johnson, Robert Wilson, B. Gratz Brown, Chas. D. Drake, David R. Jewett, Francis P. Blair, Jr., Lewis V. Bogy, David H. Armstrong, James Shields, George G. Vest, William Joel Stone, X. P. Wilfley, Selden P. Spencer, Geo. H. Williams, Harry B. Hawes and Bennett Champ Clark.

The Benton Line: Thomas Hart Benton, Henry S. Geyer, Trusten Polk, John B. Henderson, Carl Schurz, F. M. Cockrell, Wm. Warner, James A. Reed and Roscoe C. Patterson.

CONGRESS—1889—HOUSE

In the congressional elections of 1889 William H. Hatch¹ of Marion County was reelected from the First District, Charles H. Mansur of Livingston County from the Second District, Alexander M. Dockery of Daviess County from the Third District.

Robert P. C. Wilson² of Platte County was elected from the Fourth District. The Constitution of 1875, which still stands as the organic law of the state, and which the people have refused to have supplanted by any other, was endorsed by R. P. C. Wilson, when he said: "The laws of Missouri had been silent since 1861, and the exigencies of the Civil war had been so paralyzing that after the people, with unrestricted suffrage had come into their own, they lost no time in calling a constitutional convention. Indeed, they seem to have risen fully to the occasion. Many of the counties had been so fraudulently ravished and plundered under doubtful forms of law, that the people of the state hailed the calling of that convention as a promise for redemption of wrongs many of them had suffered, and as a guaranty against their repetition in the future. What infinite care they displayed in the selection of its members! It was by all odds the ablest body of men ever gathered in this state for a similar

purpose. The districts seemed to vie with each other as to which should send the ablest, purest and best of its citizens as members. In reading the roll of that body you will find the names of many lawyers who afterwards became illustrious in the annals of our profession. There you will see the honored names of James O. Broadhead, Thomas T. Gantt, Albert Todd, Joseph Pulitzer, A. R. Taylor, Henry C. Brockmeyer, T. W. B. Crews, Waldo P. Johnson, George H. Shields, H. C. Lackland, W. H. Letcher, F. M. Black, Elijah H. Norton, Dewitt C. Allen and others of distinction worthy to be classed with those mentioned. Their work proved to be a marvel of wisdom."

John C. Tarsney³ of Jackson County was elected from the Fifth District; Richard H. Norton⁴ of Lincoln County from the Seventh District, succeeding John E. Hutton; Richard P. Bland of Laclede County reelected from the Eleventh District; William J. Stone of Vernon County reelected from the Twelfth District.

James P. Walker of Stoddard County was reelected from the Fourteenth District. Walker died and R. H. Whitelaw⁵ of Cape Girardeau County was elected in his stead.

CONGRESS—1891

William H. Hatch of Marion County was reelected from the First District; Charles H. Mansur of Livingston County from the Second District; Alexander M. Dockery of Daviess County from the Third District; R. P. C. Wilson of Platte County from the Fourth District; James C. Tarsney of Jackson County from the Fifth District; John T. Heard of Pettis County from the Sixth District; Richard H. Norton of Lincoln County from the Seventh District; John J. O'Neill of St. Louis from the Eighth District.

Seth W. Cobb⁶ of St. Louis was elected from the Ninth District. Cobb defeated Nathan Frank, a Republican, who in 1889 had defeated John M. Glover. Cobb is said to have been President Cleveland's favorite in the Missouri delegation.

Samuel Byrns⁷ of Washington County was elected from the Tenth District. The veteran, Richard Parks Bland, was reelected from the Eleventh District. This was the tenth time the Democrats of his district had returned him to Congress, and he had become one of the most distinguished members of that body, always advancing the cause of bimetallism in every way possible.

David A. DeArmond⁸ of Bates County was elected from the Twelfth District, succeeding William J. Stone, who refused to become a candidate. When Stone declared he would not be a candidate to succeed himself in Congress there were several distinguished Democrats who sought the place, and the contest became one of the most intense in the history of the state. The candidates before the convention were Charles H. Morgan of Barton County, Harry Grantley of St. Clair, Joseph Ladue, of Henry, Henry Hill of Jasper, and David A. DeArmond of Bates. The contest finally narrowed down to Charles H. Morgan and David A. DeArmond, and the latter was nominated.

Robert W. Fyan of Webster County was elected from the Thirteenth District, defeating William H. Wade, a Republican. Wade had defeated Fyan in 1884.

Marshall Arnold⁹ of Scott County was elected from the Fourteenth District, succeeding R. H. Whitelaw.

CONGRESS—1893

By an Act of the General Assembly of 1891 the state was redistricted into fifteen congressional districts, Missouri having become entitled to another congressman, or fifteen in all. In the congressional elections of 1892 William H. Hatch of Marion County was reelected from the First District. Uriel S. Hall¹⁰ of Randolph County was elected from the Second District, succeeding Charles H. Mansur. Uriel S. Hall was the son of William A. Hall of Randolph County, who was elected to Congress in 1861, to succeed John B. Clark of Howard County, who was expelled, charged with disloyalty.

Alexander M. Dockery of Daviess County was reelected from the Third District; Daniel D. Burns of Buchanan County elected from the Fourth District, succeeding R. P. C. Wilson of Platte County; John C. Tarsney of Jackson County reelected from the Fifth District; David A. DeArmond of Bates County from the Sixth District; John T. Heard of Pettis County from the Seventh District; Richard P. Bland of Laclede County from the Eighth District.

Champ Clark¹¹ of Pike County was elected from the Ninth District. Thus began a record in Congress that elevated him by stages to the speakership and nearly to the presidency. In his "Centennial History of Missouri" (Vol. 2, pp. 200-201), Walter B. Stevens says of Champ Clark's introductory speech:

"In his maiden speech Champ Clark took rank as one of the best story tellers in Washington. He achieved that distinction on a single story, for the rest of his speech was in a serious vein. He argued that if Congress obeyed the behests of the American bondholders and made a gold standard, in a hundred years the people would be reduced to the conditions of the Russian serfs or Mexican peons. The bondholders would have all the money in the country, for as old Jim Craig, of St. Joe, used to say, When a dollar goes down into their capacious pockets the eagle on it sings, 'Farewell, vain world, I'm going home!'

"A Missouri boy at the age of three voted in the House. He was Bennett Clark, son of Champ Clark. He didn't say 'aye' or 'no.' Strict rules hedge the privilege of the floor. Only ex-members who are not lobbyists and certain high dignitaries are supposed to pass the door-keepers. But by an unwritten law little sons and daughters of representatives are sometimes allowed to accompany their fathers, provided they are well behaved. Bennett Clark was always a model of boyish dignity. One day when tellers were called for and the members formed to pass between them and be counted, this little boy gravely took his place in the line and marched down the aisle. He marched down the aisle twice

in the course of one afternoon and passed between the tellers. He voted just as his father did. The tellers patted him on the back and pretended to count him. The youngster smiled and accepted congratulations demurely, but he said nothing, so it was impossible to tell whether he really understood what it all meant."

Seth W. Cobb of St. Louis was reelected from the Twelfth District; Robert W. Fyan of Webster County from the Thirteenth District.

Marshall Arnold of Scott County was reelected from the Fourteenth District. Arnold became one of the leading spirits in the Democratic Party. He was a man of wonderful discernment, and sagacious in political matters. After his second term he retired to the practice of law.

Charles H. Morgan of Barton County was elected from the Fifteenth District.

CONGRESS—1895

In the Republican landslide of 1894, but four Democratic congressmen survived. Uriel S. Hall of Randolph County was reelected from the Second District; Alexander M. Dockery of Daviess County from the Third District; John C. Tarsney of Jackson County from the Fifth District; Seth W. Cobb of St. Louis from the Twelfth District.

CONGRESS—1897

Running on the ticket with Bryan, the presidential nominee in 1896, twelve Democratic congressmen were elected. It is significant that the three Republicans elected were from St. Louis, the citadel of *Gold Bug* strength.

James T. Lloyd¹² of Shelby County was elected from the First District, succeeding Charles N. Clark, a Republican, who had defeated William H. Hatch in 1904. There is much significance attached to this election. The defeat of William H. Hatch in 1904 removed from the halls of Congress one of the greatest characters in the history of the state.

Robert N. Bodine¹³ of Monroe County was elected from the Second District, succeeding Uriel S. Hall. Bodine served one term in Congress with some distinction. It had become the custom of the Second District to distribute the congressional favors around, there being so many distinguished Democrats in the Second.

Alexander M. Dockery of Daviess County was reelected from the Third District; Charles F. Cochran¹⁴ of Buchanan County elected from the Fourth District; William S. Cowherd¹⁵ of Jackson County elected from the Fifth District, succeeding John C. Tarsney, who had served four terms in the House; David A. DeArmond of Bates County reelected from the Sixth District; James A. Cooney¹⁶ of Saline County from the Seventh District.

Richard P. Bland of Laclede County was reelected from the Eighth District. While the silver cause had met its Waterloo in the presidential campaign of 1896, the indefatigable Bland went on, convinced that bi-

metalism was as necessary for the rehabilitation of the western country as ever.

Champ Clark of Pike County, was again elected from the Ninth District, succeeding William M. Treloar, a Republican, and redeeming the district for the Democrats; Edward Robb¹⁷ of Perry County from the Thirteenth District, also redeeming the district for the Democrats; Willard D. Vandiver¹⁸ of Cape Girardeau County from the Fourteenth District.

Maecenas E. Benton¹⁹ of Newton County was elected from the Fifteenth District. Benton was a lineal descendant of Thomas Hart Benton, and was a man of learning and accomplishment, and a great campaign speaker.

CONGRESS—1899

In the congressional elections of 1898, James T. Lloyd of Shelby County was reelected from the First District; William W. Rucker²⁰ of Chariton County elected from the Second District, succeeding Robert N. Bodine.

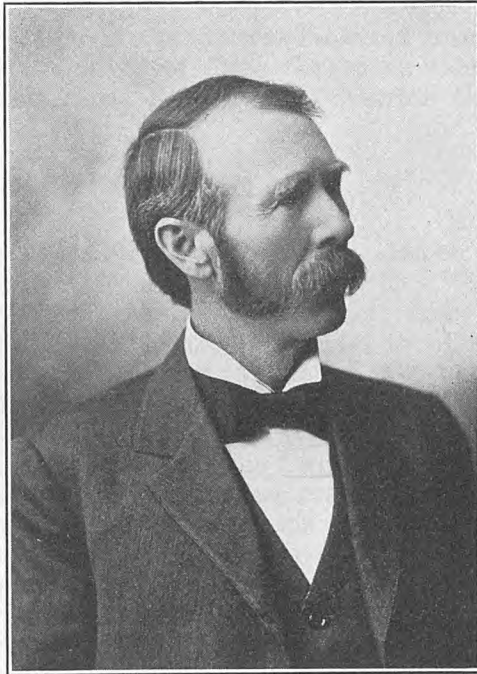
John Dougherty²¹ of Clay County was elected from the Third District, succeeding Alexander M. Dockery. Dockery was not a candidate this time. He aspired to the governorship, which came to him when he was nominated at Kansas City in 1900, and was elected the following November.

Charles F. Cochran of Buchanan County was reelected from the Fourth District; William S. Cowherd of Jackson County from the Fifth District; David A. DeArmond of Bates County from the Sixth District; James Cooney of Saline County from the Seventh District.

Richard P. Bland of Laclede County was reelected from the Eighth District. The great warrior for silver died, and at a special election Dorsey W. Shackelford²² of Cooper County was elected in his stead. It is doubtful if any question in the history of the American Congress was ever pursued with such untiring energy and devotion as was the silver question by Richard Parks Bland, and as this tribute is written the silver question is agitating Congress and the nation. David B. Culberson of Texas, one of the foremost members of Congress, said of Bland:

"Bland is the only man I ever saw who doesn't have to get steam up. To me he is in that respect a most interesting study. The moment he gets on his feet he is going at full speed, valves wide open, forty miles an hour. His mind starts right off without any warming up or preliminary prodding. He is into the midst of his subject at the first sentence, and he goes ahead on the full jump until he gets ready to quit. I've watched him for years, and it's always the same way."

Speaking of Bland, Champ Clark said: "Young men ambitious of political preferment and of a noble and enduring fame will do well to pass lightly by the shrewd manipulators and aspiring mountebanks and to study profoundly the far-reaching results of Bland's career. They will discover that his commanding position was due to his intense devotion to principle, to his absorbing love of truth, to his integrity of mind, and to



HON. JAMES COONEY
United States Congressman

unquailing courage. He stood for conscience in politics and for impartial justice and equal rights to all God's children. Without arrogance of character, he possessed an independence of soul which would not have flattered Neptune for his trident or Jove for his power to thunder. He was what Marc Anthony described himself to be, but what Marc most emphatically was not—'a plain blunt man, who loved his friends,' and he died amid the lamentations of the plain people, of whom he was the best type."

Champ Clark of Pike County was reelected from the Ninth District. Clark had become a national figure, and his influence in Congress was growing with each session. In the Ninth District he was the idol of his party.

Edward Robb of Perry County was reelected from the Thirteenth District; Willard D. Vandiver of Cape Girardeau County from the Fourteenth District; Maecenas E. Benton of Newton County from the Fifteenth District.

CONGRESS—1901

In the congressional elections of 1900, James T. Lloyd of Shelby County was reelected from the First District; William W. Rucker of Chariton County from the Second District; John Dougherty of Clay County from the Third District; Charles F. Cochran of Buchanan County from the Fourth District; William S. Cowherd of Jackson County from the Fifth District; David A. DeArmond of Bates County from the Sixth District; James Cooney of Saline County from the Seventh District; Dorsey W. Shackleford of Cole County from the Eighth District.

Champ Clark of Pike County was reelected from the Ninth District. His influence and close attention to his official duties were making him an outstanding member of Congress, and one of the leaders of the Democratic side of that body. Always a speaker of much ability he had now become a fluent and convincing debater. Speaking of nervousness on the platform, he once said: "It may interest young speakers who suffer from that most excruciating and exasperating disease or affliction known as 'stage fright' to learn that even veterans are liable to suffer from it. At any rate, I have had it so bad twice in the last eleven years that I could hardly speak at all. In 1888, when I placed David A. Ball in nomination for lieutenant-governor, my tongue was so dry that I thought it would stick to the roof of my mouth in spite of all I could do, and my knees knocked together as though I had ague. Again, in 1893, at Tammany Hall, when I began, I had as severe a case of stage fright as any girl that ever appeared before the footlights for the first time. But, in each instance, there was something in the first sentence that set the audience to laughing and applauding, and the dreadful sensation—for that's what it is—passed off suddenly. So far as I know, there is neither preventive nor cure for this strange disease, if disease it may be called. There is just a little unpleasant nervousness immediately preceding the beginning of any speech of importance that I make. Governor Charles P. Johnson—a rare judge

in matters oratorical—once told me that if I ever ceased to feel that way it would be an infallible sign that my powers as a public speaker were on the wane.”

Edward Robb of Perry County was reelected from the Thirteenth District; Willard D. Vandiver of Cape Girardeau County from the Fourteenth District; Maecenas E. Benton of Newton County from the Fifteenth District.

CONGRESS—1903

In 1901 the state was redistricted into sixteen congressional districts by an act approved March 10. In the congressional elections of 1902, James T. Lloyd of Shelby County was reelected from the First District; William W. Rucker of Chariton County from the Second District; John Dougherty of Clay County from the Third District; Charles F. Cochran of Buchanan County from the Fourth District.

William S. Cowherd of Jackson County was reelected from the Fifth District. This was the fourth term that Cowherd had served in Congress, in which he impressed his personality and accomplishments on the state and nation.

David A. DeArmond of Bates County was reelected from the Sixth District; Courtney W. Hamlin²³ of Greene County elected from the Seventh District, succeeding James Cooney; Dorsey W. Shackelford of Cole County reelected from the Eighth District; Champ Clark of Pike County reelected from the Ninth District; John T. Hunt²⁴ of St. Louis from the Tenth District.

James J. Butler²⁵ of St. Louis was elected from the Twelfth District, succeeding George C. R. Wagoner, a Republican. James J. Butler was the son of Edward Butler, so long a political power in St. Louis.

Edward Robb of Perry County was reelected from the Thirteenth District; Willard D. Vandiver of Cape Girardeau County from the Fourteenth District; Maecenas E. Benton of Newton County from the Fifteenth District; James Robert Lamar²⁶ of Texas County elected from the Sixteenth District.

FOOTNOTES, EPOCH SEVEN, CHAPTER II

¹ Writing in the *Missouri Historical Review* of July, 1924, Dean F. B. Mumford, of the College of Agriculture, University of Missouri, pays a high tribute to William Henry Hatch for contributing so greatly to the advancement of agriculture in Missouri and the other states. He says, in part:

“Missouri men have rendered notable service in national affairs, and many have left enduring monuments through their wise foresight and vision. Among the statesmen who have contributed most to the public welfare, the name of Col. William Henry Hatch must be placed very high in the hall of fame. The brief biographies of William Henry Hatch have in most cases entirely ignored the one great public service for which his name will be forever honored and as a result of which unnumbered generations of people will benefit from his public work.

“The idea of appropriating Federal funds to the colleges of agriculture for scientific research did not originate with Mr. Hatch, but no one can read the history of the efforts in behalf of this legislation without coming to the conclusion that the

adoption of this measure was due, primarily, if not entirely, to the determined, persistent and skillful efforts of Col. William H. Hatch. A bill providing appropriations for agricultural research was first introduced in the House of Representatives by Mr. C. C. Carpenter of Iowa, but this bill had very few friends and was not seriously considered by Congress.

"On July 8, 1885, the Commissioner of Agriculture, Norman J. Colman of Missouri, called a conference in Washington of all the administrative officers of the Colleges of Agriculture of the United States. This conference was for the express purpose of considering the broad national policy of Federal appropriations for agricultural experiment stations. The convention unanimously endorsed the principle and recommended the passage of what was known as the Cullen Bill, providing appropriations to agricultural colleges for scientific research. This bill was not enthusiastically received and was given little support in Congress.

"In 1886 Col. William H. Hatch introduced a bill in the House of Representatives which had for its purpose the establishment of agricultural experiment stations in connection with the colleges of agriculture. This bill was referred to the Committee on Agriculture, of which Mr. Hatch was chairman, and through unusual efforts and long-continued activity the bill was favorably reported on March 3, 1886, and was passed by Congress and approved by President Cleveland, March 2, 1887.

"The principle embodied in this act, providing direct appropriations for agricultural research, was the first appropriation of its kind made by Congress. It was the beginning of a policy of Federal aid to agricultural education which has resulted in the upbuilding of the agricultural education system of the United States, including the more recent generous Federal appropriations to agricultural high schools and for agricultural extension.

"Mr. Hatch returned to his home at Hannibal, Missouri, in 1894, at the age of sixty-one years. He retired to his beautiful home on a farm in the environs of Hannibal. There he actively began breeding trotting horses and Jersey cattle.

Mr. Hatch was twice married, his first union being with Miss Jennie L. Smith, a native of Scott County, Kentucky. There were two children of this marriage, Llewellyn L. Hatch of New Orleans, and a daughter who died in infancy. The mother died April 15, 1858, and three years later Colonel Hatch married Miss Thetis Clay Hawkins. Of this union one child, a daughter, was born, who lived on the estate at Hannibal until her death on November 15, 1923. Upon her death she bequeathed to the State of Missouri the home farm which had been developed by her father. In the words of the will 'this bequest is made in order to perpetuate the name and memory of my beloved father, William H. Hatch, who devoted the greater part of his life to the advancement of agriculture.' This farm has been assigned to the College of Agriculture of the University of Missouri at Columbia, Missouri, by the State Commission empowered to accept gifts of this nature, and it is understood that it will be developed as an agricultural experiment station.

"The Honorable William H. Hatch was a man of great personal force, of vigorous personality and of recognized integrity."

² Robert Patterson Clark Wilson, a representative from Missouri; born in Boonville, Cooper County, Mo., August 8, 1834; moved with his parents to Platte County; attended William Jewell College, Liberty, Mo., and was graduated from Center College, Danville, Ky., in 1853; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1854, and commenced practice in Seguin, Tex., in 1855; returned to Missouri in 1858; moved to Leavenworth, Kans., in 1860; was a member of the first State House of Representatives of Kansas from March to June 4, 1861; returned to Missouri in 1861; member of the State House of Representatives of Missouri in 1871 and 1872, and served as speaker both years; presidential elector on the Democratic ticket of Greeley and Brown in 1872; member of the State senate in 1879 and 1880; delegate to the Democratic National Convention at St. Louis in 1888; president of the school Board of Platte City, Mo.; elected as a Democrat to the Fifty-first Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the death of James N. Burnes; reelected to the Fifty-second Congress, and served from December 2, 1889, to March 3, 1893; resumed the practice of his profession in Platte City, Platte County, Mo.; died in Kansas City, Mo., December 21, 1916.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

³ John Charles Tarsney, a representative from Missouri; born in Medina, Lenawee County, Mich., November 7, 1845; attended the common schools; during the Civil war enlisted in the Fourth Regiment Michigan Volunteer Infantry in August, 1862; mustered out of the service in June, 1865; attended high school in Hudson, Mich.; was graduated from the law department of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor in 1869, was admitted to the bar the same year, and commenced practice in Hudson, Mich.; moved to Kansas City, Mo., in 1872; city attorney of Kansas City in 1874 and 1875; elected as a Democrat to the Fifty-first, Fifty-second, and Fifty-third Congresses (March 4, 1889-March 3, 1895); presented credentials as a member elect to the Fifty-fourth Congress, and served from March 4, 1895, to February 27, 1896, when he was succeeded by Robert T. Van Horn, who contested his election; appointed by President Cleveland associate justice of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma Territory in 1896, and served until 1899; returned to Kansas City, Mo., in 1899 and resumed the practice of law; died in Kansas City, Mo., September 4, 1920.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁴ Richard Henry Norton, a Representative from Missouri; born in Troy, Lincoln County (Mo.) November 6, 1849; attended the common schools and the St. Louis (Mo.) University, where he took the classical course; was graduated from the law department of Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., in 1870; was admitted to the bar and commenced practice in Troy, Mo.; elected as a Democrat to the Fifty-first and Fifty-second Congresses (March 4, 1889-March 3, 1893); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1892 to the Fifty-third Congress; resumed the practice of law and also engaged in agricultural pursuits; died in a hospital in St. Louis, Mo., March 15, 1918.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁵ Robert Henry Whitelaw, a representative from Missouri; born in Essex County, Va., January 30, 1854; moved with his father to Cape Girardeau County, Mo., in 1856; returned to Essex County, Va., in 1866; attended private schools in Rappahannock and Staunton, Va., and the law department of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor; was admitted to the bar in 1873 and commenced practice in Cape Girardeau, Mo.; city attorney in 1873; prosecuting attorney of Cape Girardeau County 1874-78; member of the State House of Representatives in 1883 and 1887; elected as a Democrat to the Fifty-first Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the death of James Peter Walker, and served from December 1, 1890, to March 3, 1891; resumed the practice of law at Cape Girardeau, Mo.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁶ Seth Wallace Cobb, a representative from Missouri; born near Petersburg, Southampton County, Va., December 5, 1838; attended the common schools; joined a volunteer company from his native county in 1861 and served throughout the Civil war in the Army of Northern Virginia; moved to St. Louis, Mo., in 1867, and was employed as a clerk in a grain commission house for three years; in 1870 became engaged in the same business on his own account; president of the Merchants' Exchange in 1886; president of the corporation which built the Merchants' Bridge across the Mississippi River at St. Louis; elected as a Democrat to the Fifty-second, Fifty-third, and Fifty-fourth Congresses (March 4, 1891-March 3, 1897); was not a candidate for renomination in 1896; resumed the grain commission business in St. Louis; vice president of the grain commission business in St. Louis; vice president of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis in 1904; died in St. Louis, Mo., May 22, 1909.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁷ Sam Byrns, a representative from Missouri; born on a farm in Jefferson County, Mo., March 4, 1848; received a good English education; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1872, and commenced practice in Hillsboro, Mo.; collector of revenue for Jefferson County in 1872; presidential elector on the Democratic ticket of Tilden and Hendricks in 1876 and of Cleveland and Thurman in 1888; member of the State House of Representatives in 1876 and 1877; served in the State Senate in 1878; member of the Democratic State Central Committee 1886-1888; elected as a Democrat to the Fifty-second Congress (March 4, 1891-March 3, 1893); unsuccessful candidate for renomination in 1892 to the Fifty-third Congress; resumed the practice

of his chosen profession in De Soto, Jefferson County, Mo., where he died July 9, 1914.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁸ David Albaugh DeArmond, a representative from Missouri; born in Altoona, Clair County, Pa., March 18, 1844; attended the common schools and Williamsport Dickinson Seminary; moved to Davenport, Iowa, in 1866; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1867, and commenced practice in Davenport; moved to Missouri in 1869 and settled in Greenfield, Dade County; presidential elector on the Democratic ticket with Cleveland and Hendricks in 1884; member of the State Senate 1879-1883; Missouri Supreme Court commissioner in 1884; judge of the twenty-second judicial circuit of Missouri 1886-1890; elected as a Democrat to the Fifty-second and to the nine succeeding Congresses, and served from March 4, 1891, until his death; one of the managers appointed by the House of Representatives in 1905 to conduct the impeachment proceedings against Charles Swayne, Judge of the United States District Court for the Northern District of Florida; died in Butler, Bates County, Mo., November 23, 1909.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁹ Marshall Arnold, a representative from Missouri; born at Cook Settlement, near Farmington, St. Francois County, Mo., October 21, 1845; attended the common schools; professor at Arcadia College in 1870 and 1871; deputy clerk of the circuit, county, and probate courts of St. Francois County, Mo.; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1872, and commenced practice in Commerce, Scott County, Mo.; prosecuting attorney of Scott County 1873-1876; member of the State House of Representatives 1877-1879; presidential elector on the Democratic ticket of Hancock and English in 1880; elected as a Democrat to the Fifty-second and Fifty-third Congresses (March 4, 1891-March 3, 1895); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1894 to the Fifty-fourth Congress; resumed the practice of law in Benton, Scott County, Mo., and died there June 12, 1913.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁰ Uriel Sebree Hall, a representative from Missouri; born near Huntsville, Randolph County, Mo., April 12, 1852; tutored privately, and was graduated from Mount Pleasant College, Huntsville, Mo., in 1873; principal of the Hall West Point-Annapolis Coaching School, Columbia, Mo.; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1879; and commenced practice in Moberly, Randolph County, Mo.; city attorney of Moberly 1880-1882; engaged in agricultural pursuits; elected as a Democrat to Fifty-third and Fifty-fourth Congresses (March 4, 1893-March 3, 1897); was not a candidate for renomination in 1896; president of Pritchett College, Glasgow, Mo., since 1897; died at Columbia, Mo., December 30, 1932.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹¹ Champ (James Beauchamp) Clark, a representative from Missouri; born near Lawrenceburg, Anderson County, Ky., March 7, 1850; attended the common schools and Kentucky University at Lexington; was graduated from Bethany (W. Va., College in 1873 and from the Cincinnati Law School in 1875; president of Marshall College, Huntington, W. Va., in 1873 and 1874; admitted to the bar in 1875; edited a country newspaper and practiced law; moved to Bowling Green, Pike County, Mo., in 1876; city attorney of Louisiana, Mo., and Bowling Green, Mo., in 1878-1881; presidential elector on the Democratic ticket of Hancock and English in 1880; deputy prosecuting attorney and prosecuting attorney of Pike County 1885-1889; member of the State house of representatives in 1889 and 1891; delegate to the Trans-Mississippi Congress at Denver in May, 1891; elected as a Democrat to the Fifty-third Congress (March 4, 1893-March 3, 1895); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1894 to the Fifty-fourth Congress; elected to the Fifty-fifth and to the eleven succeeding Congresses, and served from March 4, 1897, until his death; unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1920 to the Sixty-seventh Congress; Democratic minority leader of the House of Representatives in the Sixtieth and Sixty-first Congresses; served as speaker of the Sixty-second and Sixty-third Congresses; chairman of the Democratic National Convention at St. Louis in 1904; led in the Baltimore Democratic National Convention of 1912 for the Presidential nomination on twenty-nine ballots, and had a clear majority on eight; died in Washington, D. C.,

March 2, 1921; funeral services were held in the Hall of the House of Representatives; burial at his home, Bowling Green, Mo.; a monument was erected to his memory by the State.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹² James Tilghman Lloyd, a representative from Missouri; born in Canton, Lewis County, Mo., August 28, 1857; attended the public schools, and was graduated from Christian University, Canton, Mo., in 1878; taught school, studied law was admitted to the bar in 1882 and commenced practice in Monticello, Lewis County, Mo.; moved to Shelbyville, Mo., in 1885 and continued the practice of law; prosecuting attorney of Shelby County 1889-1893; elected as a Democrat to the Fifty-fifth Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Richard P. Giles; reelected to the Fifty-sixth and to the eight succeeding Congresses, and served from June 1, 1897, to March 3, 1917; was not a candidate for renomination in 1916; delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Denver in 1908; settled in Washington, D. C., in 1917 and practiced law until 1925; president of the Board of Education in 1924 and 1925; president of the chamber of commerce in 1925; returned to Missouri in 1925 and is engaged in the practice of his profession in Canton; member of the board of curators of Culver-Stockton College, and is a resident of Canton, Mo.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹³ Robert Nall Bodine, a representative from Missouri; born near Paris, Monroe County, Mo., December 17, 1837; attended the Paris Academy, and was graduated from the University of Missouri at Columbia, in 1859; principal of the Paris public schools; studied law, was admitted to the bar, and began practice in Paris, Mo.; prosecuting attorney of Monroe County; delegate to the State convention in 1890; member of the State House of Representatives 1895-1897; elected as a Democrat to the Fifty-fifth Congress (March 4, 1897-March 3, 1899); resumed the practice of law in Paris, Mo., and died there March 16, 1914.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁴ Charles Fremont Cochran, a representative from Missouri; born in Kirksville, Adair County, Mo., September 27, 1846; moved to Atchison, Kans., in 1860; attended public and private schools; apprenticed to the printer's trade; editor and publisher of the *Atchison Patriot* in 1868 and 1869; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1873, and practiced until 1885; prosecuting attorney of Atchison County, Kans., 1880-1884; returned to Missouri in 1885 and settled in St. Joseph; served in the State Senate 1890-1894; editor of the *St. Joseph (Mo.) Gazette*; elected as a Democrat to the Fifty-fifth, Fifty-sixth, Fifty-seventh, and Fifty-eighth Congresses (March 4, 1897-March 3, 1905); was a contestant for renomination in 1904 but finally withdrew as a candidate; resumed the practice of law; died in St. Joseph, Mo., in December, 1906.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁵ William Strother Cowherd, a representative from Missouri; born near Lees Summit, Jackson County, Mo., September 1, 1860; attended the public schools in the town of Lees Summit, and was graduated from the literary department of the University of Missouri at Columbia in 1881 and from the law department of the same institution in 1882; was admitted to the bar and commenced practice in Kansas City, Mo.; appointed prosecuting attorney of Jackson County in 1885, and served four years; appointed first assistant city counselor of Kansas City in 1890; mayor of Kansas City in 1892; elected as a Democrat to the Fifty-fifth, Fifty-sixth, Fifty-seventh, and Fifty-eighth Congresses (March 4, 1897-March 3, 1905); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1904 to the Fifty-ninth Congress; resumed the practice of law in Kansas City, Mo.; unsuccessful Democratic candidate for governor in 1908; moved to Pasadena, Los Angeles County, Calif., and continued the practice of his profession; died in Pasadena June 20, 1915.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁶ James Cooney, a representative from Missouri; born in County Limerick, Ireland, July 28, 1848; emigrated to the United States in 1852, with his parents, who settled near Troy, N. Y.; moved to Missouri where he attended the public schools and the University of Missouri at Columbia; taught school in Illinois for several years; in 1875 settled in Marshall, Mo.; studied law, was admitted to the bar, and

engaged in the practice of law; elected probate judge in 1880 and prosecuting attorney of Saline County in 1882 and 1884; elected as a Democrat to the Fifty-fifth, Fifty-sixth and Fifty-seventh Congresses (March 4, 1897-March 3, 1903); unsuccessful candidate for renomination in 1902; resumed the practice of law; died in Marshall, Saline County, Mo., November 16, 1904.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁷ Edward Robb, a representative from Missouri; born in Brazeau, Perry County, Mo., March 19, 1857; attended the common schools, Brazeau (Mo.) Academy, Fruitland (Mo.) Normal Institute, and the University of Missouri at Columbia; was graduated from the law department of the University of Missouri in March, 1879; was admitted to the bar in 1879 and commenced practice in Perryville; elected prosecuting attorney of Perry County in 1880 and reelected in 1882; member of the State House of Representatives 1884-1886; assistant attorney general of the State 1889-1893; elected as a Democrat to the Fifty-fifth, Fifty-sixth, Fifty-seventh, and Fifty-eighth Congresses (March 4, 1897-March 3, 1905); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1904 to the Fifty-ninth Congress; delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Denver in 1908; resumed the practice of law; died at Perryville, Mo., March 13, 1934.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁸ Willard Duncan Vandiver, a representative from Missouri; born near Moorefield, Hardy County, Va. (now West Virginia), March 30, 1854; attended the common schools, and was graduated from Central College, Fayette, Mo. in 1877; studied law; elected professor of natural science in Bellevue Institute, Caledonia, Mo., and later became its president; accepted the chair of science in the State Normal School at Cape Girardeau, Mo., in 1889, and became its president in 1893; elected as a Democrat to the Fifty-fifth and to the three succeeding Congresses (March 4, 1897-March 3, 1905); was not a candidate for renomination in 1904; chairman State Executive Committee in 1904; delegate to the Democratic National Convention at St. Louis in 1904 which nominated Alton B. Parker for President and Henry G. Davis for Vice President; state insurance commissioner of Missouri 1905-1909; delegate to the Democratic State conventions in 1896, 1898, 1918, and 1920, and served as chairman in 1918; vice president of the Central States Life Insurance Co., 1910-1912; assistant treasurer of the United States 1913-1921; president of the Missouri Society Sons of the American Revolution 1919-1921; traveled abroad in 1922; engaged in agricultural pursuits and lecturing; died at Columbia, Boone County, Mo.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁹ Maecenas Eason Benton, a representative from Missouri; born near Dyersburg, Obion County, Tenn., January 29, 1848; served in the Confederate Army during the Civil war; attended two West Tennessee academies and the St. Louis University; was graduated from the law department of Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tenn., in 1870; was admitted to the bar the same year and commenced practice in Neosho, Newton County, Mo.; was many times a delegate to Democratic state conventions, and was prosecuting attorney of Newton County 1878-1896; and 1898; prosecuting attorney of Newton County 1878-1884; United States attorney from March, 1885, to July 1889; delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Chicago in 1896; elected as a Democrat to the Fifty-fifth, Fifty-sixth, Fifty-seventh, and Fifty-eighth Congresses (March 4, 1897-March 3, 1905); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1904 to the Fifty-ninth Congress; resumed the practice of law in Neosho, Mo., member of the State constitutional conventions in 1922 and 1924; died in Springfield, Greene County, Mo., April 27, 1924.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

²⁰ William Waller Rucker, a representative from Missouri; born near Covington, Alleghany County, Va., February 1, 1855; moved with his parents to Western Virginia in 1861; attended the common schools; moved to Chariton County, Mo., in 1873; engaged in teaching in the district schools; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1876, and commenced practice in Keytesville, Mo.; prosecuting attorney of Chariton County 1886-1892; judge of the twelfth circuit 1892-1899; elected as a Democrat to the Fifty-sixth and to the eleven succeeding Congresses (March 4, 1899-March 3, 1923); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1922 to the Sixty-eighth Congress; resumed the practice of law and also engaged in agricultural pursuits; is a resident

of Keytesville, Chariton County, Mo.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

²¹ John Dougherty, a representative from Missouri; born in Iatan, Platte County, Mo., February 25, 1857; moved with his parents the same year to Liberty, Clay County, Mo.; attended the public schools and William Jewell College, Liberty, Mo.; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1889, and commenced practice at Liberty, Mo.; elected city attorney of Liberty, Mo., in 1881 and served five years; editor and proprietor of the *Liberty Tribune* 1885-1888; elected prosecuting attorney of Clay County, Mo., in 1888 and served six years; unsuccessful candidate for nomination in 1896 to the Fifty-fifth Congress; elected as a Democrat to the Fifty-sixth, Fifty-seventh, and Fifty-eighth Congresses (March 4, 1899-March 3, 1905); unsuccessful candidate for renomination in 1904; resumed the practice of law; died in Liberty, Mo., August 1, 1905.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

²² Dorsey William Shackleford, a representative from Missouri; born near Sweet Springs, Saline County, Mo., on August 27, 1853; attended the public schools; taught school 1877-1879; studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1878, and commenced practice in Boonville, Mo.; prosecuting attorney of Cooper County, Mo., 1882-1886 and 1890-1892; judge of the fourteenth judicial circuit of Missouri from June 1, 1892, until his resignation on September 9, 1899, having been elected to Congress; elected as a Democrat to the Fifty-sixth Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Richard P. Bland; reelected to the Fifty-seventh and to the eight succeeding Congresses, and served from August 29, 1899, to March 3, 1919 unsuccessful candidate for renomination; resumed the practice of law, and is a resident of Jefferson City, Mo.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

²³ Courtney Walker Hamlin, a representative from Missouri; born in Brevard, Transylvania County, N. C., October 27, 1858; moved to St. Louis with his parents in 1869, who settled in Leasburg, Crawford County; attended the common schools and Salem (Mo.) Academy; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1882, and commenced practice in Bolivar, Polk County, Mo.; delegate to almost every Democratic State convention since 1886; elected as a Democrat to the Fifty-eighth Congress (March 4, 1903-March 3, 1905); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1904 to the Fifty-ninth Congress; elected to the Sixtieth, Sixty-first, Sixty-second, Sixty-third, Sixty-fourth and Sixty-fifth Congresses (March 4, 1907-March 3, 1919); unsuccessful candidate for renomination in 1918; resumed the practice of law in Springfield, Greene County, Mo., where he now resides.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

²⁴ John Thomas Hunt, a representative from Missouri; born in St. Louis, Mo., February 2, 1860; attended the common schools; in his youth was a professional ball player and umpire; became a stonemason and later a stone contractor; elected as a Democrat to the Fifty-eighth and Fifty-ninth Congresses (March 4, 1903-March 3, 1907); unsuccessful candidate for renomination in 1906 and for nomination in 1908; resumed the business of stone contractor; died in St. Louis, Mo., November 30, 1916.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

²⁵ James Joseph Butler, a representative from Missouri; born in St. Louis, Mo., August 29, 1862; attended the public schools; served an apprenticeship as a blacksmith, and worked at that trade for several years; was graduated from St. Louis (Mo.) University, in 1881; studied law at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., was admitted to the bar in 1884, and commenced practice in St. Louis, Mo.; served as city attorney of St. Louis 1886-1894; presented credentials as a Democratic member-elect to the Fifty-seventh Congress, and served from March 4, 1901, until June 28, 1902, when the seat was declared vacant; subsequently presented credentials as a member-elect to fill the vacancy thus caused, and served from November 4, 1902, until February 26, 1903, when he was succeeded by George C. R. Wagoner, who contested his election; elected to the Fifty-eighth Congress (March 4, 1903-March 3, 1905); delegate to the Democratic National Convention at St. Louis in 1904 and at Denver in 1908; resumed the practice of law in St. Louis, Mo., and died there May 31, 1917.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

²⁶ James Robert Lamar, a representative from Missouri; born at Edgar Springs, Phelps County, Mo., March 28, 1866; attended the common schools and Licking (Mo.) Academy; taught school in Phelps and Texas counties, and was principal of Licking Academy in 1889; studied law, was admitted to the bar in Texas County in 1889, and practiced; prosecuting attorney of Texas County 1890-1894; chairman of the Democratic congressional committee of the thirteenth district of Missouri 1894-1896; presidential elector on the Democratic ticket of Bryan and Sewall in 1896; engaged in the practice of law in Houston, Texas County, Mo.; elected as a Democrat to the Fifty-eighth Congress (March 4, 1903-March 3, 1905); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1904 to the Fifty-ninth Congress; elected to the Sixtieth Congress (March 4, 1907-March 3, 1909); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1908 to the Sixty-first Congress; resumed the practice of law in Houston, Mo.; president of the Missouri Bar Association in 1920; died in St. Louis, Mo., where he had gone for medical treatment, on August 11, 1923.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

EIGHTH EPOCH—1905-1912

AN ADMIXTURE OF POLITICAL PARTY CONTROL OF STATE AFFAIRS

CHAPTER I

THE STATE ADMINISTRATION

In the campaign for the gubernatorial nomination in 1904 Missouri Democracy went through the most bitterly fought contest ever waged since Thomas H. Benton's last and unsuccessful fight for United States Senator in 1850. Joseph Wingate Folk,¹ after a spectacular service as circuit attorney in St. Louis, headed a so-called reform movement, with an effective onslaught against the old guard. As circuit attorney, Folk unearthed a corrupt condition, which the evidence shows had been prevalent in the old House of Delegates in St. Louis for several years. Col. Edward R. Butler,² under whose leadership a Democratic organization had been built in St. Louis that was well nigh invincible in local politics, was drawn into the scandal and indicted along with a number of members of the old House of Delegates. Butler's trial, upon a change of venue to the Callaway County Circuit Court, resulted in his acquittal, but the publicity given the evidence submitted at this and the other trials developed a sentiment throughout the state that made of Folk a hero in the minds of many. Walter Williams, in his "History of Missouri" (Vol. II, page 450), gives the following vivid account of the contest which resulted in Folk's nomination. Under the caption "The Mysterious Stranger" Williams says:

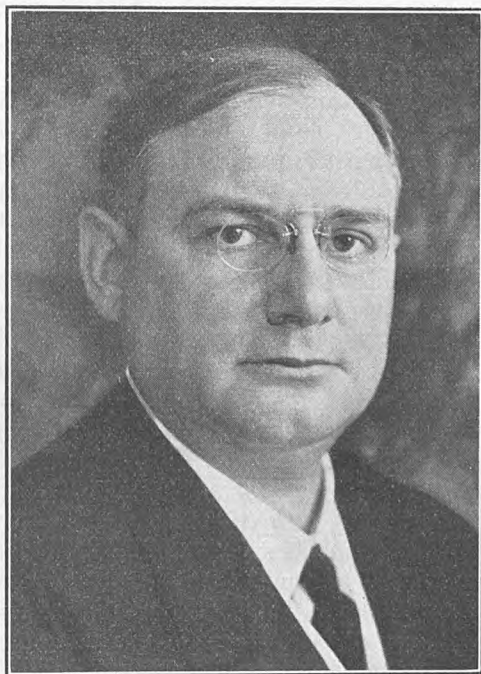
"The various activities and the striking personality of Theodore Roosevelt had attracted public attention and had made him easily the outstanding national leader of the decade 1900-1910. Early during his first term as president he had gained the support of millions of his countrymen who followed with enthusiasm their leader in his executive stewardship of the public welfare. As many of his ideas and policies seemed to be in accord with those advocated by Bryan and his followers, Roosevelt achieved great popularity throughout the West and also in Missouri, despite its traditional Democratic predilections. The political situation in the state became one of absorbing interest and importance. Nearly a year before the election, Folk had been a recognized candidate for governor. His candidacy found little favor with the party organization; a majority of the state central committee and the state administrative group being openly or covertly hostile. Under the prevailing convention system it became necessary to secure delegations favorable to him and with the

lack of organized support this was a difficult task. His opponents for the nomination included Mayor James A. Reed, of Kansas City, and Harry B. Hawes, of St. Louis, who had long been active in state and local politics and had served as president of the board of police commissioners of the city. Through the spring of 1904 the struggle for delegates continued and Folk gained consistently in the rural counties of the state whose delegates constituted a large majority in the convention. The organization support was divided between Hawes and Reed; this situation benefited greatly the Folk candidacy. Folk's record in St. Louis and his qualities of honesty and sincerity drew to his support a large number of Democrats, and some weeks before the convention assembled, his nomination seemed practically assured. Although Folk had secured a very large majority of the county delegates, there were many cases of contested delegations before the convention. After a long period of bitter debate, the Folk forces emerged triumphant, and the convention was a personal triumph for their candidate. He was nominated for governor on the first ballot and many of the ideas and principles for which he stood, including the direct primary, direct legislation, and more stringent corporation control, were written into the Democratic platform. Immediately following the convention, the state central committee was reorganized and the conduct of the campaign placed under thorough control of the Folk element.

LAST STATE CONVENTION

"The Republican convention, the last state convention ever to be held in Missouri, encouraged by the undoubted strength in Missouri of President Roosevelt, nominated a balanced ticket, headed by former Mayor Cyrus P. Walbridge, of St. Louis, for governor. The Republicans entered the contest with high hopes of success in the campaign for state and legislative offices. The Democratic candidate for president, Mr. Alton B. Parker, failed to elicit much enthusiasm in the rank and file of the party, and was not able successfully to conduct a campaign against the personal popularity and wide appeal of Roosevelt. Folk encountered during the campaign the vigorous opposition of the railroads, the brewing interests, and many of the machine politicians, but he proved to be an effective campaigner and grew steadily stronger.

"The results in Missouri were significant. For the first time since 1868, the Republicans carried the state for their national ticket, Roosevelt securing a majority of about 25,000. On the Democratic state ticket Folk was the only successful candidate, the Republicans winning every other state administrative office, the judgeship of the Supreme Court, and the office of railroad and warehouse commissioner. The State Senate remained under the control of the Democrats, but the House, for the first time in several decades, was captured by the Republicans. On joint ballot, the latter had a narrow majority and would thus be enabled to elect a Republican successor to Senator Francis M. Cockrell, who had served for thirty years. Nine of the state's sixteen congressmen were Republicans. The election of 1904 marked a turning point in the course of Mis-



HON. JOSEPH W. FOLK
Thirtieth Governor

souri politics. The almost uninterrupted supremacy of the Democratic party had been successfully challenged and the state could no longer be considered, politically, an adjunct of the solid South. The new forces in American politics, represented by Roosevelt and by Folk, had attracted the attention and the interest of the electorate."

THE FOLK ADMINISTRATION

In the election of 1904, Folk's majority over former Mayor Walbridge, of St. Louis, was 30,100. The Democratic nominees for the minor state offices who were defeated included: Thomas L. Rubey, lieutenant-governor; Sam B. Cook, secretary of state; James Cowgill,³ treasurer; Albert O. Allen, auditor; Elliott W. Major, attorney general; Rube Oglesby, railroad and warehouse commissioner; Archelaus M. Woodson,⁴ supreme judge, the Republican candidates for these offices having been elected by majorities ranging from approximately two to ten thousand.

Under Folk's administration the state-wide primary law, providing for the nomination of all state, district and county candidates, was enacted. At that time the Federal Constitution required the election of United States senators by the General Assemblies of the various states, but the Legislature of 1905 provided what was termed a "preferential primary" to be held at the general election, for the purpose of instructing members of the Legislature as to their votes, to be cast as members thereof, for United States senators. Governor Folk also advocated and secured the repeal of the so-called "breeders law," which licensed book-making on horse-racing events in the state. This repeal measure attracted nation-wide attention. It was vigorously opposed by the horse-breeding interests of this state. It was predicted that its enactment would paralyze the horse-breeding operations in Missouri, which were then only second to Kentucky in importance. The repeal measure, it may be stated, did not make wagering on horse races illegal, it merely penalized the stakeholder and was, of course, effective in abolishing the "book-making" system of wagering, and precluded the possibility of license fees, which were necessary to support the well attended race meetings in St. Louis and Kansas City, and from which the state derived a very considerable revenue.

During the first session of the Legislature, the Poultry Bill was passed. This bill provided money for the State Poultry Association to hold shows in St. Louis, Kansas City and other places, and as it did not meet with constitutional requirements, the governor placed his veto upon it. At the 1907 session of the legislature, the measure was perfected and the State Poultry Association became a legal body. Many things were accomplished to promote this industry, the most valuable and interesting of which was the establishment of the Poultry Experiment Station at Mountain Grove.

The Democrats of prominence in the Senate of 1905 included: Thomas J. Wornall, George W. Humphrey, Omer H. Avery, Frank W. McAllister, Robert H. Brown, Thomas R. R. Ely, Joseph W. Farris, Frank Divelbiss, Thomas E. Kinney, Lawrence A. Vories, Emmett B. Fields, John F. Mor-

ton, Charles J. Walker, Emert A. Dowell, Thomas J. Buchanan, Clement C. Dickinson, A. R. McNatt, Frank M. McDavid, Frank H. Farris, John L. Bradley, John Sartorius, David Nelson, William B. Kinealy. Democrats in the Senate, 23; Republicans, 11.

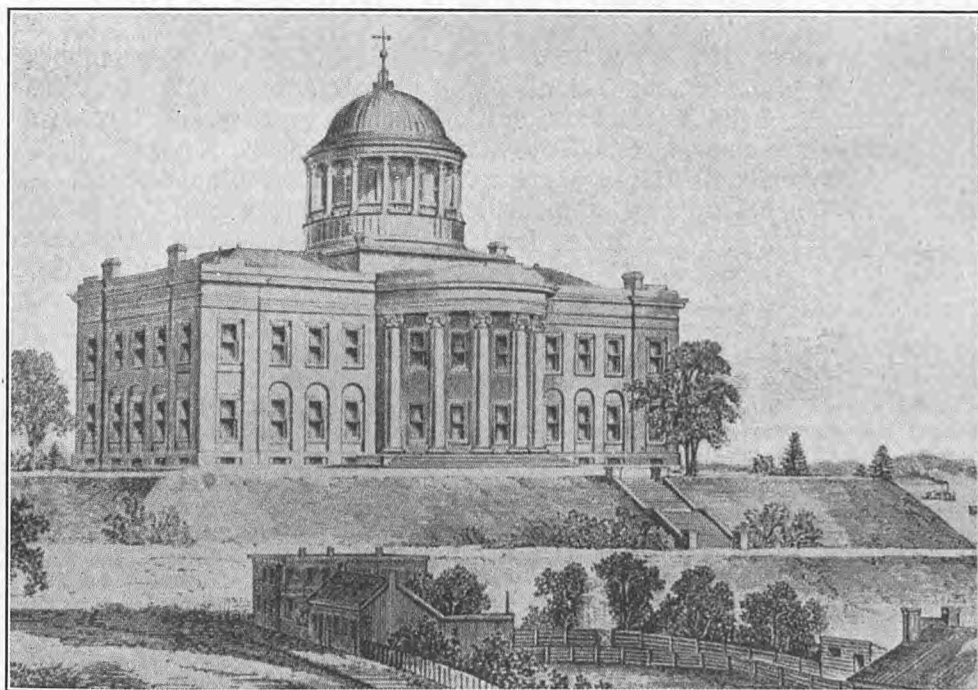
In the House the Democrats had Walter Burch of Audrain County; W. R. Crowther of Barton; James C. Gillespy of Boone; William S. Conner of Buchanan; Robert S. Lamar of Callaway; Newlin Conklin of Carroll; M. C. Harty of Carter; W. P. Houston of Cass; Alexander W. Johnson of Chariton; Frank N. Trimble of Clay; Pross T. Cross of Clinton; Edwin Silver of Cole; W. R. Peck of Dent; J. T. Wells of Dunklin; Sam T. Earixson of Gentry; George H. Hackney of Henry; John A. Woods of Howard; John C. Horn of Iron; Littleton T. Dryden and Michael E. Casey of Jackson; Wallace Crossley of Johnson; S. E. Botsford of Knox; Jere T. Muir of Lewis; Frank L. Dawson of Lincoln; James M. Paul of McDonald; Harry M. Rubey of Macon; P. F. Letterman of Maries; Frank H. Sosey of Marion; M. H. Kaufman of Mercer; William G. Lee of Mississippi; James H. Whitecotton of Monroe; A. H. Drunert of Montgomery; George W. Steel of New Madrid; Emelius P. Dorris of Oregon; Arthur L. Oliver of Pemiscot; Elijah E. Johnson of Pettis; William J. Salts of Phelps; J. O. Stark of Pike; Edwin E. Pumphrey of Platte; James L. Johnson of Pulaski; Joseph F. Barry of Ralls; William T. Heathman of Randolph; Thomas W. Crow of Ray; T. D. Shriver of Reynolds; John M. Atkinson of Ripley; Bernard S. Pratt of Ste. Genevieve; Robert L. Hains of Saline; W. C. Biggs of Schuyler; Lee T. Witty of Scotland; Thomas F. Hinkle of Scott; H. J. Simmons of Shelby; Krat C. Spence of Stoddard; Louis N. Kimrey of Texas; William H. Prewitt of Vernon; Elbridge M. Dearing of Washington; David M. Clark of Wayne; W. W. Aldrich of Worth; Michael F. Keenoy; John O'Donnell and John M. Hennesey of St. Louis.

The Supreme Court was by majority Democratic with Theodore Brace, presiding judge; William C. Marshall,⁵ Leroy B. Valliant,⁶ Gavon D. Burgess,⁷ James B. Gantt⁸ and James D. Fox,⁹ as the Democratic members.

The defeat of William S. Cowherd for governor by Herbert S. Hadley in 1908 was the most disastrous defeat the Democratic Party had sustained since the Civil war. There were many things that contributed to this result, and which cannot be well defined. The preferential vote to indicate which candidate for United States senator should receive the vote of the general assembly in 1909, did much to confuse the vote on the state ticket. William S. Cowherd had served three terms in Congress from the Fifth District, had been mayor of Kansas City, and was a man of unusual accomplishments, and in every way equipped for the governorship.

THE HADLEY ADMINISTRATION

In 1909 the state's affairs were administered under Herbert S. Hadley, as governor; Jacob F. Gmelich, lieutenant-governor; Republicans. Cornelius Roach,¹⁰ secretary of state; Elliott W. Major, attorney general;



STATE CAPITOL AT JEFFERSON CITY IN 1876

Built in 1838 and occupied for many years. Remodeled and enlarged in 1887.
Burned in 1911

James Cowgill, state treasurer; John P. Gordon,¹¹ auditor, Democrats.

The Democrats in the Senate were: Charles H. Mayer, Francis M. Wilson, Michael E. Casey, Emmett B. Fields, Wallace Greene, George W. Humphrey, A. H. Drunert, Eugene W. Stark, Emert A. Dowell, Frank W. McAllister, Samuel C. Major, Frank M. McDavid, Thomas F. Lane, E. P. Dorris, Arthur L. Oliver, Carter M. Buford, John L. Bradley, W. S. Allen, Thomas E. Kinney and Joseph H. Brogan.

In the House were: William A. Wear of Barry County; Edwin L. Moore of Barton; John D. Taylor of Chariton; Charles F. Carter of Clark; Pross T. Cross of Clinton; C. P. Hawkins of Dunklin; Kirk Hawkins of Greene; R. S. Walton of Howard; Claud S. Gossett of Jackson; Wallace Crossley of Johnson; John T. Barker of Macon; Frank H. Sosey of Marion; Edwin P. Deal of Mississippi; J. Weldon Hardesty of Monroe; Edwin C. Waters of Audrain; Benjamin L. White of Linn; E. P. Rosenberger of Montgomery; James H. Hull of Platte; John E. Lynch of Randolph; Peter H. Huck of Ste. Genevieve; Krat C. Spence of Stoddard.

In the Senate there were 23 Democrats and 10 Republicans.

In the House there were 68 Democrats and 72 Republicans. The Democrats had a majority of 9 on joint ballot.

FOOTNOTES, EIGHTH EPOCH, CHAPTER I

¹ Joseph Wingate Folk was born in Brownsville, Tenn., October 28, 1869; located in St. Louis in 1890; elected circuit attorney on the Democratic ticket in 1900; was elected governor of Missouri in 1904; unsuccessful candidate for the Democratic nomination for United States Senator in 1908; unsuccessful candidate for United States Senator in 1918, being defeated by Selden P. Spencer, Republican; moved to Washington, D. C., and served as counsel of the Interstate Commerce Commission; died in Washington, D. C., May 28, 1923, and was buried at his birthplace in Tennessee. Following his term as governor, in the concluding year of which he unsuccessfully opposed Senator William J. Stone for the nomination for U. S. Senator, Folk's popularity waned. His vindictiveness toward the old line Democratic leaders, his wanton selfishness of character drove from his support many who had fearlessly stood by him in his early political aspirations. It is almost tragic to relate that at his burial not one single Missourian of prominence was present. Such was an inglorious passing of one who had been governor of Missouri.

² "This 'uncrowned King of American municipal politics' was by birth an Irishman and by trade a master horseshoer who had since the '70s been active in St. Louis politics, first as the Democratic boss of his ward, then as dictator of the city machine, and finally as the agent of a bi-partisan system under which the city was exploited by a combination of politicians and business men. Colonel Butler, as he himself was naively wont to say, 'never desired to hold public office,' but his ability in organization, his energy, and his shrewdness, coupled with the complexity of the city government and with the indifference of the public enabled him to secure and to hold for years his position of authority, and to correlate the commercial aspects of his career with the political. He was equally powerful for a decade with both parties, and his bi-partisan combine proved to be an instrumentality of effective control. The system, according to a contemporary observer, 'flowed out of the majority party into the minority; out of politics into vice and crime; out of business into politics and back again into business.'—"Missouri, Mother of the West," (Vol. II, p. 448) by Williams and Shoemaker.

³ In 1908 James Cowgill of Jackson County was elected, though the Democrats lost the governorship, William S. Cowherd being defeated. Cowgill was a practical politician. He was chairman of the State Democratic Committee in 1916, when Fred

D. Gardner was elected governor and James A. Reed was returned to the Senate. He afterwards was mayor of Kansas City. He died January 20, 1922.

⁴ Archelaus M. Woodson, St. Joseph, presiding judge (Democrat). Born in Knox County, Kentucky, on January 30, 1854. His father was Benjamin J. Woodson, Sr., a brother of Silas Woodson, deceased, who was governor of Missouri from 1872-1874. Judge Woodson's father emigrated from Kentucky and located in Buchanan County, Missouri, on October 30, 1854, when Judge Woodson was nine months old. He has therefore lived in Missouri practically all his life, and was reared on the farm, attending the public schools of Buchanan County until he was eighteen years of age. For a period of three years he attended Plattsburg College in Clinton County, Missouri. He then attended the St. Louis Law School, from which he graduated in 1877. He was appointed judge of circuit court of Buchanan County by governor Francis on December 18, 1890, and in 1892 was elected to the same office for a term of six years, being reelected in 1898. Judge Woodson was elected judge of the Supreme Court for the long term in November, 1906.

⁵ William Champe Marshall, St. Louis (Democrat). Born November 13, 1848, at Vicksburg, Mississippi; attended the University of Mississippi; attended law class of University of Virginia; graduated at University of Virginia June 27, 1869, with degree of B. L.; final orator of Washington Society, University of Virginia, June, 1869; licensed to practice law at Vicksburg, Mississippi, November, 1869; moved to St. Louis, Missouri, January 1, 1870, and practiced law; city counselor of St. Louis from May, 1891, to March, 1898; appointed judge of Supreme Court, February 22, 1898, to fill vacancy, and qualified March 8, 1898; elected judge Supreme Court (long term) November, 1898.

⁶ Leroy B. Valliant, St. Louis (Democrat). Born at Moulton, Alabama, June 14, 1838; educated in University of Mississippi and law department, Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tennessee; came to Missouri from Greenville, Mississippi, in December, 1874; served as captain Company I, 22nd Mississippi Regiment, Confederate Army; circuit judge, city of St. Louis, from 1886 to 1899; elected to the office of judge Supreme Court (short term) in 1898, and reelected in 1902 for a full term.

⁷ Gavon D. Burgess, Jefferson City (Democrat). Born in Macon County, Kentucky, November 5, 1835; removed to Missouri in 1855; educated in common and select schools in Kentucky; elected judge of the Eleventh Judicial Circuit (now 12th) in 1874 and reelected in 1880, and again in 1886; elected to Supreme Bench in 1892 and reelected in 1902.

⁸ James B. Gantt, presiding judge, Clinton (Democrat). Born in Putnam County, Georgia, October 26, 1845; educated in private schools and academies in Jones and Bibb counties, Georgia; enlisted in the spring of 1862 in the 12th Georgia Regiment Infantry, C. S. A., and served in Jackson's, or 2d army corps, Army of Northern Virginia, until permanently disabled by wound at Cedar Creek, Valley of Virginia, October 19, 1864; was wounded twice at Gettysburg and met with a similar misfortune at the Wilderness on May 5, 1864; after the war he read law under Col. L. N. Whittle, at Macon, Georgia; afterward attended the law department, University of Virginia, and graduated there in July, 1868; removed to Missouri in October, 1868; has never held a political office; was elected judge of the Twenty-second judicial circuit of Missouri in November, 1880, and served six years; declined a reelection and returned to the practice of his profession at Clinton in 1887; was elected Judge of the Supreme Court, to succeed Judge Robert D. Ray, at the November election, 1890, and reelected in 1900.

⁹ James D. Fox, Fredericktown (Democrat). Born in Madison County, Missouri, January 23, 1847; educated at common school and St. Louis University; admitted to the bar in 1866; elected judge of the circuit court, Twentieth Judicial Circuit (now Twenty-seventh), in 1880; reelected in 1886, in 1892 and again in 1898. It is a somewhat remarkable and interesting fact that in the first case that he ever had, which was before a justice of the peace, his father was the opposing counsel, and that in his first case in the circuit court his father was again the opposing counsel. In 1902 he was nominated, while still on the circuit bench, to the Supreme bench and elected.

¹⁰ Cornelius Roach was born on a farm near Jerseyville, Jersey County, Illinois, August 9, 1863. He engaged in newspaper work, being employed as reporter and editor of the Jersey County *Democrat*. In 1889 he purchased the Jasper County *Democrat*, at Carthage, Mo. In 1893 he was elected secretary of the State Senate and reelected for eight successive sessions. He was elected Secretary of State in 1908 and reelected in 1912. Following his retirement from active political affairs he became identified with the banking business in Kansas City, Mo., which was continued until his death, September 2, 1934.

¹¹ John P. Gordon (Democrat) Lexington, Mo., is one of Missouri's native sons. He was born on a farm near Corder, in Lafayette County, Missouri, April 29, 1866, receiving his education in the public schools of that county and at Westminster College, Fulton, Mo. He served as deputy county clerk of Lafayette County for eight years, and was postmaster under Cleveland at Corder, Mo., for four years. He has served as secretary of the Missouri Drummers' Association, and for four years was a member of the Board of Managers of the Missouri School for the Deaf at Fulton, Mo. Mr. Gordon, himself, a militant Democrat, comes of southern stock—his mother a Virginian and his father a Kentuckian. He is a son of Maj. Geo. P. Gordon of Lafayette County, who gained fame in Gen. Jo Shelby's brigade, and is a nephew of Col. Frank Gordon of "Gordon's Regiment."

MISSOURI'S REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS

CHAPTER II

THE SENATE

As a result of the Republican landslide in the election of November, 1904, in which Theodore Roosevelt, the Republican candidate for President swept the state by a majority of 25,000, in the General Assembly of 1905 that distinguished Democrat, Francis Marion Cockrell¹ was set aside and William Warner, a Republican, elected to succeed him. The Senate was composed of 23 Democrats and 11 Republicans. The House was composed of 60 Democrats and 82 Republicans, making the vote on joint ballot, Democrats 83, Republicans 93—a majority of ten for the Republican candidate for United States senator.

Warner was the first Republican to represent the state in the United States Senate since Carl Schurz. Warner's election was accomplished in the last hours of the General Assembly, after a most remarkable deadlock between the forces supporting T. K. Niedringhaus and Thomas C. Kerins.

At a session in 1909 the General Assembly, on joint ballot, reelected William Joel Stone to the United States Senate for another term of six years. The Democrats gained control of both branches of the General Assembly, and Stone's election followed what was termed a "preferential primary" vote, held in connection with the general election in November. Under the provisions of a law enacted in 1907, the voters of the state were provided ballots by which they could express their preference for their respective party candidates for United States senator, and a moral obligation was imposed upon those members elected to the House and Senate to vote for United States senator in accord with the majority expression in this so-called "preferential primary." A bitter contest was waged in the preelection campaign between Stone and Joseph W. Folk, then governor, whose successor was being elected at the same election. Stone's public record as a Congressman, governor, and for six years a senator, coupled with the strong state-wide organization which he had so well built, was sufficient to overcome the claims for further recognition and honors as advanced by Folk and his organization, composed mostly of state job-holders, and as a result Stone was given a substantial preference majority and the Democratic members of the General Assembly were thereby instructed to support him for reelection to the United States Senate.

Stone was not a stranger to the official life of Washington, as he had served with great distinction in the House from 1885 to 1891, when he declined to be a candidate for another term. His first term in the Senate had impressed his personality on the members of that body. In Mis-

souri he had become the dominating mind in the counsels of the Democratic Party, and had gained a place in political influence never possessed by another man.

At the general election in 1910, former Mayor James A. Reed,² of Kansas City, and former Governor David R. Francis, of St. Louis, contested in another of the so-called "preferential primaries" for the legislative endorsement for United States senator. The contest was one of the most spectacular ever held in the state. Both candidates campaigned in every county. Reed's oratorical abilities stood him to splendid advantage and he secured the endorsement, and at the session of the General Assembly of 1911 was elected United States senator to succeed William Warner, the Republican who succeeded Francis M. Cockrell in 1905.

FOOTNOTES, EIGHTH EPOCH, CHAPTER II

¹ Ewing Cockrell, of Warrensburg, Missouri, son of Francis M. Cockrell, contributes the following reminiscence of his distinguished father:

"Francis Marion Cockrell was a candidate for governor in 1874, and was beaten for the nomination by Hardin by a majority of one-sixth of a vote. As soon as the vote was announced, he made a rousing speech for Hardin and wound up, throwing his old campaign hat to the ceiling and saying in the vernacular of that time, 'Let's go.'

"The following January he was elected by the legislature to the United States Senate. His nomination in the Democratic caucus was unexpected and over a number of more prominent men. He never had serious opposition for the nomination afterward, and in his last two or three terms none at all. He served thirty years, to March, 1905.

"After he had been in the Senate only a few years, his reputation was such that this happened: A bill was being voted on. Roscoe Conkling, a bitterly partisan Republican senator from New York, came in as the roll was being called. As his name was called, he said he was not familiar with the bill, knew that Senator Cockrell had studied it, and desired to know how he had voted that he might vote the same way.

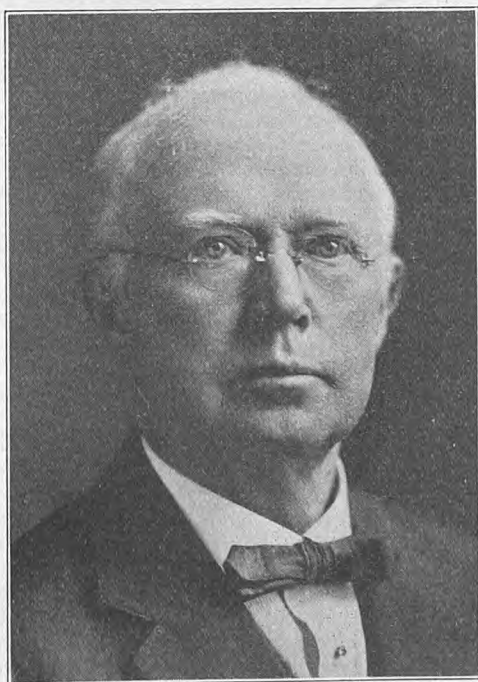
"He gave probably the most attention to matters to which others gave the least,—the every day work of the departments and government and to big and difficult figures involved in them. His largest single job was helping Union soldiers get pensions. The Pension Bureau was far behind, and by giving personal attention to each claim brought to him, he secured early and favorable action for thousands of soldiers and their widows, who otherwise would have waited—and often had waited—months and years. In connection with this work, he discovered an army captain, F. C. Ainsworth, doing unusually efficient work in the Record and Pension office of the War Department. He helped him to advance until he finally became adjutant general of the War Department and one of its most successful administrators in its history.

"Every campaign, whether he were a candidate or not, he campaigned for weeks over the state. His appeal was always the same, to vote for the Democratic Party and all its candidates. At the same time, his speeches were never to arouse partisan passions and always complimentary to the great body of Republican voters. He was a steady comfort to the State Committee in always being glad to go to small places. He never attempted to dictate or control nominations for other offices, nor sought party honors. He never was a delegate to a national convention, until 1896, when he went to help get the Party machinery in control of its real representatives, and to nominate Bland for president. He never attended a state convention until 1904, when he was asked to so do in the interests of harmony.

"In the early nineties, times were bad and getting steadily worse, especially in the West, chiefly from falling prices. In Kansas corn was being burned for fuel, because it was worth more as such than to sell. Cleveland had come back in 1892 as President by a big vote on a tariff platform. Instead of attacking the tariff, he



JAMES A. REED
Former United States Senator



E. A. GLENN
Personal friend and campaign manager of
Champ Clark and James A. Reed, who died
at Louisiana, Missouri, January 29, 1934,
aged seventy years

attacked the financial situation to decrease the amount of government money, less silver.

"At the same time the Populist Party had developed fast and greatly, and were believed to be a menace to the Democrats. They and the Democrats of the West and South all believed in more money, as a means of checking prices that had been falling for twenty years. They, except mining state representatives, were not for silver specially. They wanted just as good money as anybody, but they wanted more good money than was coming from the unlimited coinage of gold alone. And they wanted more good money, not for its own sake but as an economic means of checking price declines. Their position economically was the same as is that today of President Roosevelt, and most of the whole world.

"All these things together indicated to the members of Congress from the West and South there was no use in trying to get from the gold or administration Democrats any coöperation in making any change whatever towards more money, or other relief. Thereupon they quietly determined to get control of the Party and its machinery and definitely start it on the road towards promoting ultimate recovery, and the measures they thought would bring it.

"The coinage of silver at a 16 to 1 ratio was incidental. They approved almost any ratio. But they believed unlimited coinage at any reasonable ratio by such a great country as this would raise its market price to that ratio. For this reason and to convince Democrats who were steadily going to the Populists that they also would not try to evade on the question of ratio, leading Democratic members of Congress approved a definite 16 to 1 silver campaign—on the historic ratio of long years before silver demonetization in 1873.

"One of the first steps to take control of the party in behalf of the majority of its members, was in Missouri.

"After considerable preliminaries the Pertle Springs Convention was called the main object, which was to take control of the State Committee from the gold men and put it in the hands of the silver men. The State Committee, in control of the gold men for a long time, refused to call the convention. Then a movement was started by John W. Farris of Lebanon, former State senator, (father of Frank Farris) who was chairman of the Laclede County Democratic Committee, to have the convention called by the chairmen of the various county committees.

"It is not known whether Mr. Bland originated the plan followed by Mr. Farris, but they were in constant communication with each other on the subject.

"At this convention the State Committee was reorganized, Chairman C. C. Maffitt of St. Louis, a *gold bug*, resigned and the committee was entirely reorganized.

"The National Convention of 1896 was the ablest since the Civil war up to that time.

"The actions of this convention were determined two years before it was ever held. A relatively small group of senators and representatives who stood out against Cleveland and the interests did the work. To a large degree it consisted simply of seeing that the ablest and best men in the party went to the convention as delegates,—senators, representatives, governors and the like. Many were former soldiers in the Civil war. They could not be bulldozed or fooled. General Cockrell, Representative Bland and certain other Missouri representatives, Major T. O. Towles, Cockrell's brother-in-law, were some of these best recalled by the writer as those who worked actively in this campaign.

"The result was a National Convention at Chicago that contained more able men than had ever sat in a Democratic convention since the Civil war. More good money was their chief issue, with unlimited silver coinage as the best way to get it. Bland as silver's great leader was Missouri's candidate; he doubted the expediency of his own candidacy, thought a northern candidate would be stronger, and when W. J. Bryan developed continuing strength in the convention, had his name withdrawn and heartily supported Bryan.

"Two successive defeats, with Bryan as candidate, in 1896 and 1900, led many of the Democratic politicians and workers to seek for a candidate with whom they could win. Judge Alton B. Parker, of New York State, had just carried New York by a great majority. He was a fine, able man, personally, but with beliefs contrary

to those of most of the Democrats. If he was nominated the party would obviously give up principles to gain votes.

"Some eastern Democrats, who saw farther ahead than this, suggested the nomination of General Cockrell, asserting his strength was unrealized. As a matter of fact, eastern gold Democrats, who had violently opposed Bryan, expressed their confidence in Cockrell and their willingness to support him. Despite his advocacy of more money by silver coinage, they felt he would act with safety to all the country's interests.

"Missouri Democrats, in addition, desired his nomination for many reasons—state pride, regard for him, strength to the state ticket from his nomination. His senatorial term was expiring and he was a candidate for reelection. He willingly consented to have his name presented for the presidential nomination, which he never expected to receive, while he continued an active candidate for senator.

"Representative Champ Clark was chosen to nominate him. Clark was also made permanent chairman of the Convention. In the middle of his nominating speech, Clark started to compare his bravery with the conspicuous bravery of Theodore Roosevelt, the Republican nominee, and shouted, "Why, there never was anybody braver than old Cockrell * * *". His speech ended there. There began what was said to be one of the most remarkable demonstrations in national conventions for a man everybody thought was *not* going to be a winner. To all the cheering, a lot of little flags that had been assembled (by the Parker forces, it was said) were found, and the convention became alive with their color.

"His nomination was seconded by William J. Bryan. Bryan had declined to be a candidate himself, favoring some candidate who would not have the opposition he did, but who would still stand for the mass of the party and its principles. Cockrell he believed did this.

"Parker was nominated by the expected large majority. The election demonstrated that while other parties might abandon political principles for political pie—and had successfully done so—the Democratic Party could not do so. Parker went down in a deluge all over the country, and carried with him many state and congressional candidates, and the vote in Missouri made possible the inspiration by which McCutcheon gave to American politics the famous cartoon, 'The Mysterious Stranger.'

"Immediately after Cockrell's defeat for U. S. Senator in 1905, he received a warm letter from President Roosevelt, saying that his services were too valuable to be lost to the country, and tendering him appointment either as Interstate Commerce Commissioner or Commissioner of the Panama Canal Zone. He accepted the position in the Interstate Commerce Commission and served his term of six years. He then acted as Federal Commissioner to survey the boundary line between Texas and New Mexico, and following that was appointed by President Taft, as civilian member of the Federal Ordnance Board, where he continued to serve until his death, December 12, 1915.

"He was eighty-one years old and had been in fine health all his life, until an unexpected attack of acute indigestion affected his heart and caused death.

"With his immense number of ardent friends, he was loved most by those who knew him best—his close, long-time friends, his servants and his family. A description of him that speaks for itself appears in the 'Letters of Capt. Archibald Butt,' Roosevelt's aide. There he describes Roosevelt in a personal conversation in 1908, as appraising the various leaders of the country, from its beginning, and as saying that Senator Cockrell was one of the three best men in public life he ever knew."

² James A. Reed, a senator from Missouri; born near Mansfield, Richland County, Ohio, November 9, 1861; moved with his parents to Linn County, Iowa, in 1864; attended the public schools and Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1885, and commenced practice in Cedar Rapids, Iowa; moved to Kansas City, Mo., in 1887 and continued the practice of law; counselor of Kansas City in 1897 and 1898; prosecuting attorney of Jackson County from 1898 to 1900, when he resigned; mayor of Kansas City, 1900-1904; delegate to the Democratic National Conventions in 1908, 1912, 1916, 1920 and 1924; elected in 1910 as a Democrat to the United States Senate for the term commencing March 4, 1911; reelected in 1916 and again in 1922 for the term ending March 3, 1929.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

CHAPTER III

CONGRESS—1905—HOUSE

In the congressional elections of 1904, the Democrats were able to elect only six of the sixteen members of Missouri's congressional delegation to the lower House of Congress. Those reelected included: James T. Lloyd of Shelby County from the First District; William W. Rucker of Chariton County from the Second District; David A. DeArmond of Bates County from the Sixth District; Dorsey W. Shackelford of Cole County from the Eighth District; Champ Clark of Pike County from the Ninth District, and John T. Hunt of St. Louis from the Eleventh District.

However, in 1906 the Democrats elected twelve members to Congress. These included the reelection of James T. Lloyd of Shelby from the First District; William W. Rucker of Chariton County from the Second District; David A. DeArmond of Bates County from the Sixth District; Dorsey W. Shackelford of Cole County from the Eighth District and Champ Clark of Pike County from the Ninth District. Joshua W. Alexander¹ of Daviess County was elected from the Third District, to succeed Frank B. Klepper, who had been elected in the Republican landslide of 1904. This marked the beginning of a distinguished career in Congress which was terminated upon Judge Alexander's appointment as secretary of commerce as a member of President Woodrow Wilson's cabinet. C. W. Hamlin of Greene County was again returned to Congress from the Seventh District. Charles F. Booher² of Andrew County was elected from the Fourth District; Madison R. Smith³ of St. Francois County from the Thirteenth District; Joseph J. Russell⁴ of Mississippi County from the Fourteenth District; Thomas Hackney⁵ of Jasper County from the Fifteenth District, and Robert Lamar of Texas County from the Sixteenth District.

In the congressional elections of 1908 James T. Lloyd was again elected from the First District, William W. Rucker from the Second District, Joshua W. Alexander from the Third District, Charles F. Booher from the Fourth District, David A. DeArmond from the Sixth District, C. W. Hamlin from the Seventh District, Dorsey W. Shackelford from the Eighth District and Champ Clark from the Ninth District. William P. Borland⁶ of Jackson County was elected from the Fifth District and Patrick F. Gill⁷ of St. Louis from the Eleventh District.

On the night of November 22, 1909, the DeArmond residence in Butler was destroyed by fire, in which DeArmond perished. His tragic death was a great loss to his party and to the state. He was a man of unusual accomplishments and ranked high in the nine sessions of Congress in which he served with distinction. Clement C. Dickinson⁸ of Henry

County was elected to succeed David A. DeArmond.

In the election of 1910 James T. Lloyd of Shelby County was elected from the First District; William W. Rucker of Chariton County from the Second District; Joshua W. Alexander of Daviess County from the Third District; Charles F. Booher of Andrew County from the Fourth District; Clement C. Dickinson of Henry County from the Sixth District; Courtney W. Hamlin of Greene County from the Seventh District; Dorsey W. Shackelford of Cole County from the Eighth District.

Champ Clark of Pike County was reelected from the Ninth District. This was the ninth time Champ Clark had been elected to Congress. He had been the minority leader of the Democrats in two sessions and now he was elected to the Speakership. It is of historical interest that Congressman Joseph J. Russell of the Fourteenth Missouri District made the nominating speech that placed Champ Clark's name before the House for speaker. At the session of the Missouri Legislature in 1889, Clark nominated Russell, who was elected speaker of the House of that body. In his "Centennial History of Missouri" (Vol. II, p. 202), Walter B. Stevens records some interesting events about Champ Clark:

"In 1908, Champ Clark made a series of speeches in which he arraigned the administration and assailed the rules of the House which enabled the speaker and a little oligarchy of 'ruling elders' to maintain absolute control. He had come to the front as the leader in the new order. When the House passed under Democratic control a speaker was chosen by the unanimous vote of the party caucus. This honor without precedent was bestowed upon Champ Clark.

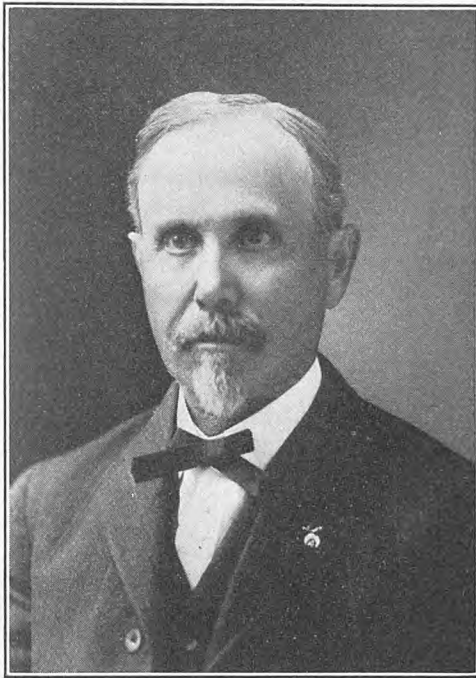
BEFRIENDED NEW MEMBERS

"Long before he became speaker, perhaps before he ever looked hopefully in that direction, Champ Clark was the champion of the new member. Possibly he remembered his own advent in the House of Representatives. When Hardy of Texas made his maiden speech, a short one, he thought he would like to extend it in the Congressional Record. He arose to ask that customary privilege. He was recognized by the speaker. Mann of Illinois also tried to take the floor at the same time. He claimed that Hardy had no right to the floor.

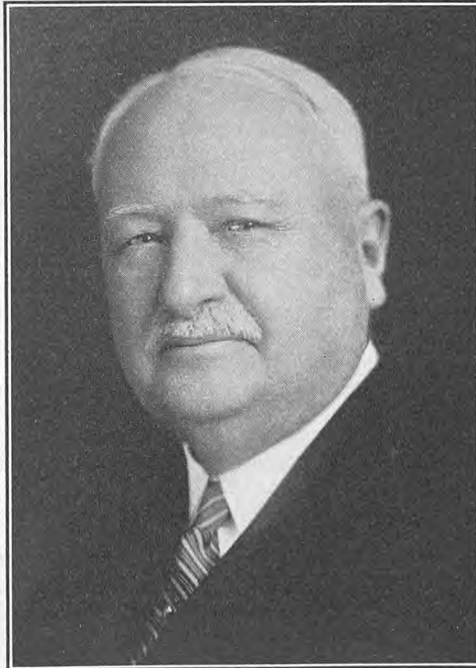
" 'Who says he has no right to the floor?' demanded Clark. 'He has a perfect right. He has been recognized by the speaker. He does not wish to make a speech; he only wants to ask permission to have his speech, already made, printed in the Record, which he has a right to do, and I am going to see that he has an opportunity to do so.'

"Mann subsided with, 'Oh, well; let him go ahead.' This was only one illustration of Champ Clark's frequently exercised championship of the new member.

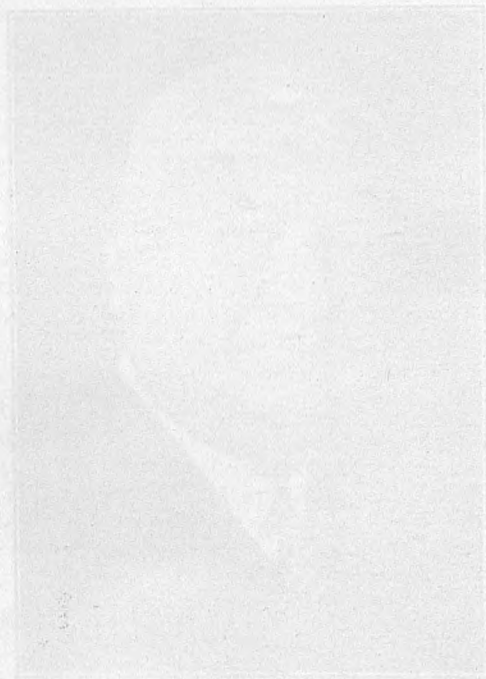
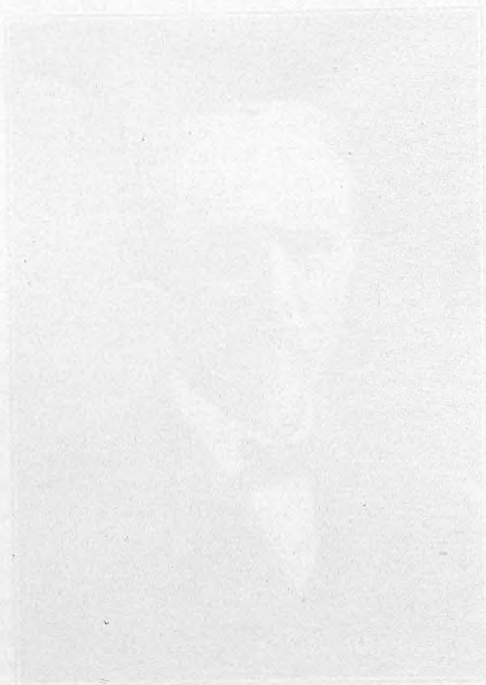
"When the Missourian completed his eight years as speaker he could point with pride to the record that but eight appeals had been taken from his decisions. In every case his rulings had been sustained by the House, and that, too, by more than the vote of his party. On one decision



HON. JOSEPH J. RUSSELL
United States Congressman



HON. HENRY S. PRIEST
United States District Court Judge



he was sustained by a vote of 240 to 10. These were 'records,' he said, 'of which I am proud, and which my children, and my children's children may prize forever.' It may well be added that this record is a matter for just Missouri pride."

Walter L. Hensley⁹ of St. Francois County was elected from the Thirteenth District; Joseph J. Russell of Mississippi County from the Fourteenth District.

James A. Daugherty¹⁰ of Jasper County was elected from the Fifteenth District, as a Democrat, to succeed Charles H. Morgan, a Republican. In 1908 Morgan ran in this district favoring a tariff duty on lead and zinc. In 1911 Daugherty ran on a straight-out Democratic platform.

Thomas L. Rubey¹¹ of Laclede County was elected from the Sixteenth District, succeeding Arthur P. Murphy, a Republican.

FOOTNOTES, EIGHTH EPOCH, CHAPTER III

¹ Joshua Willis Alexander, a representative from Missouri; born in Cincinnati, Ohio, January 22, 1852; moved to Missouri with his parents, who settled in Canton, Daviess County, in 1863; attended public, private and high schools, and was graduated from Christian University, Canton, Mo., in 1872; moved to Gallatin, Mo., in 1873; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1875, and commenced practice in Gallatin; public administrator of Daviess County 1877-1881; served as secretary and also as president of the board of education, Gallatin, Mo., 1882-1887, and served as speaker of the house in 1887; mayor of Gallatin in 1891 and 1892; member of the board of managers of State Hospital No. 2, 1893-1896; judge of the seventh judicial circuit of Missouri 1901-1907; elected as a Democrat to the Sixtieth and to the six succeeding Congresses and served from March 4, 1907, until December 15, 1919, when he resigned to accept a cabinet portfolio; chairman of the commissioners of the United States to the International Conference on Safety and Life at Sea, which met in London on November 12, 1913, and continued until January 20, 1914; appointed Secretary of Commerce in the Cabinet of President Wilson and served from December 16, 1919, until March 4, 1921; returned to Gallatin, Mo., in 1921, and resumed the practice of law; delegate at large to the State Constitutional Convention in 1922; is a resident of Gallatin, Daviess County, Mo.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

² Charles Ferris Booher. See p. 236.

³ Madison Roswell Smith, a representative from Missouri; born on a farm near Glenallen, Bollinger County, Mo., July 9, 1850; attended the public schools and Central College in Fayette, Mo.; studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1874; taught school; began the practice of law at Marble Hill, Bollinger County, Mo., in 1877; prosecuting attorney of Bollinger County 1878-1882; served in the State Senate 1884-1888; declined to be a candidate for reelection; served as editor of reports for the St. Louis court of appeals for four years and resigned; delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Chicago in 1896 and at Baltimore in 1912; elected as a Democrat to the Sixtieth Congress (March 4, 1907-March 3, 1909); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1908 to the Sixty-first Congress; organizer and secretary of the Federal Trust Co., St. Louis, 1909-1912; minister to Haiti from 1912 until his resignation in 1914; continued the practice of his profession in Farmington, St. Francois County, Mo., where he died June 18, 1919.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁴ Joseph James Russell, a representative from Missouri; born near Charleston, Mississippi County, Mo., August 23, 1854; attended the public schools and Charleston Academy; was admitted to the bar in 1876, and commenced practice in Charleston,

Mo.; graduated from the law department of the University of Missouri at Columbia in 1880; school commissioner for Mississippi County in 1878 and 1879; prosecuting attorney 1880-1884; delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Chicago in 1884 which nominated Grover Cleveland for President; presidential elector on the Democratic ticket of Cleveland and Hendricks in 1884; member of the State House of Representatives 1886-1890, and served as speaker *pro tempore* of the House in 1886 and a speaker in 1888; elected as a Democrat to the Sixtieth Congress (March 4, 1907-March 3, 1909); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1908 to the Sixty-first Congress; elected to the Sixty-second, Sixty-third, Sixty-fourth and Sixty-fifth Congresses (March 4, 1911-March 3, 1919); was not a candidate for renomination; retired from public life and active business pursuits on account of ill health; died in Charleston, Mo., October 22, 1922.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁵ Thomas Hackney, a representative from Missouri; born near Campbellsville, Giles County, Tenn., December 11, 1861; moved with his parents to Jackson County, Ill., in 1864; attended the common schools of Jackson County, the Southern Illinois Normal University at Carbondale, and the University of Missouri at Columbia; studied law, was admitted to the bar September 18, 1886, and commenced practice in Carthage, Mo.; also interested in zinc and lead mines in the Joplin district; member of the State House of Representatives in 1901; elected as a Democrat to the Sixtieth Congress (March 4, 1907-March 3, 1909); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1908 to the Sixty-first Congress; resumed the practice of law in Carthage, Mo.; delegate to the Democratic National Convention in Baltimore in 1912 which nominated Wilson and Marshall; moved to Kansas City, Mo., in 1914 and continued the practice of law; general counsel for the Missouri Pacific Railroad, and resides in Kansas City, Mo.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁶ William Patterson Borland, a representative from Missouri; born in Leavenworth, Kans., October 14, 1867; attended the public schools; was graduated from the law department of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor in 1892; was admitted to the bar, and commenced the practice of law in Kansas City, Mo., the same year; assisted in the organization of the Kansas City School of Law and served as dean 1895-1909; member of the board of freeholders directed to draft a charter for Kansas City in 1898; also engaged as an author on law subjects; elected as a Democrat to the Sixty-first, Sixty-second, Sixty-third, Sixty-fourth, and Sixty-fifth Congresses, and served from March 4, 1909, until his death; successful candidate for renomination in 1918 to the Sixty-sixth Congress; died near Coblenz, Germany, while on a Masonic mission abroad, on February 20, 1919.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁷ Patrick Francis Gill, a representative from Missouri; born in Independence, Jackson County, Mo., August 16, 1868; moved with his widowed mother to St. Louis, Mo., in 1871; attended the parochial schools and St. Louis University in 1890; engaged in the grocery business; clerk of the circuit court 1904-1908; unsuccessful candidate for sheriff in 1906; elected as a Democrat to the Sixty-first Congress (March 4, 1909-March 3, 1911); successfully contested the election of Theron E. Catlin to the Sixty-second Congress, and served from August 12, 1912, to March 3, 1913; unsuccessful candidate for renomination; served as mediator in the Bureau of Mediation and Conciliation, Department of Labor, from July 13, 1918, to September 11, 1922; resumed the grocery business; died in St. Louis, Mo., May 21, 1923.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁸ Clement Cabell Dickinson, a representative from Missouri; born at Prince Edward Court House, Prince Edward County, Va., December 6, 1849; tutored privately and also attended private schools; was graduated from Hampden-Sidney College, Virginia, in June, 1869; taught school in Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri; settled in Clinton, Mo., in September, 1872; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1875, and commenced practice in Clinton, Mo.; prosecuting attorney of Henry County, Mo., 1877-1882; city attorney of Clinton 1882-1884; presidential elector on the Democratic ticket of Bryan and Sewall in 1896; member of the State House of Representatives 1900-1902; served in the State Senate 1902-1906; member of the board of regents

of the State Normal School at Warrensburg, Mo., 1907-1913; elected as a Democrat to the Sixty-first Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the death of David A. De Armond; reelected to the Sixty-second and to the four succeeding Congresses, and served from February 1, 1910, to March 3, 1921; unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1920 to the Sixty-seventh Congress; resumed the practice of law at Clinton, Mo.; again elected to the Sixty-eighth and Sixty-ninth Congresses (March 4, 1923-March 3, 1927). Reelected to the Seventieth Congress.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁹ Walter Lewis Hensley, a representative from Missouri; born near Pevely, Jefferson County, Mo., September 3, 1871; attended the public schools and the law department of the University of Missouri at Columbia; was admitted to the bar in 1894, and commenced practice in Wayne County, Mo.; moved to Bonne Terre, St. Francois County, Mo., and continued the practice of law; prosecuting attorney of St. Francois County 1898-1902; moved to Farmington, Mo., and practiced law; elected as a Democrat to the Sixty-second, Sixty-third, Sixty-fourth, and Sixty-fifth Congresses (March 4, 1911-March 3, 1919); was not a candidate for renomination in 1918; United States district attorney from March, 1919, until he resigned in May, 1920, to resume the private practice of law; is a resident of St. Louis, Mo.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁰ James Alexander Daugherty, a representative from Missouri; born in Athens, McGinn County, Tenn., August 30, 1847; attended the common schools, moved to Missouri with his parents, who settled near Cartersville, Jasper County, in 1867; active in all civic enterprises of the state and county; engaged in farming, stock raising, and mining; assisted in developing the lead and zinc fields of Missouri; associate judge for the western district of Jasper County 1890-1892, and presiding judge 1892-1896; member of the State House of Representatives in 1897; served as president of the First National Bank of Cartersville 1907-1920; elected as a Democrat to the Sixty-second Congress (March 4, 1911-March 3, 1913); unsuccessful candidate for renomination in 1912; resumed former business activities; served as fuel administrator for Jasper County during the World war; appointed on May 17, 1919, presiding judge of Jasper County and served until his death; died in Cartersville, Jasper County, Mo., January 26, 1920.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹¹ Thomas Lewis Rubey, a representative from Missouri; born in Lebanon, Laclede County, Mo., September 27, 1862; attended the common schools, and was graduated from the University of Missouri at Columbia, in 1885; superintendent of schools of Lebanon, Mo., 1886-1891; teacher in the Missouri School of Mines 1891-1898; member of the State House of Representatives in 1891 and 1892; moved to La Plata, Macon County, Mo., in 1898, and organized a bank; served in the State Senate 1901-1903; elected president of the senate in 1903, and upon the resignation of Lieut.-Gov. John A. Lee in that year became lieutenant governor, serving in that capacity until 1905; returned to Lebanon in 1905 and engaged in banking; president of the State Bank, Lebanon, Mo., from 1914 until his death; elected as a Democrat to the Sixty-second and to the four succeeding Congresses (March 4, 1911-March 3, 1921); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1920 to the Sixty-seventh Congress; elected to the Sixty-eighth, Sixty-ninth, and Seventieth Congresses, and served from March 4, 1923, until his death in Lebanon, Mo., November 2, 1928.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

NINTH EPOCH—1913-1920

DEMOCRACY ASSUMES CONTROL OF STATE AND NATION IN WORLD CRISIS

CHAPTER I

CHAMP CLARK FOR PRESIDENT

After experiencing for eight years an Admixture of Political Party Control of State Affairs the Democratic Party was returned in 1912 to the position it lost through internecine strife and factional discord. During these eight years many political events indicate that the Democratic Party would never have relinquished control of the state government had harmony prevailed in party affairs in state and nation. No one activity in Missouri did more to bring all factions of the party together than did the active and loyal support rendered in behalf of the candidacy of Champ Clark for the Democratic nomination for President. No man ever carried more solid support of the Democratic voters of any state than were the legions that lined up behind this great statesman in the pre-convention contest, hopefully looking forward to the coveted honor to be bestowed at the National Democratic Convention at Baltimore. Champ Clark then was in life, and continues to be in memory, the idol of Missouri Democracy. No man wielded greater influence in public affairs, nor rendered more outstanding public service, than did the "Gentleman from Pike." His defeat for the Presidential nomination at Baltimore, after having been accorded the majority vote of the delegates on nine successive ballots, overturned a precedent that had governed every Democratic National Convention in the history of the party. To the everlasting credit of Missouri Democracy it may be stated that not only its delegation but its more than a thousand loyal supporters present at the convention stood steadfast under the Clark standard and, though his strength had been beaten down, the thirty-six votes of Missouri consistently cast for Speaker Clark were recorded for him on the concluding ballot.

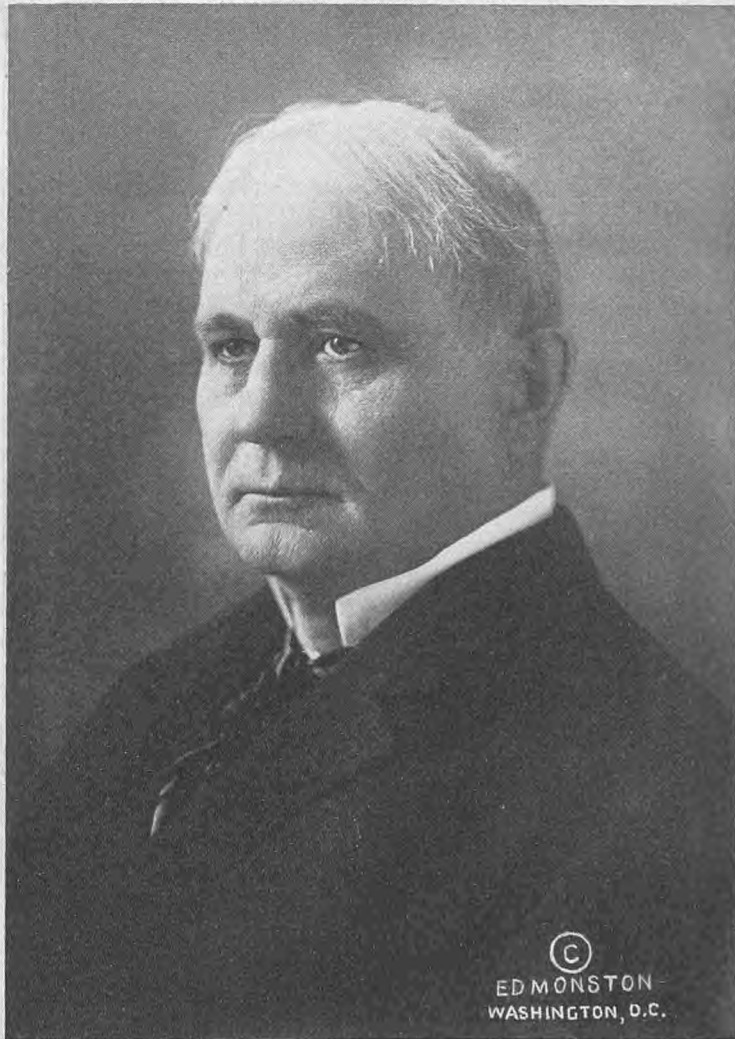
INTERESTING EPOCH

The campaign leading to the presentation of Champ Clark's name as Missouri's candidate for president, constitutes one of the most interesting epochs in the political history of Missouri. In the senatorial campaign of 1910, hotly waged between ex-Mayor James A. Reed of Kansas City, and former Gov. David R. Francis of St. Louis, a deal was consummated between the friends of Reed and former Gov. Joseph W. Folk, with the

agreement that if Folk would stay out of the senatorial race he would be given the endorsement of the state committee for President in 1912. As a consequence of this arrangement, many influential Democrats throughout the state, including Senator Reed, considered themselves obliged to support Folk as Missouri's candidate. However, the spontaneous movement in behalf of Champ Clark, Missouri's most prominent and best loved statesman, which coupled with his great record in Congress, had made him an outstanding national figure, gained momentum. Folk's few friends were insistent, however, that the action of the State Committee in 1910, whereby his name was presented as Missouri's candidate for President, should be upheld. Nevertheless, sentiment in behalf of Clark became a ground-swell and at a called meeting of the State Democratic Committee in January, it was determined for the best interests of the party that a plan be evolved whereby the Democrats of Missouri could be given an opportunity to express their preference in the selection of delegates to the State Convention called to meet at Joplin in February. The plan adopted provided that at precinct meetings to be held throughout the state delegates were to be elected to attend county conventions. At these precinct mass meetings Clark swept the state, with the result that every county convention in the state, as well as the ward conventions in the city of St. Louis, instructed delegates elected at that time to the State Convention at Joplin to support Clark as Missouri's Democratic candidate for President. The convention at Joplin in February, 1912, turned into a love-feast, at which all factional differences were forgotten and a resolution endorsing Clark for President was adopted without a dissenting vote. One of the strongest delegations ever sent from Missouri to a National Convention was selected. Included as delegates at large were former Governors David R. Francis, Lon V. Stephens, Alexander M. Dockery and William J. Stone, the latter then senior United States senator from Missouri. United States Senator James A. Reed was also included in the number of delegates at large from the state, and it was to him that was given the honor of presenting Speaker Clark's name to the National Convention as Missouri's candidate for the Presidency.

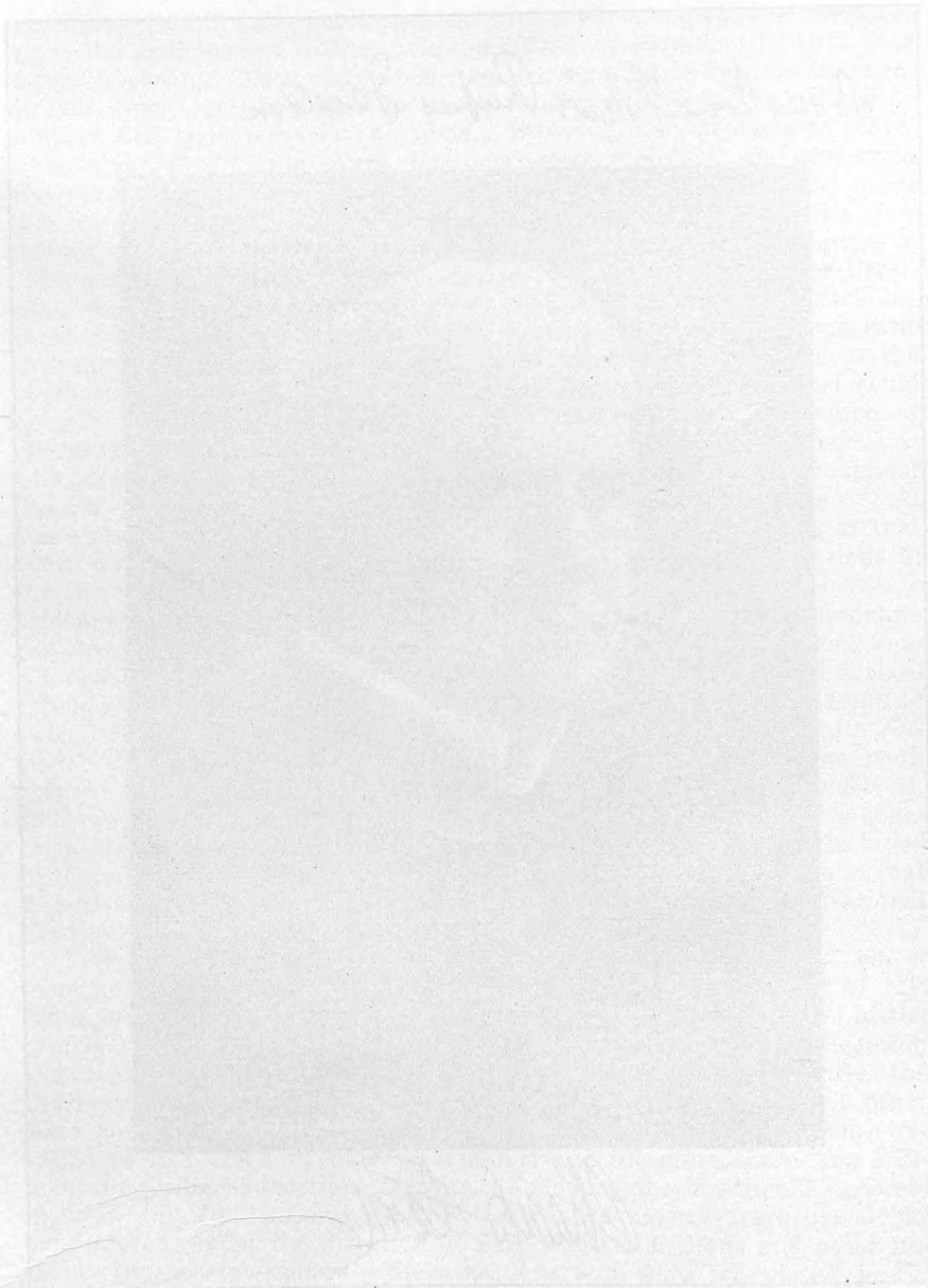
Following the Joplin Convention, the "Clark for President" movement assumed nation-wide proportions. The activities in behalf of Mr. Clark prior to the Joplin Convention had been handicapped because of the propaganda emanating from Folk's friends that Missouri's delegation would at best be divided between Clark and Folk. Consequently, the Clark support in such states as Oklahoma was confused, and at other state conventions, held prior to the Joplin Convention, confusion prevailed as to Clark's strength in Missouri and therefore there was hesitancy in voting instructions for him. Following the unanimous endorsement of the Joplin Convention, national headquarters were opened at Washington, under the direction of Sen. William J. Stone and other national Democratic leaders. Field headquarters were established in St. Louis, under the direction of Edward A. Glenn¹ of Louisiana, Missouri, life-time friend of Speaker Clark and active from early manhood in the Clark campaigns in the old Ninth District. Glenn recruited a strong,

Truly Good Friend, Rufus Jackson.



Champ Clark

HON. CHAMP CLARK



influential campaign force of loyal Missouri Democrats. These were sent into every western and mid-west state of the Union. To the credit of these workers, it may be stated that in every state in which a preferential contest was waged in which Democratic voters thereof were permitted to express their individual convictions, Clark was victorious over the other candidates. Such was true in Nebraska, which sent as a member of its delegation, pledged to support Speaker Clark, the Hon. William J. Bryan, himself three times the Democratic nominee for President.

CLARK ON STONE'S SUPPORT

Concerning Senator Stone's support of his candidacy for President, Speaker Clark has set forth the following historical reminiscence:

"It will be remembered that in the early spring of 1911 newspapers began to mention me for the Democratic Presidential nomination. The mentioning grew in volume and frequency until by November it was universally discussed in the public press and in private conversation. Senator Stone and I had never been enemies, but we had not been intimate friends. It will also be remembered that the public press was also mentioning Gov. Joseph W. Folk very frequently. A more or less active argument was in progress between my supporters and his, as to which of us should have the Missouri delegation.

"In the meantime, Senator Stone spoke no word, gave no sign as to which of us he favored,—if either. It happened that in the last part of November, Dr. Bartholdt's friends gave him a banquet at the Southern Hotel, which he deserved and which he was anxious I should attend,—which I did. That afternoon I was out at the home of Judge Virgil Rule, one of my old pupils, three or four miles from the business center of St. Louis. The judge had invited about a dozen of my friends to be present to consult about starting my campaign. Unexpectedly, Senator Stone walked in.

"The other gentlemen, taking it for granted that he had come to see me, after shaking hands with him, adjourned to another room. So soon as they had disappeared this brief dialogue ensued:

"Senator Stone said, 'Mr. Speaker, I came out to ask you just one question for my own guidance. Are you a candidate for President?'

"I replied, 'Senator, men do not announce for President as they do for constable.'

"He answered, 'Tell that to the marines. I want to know, I have seen it in the papers. I have seen men who assert you are a candidate but I never saw a man who said you had told him. I desire to know definitely.'

"I said, 'Yes, Senator, I am a candidate.'

"Without another word, he picked up his hat, cane, gloves and overcoat and went downstairs. Immediately headquarters were engaged and the fight was on.

"From that hour until the announcement was made that Gov. Woodrow Wilson was nominated, Senator Stone could not have worked harder for me if he had been my father, brother and son rolled into one.

"He was a delicate looking man in those days, but the amount of work he did was amazing. I formed a deep affection for the man which will abide with me so long as life lasts. To speak of him is to me a labor of love."

Missourians will long remember the proceedings of the Baltimore Convention. Never could there have been, and never will there be, greater disappointment registered in the minds and hearts of thousands of his friends, not only of Missouri but every other state of the nation as well, as his vote began to wane in the successive balloting following the thirtieth ballot in which, with eight preceding ballots, Speaker Clark had received a majority vote. By all precedents his nomination should have been made unanimous. However, it was then that the tide began to turn and Woodrow Wilson² was nominated on the forty-sixth ballot.

Walter B. Stevens in his "Centennial History of Missouri," (Vol. II, pp. 156-160), makes the following interesting comment as to the manner in which Speaker Clark's defeat for the Democratic nomination for President was brought about at the Baltimore Convention:

GRATITUDE!

"At Chicago in 1896 one Missourian³ who personified the issue of his party was defeated by a clique of half a dozen leaders because he was not pliant. At Baltimore in 1912 another Missourian was deprived of the Presidential nomination through a false issue raised by one man. Speaker Champ Clark had received on the first ballot 440½ votes. His strength had increased to 556, considerably more than a majority, but not the two-thirds required by democratic usage. With Mr. Clark forging toward the nomination, William J. Bryan arose and assailed him because he was receiving the vote of the New York delegation. He said:

'When we were instructed for Mr. Clark, the Democratic voters who instructed us did so with the distinct understanding that Mr. Clark stood for progressive Democracy. Mr. Clark's representatives appealed for support on no other ground. They contended that Mr. Clark was more progressive than Mr. Wilson and indignantly denied that there was any collusion between Mr. Clark and the reactionary element of the party. On no other conditions could Mr. Clark have received a plurality of the Democratic votes of Nebraska. The thirteen delegates for whom I speak stand ready to carry out the instructions in the spirit in which they were given and upon the conditions under which they were given.

'Some of the delegates will not participate in the nomination of any man—I cannot say for how many I can speak, for I have not had a chance to take a poll—but some of these delegates will not participate in the nomination of any whose nomination depends on the vote of the New York delegation.

'Speaking for myself and for any of the delegates who may decide to support me, I withhold my vote from Mr. Clark as long as New York's vote is recorded for him. And the position that I take in regard to Mr. Clark I will take in regard to any other candidate, whose name is now or may be before the convention.'

"THE SPEAKER'S REPLY TO BRYAN

"That night Champ Clark replied to Mr. Bryan with this statement:

"Today in the National Convention an outrageous aspersion was cast on me, and through me upon the Democratic Party, by one who of all men ought to be the last man to besmirch or betray his friends or his party. So far as I am personally concerned, it is enough to say that the charge which reflects upon my personal or party integrity is utterly and absolutely false. I might afford to forget myself, but I am, by the choice of the Democratic majority of the House of Representatives, the ranking official Democrat in national public life. I cannot be false or corrupt without reflecting upon my party in the most serious way.

"Any man who would enter into an alliance with any selfish interest or privileged class of this country to gain the nomination for the Presidency is unworthy of the Presidency and of the Speakership of the House. If I have not entered into such an alliance then the Democrat, however distinguished, who wantonly charges me with this act is a traitor to the Democratic Party and to his professed friendship to me.

"I am not here to plead for a nomination or to attempt to influence any man's political action. Let every man proceed in this convention according to his convictions and the expressed will of his constituents. I ask no undue consideration from any man, be he friend or foe, but I demand exact justice from every Democrat either in this convention or throughout the nation. With William J. Bryan and his charge in the convention today the issue is proof or retraction. I shall expect him to meet that issue."

"THE POSITION OF CLARK'S SUPPORTERS

"Clark was the foremost candidate until and including the thirtieth ballot. Regarding the candidate's moral claim to the nomination Senator Stone, who was leading his support, said in a letter addressed to Mr. Clark:

"As a result of conferences of a large number of your supporters for the Democratic nomination for President I am directed by their unanimous voice to address to you the following communication:

"It is a first principle of democracy that the will of the majority shall prevail. The two-thirds rule observed by the Democratic Party in national convention, adopted originally in connection with the nomination of a candidate for vice president, was abrogated by practice long ago. Whenever, during the past sixty years, a candidate has received the majority of votes, his title to the nomination has been recognized and has been ratified immediately by the addition of a sufficient number to meet the technical requirements of two-thirds.

"The precedent thus maintained during all these years has become a party law, as binding in morals and in equity as if it were a written statute. No fair minded man can deny that; but for this fact, the two-thirds rule would have been definitely abolished

years ago. Nor can anyone, in reason or in right, question the declaration that it is a point of honor with the party and the party's representatives to sustain this tradition.

'Even though a bare majority of the delegates had voted for you but once, the obligation of the party's representatives to designate you as the nominee would have been established. But the fact is that you held a clear majority on eight successive ballots, thus proving conclusively that the expression of the majority was in no sense tentative, but was deliberate and definite. From every point of view therefore, your title to the Democratic nomination for President is clear and unmistakable.

'In view of these circumstances, we insist that you owe it to the Democratic Party, to your supporters in the convention and to your own honor to continue as a candidate before the convention until two-thirds of the delegates shall meet the technical requirements to confirm the nomination, which, in all fairness, justice and morals, has already been conferred upon you by a majority of the delegates representing thirty-six states and territories of the Union.

'Upon receipt of assurance from you that, under no circumstances, will you permit your name to be withdrawn, we hereby pledge ourselves to vote for you on every ballot that shall hereafter be taken in the convention.'

"THE SPEAKER'S COMMENT ON THE RESULT

"Wilson was nominated on the forty-sixth ballot. Following the result Speaker Clark made this statement:

'No set of men ever made a better or braver fight for any man in this world than my friends all over the country made for me. They have my heartfelt thanks. We never had money enough even to pay for an adequate supply of postage stamps and literature. I was tied down here by my duties of the speakership. I could, therefore, aid my friends very little. They made the fight, gave me 200,000 majority in the states where Governor Wilson and I competed in the primaries, and caused me to lead on thirty ballots in the convention, in nine of which I had a clear majority. Nevertheless, the nomination was bestowed on Governor Wilson. I never scratched a Democratic ticket or bolted a Democratic nominee in my life. I shall not change the Democratic habit now. I am too seasoned a soldier not to accept cheerfully the fortunes of war.

'I will support Governor Wilson with whatever power I possess, and hope he will be elected.

'I lost the nomination solely through the vile and malicious slanders of Col. William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska. True, these slanders were by innuendo and insinuation, but they were no less deadly for that reason.'"

The much-condemned two-thirds rule was responsible for Speaker Clark's defeat for the Presidency. As to the origin and purpose of this two-thirds rule, Stevens, in his "Centennial History of Missouri," (Vol. II,

p. 161) records that H. B. Branch of St. Joseph, in a speech at Savannah, Mo., stated that Thomas H. Benton said many years ago:

"It was a favorite policy of Mr. Calhoun to hold the South solid, and to use the patronage of the government to debauch enough northern electoral votes to keep possession of the government. That to aid them in this object they devised the two-thirds rule for our national conventions, which was a contrivance to enable the minority to worry the majority into a compliance with their views. That this two-thirds rule was a direct assault upon the right of the majority to control, and therefore undemocratic."

In the primary election for governor in 1912, Elliott W. Major, then attorney-general, defeated William S. Cowherd, after a very interesting contest. Cowherd had the almost unanimous support of St. Louis and Kansas City. Major took his fight to the country voters and won by a substantial majority. In the general election campaign, through the example of Champ Clark, and under his directing influence, the Democratic Party was united in a manner that had not been witnessed in many years. Woodrow Wilson carried the state over Theodore Roosevelt, Progressive candidate, with William H. Taft, the regular Republican candidate, a poor third. Elliott W. Major was elected governor along with the entire Democratic state ticket.

THE MAJOR ADMINISTRATION

Elliott Woolfolk Major⁴ of Pike County was elected governor in 1912, on the ticket with President Woodrow Wilson. His associates in the state government were: William R. Painter,⁵ lieutenant governor; Cornelius Roach, secretary of state; Edwin P. Deal,⁶ state treasurer; John P. Gordon, auditor; John T. Barker,⁷ attorney general.

Howard A. Gass,⁸ who had served as State Superintendent of Schools for the term of 1906-10, was elected for another four-year term in 1914.

During Governor Major's administration an act was passed creating the Public Service Commission.⁹ Other important legislation included an act converting the training school for boys into a state reformatory, and providing for receiving and segregating first offenders, and for transfer of youthful and first offenders from the penitentiary; a state commission for the blind was created, whose duties included compilation of statistics regarding the blind of the State and the maintenance of a bureau of employment for the blind; and a law was enacted meeting the terms of the Smith-Lever act of Congress, enabling the College of Agriculture of the University of Missouri to receive Federal funds for coöperative extension work with the U. S. Department of Agriculture. One interesting enactment of Governor Major's administration was the adoption by the General Assembly of an official state flag of original design, embodying the national colors, red, white and blue, and the state coat of arms.

In the sessions of the General Assembly of 1913 and 1915, there were many prominent Democrats. In the Senate Thomas J. Lysaght, Francis

M. Wilson, Michael E. Casey, Benjamin L. White, Wallace Greene, Walter C. Goodson, Charles F. Carter, R. S. McClintic, T. J. Feaster, John Baldwin, Wallace Crossley, Kirk Hawkins, Charles P. Hawkins, Carter M. Buford, W. S. Allee, Michael Kinney, Joseph Brogan, John F. Morton, William H. Phelps and Frank G. Harrison.

In the House—E. A. Shannon of Audrain County, Frank G. Harris and Wm. H. Sapp of Boone; J. F. Mermoud of Barry; John B. Hale of Carroll; John D. Taylor of Chariton; B. T. Gordon of Clay; Charles M. Hay of Callaway; Chas. C. Oliver of Cape Girardeau; A. T. Dumm of Cole; Frank H. Farris of Crawford (of Phelps County in 1923); James A. Bradley of Dunklin; J. W. McKnight of Gentry; Wash Adams of Greene; R. S. Walton of Howard; Robert E. Feaster of Henry; Jas. F. Fulbright of Ripley; Claud G. Gossett of Jackson; William H. Phelps and Frank H. Lee of Jasper; Walter Brownlee of Linn; Jas. P. Boyd of Monroe; Sterling H. McCarty and Von Mayes of Pemiscot; Thomas J. Roney of Jasper; D. O. Vernon of Laclede; Wiley Huston and Jonah Whiteside of Lincoln; James H. Hull of Platte; Drake Watson of Ralls; Rich R. Correll of Randolph; John T. Barker of Macon; Geo. B. Cook of Madison; Josh Barbee of Saline; P. L. Lyles of Shannon and Doc Brydon of Stoddard.

The National Democratic Convention of 1916 was held in St. Louis, with Champ Clark, speaker of the House of Representatives, as chairman, and John I. Martin of St. Louis as sergeant-at-arms. Woodrow Wilson was renominated as the Democratic candidate for President and Thomas R. Marshall¹⁰ was renominated for vice president. At the election in November, Wilson and Marshall were reelected over the Republican Presidential and vice presidential nominees, Hughes and Fairbanks, in a very close vote, the electoral vote of California cast for Wilson and Marshall determining the result.

Henry W. Bond¹¹ of St. Louis, was elected supreme judge in 1912, on the ticket with Governor Major.

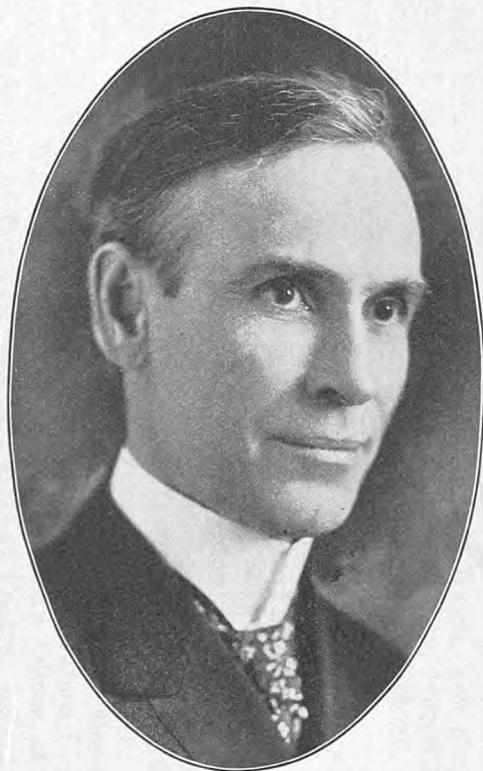
James T. Blair¹² of Maysville, De Kalb County, was elected supreme judge in 1914.

THE GARDNER ADMINISTRATION

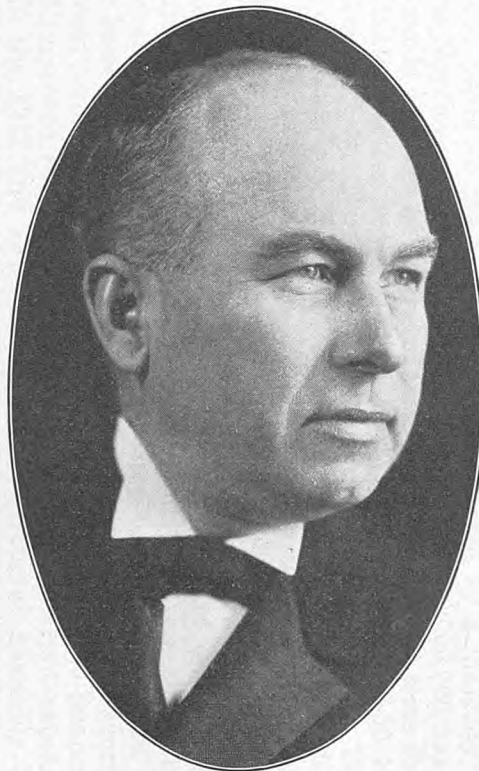
Frederick Dozier Gardner¹³ of St. Louis was elected governor in 1916. In his candidacy for the nomination Gardner advocated four topics: A rural credit system for farmers; rehabilitation of state finances on a business basis; abolition of convict contract labor and reform of prison management; establishing and building a system of good roads, the first governor to tender seriously the advocacy of a highway road system.

Governor Gardner's associates in the State government were: Wallace Crossley,¹⁴ lieutenant-governor; John L. Sullivan,¹⁵ secretary of state; George H. Middlekamp,¹⁶ state treasurer; Frank W. McAllister,¹⁷ attorney-general.

Governor Gardner's inaugural address of January 8, 1917, recommended the creation of a bipartisan state highway commission, thus eliminating politics in the road-building program of the state. During



HON. ELLIOTT W. MAJOR
Former Governor



HON. FREDERICK D. GARDNER
Former Governor

the fall of 1918, he recommended the \$60,000,000 bond issue to be paid from automobile license fees. This plan was original, and was submitted to the General Assembly in his second message. The General Assembly was asked to submit the proposition in the form of a constitutional amendment. This they did and Governor Gardner campaigned the State for two years on the subject. It was adopted by a majority of 233,000 at the November election of 1920. Out of this \$60,000,000 has been built thousands of miles of hard surfaced road. Until that time the funds of the State had for road building were matched on a 50-50 basis. The weakness of that plan was the lack of a connected system. The counties that did not choose to raise their half were without state funds and without hard roads. Under the \$60,000,000 plan all counties, regardless of financial strength or weakness, receive their share of improved roads.

Upon taking over the affairs of the State, Governor Gardner found a floating current debt of approximately two and one-half millions of dollars, an amount which had been accumulating from one administration to another for many years. His first step toward putting the State on a cash basis was the negotiating with St. Louis banks of a short-time four per cent loan, sufficient to pay existing indebtedness and finance the State until improved revenue receipts would overtake current expenditures.

In the 1917 and 1919 sessions of the General Assembly there were many prominent Democrats in the Senate, which included James W. McKnight, James A. Campbell, George W. Glick, Michael E. Casey, John D. Taylor, Wallace Greene, John F. Morton, Walter C. Goodson, Frank G. Harris, Jesse J. Duncan, Charles F. Carter, R. S. McClintic, Henry J. Yancey, Mark A. Magruder, John Baldwin, David W. Stark, Robert J. Mitchell, Edwin L. Moore, O. S. Harrison, Lee Welch, Von Mayes, Carter M. Buford, Sam B. Cook, S. W. Bates, Michael Kinney, Joseph H. Brogan, Thomas A. Lysaght, Walter Brownlee, Frisby H. McCullogh, Robert M. Livesay, William W. Bowker and S. A. Cunningham.

In the House—E. A. Shannon and W. W. Botts of Audrain County; W. K. James of Andrew; H. C. Chancellor of Barton, H. O. Maxey of Bates, William H. Sapp of Boone, Ben F. Stewart and Geo. M. Allison of Buchanan; Gibony Houck of Cape Girardeau; Nick T. Cave of Callaway; Clarence O. Houston of Chariton; B. T. Gordon and Willard P. Hall of Clay; A. T. Dumm of Cole; James A. Bradley and C. M. Edwards of Dunklin; Ross A. Feaster of Henry; J. D. Tolson of Howard; John H. Taylor of Jackson; W. R. Shuck and Frank H. Lee of Jasper; O. C. Clay of Lewis; Jonah Whitesides of Lincoln; Elmer O. Jones of Macon; H. Clay Heather of Marion; W. E. Whitecotton of Monroe; James L. McQuie of Montgomery; William Job of Nodaway; A. Sloan Oliver of Pemiscot; C. W. McAninch of Pettis; Frank H. Farris of Phelps; Jefferson D. Hostetter of Pike; Drake Watson of Ralls; Rich R. Correll and O. K. Hunter of Randolph; Albert M. Clark of Ray; J. F. Fulbright and Chas. L. Ferguson of Ripley; D. L. Bales of Shannon; Tillman W. Anderson of Scott; Oscar W. Hackworth of Wayne and Harry B. Hawes of St. Louis.

CENTENNIAL ROAD LAW

At the 1919 session of the Legislature was passed what was known as the "Centennial Road Law." This measure, sponsored by the progressive civic organizations of the state, and successfully guided through the Legislature by Hon. Harry B. Hawes and other progressive members, provided the necessary legislation under the provisions of which the beginning was made for Missouri's very extensive hard-surfaced highway system. At the general election in 1920, as a part of the good roads program the voters of the state approved a constitutional amendment providing for the issuance of \$60,000,000 in bonds to match federal allotments in highway construction.

On April 14, 1918, that great disciple of Thomas Jefferson, William Joel Stone, passed on, leaving a void in the ranks of the Democratic party. To fill the vacancy in the Senate caused by his death, Governor Gardner appointed Xenophon P. Wilfley of St. Louis to fill the vacancy until the November election, in 1918.

In the last two years of the Gardner administration, the war which had been convulsing the world and humanity, made the Governorship one of great responsibility and labor. In every way Frederick Gardner met the requirements of the conflict in a manner that entitles him to the gratitude of posterity.

On December 18, 1933, Frederick D. Gardner passed on, apparently in the full power of vigorous manhood, and at that time in life when he could enjoy that which his energy and talents had earned him. His death was not only a loss to those who loved him, but to the state, for which he had done so much, and to the Party he had served so faithfully and honorably.

THE STATE CONVENTION OF 1920

No other political gathering in the history of Missouri compared with the Democratic State Convention held at Joplin in 1920 as to rancor and dissension in its ranks. Hon. James A. Reed, then the senior United States senator from Missouri, was the center of an attack, the Convention refusing after a bitter struggle to approve of his selection as one of the delegates to the National Democratic Convention from the Fifth District. The opposition to Reed was based largely upon his attitude in the Senate through the momentous period during and following the World war. Those opposed to his election as a delegate contended that Reed had bitterly fought the policies of President Woodrow Wilson, and with this as the basis of the attack crystalized a sentiment prevalent throughout the state. In a most turbulent session the Convention refused to approve of Reed's selection as a district delegate to the National Convention, after he had been selected as one of the four delegates from the Fifth District by unanimous action of the State Convention delegates from that district. This action broke a precedent that had governed every Democratic Convention in the history of the party, that the selections of the delegates to the Democratic National Convention made in district caucuses had always



SIGNING MISSOURI'S RATIFICATION OF THE FEDERAL
WOMAN SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Office of Governor Frederick D. Gardner, July 3, 1919. Reading left to right, seated: Senator J. W. McKnight, Lieutenant Governor Wallace Crossley, Governor Frederick D. Gardner, S. F. O'Fallon, and Hon. W. E. Bailey. Standing: Mrs. S. F. O'Fallon, Mrs. Nelle G. Berger, Mrs. J. W. McKnight, Mrs. J. Rudd Van Dyne, Mrs. Fred English, Miss Marie B. Ames, Mrs. George Gellhorn, Mrs. Olive B. Swain, Mrs. John R. Leighty, Mrs. Bernice Morrison Fuller, Mrs. Claud Clark, and Mrs. W. R. Haight.

been ratified by the State Convention. Reed's friends—and they were numerous among the delegates at the Convention—contended that his selection as a national delegate by the Fifth District caucus entitled him to membership on the delegation, and following the rejection of this long established custom plans were immediately instituted to present the entire matter to the National Democratic Convention and insist that Reed be seated as a member of the Missouri delegation. This movement gained headway, and at the National Convention at San Francisco the action of the State Convention at Joplin was fully reviewed by the Committee on Credentials, and a report adverse to Reed was submitted, which when presented before the National Convention was vigorously opposed, but, with the Wilson influence controlling, the committee's report was approved. Senator Reed returned immediately to Missouri, and his friends throughout the state joined with his home friends in the demonstration at Kansas City, the attendance of which taxed the capacity of the immense convention hall there.

In an address in which Reed's great oratorical powers were most aptly employed, Reed criticised the action of the State Convention at Joplin and National Convention at San Francisco as the most undemocratic in the history of the Democratic Party. The significance of this bitter fight within the party manifested at Joplin and at San Francisco, is that it spelled the doom of the possibilities of the Democratic success in the election which followed in November. James M. Cox of Ohio, after a long-drawn-out battle, proved to be the Democratic nominee for president, with Franklin D. Roosevelt as the nominee for vice president. At the state primary in August, John M. Atkinson was nominated for governor, and in the November election Missouri was again lined up in the Republican Party. Even though Reed's opponents may have felt fully justified in waging a bitter fight against his selection as a district delegate to the National Convention, it is now realized that their radical leadership was undemocratic in that it deprived the Fifth District of its right to name a delegate of its own choosing. This action contributed more than any other one thing toward the defeat of the Democratic State and National tickets of 1920 and the resumption of Republican rule in Missouri, which continued until 1932.

The victory of the Republicans in the election of 1920 was the most overwhelming the Democratic Party had ever experienced in the history of the state. In former defeats the triumph of the Republican Party was only partial, leaving the Democrats a nucleus in the state from which to work for a recovery. For the first time in fifty years the General Assembly was Republican in both branches. It was the first time that women participated in the election and the vote was unusually large.

The Democratic State ticket in 1920 was as follows: United States senator, Breckenridge Long; governor, John M. Atkinson; lieutenant-governor, C. M. Buford; secretary of state, John L. Sullivan; state auditor, Geo. H. Middlekamp; state treasurer, John H. Stone; attorney-general, Willis H. Meredith; judges Supreme Court, William T. Ragland, John I. Williamson and Fred L. Williams; judge St. Louis Court of

Appeals, Hickman P. Rodgers; judge Kansas City Court of Appeals, James Ellison; judge Springfield Court of Appeals, John T. Sturgis.

On the death of Henry W. Bond, Richard Livingston Goode¹⁸ was appointed by Governor Gardner, judge of the Supreme Court to fill the vacancy, which expired in 1922.

Upon the retirement of the Gardner administration in 1921, the state's fiscal affairs in their entirety were sound and substantial. Due to the unsettled conditions and political unrest following the World war, the Democratic National and State administrations were succeeded by Republicans. Harding¹⁹ had been elected President in the November election of 1920 over James M. Cox²⁰ of Ohio, by an overwhelming majority in both the popular and electoral votes. Arthur M. Hyde, Republican candidate for governor, was elected over John M. Atkinson, Democratic candidate, by a vote of 722,020 to 580,716. Selden P. Spencer, Republican candidate, was elected United States Senator over Breckenridge Long, Democratic candidate, by a vote of 711,161 to 589,498. The vote on the minor state offices were relatively the same, with the majorities in favor of the Republican candidates.

FOOTNOTES, NINTH EPOCH, CHAPTER I

¹ Edward A. Glenn was born in Louisiana, Missouri. His career in business and politics was both successful and spectacular. He began life with only an elementary education and at the age of seventeen years entered business as a dealer in coal, salt and lime. In 1902 he entered the real estate business, of which he also made a success. The sphere of his activity, in which Mr. Glenn achieved his widest reputation, is politics. He became enamored of the game while his father was making his political history, and when yet a boy his aptitude for such work was discovered and encouraged by his co-workers, and he was soon made chairman of the Pike County Democratic Committee, which position he held for twenty years. In 1896 he was made a member of the State Committee. He managed the political campaigns of the late Champ Clark from the beginning of his political career until the end, and was manager of the campaign of the late Judge D. A. Ball when he was a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Governor. In 1912 he was western district manager for the National Champ Clark Bureau, when Mr. Clark was a candidate for the Democratic nomination for President before the Baltimore Convention. He was also one of the managers for James A. Reed, when he was a candidate for President in 1924. He was married in St. Louis in 1909 to Miss Alzada Boyle, who with a son, John Edward, born in November, 1911, and at present a student in the University of Missouri at Columbia, continues to reside in Louisiana, Mo. Glenn died January 29, 1932.

² Woodrow Wilson, twenty-eighth President of the United States, educator and author, was born at Staunton, Va., December 28, 1856. He was graduated from Princeton in 1879; studied law at the University of Virginia; practiced law in Atlanta (1882-1883); received the degree of Ph.D. at Johns Hopkins University (1886); was professor at Bryn Mawr (1886-1888); at Wesleyan, 1888-1890; at Princeton, 1890-1910. In 1902 he became president of Princeton University. He wrote "A History of the American People" and other works, and became prominent as a reformer. He was elected governor of New Jersey in 1910. He was chosen on the strength of his irreproachable character and his scientific knowledge of the principles of government, and during his first year in office a number of important reform measures included in his platform were enacted. His successful record as governor brought him the Democratic nomination for President in 1912 and his subsequent election. His term of office was marked by international questions rarely equalled



MISSOURI STATE CAPITOL, JEFFERSON CITY

Occupied by state officers in 1918 and by the general assembly in 1919. Built on the site which Bayard Taylor pronounced the finest possessed by any state in the Union for a Capitol

in importance, including the revolutionary outbreaks in Mexico and the great European war, both of these involving the lives and interests of American citizens. President Wilson handled these momentous questions in the cause of peaceful relations, so far as the safety and dignity of the American government permitted. In 1916 he was a second time elected President and in the following year the ruthless prosecution of the German submarine warfare forced him to recommend war on Germany and Austria. He died February 3, 1924.—"Winston's Encyclopedia."

³ Congressman Richard Parks Bland.

⁴ Elliott Woolfolk Major, born in Lincoln County, Mo., October 20, 1864; received B. S. degree at Wesleyan College, Warrensburg, Mo.; studied law under Champ Clark; was admitted to the bar at the age of 20; elected to the State Senate in 1896; in 1899 was on commission to revise the statutes of Missouri; in 1908 was elected attorney-general; in 1912 was elected governor on the ticket with Woodrow Wilson. Now in St. Louis.

⁵ William R. Painter was born at Carrollton, Carroll County, Missouri, August 27, 1863. He was educated in the public schools of Carrollton, later entering the School of Mines and Metallurgy at Rolla, from which he graduated. In 1885 he was elected county surveyor of Carroll County, which position he held for four years. He is now editor and proprietor of the *Carrollton Democrat*.

⁶ Edwin P. Deal is a native Missourian, born at Charleston, April 19, 1859. He received his education in the public schools of Missouri and at the United States Naval Academy of Annapolis, Md. He married Miss Mary Crenshaw on September 3, 1879, and has been a resident of this State since his birth. He has been county treasurer and county collector, and was appointed by Governor Stone a member of the Swamp Land Commission in 1895, serving as secretary of that commission. Represented Mississippi County in the Forty-fourth, Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth General Assemblies, and was chairman of the House Appropriation Committee in the Forty-sixth General Assembly. In 1912 he was elected state treasurer.

⁷ John T. Barker was born August 2, 1877, in Carroll County, Missouri; was educated in the public schools of Missouri; is a lawyer and was admitted to the bar in 1898 and has since practiced his profession in Macon County; has been actively engaged in the practice of his profession throughout Northeast Missouri, and is well known to the bar of this State. Was elected to the Legislature in 1906, 1908 and again in 1910. Was the Democratic caucus nominee for speaker in 1909 and was unanimously elected speaker of the Missouri House of Representatives in 1911, and established a fairness and rapid transaction of business. He was elected attorney-general in 1912.

⁸ Howard A. Gass (Democrat) was born August 22, 1852, in Audrain County, Missouri. He received his primary education in the district schools of his native county, later attending the Mexico (Mo.) Male Academy. Completing his course of study he engaged in teaching. He was married in 1876 to Miss Alice Josephine Shell of Audrain County. He was elected county school commissioner of Audrain County in 1885 and was reelected in 1887, resigning in June of the same year to accept the chief clerkship under State Superintendent W. E. Coleman. He continued in the same position under State Superintendent L. E. Wolfe, resigning in 1893 to devote his entire attention to the *Missouri School Journal*, of which he had become owner and which he still owns and edits. In 1899 he again entered the office of State Superintendent of Public Schools, as statistician, under W. T. Carrington, which position he held until 1907. He was elected State Superintendent of Public Schools in 1906 and again in 1914.

⁹ The Public Service Commission superseded the Board of Railroad and Warehouse Commissioners, taking over the duties in addition to many others authorized by the new act. The Fifty-fourth General Assembly enlarged the jurisdiction of the Commission by creating the Motor Bus Division.

The jurisdiction of the Commission was further extended by the Fifty-sixth General Assembly when the Commission was given supervision over all trucks operating over the State Highways for hire.

Under the Public Service Commission Act and Motor Bus and Truck Act, the Commission is given jurisdiction over the rates and services of steam railroads, street railways, gas companies, telephone companies, light, heat and power companies, and water companies. The Commission has supervision over the issuance of stocks, bonds, notes and other evidences of indebtedness issued by such utilities. It also issues certificates of public convenience and necessity to all such utilities.

¹⁰Thomas Riley Marshall, a vice president of the United States; born in North Manchester, Wabash County, Ind., March 14, 1854; attended the common schools, and was graduated from Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind., in 1873; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1875, and commenced practice in Columbia City, Ind.; governor of Indiana 1909-1913; choice of the Indiana delegation for the Democratic nomination for President of the United States in 1912; elected as a Democrat, vice president of the United States on the ticket with Woodrow Wilson and qualified on March 4, 1913; reelected in 1916, and served until March 3, 1921; resumed the practice of law and literary work in Indianapolis, Ind.; member of the Federal Coal Commission in 1922 and 1923; died in Washington, D. C., June 1, 1925.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹¹Henry W. Bond was born at Brownsville, Tennessee, January 27, 1848, where he was admitted to the bar; came to Missouri in the early eighties; member of the General Assembly in 1885; judge of the St. Louis Court of Appeals in 1892; member of the Supreme Court Commission until elected judge of the Supreme Court in 1912; died September 28, 1919.

¹²James T. Blair was born at Loudon, Tenn., November 11, 1871. He came to Missouri May 14, 1881, receiving his education in the public schools at Osborn, De Kalb County, and at Cumberland University, where he received the degrees of A. B. in 1892 and of LL. B. in 1895. He was president of Obion College in 1895 and 1896. He was married at Maysville, June 19, 1901, to Miss Grace E. Ray. From 1903 to 1908 he resided at Springfield, Mo. He represented De Kalb County in the Legislature, 1899-1901. He was appointed and served as a member of the revision committee to revise the statutes of 1899, and served as assistant attorney-general from January 11, 1909, to April 11, 1911. He was appointed by the Supreme Court a member of the bipartisan commission created by the Forty-sixth General Assembly to aid the Supreme Court, which place he resigned when elected judge of Supreme Court in 1914 for a term of ten years.

¹³Frederick Dozier Gardner (Democrat) was born in Hickman, Ky., November 6, 1869. His father, William H. Gardner of Weakley County, Tenn., was a Confederate soldier, and during the war married Mary Ellen Dozier of Mississippi, settling at Hickman, Ky., after the war, where a family of five children was born. The mother died in 1878 during the yellow fever epidemic. The father removed his family of five children to his old home in Weakley County, Tenn. Frederick Dozier Gardner received his education in the public schools. He left Tennessee and came to St. Louis at the age of seventeen, engaged in the manufacturing business, and was in the same business at the time of his election to the office of Governor, previous to which time he had never held public office. In the spring of 1913 he was elected a member of the Board of Freeholders of St. Louis and aided in drafting the present charter of that city. He died December 18, 1933.

¹⁴Wallace Crossley was born at Bell Air, Cooper County, Missouri, October 4, 1874. His father, S. W. Crossley, was a one-armed veteran of Stonewall Jackson's Brigade. His mother, a native of Kentucky, was Elberta Givens of Boone County. After the death of his father, in 1884, the mother and son moved to Mexico, Mo., where the latter received his schooling at the Mexico high school, later attending William Jewell College and Missouri University. After teaching eight years, the last three as a member of the Warrensburg State Normal faculty, he bought the Johnson County *Star*, and several years later consolidated the two Warrensburg Democratic papers under the name of the *Star-Journal*, in which he is still half-owner, but not active in the business. In 1904 he was elected to the Legislature, serving three consecutive terms, and in 1912 was sent to the State Senate without opposition. In addition to his duties as lieutenant-governor and president of the

senate, he served as Federal Fuel Administrator for Missouri, under appointment by President Wilson, and during the war gave his entire time to the work without compensation.

¹⁵ John L. Sullivan was born at Sedalia, Pettis County, Missouri, October 14, 1877. As a boy he attended parochial school, sold papers on the streets, drove a grocer's delivery wagon and worked as a clerk during vacation periods. After graduation from the Sedalia high school he was appointed deputy collector for Pettis County, serving four years. In 1906 he was elected collector and was reelected in 1910. In 1916 he was elected secretary of state.

¹⁶ George H. Middlekamp was born on April 20, 1880, at Warrenton, Warren County, Missouri, which county was also the birthplace of his parents. He was educated in the public schools and Central Wesleyan College at Warrenton. After leaving school he went into his father's hardware store and learned the tinner's trade. At the organization of the Bank of Hawk Point, in 1906, he was elected cashier of that institution and held that position at the time he was nominated by the Democratic party as its candidate for state treasurer in 1916, resigning after his election in November of that year.

¹⁷ Frank W. McAllister is a native Missourian, born near Paris in Monroe County January 26, 1873. He attended the common and high schools, studied law and was admitted to the bar in his native county. He was city attorney of Paris and prosecuting attorney of Monroe County; was elected to the Senate in 1904 and reelected in 1908. During the session of 1911 he was president *pro tem.* of the Senate. In 1916 he was elected attorney-general. After retiring from office he became the chief counsel and general attorney of the Kansas City Life Insurance Company.

¹⁸ Richard Livingston Goode was born in Campbellsburg, Kentucky, February 4, 1855; came to Missouri in 1868; graduate of Drury College, Springfield, Mo., in 1876; admitted to the bar in 1879; elected judge of the St. Louis Court of Appeals in 1900.

¹⁹ Warren Gamaliel Harding, a senator from Ohio and a President of the United States; born in Blooming Grove, Morrow County, Ohio, November 2, 1865; attended the public schools in and near Caledonia, Ohio, and the Ohio Central College at Iberia; studied law for a short time, taught school; engaged in the insurance business; became editor and publisher of the *Marion Star* in 1884; member of the State Senate 1899-1903; lieutenant-governor of Ohio in 1904 and 1905; unsuccessful Republican candidate for governor in 1910; elected as a Republican to the United States Senate, and served from March 4, 1915, until his resignation, effective January 13, 1921, having been elected President of the United States on the Republican ticket with Calvin Coolidge as vice president and was inaugurated March 4, 1921, and served until his death in San Francisco, Calif., while on a tour of the Western States and Alaska, August 2, 1923.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

²⁰ James Middleton Cox, a representative from Ohio; born near Jacksonburg, Butler County, Ohio, March 31, 1870; attended country schools and the high school in Amanda, Ohio; engaged in teaching; worked on a farm and also in the mechanical and editorial departments of a daily newspaper; became owner and publisher of the *Dayton Daily News* in 1898, the *Springfield Daily News* in 1903, and the *Miami Metropolis* and the *Canton News* in 1923; elected as a Democrat to the Sixty-first and Sixty-second Congresses, and served from March 4, 1909, until January 12, 1913, when he resigned, having been elected governor; governor of Ohio 1913-1915 and 1917-1921; unsuccessful Democratic candidate for election as President of the United States in 1920; retired from political life and resides at "Trailsend," Dayton, Ohio.

MISSOURI'S REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS

CHAPTER II

THE SENATE

On April 8, 1913, the Federal Constitutional Amendment providing for the election of United States senators by popular vote became effective. William Joel Stone was reelected to the United States Senate at the general election in 1914, for a term to expire March 3, 1921, being the first senator to be elected by popular vote. His influence in the Senate had grown to such proportions that he was of great influence in that body. In the state his influence in the affairs of the Democratic Party was perhaps as great as that of any man in the state's political history. The World war was involving this country, and the position of the American government was one of the most eventful and important ever recorded. Stone was one of the most prominent members of the Foreign Relations Committee, now the most important committee of the Senate.

In 1916 James A. Reed was a candidate for reelection. He was nominated in the primary election by an overwhelming vote. He had been opposed to some of the administrative policies of President Woodrow Wilson, which occasioned criticism of his position.

In both branches of Congress from the beginning of statehood Missourians have stood for independent thinking on public questions. Senators and representatives have dared to differ frequently with Presidents of their own parties. Senator James A. Reed had many precedents for his insistence on rigid scrutiny of administration measures. In discussing the trade bill he said: "As long as I live I do not intend to vest in a board of men the power to do something of great moment, great sweep and great gravity, when I do not myself entertain a clear idea as to the powers I have granted."

Senator Cockrell and Senator Vest opposed President Cleveland on some occasions, and both are recorded as stating their objections in positive terms.

On April 14, 1918, William Joel Stone died after a brief illness. He was opposed to the United States entering the World war, and being a man of the most sensitive nature there is no doubt that the World war had much to do with his death.

Speaking of Senator Stone and his attitude toward the war, Senator Reed said:

"Men of the Senate, you have seen him toil unremittingly by day. You know how he labored in committees far into the night. When, some three years ago, the great finance bill was pressing, he undoubtedly broke

his health by the tremendous labor he underwent. At that time he survived a sick spell that threatened to bring the end. He never was strong again; and yet he came to this body when he was so feeble that he could scarcely walk. He sat with his committees. He toiled and wrought unceasingly. Not a detail of duty was allowed to escape his vigilance and industry. And so, worn out and troubled, this old soldier, serving a life enlisted in the army of patriotism, came to answer the question that has been so often referred to today. 'Is it my duty to vote to plunge my country into the great European war or is it my duty to seek to hold her back?' I know his heart on that. I talked with him. I said to him:

"It is the decree of Fate; war will be declared. A vote against it will mean your political ruin. You are old and you have no property."

"I wish—great God of justice, how I wish!—all the people of his state could have looked into his eyes as I was looking then and could have seen his soul as I saw it revealed and could have heard his voice, tremulous with emotion, as he answered:

"I know what it means to me. I know this war is coming. I know the people are aflame with the spirit of battle. I know that it is inevitable; but would you have me consider my personal welfare in a case that involves the lives of millions of men, the heartaches of countless mothers, the breaking up of homes? I cannot vote to send our boys into this conflict, to involve our country in this struggle, the end of which we cannot see, and the results to our country and our civilization we cannot prophesy. I cannot so vote until further efforts have been made to avert the fearful sacrifices.'"

Altogether the best analysis of the character of Senator Stone, and the best explanation of his wonderful political success, was that given by Speaker Champ Clark at the memorial services for the senator in the House of Representatives. (See Stone Administration, Seventh Epoch.)

The death of Senator Stone was a great loss to the state and one irreparable to the Democratic Party of Missouri. As a leader and counsellor he stood without a peer.

To fill the vacancy in the United States Senate occasioned by the death of William Joel Stone, Governor Frederick D. Gardner appointed Xenophon Pierce Wilfley¹ to fill the vacancy until the November election.

In the primary on August 6, 1918, to select a candidate to fill out the unexpired term of Senator Stone, Joseph W. Folk was nominated over Xenophon P. Wilfley.

In the November election Joseph W. Folk, the Democrat, was defeated by Selden P. Spencer, the Republican. The vote was Spencer, 107,690, Folk, 80,009; majority for Spencer 27,681.

¹ Xenophon Pierce Wilfley, a senator from Missouri; born near Mexico, Audrain County, Mo., on March 18, 1871; attended the country schools; was graduated from Clarksburg College in 1891 and from Central College, Fayette, Mo., in 1894; taught in Central College one year and in Sedalia high school for three years; was graduated from the Washington University Law School at St. Louis, Mo., in 1899, and

commenced practice in that city; chairman of the board of election commissioners of St. Louis in 1917 and 1918; appointed as a Democrat to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the death of William J. Stone, and served from April 30 to November 5, 1918, when a successor was elected; unsuccessful candidate for reelection to the United States Senate in 1918; resumed the practice of his profession; president of the Missouri Bar Association in 1925. Died in St. Louis, May 4, 1931.—“Biographical Directory of the American Congress.”

CHAPTER III

CONGRESS—1913—HOUSE

In the congressional elections of 1912, James T. Lloyd of Shelby County was reelected from the First District; William W. Rucker of Chariton County from the Second District; Joshua W. Alexander of Daviess County from the Third District; Charles F. Booher of Andrew County from the Fourth District; William P. Borland of Jackson County from the Fifth District; Clement C. Dickinson of Henry County from the Sixth District; Courtney W. Hamlin of Greene County from the Seventh District; Dorsey W. Shackelford of Cole County from the Eighth District; Champ Clark of Pike County from the Ninth District; William L. Igoe¹ of St. Louis elected from the Eleventh District; Walter L. Hensley of St. Francois County reelected from the Thirteenth District; Joseph J. Russell of Mississippi County reelected from the Fourteenth District; Perl D. Decker² of Jasper County elected from the Fifteenth District; Thomas L. Rubey of Laclede County reelected from the Sixteenth District. The Missouri delegation in the lower House of Congress stood fourteen Democrats to two Republicans.

CONGRESS—1915

In 1914 James T. Loyd of Shelby County was again reelected to Congress from the First District. He had represented the First District in Congress now for eleven sessions. This district had honored William H. Hatch for sixteen years. In the Republican landslide of 1894 Chester N. Clark, a Republican, defeated Hatch. In 1897 James T. Lloyd reclaimed the district for the Democrats and served twenty-two consecutive years. Speaking of Thomas Hart Benton, Mr. Lloyd mentioned the peculiar influence of the speeches of this great man. He said:

"Mr. Webster is reported in Harvey's *Reminiscences and Anecdotes*" to have said that Colonel Benton and he never spoke to each other for several years, but that he came to him one day and told him, with tears in his eyes, of being on board the *Princeton* in the very best position to see the experiment of discharging her guns. Some one in the great throng touched him and caused him to move his position. Shortly after the explosion occurred and the man was killed who stood where he had. Colonel Benton said that it seemed to him that the touch was the hand of the Almighty stretched down to draw him away from the place of instantaneous death. This circumstance changed the whole current of his life. He was now a different man and wanted to be at peace with every one, and for that purpose he visited Webster. He said, 'Let us bury the

hatchet.' Webster accepted the offer and they were ever afterwards the best of friends."

William W. Rucker of Chariton County was reelected from the Second District; Joshua W. Alexander of Daviess County from the Third District; Charles F. Booher of Andrew County from the Fourth District; William P. Borland of Jackson County from the Fifth District; Clement C. Dickinson of Henry County from the Sixth District; Courtney W. Hamlin of Greene County from the Seventh District; Dorsey W. Shackelford of Cole County from the Eighth District; Champ Clark of Pike County from the Ninth District; William L. Igoe of St. Louis from the Eleventh District; Walter L. Hensley of St. Francois County from the Thirteenth District; Joseph J. Russell of Mississippi County from the Fourteenth District; Perl D. Decker of Jasper County from the Fifteenth District; Thomas L. Rubey of Laclede County from the Sixteenth District.

CONGRESS—1917

In 1916 Milton Andrew Romjue³ of Macon County was elected from the First District, succeeding James T. Loyd; William W. Rucker of Chariton County reelected from the Second District; Joshua W. Alexander of Daviess County from the Third District; Charles F. Booher of Andrew County from the Fourth District; William P. Borland of Jackson County from the Fifth District; Clement C. Dickinson of Henry County from the Sixth District; Courtney W. Hamlin of Greene County from the Seventh District; Dorsey W. Shackelford of Cole County from the Eighth District; Champ Clark of Pike County from the Ninth District; William L. Igoe of St. Louis from the Eleventh District; Walter L. Hensley of St. Francois County from the Thirteenth District; Joseph J. Russell of Mississippi County from the Fourteenth District; Perl D. Decker of Jasper County from the Fifteenth District; Thomas L. Rubey of Laclede County from the Sixteenth District.

CONGRESS—1919

In 1918 Milton A. Romjue of Macon County was reelected from the First District; William W. Rucker of Chariton County from the Second District; Joshua W. Alexander of Daviess County from the Third District; Charles F. Booher of Andrew County from the Fourth District; William T. Bland⁴ of Jackson County elected from the Fifth District; Clement C. Dickinson of Henry County reelected from the Sixth District; Sam C. Major⁵ of Howard County elected from the Seventh District.

William L. Nelson⁶ of Boone County was elected from the Eighth District, succeeding Dorsey W. Shackelford. Shackelford was elected in 1898 to succeed Richard P. Bland, and had served eighteen years. Personally, Dorsey W. Shackelford was one of the most popular men that ever represented Missouri in the National Congress, and was known to his familiars as "Shack." After an extended and powerful effort he got through the House the "Shackelford Road Bill," which was approved

by President Wilson July 11, 1916. This was the start of Federal aid to the states in the building of Federal and State highways and which has progressed to its present nation-wide development.

Champ Clark of Pike County was reelected from the Ninth District.

William L. Igoe of St. Louis was reelected from the Eleventh District. This was the fourth and concluding term in Congress in which he served this district and the state with distinction. In 1925 Mr. Igoe made a strong race as the Democratic candidate for mayor of St. Louis.

Thomas L. Rubey of Laclede County was reelected from the Sixteenth District.

FOOTNOTES, NINTH EPOCH, CHAPTER III

¹ William L. Igoe, a representative from Missouri; born in St. Louis, Mo., October 19, 1879; attended the public and parochial schools of his native city and was graduated from the law department of Washington University at St. Louis in 1902; was admitted to the bar in the same year and commenced the practice of law in St. Louis, Mo.; member of the municipal assembly of St. Louis from 1909 until March 3, 1913, when he resigned to enter Congress; elected as a Democrat to the Sixty-third, Sixty-fourth, Sixty-fifth, and Sixty-sixth Congresses (March 4, 1913, March 3, 1921); declined to become a candidate for renomination in 1920; resumed practice of his profession and is a resident of St. Louis, Mo.—“Biographical Directory of the American Congress.”

² Perl D. Decker, a representative from Missouri; born in Athens County, Ohio, September 10, 1875; moved with his parents to a farm near Hollis, Kans., in 1879; attended the common schools and Park College, Parkville, Mo., from which he was graduated in 1897; was graduated in law from the University of Kansas at Lawrence in 1899, was admitted to the bar in 1900, and commenced practice at Joplin, Jasper County, Mo.; elected as a Democrat to the Sixty-third, Sixty-fourth, and Sixty-fifth Congresses (March 4, 1913-March 3, 1919); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1918 to the Sixty-sixth Congress; resumed the practice of law, and is a resident of Joplin, Mo.—“Biographical Directory of the American Congress.” EDITOR'S NOTE: Died August 22, 1934, in St. Luke's Hospital, Kansas City.

³ Milton Andrew Romjue, a representative from Missouri; born at Love Lake, Macon County, Mo., December 5, 1874; attended the public schools and the Kirksville State Normal School; was graduated from the law department of the University of Missouri at Columbia in 1904; was admitted to the bar the same year and commenced practice in Macon, Macon County, Mo.; judge of the Macon County probate court 1907-1915; elected as a Democrat to the Sixty-fifth and Sixty-sixth Congresses (March 4, 1917-March 3, 1921); member of the congressional committee to meet President Wilson on his return in 1919 from the peace conference at Paris; unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1920 to the Sixty-seventh Congress; elected to the Sixty-eighth and Sixty-ninth Congresses (March 4, 1923-March 3, 1927). Reelected to the Seventieth Congress.—“Biographical Directory of the American Congress.” Renominated August 7, 1934, as the Democratic candidate for reelection.

⁴ William Thomas Bland (grandson of John George Jackson and cousin of James Monroe Jackson), a representative from Missouri; born in Weston, Lewis County, Va. (now West Virginia), January 21, 1861; was graduated from the University of West Virginia at Morgantown in 1883 and from the law department of that university in 1884; took a special course in law at the University of Virginia at Charlottesville in 1885, was admitted to the bar, and commenced practice in Weston, W. Va.; moved to Atchison County, Kans., in 1887; prosecuting attorney of Atchison County, Kans., 1890-1892; declined a reelection; mayor of Atchison in 1894; elected judge of the second Kansas district in 1896; reelected in 1900, and served until 1901, when he resigned; engaged in the wholesale drug business in 1901; moved to Kansas City, Mo., in 1904 and continued in business as a wholesale druggist; retired from the

drug business in 1917 and engaged in banking; elected president of the Manufacturers' and Merchants' Association in 1907 and president of the Kansas City Chamber of Commerce in 1909; chairman of the Kansas City River and Harbor Improvement Commission 1909-1918; director of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress; vice president of the Mississippi Valley Waterway Association; elected to the Kansas City Board of Education in 1912 for a six-year term and served as vice president and president; served as chairman of the first Liberty Loan campaign and also as chairman of the Missouri and Kansas Red Cross drive during the World war; elected as a Democrat to the Sixty-sixth Congress (March 4, 1919-March 3, 1921); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1920 to the Sixty-seventh Congress; moved to Florida and settled in Orlando in 1921; engaged in banking; served as a member of the Orlando Utilities Commission for three years; died in Orlando, Orange County, Fla., January 15, 1928.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁵ Samuel Collier Major, a representative from Missouri; born in Fayette, Howard County, Mo., July 2, 1869; attended the public schools and Central College at Fayette; was graduated from St. James Military Academy, Macon, Mo., in 1888; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1890, and commenced practice in Fayette, Mo.; appointed prosecuting attorney in 1892, and later elected to the office for two terms; served in the State Senate 1907-1911; elected as a Democrat to the Sixty-sixth Congress (March 4, 1919-March 3, 1921); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1920 to the Sixty-seventh Congress; resumed the practice of law in Fayette, Mo.; elected to the Sixty-eighth, and Sixty-ninth Congresses (March 4, 1923-March 3, 1927). Reelected to the Seventieth Congress. Died in September, 1930.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁶ William Lester Nelson, a representative from Missouri; born near Bunceton, Cooper County, Mo., August 4, 1875; attended the country schools in his native county, Hooper Institute, William Jewell College at Liberty, Mo., and the Missouri College of Agriculture at Columbia; taught school for five years; subsequently entered the newspaper business at Bunceton, Mo.; member of the State House of Representatives 1901-1903 and 1905-1907; moved to Columbia, Boone County, Mo., to become assistant secretary of the State board of agriculture and served from 1908 to 1918; member of the editorial staff of the Iowa *Homestead* and other Pierce publications 1921-1924; also engaged in agricultural pursuits; elected as a Democrat to the Sixty-sixth Congress (March 4, 1919-March 3, 1921); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1920 to the Sixty-seventh Congress; resumed journalistic pursuits in Columbia, Mo.; elected to the Sixty-ninth Congress (March 4, 1925-March 3, 1927). Reelected to the Seventieth Congress.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

TENTH EPOCH—1921-1932

PREJUDICES AND GREED OVERCOME REASON REPUBLICANS GAIN CONTROL OF STATE AND NATION

CHAPTER I

THE STATE ADMINISTRATION

This Epoch opens with the state, the country and the world torn by dissension. The after effects of the World war; the bitter, intensive strife in the Senate over the League of Nations, the fastening of prohibition on the country at such a time; the coming of women into voting franchise, all contributed in placing upon the party in power in the state and nation great responsibilities. And while the principles of Thomas Jefferson are as fixed in the minds of those who are interested in the welfare and future of humanity as the stars in the firmament there is nothing in his profound teachings that will prevent disagreements and factions in party organizations.

The political debacle of 1920 left the Democratic Party only a nucleus in office to sustain the principles of Thomas Jefferson and to emulate the indomitable spirit of Andrew Jackson to carry on.

Arthur M. Hyde of Trenton, Missouri, was inaugurated governor January 10, 1921, as a result of the Republican landslide of 1920, when the entire Republican State ticket was elected.

The 1921 session of the General Assembly was Republican in both branches for the first time since the Democrats had regained control of state affairs under the administration of Governor Hardin in 1874. Here began a saturnalia of extravagancies that plunged the state into debt, and the substantial balance left in the State treasury by Governor Gardner and his administration was soon expended, and instead of an excess of revenue over expenditures the Hyde administration was marked by extravagancies that continued under Governors Baker and Caulfield.

Democrats in the Senate included: Thomas J. Lysaght, Walter Brownlee, Frank G. Harris, Frisby H. McCullough, Robert M. Lindsay, Wm. W. Bowker, S. A. Cunningham, Carter M. Buford, B. T. Gordon, M. E. Casey, Jefferson D. Hostetter, James H. Whitecotton, Tillman W. Anderson, Michael Kinney, Jos. H. Brogan, Emet R. James, W. R. Painter, Nick T. Cave, Wesley M. McMurray, David Bagley, Samuel M. Snodgrass, Willard W. Hamlin, Samuel A. Cunningham, Frank H. Farris, W. A. Brockshire and A. L. McCarley.

Democrats in the House: W. W. Botts of Audrain, Herman O. Maxey of Bates; James S. Rollins of Boone; Elbert F. Spencer and Ernest R. James of Buchanan; Emmett J. Grant of Callaway; John H. Lehr of Carter; Alvin Wilhite of Cass; C. O. Houston of Chariton; Garnett M. Peters of Clay; E. L. Shoemaker of Clinton; Casper M. Edwards of Dunklin; Thomas N. Rigney of Gentry; Edward A. Barbour, Jr., of Greene; Thomas B. Littlejohn of Henry; David Bagby, Jr., of Howard; Redmond Black of Iron; J. Allen Prewitt, Wm. Hicks, J. G. Joyce, John H. Taylor, Miles Bulger, Max Asotsky, Sarah Lucile Turner and M. A. O'Donnell of Jackson; Thomas J. Roney of Jasper; Phil M. Donnelly of Laclede; O. C. Clay of Lewis; D. E. Killam of Lincoln; W. B. McGregor of Linn; E. W. Allison of Maries; J. W. Head of Marion; R. A. Barry and Carl D. Mitchell of Mississippi; W. E. Whitecotton of Monroe; William Job of Nodaway; George H. Miller of Oregon; T. J. Ayres and Carroll Wisdom of Pike; A. D. Gresham of Platte; James W. Armstrong of Pulaski; A. Lee Ely of Ralls; Oak Hunter of Randolph; Dick B. Dale of Ray; Charles Sutton of Reynolds; Charles L. Ferguson of Ripley; Robert L. Haines of Saline; Mrs. Melcene T. Smith of St. Louis County; F. C. Shelton of Schuyler; D. L. Bales of Shannon; C. L. Wood of Shelby; J. B. Hartman of Vernon; George W. Stivers of Wayne.

THE SENATORIAL PRIMARY OF 1922

No event in Missouri's political history is more outstanding in point of bitterness and effectiveness of active campaigning than was the contest for the Democratic nomination for United States senator in 1922. After considerable hesitancy on his part, James A. Reed in February announced that he would be a candidate for renomination as the Democratic candidate to succeed himself. Reed had served two terms in the Senate. This had been done at a considerable sacrifice from the standpoint of his own personal interests, as it was well known that in the private practice of law Reed had great earning power. On the occasion of the writer's visit with Senator Reed at his home in Washington in December, 1921, Senator Reed stated that his salary as United States senator had proved wholly insufficient to properly support him in Washington and that he deemed it to the best interests of himself and Mrs. Reed he should retire from active political life and devote his time and talent to the practice of law. This view was greatly influenced by Mrs. Reed, as it was known that she had grown tired of the life at Washington and was anxious to return to Kansas City to be among her closest friends. It was suggested, however, that the senator's retirement from the Senate at this time, in the face of the bitter fight that had been made upon him at the State Convention at Joplin in 1920, would and could only be accepted as an admission of his loss of support and standing among the Democrats of Missouri. It was pointed out that it was evident that the charges hurled against him could only be combated by an active and thorough campaign of the state. This appealed to the old fighter and Mrs. Reed accepted of its logic.

Preliminary steps were taken immediately thereafter, and upon Senator Reed's return to Missouri an organization, small in number but effective in influence, had been perfected. Reed met with these men, who hailed from every section of the state, and in February, at the Jefferson Hotel in St. Louis, after a conference which lasted far into the night, Reed made the announcement that he would be a candidate for renomination, and stated that to Edward A. Glenn, of Louisiana, had been entrusted the responsibility of organizing his campaign forces throughout the state. In the meantime Breckinridge Long, of St. Louis, defeated as the Democratic candidate for United States Senator by Selden P. Spencer in 1920, was an active candidate for the Democratic nomination for United States senator, and had welded together what appeared at that time to be an invincible state-wide organization.

With the adjournment of Congress, Senator Reed returned to Missouri and immediately began a campaign that for intensity had never been exceeded in any state of the nation. His great oratorical powers were brought into full play. The opposition to Senator Reed, which had been crystalized at the Joplin State Convention in 1920, included many of the most prominent Democrats of the state. These influential men advanced that Senator Reed's opposition to measures advocated by President Woodrow Wilson were of such consequence that he should not be returned to the United States Senate. It was their expressed belief that the senator's candidacy for reelection would imperil the election of the state ticket and as three judges of the Supreme Court, as well as the superintendent of schools, were to be elected, such convinced many of the party leaders that Reed's nomination would prove futile as to Democratic success. Judge Waller W. Graves was selected by a group of prominent Democrats to present the matter to Senator Reed, which he did. The conference was carried on in an even-tempered manner until it came to the time for the senator to determine what he would do and he stated that he was disposed to accede to Mrs. Reed's wishes and retire from public life but, in that characteristic Reed manner, he vehemently declared: "I shall not be driven from the field."

Launching into a campaign of aggressiveness, characteristic of the man, Reed was successful and received 195,955 votes to 190,013 for Long.

The general election in 1922 for United States senator surpassed in aggressive campaigning the primary contest. Reed made a wonderful campaign against conditions thought to be insurmountable, and the result was that he not only carried the state by a majority of 44,278, but his indefatigable and courageous conduct resulted in the election of the entire Democratic state ticket by substantial majorities, Wm. T. Ragland,¹ Frank R. Walker and John Turner White² being elected to the Supreme Court, keeping that body under control of the Democratic Party. Charles A. Lee³ was elected superintendent of schools. There can be no controversy that James A. Reed's unparalleled campaign was responsible for the success of the Democratic Party in 1922, after the debacle of 1920, when the Republicans swept the state by a majority of 152,363.

THE STATE CONVENTION OF 1924

During the fall of 1923, a movement was launched for the purpose of presenting the name of former Governor Frederick D. Gardner to the National Democratic Convention as Missouri's candidate for the presidency. This movement gained headway as its proponents advanced the idea that all factions of the Democratic Party in Missouri could unite behind Gardner. At a meeting of the Missouri Democratic Press Association in St. Louis, at which Governor Gardner was the principal speaker, a resolution was unanimously adopted urging the support of the Missouri delegation to the National Democratic convention to Gardner as the Democratic standard bearer. Such action, of course, to be dependent upon its ratification by the State Democratic Convention, later called to convene in Springfield.

However, the Democratic editors had not reckoned as to Senator Reed's attitude in the matter of Missouri's support of a Democratic candidate for president. With his victory of 1922 in mind, Reed was constrained to believe that he, himself, and not Gardner should control the Missouri delegation to the National Convention and that Missouri's candidate for the presidential nomination should be none other than the state's senior senator, the Honorable James A. Reed.

Upon his receiving advice of the action of the Democratic editors in endorsing Gardner for president, Senator Reed hastened to Missouri, having previously advised a number of his staunch friends to meet him in St. Louis. At this conference Reed pressed his claims so vehemently that it was agreed by those of his friends present that a campaign should be waged to secure for Reed instead of Gardner the support of the Missouri delegation to the National Convention as Missouri's candidate for president. In a newspaper interview Reed made a vehement attack on the Gardner candidacy, and launched his own. Edward A. Glenn was again called upon to assume charge of the campaign to elect delegates to the State Convention favorable to Reed.

Governor Gardner, lacking that aggressiveness required to combat the doughty Reed, in a public statement asked his friends not to seek an endorsement from the State Convention, as he, himself, expected to support William Gibbs McAdoo of California for the presidential nomination.

As a result of Governor Gardner's pronouncement, the contest in the precinct mass meetings followed by county conventions throughout the state, resolved itself into a Reed and anti-Reed fight, with those opposing Reed generally favoring McAdoo.

The anti-Reed faction was successful in naming a majority of delegates to the State Convention at Springfield, and as a result the majority of the delegates to the National Convention there selected were bitterly anti-Reed but not wholly for McAdoo.

The delegates from Missouri were: At large, Frederick D. Gardner, Charles H. Mayer, Frank H. Farris, Charles M. Hay, Mrs. W. E. Ewing, Mrs. Ella Jean Flanders, Mrs. Jennie Kochtitzky, Mrs. Anna Nolan Chris-

tian; First District, Ben E. Hulse, Mrs. N. A. Franklin—alternates, John C. Mills, Sr., and Mrs. A. C. Dearing; Second District, William Scanlon and Mrs. J. L. Hughes—alternates, Mrs. Maude Moore and G. M. Spencer; Third District, Albert M. Clark and Mrs. A. C. Parsons—alternates, Ben A. Yates and Mrs. Bessie Gregory; Fourth District, James E. Cox and George R. Ellison—alternates, Mrs. H. A. Owen and Mrs. H. W. Hurst; Fifth District, T. J. Pendergast and Joseph B. Shannon—alternates, Mrs. J. J. Shepherd and Mrs. Sallie Turner; Sixth District, Adolph Musser and Clay Adair—alternates, H. D. Sloan and Mrs. Alice Johnson; Seventh District, Perry Allen and A. R. James—alternates, J. J. Copeland and Miss Margaret Reid; Eighth District, W. R. Hollister and Mrs. Emily S. Harshe—alternates, Dr. Etna Allee and Mrs. Guy Million; Ninth District, W. O. Gray and W. R. Taylor—alternates, Mrs. M. R. Wise and Mrs. W. Lee Parsons; Tenth District, Louis Gualdoni and Charles A. Lemp—alternates, Mrs. R. E. Oldfather and Mrs. Wm. Kinney; Eleventh District, John Keegan and Michael Whalen—alternates, Joseph H. Brogan and John F. Bryne; Twelfth District, Michael Kinney and Edward Rice—alternates, Miss Tillie Troy and David Israel; Thirteenth District, N. W. Brickey, George K. Williams, Mrs. F. O. Andrews and Mrs. Milford Riggs; Fourteenth District, Everett Reeves and Mrs. George Quinn—alternates, H. C. Blanton and Miss Mary Sutton; Fifteenth District, Lee B. Ewing, Robert J. Mitchell, Mrs. M. E. Rice and Mrs. W. G. Warner; Sixteenth District, A. J. Hawkins and Claude Bass—alternates, J. H. Robinson and Mrs. Blanche Lewis.

ELECTION IN 1924

The National Democratic Convention met at New York, June 24, 1924. John W. Davis of West Virginia was nominated for president, and Charles W. Bryan of Nebraska for vice president. The convention was in session until July 9, and on the one hundred and third ballot Davis was nominated. The convention was in a deadlock, with Alfred E. Smith of New York, William Gibbs McAdoo of California, Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama and Jos. T. Robinson of Arkansas, being the contending candidates. Davis' nomination came about as a compromise move.

In 1924 the Democrats nominated the following state ticket: Arthur W. Nelson,⁴ governor; Carter M. Buford,⁵ lieutenant-governor; Kate S. Morrow,⁶ secretary of state; George H. Middlekamp, state auditor; John H. Stone,⁷ state treasurer; Elmer O. Jones, attorney-general; James T. Blair, judge of Supreme Court; Francis M. Trimble, judge Kansas City Court of Appeals; John S. Farrington, judge Springfield Court of Appeals; William H. Allen, judge St. Louis Court of Appeals.

The Democratic Party began the campaign of 1924 in a very aggressive manner, after the overwhelming defeat of 1920. The campaign was opened with a monster barbecue picnic on the farm of Dr. Nelson, Democratic candidate for governor, near Bunceton. Hon. John W. Davis, The Democratic candidate for president was the principal speaker. Thousands of Missouri Democrats were present.

The platform called attention to the well-balanced, honest, clean and efficient business administration of Governor Frederick D. Gardner, and covered all the essentials for the progressive development of the state, especially stressing the finishing of the road program so all parts of the state should be favored with road transportation, and that the road funds should be economically expended.

The platform charged the administration of Governor Hyde with an open and flagrant violation of pre-election pledges, and offered a ticket of clean and progressive candidates.

Many confusing influences entered into this campaign, resulting in the defeat of the State ticket. Calvin Coolidge, Republican candidate for president, carried the state over John W. Davis, the Democratic candidate, by a majority of 75,753; the vote on Governor gave Sam A. Baker, the Republican candidate, only 5,872 majority over Arthur W. Nelson, the Democratic candidate.

In the General Assembly during Governor Baker's administration the Democrats elected some prominent members to look after the interests of the party.

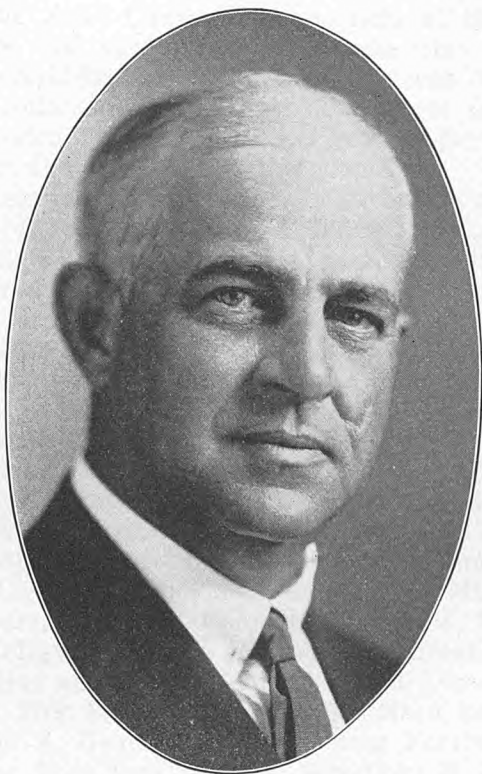
In the Senate: Marshall E. Ford, Baylis T. Gordon, M. E. Casey Frank Hollingsworth, James H. Whitecotton, J. B. Hereford, Dwight H. Brown, Ralph Wommack, Phil M. Donnelly, Michael Kinney, Joseph Bryan, Walter Brownlee, W. R. Painter, Nick T. Cave, Wesley McMurry, J. H. Gunn, Samuel Snodgrass, Lon S. Haymes, L. N. Searcy, Carter M. Buford, Alfred W. McCawley.

In the House: John B. Crum of Audrain County, James S. Rollins of Boone, Emmett J. Grant of Callaway, Thos. R. R. Ely of Dunklin, Lon S. Haymes and John L. Warren of Greene, W. E. Whitecotton of Monroe, Booker H. Rucker of Phelps, Edward L. Barnhouse of Iron, Thomas J. Roney of Jasper, Derwood E. Williams of Lincoln, Eugene W. Nelson of Marion, William Job of Nodaway, E. M. Zevely of Osage, Carroll Wisdom of Pike, James W. Armstrong of Pulaski; Oak Hunter of Randolph, DeWitt C. Cunningham of Ripley, Lee T. Witty of Scotland, D. L. Bales of Shannon, Frank A. Brannock of Stoddard and Twyman W. "Dick" Harper of Vernon.

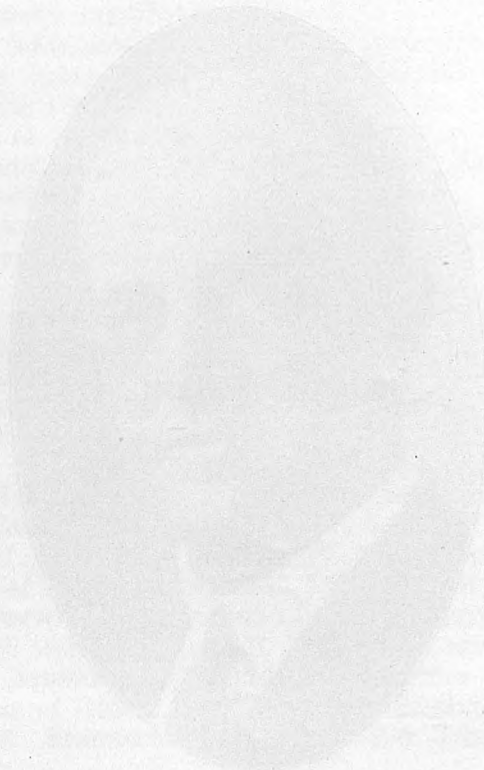
THE 1926 ELECTION

On May 16, 1925, Senator Selden P. Spencer died. On May 25, 1925, Governor Baker appointed George H. Williams of St. Louis to fill out the term of Senator Spencer until the election in November.

In the primary election in 1926, Harry B. Hawes of St. Louis, was a candidate for the short term in the United States Senate expiring March 4, 1927. For this term he was opposed by Willis H. Meredith^s of Butler County. Hawes was also a candidate for the long term ending March 4, 1933. For this term he was opposed by Ewing Cockrell of Johnson County. Cockrell was the son of Francis M. Cockrell, who had served in the United States Senate from 1875 to 1905, a period of continuous service in that body of thirty years, equalling the period which Thomas H. Benton served Missouri in the same office. Hawes defeated



HON. HARRY B. HAWES
Former United States Senator



The first of these is the fact that the
the first of these is the fact that the
the first of these is the fact that the
the first of these is the fact that the
the first of these is the fact that the

the first of these is the fact that the
the first of these is the fact that the
the first of these is the fact that the
the first of these is the fact that the
the first of these is the fact that the

the first of these is the fact that the
the first of these is the fact that the
the first of these is the fact that the
the first of these is the fact that the
the first of these is the fact that the

the first of these is the fact that the
the first of these is the fact that the
the first of these is the fact that the
the first of these is the fact that the
the first of these is the fact that the

the first of these is the fact that the
the first of these is the fact that the
the first of these is the fact that the
the first of these is the fact that the
the first of these is the fact that the

both Meredith and Cockrell and in the November election was elected for both terms, defeating George H. Williams, the Republican candidate.

Charles A. Lee was reelected superintendent of public schools and Ernest S. Gantt⁹ was elected Supreme Judge.

STATE CONVENTION OF 1928

The Democratic State Convention was held at St. Joseph, Mo., on February 28, 1928, and again reaffirmed those time honored principles which in every administration when the party was in power, from the days of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson to the days of Grover Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson, characterized the party as the exponent of free government and the rights of the people.

The delegates elected to the National Convention at Houston, Texas, from Missouri were: At large, Bennett Champ Clark, Edward J. White, Arthur W. Nelson, Charles M. Howell, Mrs. Frederick D. Gardner, Mrs. G. A. Richart, Mrs. Thelma R. Campbell and Mrs. R. J. Curdy; First District, Mrs. A. E. Platter, C. C. Hayward, Henry Reidel, Mrs. J. S. Tall and M. A. Romjue; Second District, Al B. Munsey, S. J. Jones, C. R. Noel, John H. Taylor and Ralph F. Lozier; Third District, James C. Simrall, Claude L. Enyart and Jacob L. Milligan—alternates, Mrs. R. L. Hamilton and Ben A. Yates; Fourth District, John J. Downey and R. B. Bridgman—alternates, Mrs. W. B. Wood and Mrs. F. W. Hollenbrink; Fifth District, T. J. Pendergast, J. B. Shannon and George Hamilton Combs, Jr.—alternates, Mrs. Ralph P. Swofford and Mrs. R. E. Montgomery; Sixth District, DeWitt C. Chastain, W. D. Summers, Gus Foster, Harry Pence and Clement C. Dickinson—alternates, Miss Mabel Edwards, Miss Mary Chambers, Mrs. H. B. Connell and Mrs. W. S. Martin; Seventh District, F. M. McDavid, Carl L. Ristine and Samuel C. Major—alternates, Harve L. Terry and Wm. B. Nivert; Eighth District, E. M. Watson, Mrs. L. L. Lathan, Mrs. Barney Reed, Charles Mace, and Wm. L. Nelson; Ninth District, Ed. A. Glenn, Mrs. Alice Moss Ferris, and Clarence A. Cannon—alternates, Miss Tess Neff and Mrs. Cora H. Peters; Tenth District, Charles A. Lemp, L. J. Gualdoni and Samuel W. Fordyce—alternates, Joseph Kane and M. G. Roberts; Eleventh District, Wm. J. Brennan, John Keegan and John J. Cochran—alternates, Joseph H. Brogan and John F. Byrne; Twelfth District, Senator Michael Kinney, Daniel G. Taylor and Senator Harry B. Hawes—alternates, Ralph Coale and David Israel; Thirteenth District, William L. Townsend, Charles H. Richeson, Mrs. Cora Coffield, Miss Lucille Hood and Clyde Williams; Fourteenth District, Harry Alexander, R. S. Hogan and James F. Fulbright—alternates, Mrs. Etta M. Robertson and Mrs. Lee Shelton; Fifteenth District W. M. Bowker, A. W. Thurman, W. A. Chandler, Mrs. Janie McDonald and Mrs. Katherine Halterman; Sixteenth District, B. H. Rucker, Phil M. Donnelly, Mrs. Leona B. Hiett, Mrs. Blanch Lewis and Thomas L. Rubey.

Senator James A. Reed had announced that he would not be a candidate for reelection to the United States Senate, and the outstanding feature of this convention was the fact that it was under the control of the

friends of Senator Reed and gave to him the unanimous endorsement for president, even to an ironclad instruction of the delegation to vote as a unit for the nomination of Senator Reed so long as his name remained before the convention and until personally released by him. What may be considered as Reed's vindication was embodied in the resolutions adopted, which were as follows:

"We heartily endorse the great work and acknowledged leadership of James A. Reed, the brilliant senior senator from Missouri. His services in the United States Senate have excited the admiration of all the people, and we acclaim him a peerless champion in the cause of good government.

"He now has seen fit to declare his intention to retire from the Senate of the United States where he has labored and wrought so long and ably for the State of Missouri, and the people of the United States.

"In his leaving that body, it loses its shining light and the State of Missouri the services of a great and brilliant statesman.

"In a way unparalleled in public annals, he has scourged those who have bought and sold public offices and made public office a private opportunity. He had held as sacred the privilege of the ballot and driven from office those who would lay their corrupting hands upon it.

"His courageous battle to keep elections pure, to make sure that venality shall not taint the very source of our government, to drive corruption from the citadels of the republic, has stirred the souls of all citizens, regardless of party.

"Senator Reed's consummate ability, unfaltering courage, unquestioned honesty and great services have earned for him the nomination by our party for the office of president.

"His faithfulness to the trusts heretofore reposed to him warrant our earnest belief and assertion that in the office of president his statesmanship, capabilities and character will find a larger field of public usefulness.

"We pledge our full and hearty support of his candidacy for that high office. We call on the Democrats of Missouri as individuals to use their influence with their friends and relatives in other states by correspondence, or otherwise, in presenting his qualifications for the presidency.

"About to enter on a great national campaign, we adopt as our declaration of principles the ringing words of Senator Reed:

" 'Let us rally our forces to the flag of the Constitution. Let us make our fight beneath banners proclaiming: The inalienable rights of the citizens, among which are liberty of conscience, without coercion, criticism or obloquy.

" 'The right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and that none shall make him afraid; the right of free speech, free press and peaceable assemblage. The right of each citizen to regulate his own personal conduct—chart his own course through life—determine his own habits, and to control the affairs of his own household, free from all restraints, save that in exercise of these natural privileges he will not interfere with the rights of others.

" 'Let us reassert the truth of the doctrine that—If this people are to remain free, local self-government and the sovereignty of the states must

be preserved. That federal power should be brought within the limits not only of the letter, but also within the spirit of the Constitution. The march of centralization must be arrested. Government by boards and bureaucracies must cease. Let us demand honest administration of government. The swift and sure punishment of all public plunderers, bribe mongers and other malefactors. The equalization of the burden of taxation. The repeal of all laws creating special privileges. The liberation of honest business from oppressive interference by governmental agents. The prosecution and punishment of those who by trusts, combinations and restraints of trade make war on honest business and despoil the people.

"Let us advocate the American doctrine, which places the interest of our country and our people above that of any and all other aims to make American citizens the freest, happiest, and most prosperous people on earth; and which rejects all policies calculated to imperil the rights or jeopardize the majesty and security of the United States.

"Let us demand that the government shall in all proper ways assist in the development of the natural resources of the land—that it shall immediately develop and execute a plan to control and conserve our great inland waters; harness their power; develop the arid lands of the West; protect the great valley states from inundation; and place upon our mighty rivers and lakes argosies which will bear an immense commerce, thus commercially uniting the interior states with the Panama Canal.

"We should insist upon the encouragement and development of a great merchant marine which will not only carry our commerce to all ports of the world in American ships and beneath the American flag, but which will also strengthen our defense upon the seas in case of war."

"Our demand should be for honest elections—the jailing of every rogue who pollutes the ballot—the expulsion from office of every man whose title is tainted with fraud or whose certificate was obtained by corrupt methods, whether practiced by himself or on his own behalf."

ELECTION IN 1928

The Democratic National Convention met at Houston, Texas, on June 26, 1928. Alfred E. Smith¹⁰ of New York was nominated for president and Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas was nominated for vice president.

Despite the ardent fight made in behalf of Senator Reed by the Missouri delegation, they were unable to muster any very considerable strength for their candidate, and at the best his strength was confined to the Missouri delegation, with a few scattering votes from other states.

At the primary election in August, 1928, the following Democratic ticket was nominated: Charles M. Hay,¹¹ U. S. senator; Francis M. Wilson,¹² governor; Frank G. Harris, lieutenant-governor; Dwight H. Brown, secretary of state; Forrest Smith, state auditor; Richard R. Nacy, state treasurer; Elmer O. Jones, attorney-general; George Robb Ellison, judge Supreme Court; Robert L. Sutton, judge St. Louis Court of Appeals; Ewing C. Bland, judge Kansas City Court of Appeals; John H. Bradley, judge Springfield Court of Appeals.

The vote for governor was: Henry S. Caulfield, Republican, 784,293; Francis M. Wilson, Democrat, 731,782—a majority of 52,511 for Caulfield. For United States senator, Patterson, Republican, 787,499; Hay, Democrat, 726,322; Patterson's majority, 61,177.

Although the election of 1928 proved a grievous disappointment to the Democrats of Missouri, there were a number of prominent men elected to the General Assembly, to represent the great principles of Jefferson and with a hope for a day when the party would be reelected to power.

In the Senate: Baylis T. Gordon, M. E. Casey, Derwood E. Williams, James H. Whitecotton, Russell L. Dearmont, Ralph Wommack, Phil M. Donnelly, Michael E. Kinney, Joseph Brogan, Emmett J. Crouse, Roy McKittrick, Albert M. Clark, James S. Rollins, John E. Luther, J. H. Gunn, Carl J. Henry, Lon S. Haymes, D. L. Bales and C. M. Buford.

In the House: Raymond E. Cox of Audrain, James T. Blair, Jr., of Cole, Eugene W. Nelson of Marion, E. M. Zevely of Osage, Charles L. Woods of Phelps, Carroll Wisdom of Pike, E. E. McCormick of Platte, J. W. Armstrong of Pulaski, A. B. Hammett of Randolph, Lee T. Witty of Scotland, H. C. Chanscellor of Barton, H. O. Maxey of Bates, L. T. Kinder of Bollinger, Don C. Carter of Boone, Wm. H. Meredith of Butler, J. D. Rebo of Clark, James T. Blair, Jr. of Cole, George B. Calvin of Franklin, Jerome M. Joffe of Jackson, Thomas J. Roney of Jasper, Nick M. Bradley of Johnson, Elmer O. Jones of Macon, W. E. Whitecotton of Monroe, and Twyman W. Harper of Vernon.

In the election of 1930 Charles A. Lee was reelected superintendent of public schools, and George Robb Ellison¹³ was elected supreme judge.

THE STATE CONVENTION OF 1932

The Democratic State Convention for the purpose of electing delegates to the National Convention was held in St. Louis in April, 1932. Senator James A. Reed was again given an endorsement for president, but it was perfunctory in character and not considered binding on the delegation, and as a consequence at the National Convention in Chicago Reed was unable to hold the delegation behind him even as to the result of the first ballot.

ELECTION IN 1932

The Democratic National Convention met at Chicago June 27, 1932. Nominations for the presidency were made on June 30. The names of Franklin D. Roosevelt¹⁴ of New York, John N. Garner¹⁵ of Texas, Alfred E. Smith of New York, Gov. Albert C. Ritchie of Maryland, Melvin A. Traylor of Illinois and James A. Reed of Missouri were formally placed before the convention. Upon the fourth ballot Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York was nominated, receiving 945 votes, or 175 more than the necessary two-thirds, 770. John Nance Garner of Texas, then speaker of the National House of Representatives, was nominated for vice president by acclamation.

The delegates from Missouri elected at the State Convention held in St. Louis, were: At large, Frederick D. Gardner, W. T. Ragland, Perl D. Decker, F. C. Niles, Mrs. Nat Brown, Mrs. Alice Moss Ferris, Mrs. Nell Q. Donnelly and Mrs. Harve Gray; First District, W. F. Murrel, Marshall Story, Mrs. Neul Lasley and Mrs. W. W. Henderson; Second District, J. W. Wight, Mrs. Anna Watson—alternates, Val Geisley and Mrs. Anna Nolan Christian; Third District, Randall Wilson, Dr. E. L. Scanlon, W. A. Cravens and A. M. Clark; Fourth District, Richard M. Duncan, James L. Robinson, Mrs. Perry Fulkerson and Miss Blanche E. Tucker; Fifth District, Thomas J. Pendergast and Joseph B. Shannon—alternates, Mrs. Robert J. Curdy and Mrs. E. E. Porterfield; Sixth District, Sidney J. Hamilton, J. R. Bush, Mrs. Anna D. Chastain and Arthur N. Lindsay; Seventh District, J. J. Schneider, Ira Milton and Mrs. E. M. Jones; Eighth District, Howard Cook, James E. Boggs—alternates, Mrs. W. T. Latham and Mrs. A. J. Decker; Ninth District, J. D. Hostetter and Mrs. Cora Peters—alternates, B. J. Creech and Mrs. B. Irene Castilio; Tenth District, Charles A. Lemp and Eugene Gualdoni—alternates Mrs. Charles A. Lemp and Mrs. Florence B. Kirk; Eleventh District, John J. Cochran and John J. Keegan—alternates, Joseph H. Brogan and John F. Byrne; Twelfth District, Marion C. Early, Daniel G. Taylor, Thomas F. Finan and Otto W. Hammer; Thirteenth District, J. J. Hilgert, Frank Manson, Mrs. J. U. White and Mrs. Grance Neisline; Fourteenth District, Robert J. Cope and C. C. Oliver—alternates, Mrs. Hazel Tatum and B. A. Parnell; Fifteenth District, Grover James, Eugene Frost, George R. Dickinson and Mrs. J. D. Plummer; Sixteenth District, George W. Shelton, J. A. Wheeler, Mrs. Phillip Donnelly and Mrs. Harry Young.

THE SENATE—1932

In the primary election of 1932 there were four candidates for the Senate, to succeed Senator Harry B. Hawes, whose term was to expire March 4 1933: Bennett Champ Clark of St. Louis County; Charles M. Howell of Kansas City; Charles M. Hay and James W. Byrnes of St. Louis.

A short time before the meeting of the National Democratic Convention at Chicago, Bennett Champ Clark announced his candidacy for the Senate and had expressed in his platform of what he stood for in such positive terms that "he who runs might read."

Charles M. Howell of Kansas City was supported by the strong Pendergast organization of that city, and the contest in the primary became finally whether Clark could overcome the block vote that favored Howell.

No event in the political history of Missouri compares with that of 1932 to name a candidate to succeed to the Hawes term in the Senate. The Clark campaign committee started to overcome a vote for Howell in Jackson County, which afterwards proved to be 101,259, with a determination and aggressive activity that equaled the courage and political sagacity of its candidate, Bennett Champ Clark.

The primary vote in 1932 for U. S. senator was as follows:

Bennett Champ Clark	268,667
Charles M. Howell	173,266
Charles M. Hay	151,188
James W. Brynes	11,776
Frank Merryman	5,819
Total	609,716

When the Democratic State Platform Convention of 1932 met at Jefferson City on September 13, the man who was to capture the love and admiration of mankind, had been named as the Democratic candidate for president at Chicago on June 30, 1932—Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The state platform heartily commended the selection of Roosevelt for president and John N. Garner for vice president.

Reiterating the expression of Grover Cleveland that "a public office is a public trust," it analyzed the failure to adopt a fair redistricting of the state congressional districts, with a veiled statement that the next bill for redistricting the state would give the Democratic Party what it deserved.

The Democratic ticket elected in 1932 was as follows: Bennett Champ Clark,¹⁶ U. S. senator; Guy B. Park,¹⁷ governor; Frank G. Harris,¹⁸ lieutenant-governor; Dwight H. Brown,¹⁹ secretary of state; Forrest Smith,²⁰ state auditor; Richard R. Nacy,²¹ state treasurer; Roy McKittrick,²² attorney-general; Charles T. Hays²³ and Ernest M. Tipton,²⁴ judges Supreme Court; Joseph Kane, judge St. Louis Court of Appeals; Hopkins B. Shain, judge Kansas City Court of Appeals; Perry T. Allen, judge Springfield Court of Appeals.

Francis Murray Wilson was nominated for governor at the August primary. On October 12, 1932, he died. The State Committee selected Guy B. Park of Platte County to fill the vacancy on the ticket.

In the general election of 1932 the National and State ticket was elected by unprecedented majorities, and Missouri lined up for the New Deal to bring the country out of the "slough of despond," where greed and avarice had placed it.

The Missouri vote on the National and Senatorial ticket was as follows:

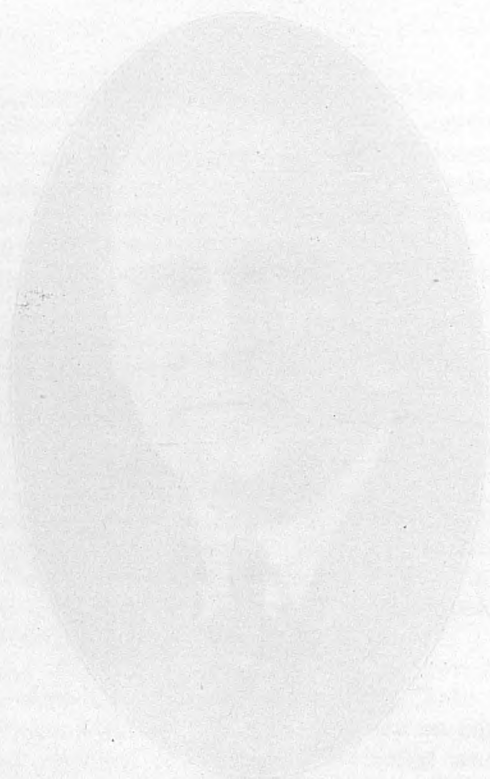
Franklin D. Roosevelt	1,025,406
Herbert Hoover	564,713
Majority for Roosevelt	460,693

The vote for U. S. senator was as follows:

Bennett Champ Clark	1,017,046
Henry Kiel	575,174
Majority for Clark	441,872



HON. BENNETT C. CLARK
United States Senator



The vote for governor was as follows:

Guy B. Park	968,551
Edward H. Winter	629,428
Majority for Park	339,123

On the death of Judge Clarence A. Burney, C. A. Leedy, Jr., of Kansas City, was appointed by Governor Park to fill the vacancy. C. A. Leedy had been prominent in 1928 and 1932, managing the campaign of Francis M. Wilson for governor. Mr. Leedy has another distinction not generally known. He was one of the two secretaries to cover the meeting at Versailles, France, when the Peace Treaty was made.

FOOTNOTES—CHAPTER I—TENTH EPOCH

¹ William T. Ragland was born in Marion County, Missouri, October 5, 1866; received his education in the public schools, the State Normal School at Kirksville and the law department of the Washington University; was admitted to the bar June 21, 1889; served as prosecuting attorney of Monroe County from 1893 to 1897 and as a member of the State Board of Law Examiners from July 1, 1905, to January 1, 1911; was elected in November, 1910, judge of the circuit court, Tenth judicial circuit and ex-officio judge of the Court of Common Pleas at Hannibal for a term of six years. In 1916 he was reelected judge of the Tenth judicial court, but resigned in 1919 to accept an appointment as Supreme Court Commissioner to succeed Reuben F. Roy, whose term had expired, for a term of four years; elected Judge of the Supreme Court November, 1922, for a term expiring 1933. He was not a candidate for reelection and is now practicing his profession at Jefferson City.

² John Turner White, a native of Greene County; a profound student of law, ranked as one of the most eminent of that profession; was admitted to the bar in 1882; practiced law in Springfield; was appointed reporter of St. Louis Court of Appeals in 1904 and served five years; appointed Commissioner of Supreme Court to fill unexpired term of Williams (elected judge), 1917-1919. Reappointed April, 1919, for term of four years, expiring April 10, 1923, and resigned as commissioner of Supreme Court when elected as judge of Supreme Court in November, 1922, for a term of ten years. Was not a candidate for reelection. Elected by the Supreme Court as its reporter to succeed Perry S. Rader, deceased.

³ Charles A. Lee was born on a farm in Phelps County, near Rolla, Mo., July 18, 1891; attended the high schools of Rolla and St. James and was graduated from the Central Teachers College at Warrensburg, the School of Education of the University of Missouri, and was awarded the degree of Master of Arts from the latter institution; taught in rural schools six years; was a science teacher in the California, Mo., high school; principal, and later superintendent of the Lamar schools; resigned the latter position to become state superintendent in January, 1923. He was defeated for the nomination for reelection, August 7, 1934, by Lloyd W. King of Palmyra.

⁴ Arthur W. Nelson was born in Cooper County, Missouri, January 21, 1878; died at the Lake of the Ozarks, March 13, 1932. He was reared in Kansas City, where he received his early schooling. He was graduated from Wentworth Military Academy in 1897, from the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee, in 1900 with the degrees of M. D., A. B., and Ph. G. Dr. Nelson served his internship in the Women's Hospital in New York City, and was there until 1902 when he returned to Cooper County to engage in farming. He was elected president of the Bank of Bunceon, and for the past sixteen years had been connected with the Boonville National Bank—for five years as president. He was widely known as a breeder of fine live stock, particularly of Shorthorn cattle. He was a candidate for Gov-

ernor in 1924 on the Democratic ticket, and that year entertained the presidential candidate, John W. Davis at his Cooper County home. This was one of the most extensive political affairs ever held in the state and the barbecue was participated in by many thousands of Democrats from all parts of the state. His premature death at the Lake of the Ozarks was a distinct loss to his party and to the business interests of the state.

⁵ Carter M. Buford was born at Ellington, Mo., March 3, 1876; educated in the public schools and the Cape Girardeau Normal. Admitted to the bar in 1905; he has since practiced law at Ellington, where he resides. He was school commissioner of Reynolds County, 1897-98, circuit clerk and recorder, 1899-1906. He was elected to the Senate in 1906 and reelected three successive terms. Served as president *pro tem* of the Senate in the 48th General Assembly, and in 1920 and 1924 was Democratic candidate for lieutenant-governor. He was reelected to the Senate in 1922, 1926 and 1930, serving in the 56th General Assembly as a member of the following committees: Fees and Salaries, Labor, Commerce, Manufactories, Mines and Mining, Agriculture, Fish and Game, and Private Corporations, Railroads and Internal Improvements.

⁶ Kate S. Morrow was for many years prominent in the organization of the Democratic Party. Her husband, Al Morrow, was one of the most widely known Democrats of the state and was connected prominently with the Dockery administration and other state departments. Mrs. Morrow has served the party in many places, especially as secretary of the State Committee. Mrs. Morrow's home has been for years at Warrensburg, and she is perhaps one of the most widely and favorably known Democrats of the state. She has always served the women of the party with a service of devotion to their interests. Mrs. Morrow has held many positions of importance, and is now secretary of the Board of Eleemosynary Institutions at Jefferson City.

⁷ John H. Stone was treasurer of Bates County in 1917. He was prominent in the affairs of the Democratic Party in southwest Missouri. It is said that his nomination was due to the fact that he carried the honored name of Stone and came from that section of the state that honored William Joel Stone by electing him to Congress in 1886, which was the beginning of an illustrious career.

⁸ Willis H. Meredith was born November 29, 1875, in Iowa City, Iowa; attended the public schools, a normal school and the Iowa College of Law, also the New York Law School. He is an attorney located at Poplar Bluff, Mo., but lives on his farm, ten miles from town. He served as legal adviser to the local draft board of Butler County in 1917 and 1918, in which years he also served as prosecuting attorney of his county. He was the Democratic nominee for attorney-general of Missouri in 1920. He was elected to the Legislature in 1930, serving in the 56th General Assembly as chairman of the Committee on Immigration, and was one of the House Managers during the Brunk impeachment trial in the State Senate. Was a member of the Legislative Auditing Committee in 1932-33. He was reelected to the House of Representatives in 1932 and in the 57th General Assembly was elected Speaker of the House.

⁹ Ernest S. Gantt was born in Centralia, Mo., January 11, 1867; received his education in the public schools and at Missouri University, being admitted to the bar in 1892; was city attorney of Mexico from 1894-1898, and served as prosecuting attorney of Audrain County from 1909-1914; in March, 1916, Governor Major appointed him judge of the Eleventh circuit to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Judge James B. Barnett; was elected without opposition at the November election, 1916, and reelected in November, 1922; was elected judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri, Division No. 1, November 2, 1926, term expiring December 31, 1936.

¹⁰ Alfred Emanuel Smith was born in New York City on December 30, 1873; was sheriff of the city and county of New York; elected for the Assembly in 1903; continued in the Assembly until 1911, and was speaker in 1913; leader in three sessions, 1912-14-15; president of the Board of Aldermen in 1917; elected governor in 1918; in 1920 was defeated for governor in the Harding Republican landslide;

reelected governor in 1922; candidate for the nomination for President at the Democratic National Convention in New York July, 1924, the Convention being deadlocked in a contest between Smith and William Gibbs McAdoo, John W. Davis of West Virginia being finally nominated; at the Democratic National Convention held at Houston, Texas, on June 26, 1928, Smith was nominated for President and defeated by Herbert Hoover in the Republican landslide in November, 1928.

¹¹ Charles M. Hay was born at Bronot, Wayne County, Missouri, November 10, 1879; educated at Central College, Fayette, and Washington University Law School; moved to Callaway County and was elected to the General Assembly in 1912; moved to St. Louis, and was an unsuccessful candidate for U. S. senator in 1920; Democratic nominee for U. S. senator and defeated in the Republican landslide of 1928. Now city counselor of the City of St. Louis.

¹² Francis M. Wilson was born in Platte City, Platte County, Mo., June 13, 1867, the son of the late Robert P. C. Wilson and Carolina F. Murray; grandson of John Wilson, pioneer lawyer, circuit attorney, member of the Legislature and Constitutional Convention; and a nephew of the late Elijah H. Norton, former chief justice of the Supreme Court. In 1898 he was elected to the State Senate, and was chairman of the Revision Committee. In 1908 was again elected to the Senate, but resigned to accept the appointment as United States district attorney for the Western District of Missouri. During 1920-26 he was receiver for the Kansas City Railways Company. He was the Democratic nominee for governor in 1928 and again the nominee in 1932. He died October 13, 1932, and the State Committee selected Guy B. Park to fill the vacancy on the state ticket.

¹³ George Robb Ellison was born in Lewis County, Missouri, July 22, 1881; educated in public schools and high school of Maryville, Missouri, Harvard College, A. B., 1904, one year in Law School of University of Missouri, 1903-1904; admitted to practice in 1904, and practiced law for twenty-three years following at Maryville; appointed Supreme Court Commissioner, April 11, 1927, for a term of four years; elected judge of the Supreme Court, Division No. 2, on November 4, 1930, for a term of ten years, expiring December 31, 1940.

¹⁴ Franklin Delano Roosevelt was born January 30, 1882, on the family estate at Krum Elbow on the Hudson; son of James and Sara (Delano) Roosevelt. Educated at Groton and Harvard University, A. B., 1904; attended Columbia University Law School, 1904-07. Married Anna Eleanor Roosevelt of New York, March 17, 1905; children—James, Anna, Elliott, Franklin D., and John A. Admitted to the New York bar in 1907; practiced with Carter, Ledyard and Milburn, New York, 1907-10; member firm of Roosevelt and O'Connor, 1924-33. Member New York Senate, 1910-March 17, 1913 (resigned); assistant secretary of the navy, 1913-20; Democratic nominee for vice president of the United States, 1920. Elected governor of New York, 1928; reelected 1930. Member of the Hudson-Fulton Celebration Commission, 1909; Plattsburg Centennial, 1913; member National Commission Panama, P. I. Expedition, 1915; overseer Harvard University, 1918-24. Episcopalian. President Georgia Warm Springs Foundation. In charge of inspection, U. S. Naval Forces in European waters, July-September, 1918, and of demobilization in Europe, January-February, 1919. Member Naval History Society, New York Historical Society, Holland Society, Alpha Delta Phi, Phi Beta Kappa. Mason. Clubs: Harvard, Knickerbocker, Century.

¹⁵ John Nance Garner was born November 22, 1868, on Blossom Prairie, near Detroit, in Red River County, Texas, the oldest child of John Nance Garner and Sarah Guest Garner. The branch of the Garner family from which the vice president is descended moved from Virginia into Tennessee where the father of the first John Nance married a daughter of the Nance family. The vice president is the fourth of his name in a straight line. Received his early education at an old-fashioned country school three miles from his boyhood home. In his early youth he spent one year at Vanderbilt University in Tennessee, after which he returned to Blossom Prairie and began the study of law. He was admitted to the Bar in 1890 at the age of twenty-two, and commenced practice in Uvalde, Uvalde County, Texas; elected a member of the State House of Representatives in 1898 and served two terms; a delegate to

the Democratic National Convention in Kansas City in 1900 and at St. Louis in 1904 and 1916; elected to Congress in 1902, and to the fourteen succeeding Congresses; elected speaker of the House of Representatives, December 7, 1931; reelected to the seventy-third Congress, but resigned, having been elected vice president of the United States, November 8, 1932.

¹⁶ Bennett Champ Clark (Democrat) of St. Louis county, Mo., was born at Bowling Green, Mo., January 8, 1890, the son of Champ and Genevieve (Bennett) Clark. Attended the public schools at Bowling Green and Washington, D. C.; graduated from Eastern High School, Washington, D. C., in 1908; University of Missouri, with A. B. degree, in 1912, and George Washington University, with LL. B. degree, in 1914. Parliamentarian of the United States House of Representatives, 1913-1917. Attended first officers' training camp at Fort Myer, Va., in 1917, receiving commission as captain; elected lieutenant-colonel, Sixth Regiment Missouri Infantry, and served as lieutenant-colonel of that regiment, which later became the One Hundred and Fortieth Regiment United States Infantry, until September, 1918; assistant chief of staff, Eighty-eighth Division, from September, 1918, to March, 1919, and of Thirty-fifth Division, from March, 1919, until discharged in May, 1919; promoted to Colonel of Infantry in March, 1919. One of the seventeen charter members and an incorporator of the American Legion, and chairman of the Paris caucus, which formally organized the Legion; past national commander of the American Legion; past commander of the Thirty-fifth Division Veteran's Association and ex-president of the National Guard Association of the United States; member of the Veterans of Foreign Wars; practiced law in St. Louis since discharged from the Army. Active in Democratic politics all his life, having attended every Democratic National Convention since 1900; parliamentarian of the Democratic National Convention in 1916; delegate at large and member of the resolutions and platform committee of the Houston Convention in 1928; vice-chairman of the Democratic regional headquarters at St. Louis in 1928. Member of Second Presbyterian Church of St. Louis; member of Masonic and Odd Fellows orders, Missouri Athletic Club, and the St. Louis, Mo., and American Bar Associations. Married on October 2, 1922, to Miss Miriam Marsh, the daughter of the late Hon. Wilbur Marsh, of Waterloo, Iowa, treasurer of the Democratic National Committee during the presidential campaigns of 1916 and 1920, and they have three sons—Champ, and the twins, Marsh and Kimball. Elected to the United States Senate on November 8, 1932, for the term commencing March 4, 1933, but was subsequently appointed to the Senate on February 3, 1933, by Gov. Guy B. Park, to fill the unexpired term caused by the resignation of Hon. Harry B. Hawes.

¹⁷ Guy B. Park was born in Platte City, Mo., June 10, 1872; received degree of LL. B. from Missouri University in 1896; city attorney of Platte City; twice prosecuting attorney of Platte County; member of the State Constitutional Convention in 1922; elected circuit judge of the 5th Judicial Circuit in 1922, reelected in 1928 and resigned October 17, 1932, to accept nomination for governor; inaugurated as governor, January 9, 1933.

¹⁸ Frank G. Harris was born in Boone County, Missouri, April 25, 1871; was educated in the public schools of his native state, the Northeast Missouri Teachers College at Kirksville, and the University of Missouri at Columbia; taught school for a number of years, studied law and entered the legal profession; served as prosecuting attorney of Boone County for three successive terms, 1903-1909; represented Boone County in the Missouri House of Representatives in the 46th and 47th General Assemblies; elected to the State Senate from the Tenth District in 1914 and reelected in 1918; in 1928 won the Democratic nomination for lieutenant-governor over six strong opponents, carrying seventy-two counties; in 1932 was again a candidate for lieutenant-governor, had three opponents, carried ninety-four counties; in the election of 1928 went down to defeat with the ticket because of the Hoover landslide, but in 1932 was triumphantly elected, receiving over a million votes; presided over the deliberations of the Senate of the 57th General Assembly, and the special session that convened October 17, 1933; is a prominent Missouri lawyer and resides at Columbia.

¹⁹ Dwight H. Brown was born in Scott County, Missouri, January 12, 1887; educated in the public schools of his native state and the juvenile division of Cumber-

land University, Lebanon, Tenn.; elected to the Missouri Senate in 1924, serving in the 53rd and 54th General Assemblies; nominated for secretary of state in 1928 by a majority of 79,250 over his sole opponent, but was defeated with the remainder of the Democratic ticket in the election of that year; served as parole commissioner of Missouri from 1929 to 1932, being a member of the State Penal Board, a bipartisan organization; in 1932 was again nominated for secretary of state, winning in a field of five by a plurality of 188,958, the largest given any candidate on either ticket; has been prominent in journalistic and civic affairs for years; for eight years served as a director of the Southeast Missouri Agricultural Bureau; was twice president of the Missouri Ozarks Chamber of Commerce, and is now and for the past three years has been president of the Missouri State Chamber of Commerce.

²⁰ Forrest Smith was born on a farm in Ray County, Missouri, February 14, 1886; educated in the public schools of his native county, at Woodson Institute of Richmond, and Westminster College of Fulton; served Ray County for four years as deputy assessor and for eight years as county clerk, during which time he was president of the County Clerks' Association of Missouri; during the World war was a member of the Ray County Draft Board and served on committees on all Liberty Loan and Red Cross drives; for seven years, 1925-1932, served as a member of the State Tax Commission of Missouri, a bipartisan board; in 1928 was nominated for state auditor, and again nominated in 1932 without opposition.

²¹ Richard R. Nacy was born in Jefferson City, Missouri, November 7, 1895. Served with the American Expeditionary Forces in France as a member of the 356th and 107th Infantry regiments, serving in the successive grades of private, corporal, sergeant, first sergeant and second lieutenant. He is now a captain in the Reserve Corps. Since their organization he has been active in affairs of both the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Elected city clerk of Jefferson City in June, 1919, and served until January, 1923; elected circuit clerk of Cole County in November, 1922; was nominated for state treasurer in 1928 and again nominated in 1932 without opposition. His record as state treasurer is remarkable. The year of 1933 was the most distressing in banking history, yet the state has not sustained a single loss during his administration.

²² Roy McKittrick was born on August 24, 1888, at Guthridge Mills, Chariton County, Missouri; spent his earlier years on the farm, attended the district school, Prairie Hill Academy and Pritchett College at Glasgow, and the Missouri University at Columbia; was admitted to the bar of Chariton County in 1909; served as city attorney of Salisbury for a number of years, and three terms as prosecuting attorney of Chariton County, 1914 to 1920; elected to the State Senate in 1928, served in the session of 1931, resigning in 1932 after having received the nomination for attorney-general.

²³ Charles Thomas Hays was born at New London, in Ralls County, Missouri, May 9, 1869; attended the public schools, Bethany College and Missouri State University; admitted to the bar, March 3, 1893, at New London, where he practiced his profession until 1907; served his native city as city attorney for several terms and later as mayor; removed with his family to Hannibal in 1907 and practiced his profession there until elected to the Circuit Bench; served that city as mayor through 1911 and 1912; elected judge of the Supreme Court, November, 1932, for a term of ten years, beginning January 1, 1933, and ending December 31, 1942.

²⁴ Ernest M. Tipton was born in Bowling Green, Missouri, January 2, 1889; educated in the public schools of Columbia, Mo., and the University of Missouri Law School, receiving LL. B. degree; admitted to the bar in 1911, and engaged in private practice in Kansas City for years; member of Missouri State Board of Bar Examiners, 1923 to 1930; elected judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri, Division No. 2, in November, 1932, for a term of ten years.

CHAPTER II

MISSOURI REPRESENTATIVES

CONGRESS—1921—HOUSE

At the general election in 1920 William W. Rucker of Chariton County was reelected from the Second District. This was twenty-four years that Judge Rucker had served this district with great distinction. He was a man who possessed a wonderful personality and gave all his time and talents to his congressional duties. His record in this district will long be remembered as one of the traditions of the political life of the state. The Second District was formed in 1883. Some prominent Democrats had represented this district before Judge Rucker was elected in 1899—Armstead M. Alexander of Monroe County, John B. Hale of Carroll County, Charles H. Mansur of Livingston County, Uriel S. Hall of Randolph County and Robert N. Bodine of Monroe County.

Harry Bartow Hawes¹ of St. Louis was elected from the Eleventh District, succeeding William L. Igoe. This was the beginning of a congressional career that carried him to the U. S. Senate in 1926.

In the election of 1920 there were only two Democrats elected in the Missouri delegation, the other fourteen members being Republicans.

CONGRESS—1923

In the general election of 1922, Milton A. Romjue of Macon County was elected to Congress from the First District; Ralph F. Lozier² of Carroll County from the Second District, succeeding William W. Rucker, who declined reelection.

Jacob L. Milligan³ of Ray County was elected from the Third District, succeeding H. F. Lawrence, a Republican, and reclaiming the district for the Democrats. From this start Jacob L. Milligan has attained great prominence in the state and nation.

Henry L. Jost⁴ of Jackson County was elected from the Fifth District; Clement C. Dickinson of Henry County from the Sixth District; Samuel C. Major of Howard County from the Seventh District; Clarence Cannon⁵ of Lincoln County from the Ninth District; Harry B. Hawes of St. Louis from the Eleventh District; J. Scott Wolff⁶ of Jefferson County from the Thirteenth District; James F. Fulbright⁷ of Ripley County from the Fourteenth District; Thomas L. Rubey of Laclede County from the Sixteenth District.

In the election of 1922, Mrs. Luella St. Clair Moss of Columbia was the Democratic nominee in the Eighth District. She had the distinction

of being the first woman ever nominated for Congress in the state. After an active and aggressive campaign she was defeated by Sidney C. Roach, the Republican.

CONGRESS—1925

In the general election of 1924, Milton A. Romjue of Macon County was reelected to Congress from the First District; Ralph F. Lozier of Carroll County from the Second District; Jacob L. Milligan of Ray County from the Third District; Clement C. Dickinson of Henry County from the Sixth District; Samuel C. Major of Howard County from the Seventh District; William L. Nelson of Boone County from the Eighth District; Clarence Cannon of Lincoln County from the Ninth District; Harry B. Hawes of St. Louis from the Eleventh District; Thomas L. Rubey of Laclede County from the Sixteenth District.

CONGRESS—1927

In the general election of 1926, Milton A. Romjue of Macon County was reelected to Congress from the First District; Ralph F. Lozier of Carroll County from the Second District; Jacob L. Milligan of Ray County from the Third District; George H. Combs⁸ of Jackson County elected from the Fifth District, and some time after his term of office expired he moved to New York City; Clement C. Dickinson of Henry County reelected from the Sixth District; Samuel C. Major of Howard County from the Seventh District; William L. Nelson of Boone County from the Eighth District; Clarence Cannon of Lincoln County from the Ninth District; John J. Cochran⁹ of St. Louis elected from the Eleventh District, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Harry B. Hawes; Clyde D. Williams¹⁰ of Jefferson County from the Thirteenth District; James F. Fulbright of Ripley County reelected from the Fourteenth District; Thomas L. Rubey of Laclede County from the Sixteenth District.

CONGRESS—1929

In the general election of 1928, Milton A. Romjue of Macon County was reelected to Congress from the First District; Ralph F. Lozier of Carroll County from the Second District; Jacob L. Milligan of Ray County from the Third District; William L. Nelson of Boone County from the Eighth District; Clarence Cannon of Lincoln County from the Ninth District; John J. Cochran of St. Louis from the Eleventh District.

CONGRESS—1931

In the general election of 1930, Milton A. Romjue of Macon County was reelected to Congress from the First District; Ralph F. Lozier of Carroll County from the Second District; Jacob L. Milligan of Ray County from the Third District.

Joseph B. Shannon¹¹ of Jackson County was elected from the Fifth District, succeeding Edgar C. Ellis, a Republican. This was an intro-

duction into the political life of the nation of a man that was to become prominent as the exponent of Jeffersonian Democracy, and who was to enlighten the country on the life of this great Democrat—Thomas Jefferson.

Clement C. Dickinson of Henry County was reelected from the Sixth District.

Samuel C. Major of Howard County (Seventh District), was nominated at the August primary in 1930. He died July 28, 1931. The congressional committee selected Robert D. Johnson¹² of Saline County as the Democratic candidate, and at a special election, September 29, 1931, Johnson was returned the winner with 27,277 votes to 18,156 for Palmer, the Republican candidate, and 3,828 for Collins, independent Democrat, running as a wet.

William L. Nelson of Boone County was reelected from the Eighth District; Clarence Cannon of Lincoln County from the Ninth District; John J. Cochran of St. Louis from the Eleventh District; Clyde D. Williams of Jefferson County from the Thirteenth District; James F. Fulbright of Ripley County from the Fourteenth District; William E. Barton¹³ of Texas County from the Sixteenth District, succeeding Thomas L. Rubey.

CONGRESS—1933

In 1931 the General Assembly had failed to redistrict the state into thirteen districts, the Missouri allotment for members of Congress having been cut from sixteen members to thirteen, which required the delegation to be elected at large. In 1845 the congressional delegation from Missouri was increased to five members, who were elected at large, and John S. Phelps and Leonard H. Sims of Greene County were elected on the delegation. It is a singular coincidence that in 1932 two members of Congress were again elected from Greene County—James E. Ruffin and Ruben T. Wood of Springfield.

In 1932 the following members of Congress were elected at large: Jacob L. Milligan of Ray County, Clement C. Dickinson of Henry County, Ralph F. Lozier of Carroll County, Jos. B. Shannon of Jackson County, Richard M. Duncan¹⁴ of Buchanan County, Frank H. Lee¹⁵ of Jasper County, Milton A. Romjue of Macon County, James E. Ruffin¹⁶ of Greene County, Clarence Cannon of Lincoln County, John J. Cochran of St. Louis, James R. Claiborne¹⁷ of St. Louis, Ruben T. Wood¹⁸ of Greene County and Clyde Williams of Jefferson County.

FOOT NOTES—CHAPTER II—TENTH EPOCH

¹ Harry Bartow Hawes (Democrat), lawyer, member Episcopal church, born Covington, Ky., November 15, 1869; moved to Missouri in 1887. Son of Capt. Smith Nicholas Hawes and Susan Elizabeth Simrall. Married Eppes Osborne Robinson, November 15, 1899; two daughters, Peyton Elizabeth and Eppes Bartow Hawes. Graduated Washington University Law School, LL. B. Appointed by President Dole of the then Republic of Hawaii in the interests of its annexation by the United States in 1898. Appointed president St. Louis Police Board by Gov. Lon V. Stephens;

appointed president St. Louis Police Board by Gov. Alex M. Dockery. Candidate for Democratic nomination for governor of Missouri in 1903. Chief organizer Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterways Association; chairman Speakers Committee; actively identified with work of Mississippi River improvement since. Missouri's representative Notification Committee to President Wilson of his renomination in 1916. Member Missouri State Legislature 1916-17; chairman Roads Committee; member committees on Agriculture and Fish and Game. While serving in Legislature introduced series of laws which rewrote entire road laws of Missouri. Wrote present State Highway law called the "Hawes law." Formerly president Federation Roads Council of St. Louis and of the state-wide organization, Missouri Good Roads Federation, which directed the campaign for \$60,000,000 Road Bond Issue. Elected to the 67th, 68th and 69th Congresses. Elected to short term United States Senate to fill unexpired term of Selden P. Spencer; elected for long term beginning March 4, 1927, expiring 1933. At outbreak of World war participated in formation of American Relief Committee, London, England, in 1914. Appointed captain U. S. Army, assigned to Military Intelligence Department of the General Staff; assistant military attache U. S. Embassy at Madrid, Spain; major, Reserves. Member American Society of International Law; American Bar Association; Missouri State Bar Association; St. Louis Bar Association. Member Sons of American Revolution, Sons of Confederate Veterans, American Legion, Military Order of the World war. In both the House and the Senate he served on Interstate Commerce Committee.

² Ralph Fulton Lozier, a representative from Missouri; born near Hardin, Ray County, Mo., January 28, 1866; attended the public schools, and was graduated from the Carrollton High School in 1883; engaged in teaching for several years; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1886, and commenced practice in Carrollton; also interested in agricultural pursuits and the raising of livestock; member of the board of trustees of William Woods College for Girls at Fulton, Mo.; elected as a Democrat to the Sixty-eighth and Sixty-ninth Congresses (March 4, 1923-March 3, 1927); Re-elected to the Seventieth Congress.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

³ Jacob Le Roy Milligan, a representative from Missouri; born in Richmond, Ray County, Mo. March 9, 1889; attended the public schools, and the law department of the University of Missouri at Columbia 1910-1914; was admitted to the bar in 1913 and commenced practice at Richmond, Mo., in 1914; during the World war enlisted in the Sixth Regiment Missouri Infantry on April 8, 1917; served as captain of Company G. One Hundred and Fortieth Infantry Regiment, Thirty-fifth Division, from August 4, 1917, to May 15, 1919; embarked for France April 23, 1918; received two citations; returned April 28, 1919; elected as a Democrat to the Sixty-sixth Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Joshua W. Alexander, and served from February 14, 1920, to March 3, 1921; unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1920 to the Sixty-seventh Congress; elected to the Sixty-eighth and Sixty-ninth Congresses (March 4, 1923-March 3, 1927). Re-elected to the Seventieth Congress.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁴ Henry Lee Jost, a representative from Missouri; born in New York City December 6, 1873; moved to Missouri in 1881 with his parents, who settled in Hopkins; attended the common schools; studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1898; afterwards attended the Kansas City Law School in 1898 and 1899 and commenced the practice of his profession in Kansas City, Mo., in 1899; associate city counselor in 1909; first assistant prosecuting attorney 1910-1912; mayor of Kansas City 1912-1916; elected as a Democrat to the Sixty-eighth Congress (March 4, 1923-March 3, 1925); declined to be a candidate for renomination in 1924; resumed practice of law, and is a resident of Kansas City, Mo.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁵ Clarence Cannon, a representative from Missouri; born in Elsberry, Lincoln County, Mo., April 11, 1879; attended the public schools; was graduated from La Grange Junior College (now at Hannibal, Mo.) in 1901, from William Jewell College, Liberty, Mo., in 1903, and from the law department of the University of Missouri at Columbia in 1908; was admitted to the bar in 1908, and commenced practice in Troy,

Mo.; parliamentarian of the House of Representatives in the Sixty-fourth, Sixty-fifth, and Sixty-sixth Congresses; parliamentarian of the Democratic National Convention at San Francisco in 1920 and at New York in 1924; author of "A Synopsis of the Procedure of the House (1918)," of "Procedure in the House of Representatives (1920)," and "Cannon's Procedure (1928)," published by resolution of the House; editor and compiler of the "Precedents of the House of Representatives" by act of Congress; elected as a Democrat to the Sixty-eighth and Sixty-ninth Congresses (March 3, 1923-March 3, 1927). Re-elected to the Seventieth Congress.

⁶ Joseph Scott Wolff, a representative from Missouri; born in Westmoreland County, Pa., June 14, 1878; attended the public schools; served with the Fourth United States Cavalry in the Philippine Islands during the Spanish-American war 1899-1901; moved to St. Louis, Mo., in 1901; was graduated from the dental department of Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., in 1905 and practiced his profession in St. Louis and Festus, Mo.; mayor of Festus, Jefferson County, Mo., 1907-1911 and 1915-1917; member of the state House of Representatives 1913-1915; was graduated from the St. Louis College of Law and Finance in 1923; was admitted to the bar the same year and commenced practice in Festus, Mo.; elected as a Democrat to the Sixty-eighth Congress (March 4, 1923-March 3, 1925); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1924 to the Sixty-ninth Congress; engaged in the practice of dentistry and law at Kansas City, Mo.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁷ James Franklin Fulbright, a representative from Missouri; born near Millersville, Cape Girardeau County, Mo., January 24, 1877; attended the public schools, and was graduated from the State Normal School, Cape Girardeau, Mo., in 1900; taught school in Ripley County for several years; attended the Washington Law School, St. Louis, Mo., for a short time; was admitted to the bar in 1903 and commenced practice in Doniphan, Mo., in 1904; appointed and subsequently elected prosecuting attorney of Ripley County in 1906; re-elected in 1908 and 1910; member of the state House of Representatives 1913-1919, and served as speaker *pro tempore* 1915-1919; mayor of Doniphan, Mo., 1919-1921; elected as a Democrat to the Sixty-eighth Congress (March 4, 1923-March 3, 1925); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1924 to the Sixty-ninth Congress; resumed the practice of law, and resides in Doniphan, Mo. Elected to the Seventieth Congress.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

⁸ George Hamilton Combs, Jr., was born in Kansas City, Mo., May 2, 1899; he attended the public schools there, later the University of Missouri, Michigan University and Kansas City School of Law; he still resides in Kansas City and is engaged in the practice of law. Was assistant prosecuting attorney in 1923, from which position he resigned to run for the office of representative in Congress in 1924, in which election he was defeated by 1,500 votes. He is a member of the University Club. He was elected to Congress in 1926 by a majority of 18,000 and served in the Seventieth Session.

⁹ John Joseph Cochran, a representative from Missouri; born in Webster Groves, St. Louis County, Mo., August 11, 1880; attended the public schools; employed in the editorial department of various St. Louis newspapers for several years; assistant to the election commissioners of St. Louis 1911-1913; secretary to Representative William L. Igoe; of Missouri, from March 4, 1913, to November 30, 1917; private secretary to Senator William J. Stone, of Missouri, and clerk to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate from December 1, 1917, to May 10, 1918; again became secretary to Representative Igoe, serving from May 11, 1918, to March 3, 1921; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1921 at St. Louis, Mo., but did not engage in extensive practice; secretary to Representative Harry B. Hawes, of Missouri, from March 4, 1921, to November 2, 1926, when he resigned, having been elected to Congress; elected as a Democrat to the Sixty-ninth Congress, and served from November 2, 1926, to March 3, 1927. Elected on the same day (November 2, 1926) to the Seventieth Congress.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

¹⁰ Clyde Williams was born in Jefferson County, Mo., October 13, 1873; educated in the public schools, the De Soto High School, the Cape Girardeau Normal School, and the University of Missouri, from which he was graduated in 1901 in both the

academic and legal departments. He was elected prosecuting attorney of Jefferson County three times—in 1902, 1904 and 1906. He has long taken an active interest in politics and for six years served as chairman of the Jefferson County Democratic Central Committee; has attended various state and national conventions. He is actively engaged in the practice of law at Hillsboro. On November 2, 1926, he was elected to the Seventieth Congress.

¹¹ Joseph B. Shannon was born March 17, 1867, in St. Louis, Mo.; educated in the public schools three years, and one year night school, Spalding's College; lawyer by profession. Member Constitutional Convention held in 1922 and 1923. He resides in Kansas City.

¹² Robert Davis Johnson was born August 12, 1883, in Saline County, Mo. In 1907 he was appointed deputy circuit clerk and in 1915 was elected to the office of circuit clerk and served two terms. It was while in this office that he began the study of law. He was admitted to the bar in 1917 and served two terms as prosecuting attorney of Saline County. After the term of office expired he became a member of the law firm of Duggins and Johnson. At the special election held September 29, 1931, in the Seventh Congressional District, Robert D. Johnson was elected by a vote of 27,277 against 18,156 for Palmer, the Republican candidate, and 3,828 for Collins, the wet candidate, Johnson having a majority of 9,121 votes.

¹³ William E. Barton was born in South Carolina, April 11, 1868; moved with his parents to a farm in Crawford County, Mo. In 1894 graduated in law from the Missouri State University. Located in Houston, Mo., for the practice of law, and that place has been his home since that time. Volunteered as a soldier in 1898 and served through the war with Spain as a sergeant in Company M, Second Missouri Infantry, U. S. V. Was elected prosecuting attorney of Texas County in 1900. In 1902 formed partnership with the late Robert Lamar, who was elected to Congress in that year. During the World war was largely engaged in Red Cross work. Was elected judge of the Nineteenth Judicial Circuit in 1922. Was a member of the Texas County Bar Association, Nineteenth Judicial Circuit Bar Association, and the Missouri State Bar Association; of the last named he has been vice president. Was elected to the Seventy-second Congress in November, 1930.

¹⁴ Richard M. Duncan was born November 10, 1889, in Platte County, Missouri. Educated in the public schools of Missouri and Christian Brothers College of St. Joseph, Mo. Is a lawyer by profession and served as deputy circuit clerk of Buchanan County, 1911-1917; was city counselor of St. Joseph, 1926-1930. He was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Chicago in 1932. Was nominated for Congress in the old fourth Missouri district in 1928 but met defeat in the Republican landslide of that year. Four years later, in 1932, he was nominated again and elected to the Seventy-third Congress in November of that year.

¹⁵ Frank Hood Lee was born March 29, 1873, in Johnson County, Kansas. He was educated in the public schools of Eldorado Springs, Missouri. He represented Jasper County in the Forty-eighth and Forty-ninth Missouri Assemblies. In the general election of November, 1932, he was elected to the Seventy-third Congress as a Congressman-at-Large. He is an attorney and resides at Joplin, Mo.

¹⁶ James Edward Ruffin was born July 24, 1893, on a farm near Covington, Tipton County, Tennessee. Educated in the rural schools of Tipton County, Tennessee; grade and high schools of Aurora, Missouri; Drury College, Springfield, Mo. (A. B., 1916), and Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tenn. (LL. B., 1920). He is a lawyer by profession. Served overseas with the First and Thirty-fifth Divisions during the World war. Was assistant city attorney of Springfield, Mo., 1926-28. Has been active in civic affairs in Springfield, having been twice president of the Greene County Bar Association, president of the Springfield Lions Club, and member of the Springfield Board of Associated Charities. Was elected to the Seventy-third Congress in the 1932 state-wide election. Resides at Springfield, Mo.

¹⁷ James R. Claiborne was born June 22, 1882, in St. Louis, Missouri, the son of Col. James R. Claiborne, a member of the St. Louis bar, and Fanny Moore Claiborne, formerly of Boonville, Mo. Educated in the St. Louis public schools and the Uni-

versity of Missouri, graduating from the law department with the class of 1906. He practiced at the St. Louis bar continuously since 1906, specializing in trial work in both state and federal courts. Was a lecturer in the St. Louis University Law School for many years on "Evidence" and other subjects. Was elected to the Seventy-third Congress in the state-wide 1932 election. He resides in St. Louis.

¹⁸ Ruben Terrell Wood was born on a farm near Springfield, Missouri, August 7, 1884. At an early age he entered the cigar industry. Elected president of the Missouri State Federation of Labor in 1912 and served in this capacity twenty consecutive years; also served as chairman of the legislative committee of the Missouri Federation of Labor and attended every session of the Missouri General Assembly from 1913 to 1933, sponsoring legislation in the interests of the wage-earner, farmer, and small business man; led the continuous fight for the enactment of the Missouri workmen's compensation law, from 1915 until its final passage in 1925, and the subsequent ratification, by vote of the people in the general election of 1926. Served in the capacity of national legislative representative of the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees during the session of the Sixty-sixth Congress, from October, 1919, to April, 1920, sponsoring legislation in the interest of the railway employees. During the World war was a member of the State Advisory Board for Missouri of the United States Fuel Administration and was a member of the Missouri division of the United States Food Administration. Was elected congressman-at-large in the general election of November 8, 1932, to the Seventy-third Congress. Besides at Springfield, Mo.

CONCLUSION—1933-34

THE POLITICAL RENAISSANCE OF AMERICA

CHAPTER I

ELECTIONS OF 1932

In the general elections of 1932, Democracy was overwhelmingly triumphant in state and Nation. Franklin Delano Roosevelt and John Nance Garner,¹ the Democratic candidates for President and Vice President, respectively, were elected by a tremendous majority in both the popular vote and in the Electoral College.

Roosevelt and Garner had been nominated at the Democratic National Convention which convened in Chicago, June 27. United States Senator Thomas J. Walsh² of Montana, was the permanent chairman and Roosevelt's nomination was accomplished over the candidacies of Alfred E. Smith, of New York, Newton D. Baker of Ohio, James A. Reed³ of Missouri, and other outstanding Democrats of National renown.

Dictated by the Presidential nominee and those identified with his candidacy, the platform as adopted was pronounced the most unusual ever accepted by a national political convention.

The preamble to this remarkable declaration of party principles and which was to awaken a Nation that, economically, lay prostrate was couched in these emphatic words:

"In this time of unprecedented economic and social distress, the Democratic party declares its conviction that the chief causes of this condition were the disastrous policies pursued by our government since the World war, of economic isolation, fostering the merger of competitive businesses into monopolies and encouraging the indefensible expansion and contraction of credit for private profit at the expense of the public.

"Those who were responsible for these policies have abandoned the ideals on which the war was won, and thrown away the fruits of victory, thus rejecting the greatest opportunity in history to bring peace, prosperity and happiness to our people and to the world. They have ruined our foreign trade, destroyed the values of our commodities and products, crippled our banking system, robbed millions of our people of their life savings and thrown millions more out of work, produced widespread poverty and brought the government to a state of financial distress unprecedented in times of peace."

In Missouri the tremendous Democratic success not only carried the State ticket to success but swept into office a United States Senator, a solid Democratic delegation of thirteen to the lower House of Congress, and a Legislature overwhelmingly Democratic in both branches.

Judge Guy B. Park of Platte County, was inaugurated as Governor, January 9, 1933. This great event marked the retirement of the Republican Party after twelve years of continuous rule in State affairs.

In an able address before a joint session of the members of the General Assembly and with thousands of interested citizens present, Governor Park made the following recommendations as to needed legislation:

"Reduce state expenses by consolidating overlapping boards, bureaus and departments.

"Create a system of budgetry under the amendment adopted by the people in November.

"Create a purchasing agency to buy all supplies for the state and its institutions.

"Provide for an audit of every department and institution to search out waste spots.

"Revising of salaries, using care that none are made so low as to deter competent persons from accepting public employment.

"Application of the principle of retrenchment, and consolidation to the counties and municipalities which collect 72 per cent of the direct taxes on real estate and tangible personal property.

"Provide for employment of the inmates in the Penitentiary in manufacturing commodities for state use when the Hawes-Cooper federal law becomes effective January, 1934.

"Overhaul the banking laws if necessary to speed up liquidation of failed banks and to secure for depositors largest return of their money.

"Re-enact the law making it a felony for state bank officials to accept deposits knowing their bank is insolvent.

"Make reasonable appropriations for charitable relief.

"Lay out new congressional districts.

"Ratify the lame duck amendment to the Federal Constitution.

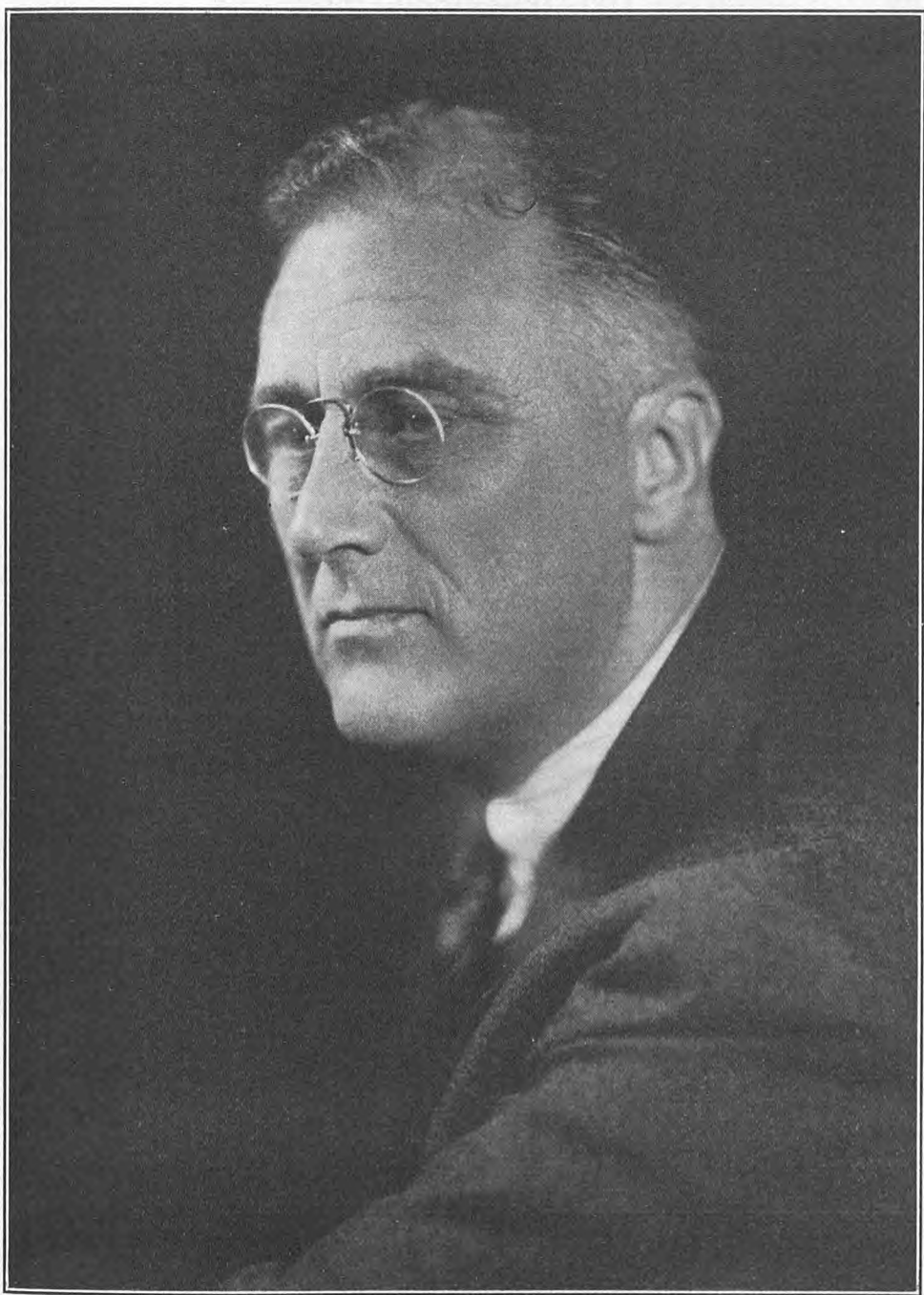
"Empower the courts to reform the system of judicial procedure to speed up justice."

On March 4, 1933, Franklin Delano Roosevelt was inaugurated as President of the United States. The date was just 100 years following Andrew Jackson's acceptance of the oath of office for his second term as President. In almost identical terms, while not in words, President Roosevelt announced a program that harkened back to the days and the policies enunciated and administered by "Old Hickory." In a clear tone of voice that bespoke sincerity of purpose and a graphic understanding of the grave responsibilities confronting him, the President said:

"I am certain that my fellow Americans expect that on my induction into the presidency I will address them with a candor and a decision which the present situation of our nation impels.

"This is pre-eminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. This great nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance.

"In every dark hour of our national life a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory. I am convinced that you will again give that support to leadership in these critical days.



Franklin D. Roosevelt

"In such a spirit on my part and on yours, we face our common difficulties. They concern, thank God, only material things. Values have shrunk to fantastic levels; taxes have risen; our ability to pay has fallen; government of all kinds is faced by serious curtailment of income; the means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade; the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; farmers find no markets for their produce; the savings of many years in thousands of families are gone.

"More important, a host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence, and an equally great number toil with little return. Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark realities of the moment.

"Yet our distress comes from no failure of substance. We are stricken by no plague of locusts. Compared with the perils which our forefathers conquered, because they believed and were not afraid, we have still much to be thankful for. Nature still offers her bounty and human efforts have multiplied it. Plenty is at our doorstep, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply.

"Primarily, this is because the rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence; have admitted their failure and abdicated. Practices of the unscrupulous money changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and minds of men.

"True, they have tried, but their efforts have been cast in the pattern of an outworn tradition. Faced by failure of credit, they have proposed only the lending of more money. Stripped of the lure of profit by which to induce our people to follow their false leadership, they have resorted to exhortation, pleading tearfully for restored confidence. They know only the rules of a generation of self-seekers. They have no vision, and when there is no vision the people perish.

"The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths. The measure of the restoration lies in the extent to which we apply social values, more noble than mere monetary profit.

"Happiness lies not in the mere possession of money; it lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort. The joy and moral stimulation of work no longer must be forgotten in the mad chase of evanescent profits. These dark days will be worth all they cost us, if they teach us that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but to minister to ourselves and to our fellowmen.

"Recognition of the falsity of material wealth as the standard of success goes hand in hand with the abandonment of the false belief that public office and high political position are to be valued only by the standards of pride of place and personal profit; and there must be an end to a conduct in banking and in business which too often has given to a sacred trust the likeness of callous and selfish wrong-doing. Small wonder that confidence languishes, for it thrives only on honesty, on honor, on the sacredness of obligations, on faithful protection, on unselfish performance; without them it can not live.

"Restoration calls, however, not for changes in ethics alone. This nation asks for action, and action now.

"Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously. It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of war, but at the same time through this employment accomplishing greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our natural resources.

"Hand in hand with this we must frankly recognize the overbalance of population in our industrial centers and, by engaging on a national scale in a redistribution, endeavor to provide a better use of the land for those best fitted for the land. The task can be helped by definite efforts to raise the values of agricultural products and with this the power to purchase the output of our cities. It can be helped by preventing realistically the tragedy of the growing loss through foreclosure, of our small homes and our farms. It can be helped by

insistence that the federal, state and local governments act forthwith on the demand that their cost be drastically reduced. It can be helped by the unifying of relief activities which today are often scattered, uneconomical and unequal. It can be helped by national planning for and supervision of all forms of transportation and of communications and other utilities which have a definitely public character. There are many ways in which it can be helped, but it can never be helped merely by talking about it. We must act and act quickly.

"Finally, in our progress toward a resumption of work we require two safeguards against a return of the evils of the old order; there must be a strict supervision of all banking and credits and investments; there must be an end to speculation with other people's money, and there must be provision for an adequate but sound currency.

"These are the lines of attack. I shall presently urge upon a new Congress in special session detailed measures for their fulfilment, and I shall seek the immediate assistance of the several states.

"Through this program of action we address ourselves to putting our own national house in order and making income balance outgo. Our international trade relations, though vastly important, are in point of time and necessity secondary to the establishment of a sound national economy. I favor as a practical policy the putting of first things first. I shall spare no effort to restore world trade by international economic readjustment, but the emergency at home cannot wait on that accomplishment.

"The basic thought that guides these specific means of national recovery is not narrowly nationalistic. It is the insistence, as a first consideration, upon the interdependence of the various elements in and parts of the United States—a recognition of the old and permanently important manifestation of the American spirit of the pioneer. It is the way to recovery. It is the immediate way. It is the strongest assurance that the recovery will endure.

"In the field of world policy I would dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others—the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors.

"If I read the temper of our people correctly, we now realize as we have never realized before, our interdependence on each other; that we can not merely take but we must give as well, that if we are to go forward we must move as a trained and loyal army willing to sacrifice for the good of a common discipline, because without such discipline no progress is made, no leadership becomes effective. We are, I know, ready and willing to submit our lives and property to such discipline, because it makes possible a leadership which aims at a larger good. This I propose to offer, pledging that the larger purposes will bind upon us all as a sacred obligation with a unity of duty hitherto evoked only in time of armed strife.

"With this pledge taken, I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of our people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems.

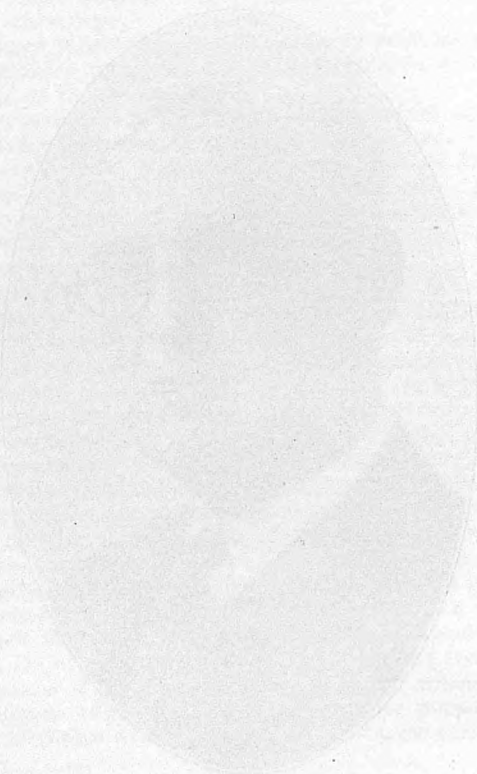
"Action in this image and to this end is feasible under the form of government which we have inherited from our ancestors. Our Constitution is so simple and practical that it is possible always to meet extraordinary needs by changes in emphasis and arrangement without loss of essential forms. That is why our constitutional system has proved itself the most superbly enduring political mechanism the modern world has produced. It has met every stress of vast expansion of territory, of foreign wars, of bitter internal strife, of world relations.

"It is to be hoped that the normal balance of executive and legislative authority may be wholly adequate to meet the unprecedented task before us. But it may be that an unprecedented demand and need for undelayed action may call for temporary departure from that normal balance of public procedure.

"I am prepared under my constitutional duty to recommend the measures that a stricken nation in the midst of a stricken world may require. These measures, or such other measures as the Congress may build out of its experi-



GOVERNOR GUY B. PARK



ence and wisdom, I shall seek, within my constitutional authority, to bring to speedy adoption.

"But in the event that the Congress shall fail to take one of these two courses, and in the event that the national emergency is still critical, I shall not evade the clear course of duty that will then confront me. I shall ask the Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis—broad executive power to wage a war against the emergency as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe.

"For the trust reposed in me I will return the courage and the devotion that befit the time. I can do no less.

"We face the arduous days that lie before us in the warm courage of national unity; with the clear consciousness of seeking old and precious moral values; with the clean satisfaction that comes from the stern performance of duty by old and young alike. We aim at the assurance of a rounded and permanent national life.

"We do not distrust the future of essential democracy. The people of the United States have not failed. In their need they have registered a mandate that they want direct vigorous action. They have asked for discipline and direction under leadership. They have made me the present instrument of their wishes. In the spirit of the gift, I take it.

"In this dedication of a nation we humbly ask the blessing of God. May he protect each and every one of us. May He guide me in the days to come."

DEMOCRATIC ACCOMPLISHMENTS

In an address before the Young Democratic Clubs of Missouri, in convention at Jefferson City, February 23, 1934, Governor Park set forth the outstanding accomplishments of the first year of his administration. The text of his address was as follows:

GOVERNOR PARK'S STEWARDSHIP

"This fine gathering of militant young Missouri Democrats, representatives of the various Young Democratic Clubs, assembled from all sections of our State, evidences a healthy existing party condition and is a guarantee of a successful future. It is my humble opinion that after a year of Democratic rule in Nation and State, the Party is even stronger than on the eighth day of November, 1932, when it received such an overwhelming approval of the electorate. Nor is this condition a mere accident or passing fancy. It is the result of things accomplished—promises fulfilled. * * *

"It is my purpose on this occasion to submit to you Young Democrats as briefly as possible, an accurate account of the stewardship of the Democratic Party in Missouri during the past year. First, may I direct your attention to what has been done in a legislative way and somewhat the effect of the legislation passed? As you know, there have been two sessions, a regular and special session, of the legislature. The latter was called primarily in order that Missouri might fully coöperate with the National Administration in carrying out its splendid program of relief.

"In the first session many useless and overlapping boards and bureaus were abolished, namely: The State Board of Charities and Corrections, whose authority was vested in the Board of Managers of the State Eleemosynary Institutions; the Office of Director of Physical Education; the Membership of the Department of Penal Institutions reduced from five to three; the State Forestry Department; Office of School Attendance Officer; Blind Commission and its powers vested in another board; the Office of Beer Inspector; State Board of Agriculture; and some of its powers vested in a Commissioner of Agriculture; Food and Drug Department was put under the control of the Health Commissioner.

"An Act was passed providing for the manufacture of automobile licenses in the State Penitentiary instead of by private contract.

"There was established a State Purchasing Agency now functioning and resulting in great economy.

"Uniform budget system for counties and the state have been adopted.

"The State Board of Equalization reduced the property valuation in Missouri approximately \$440,000,000. This effected a saving to the taxpayers of approximately \$15,400,000 per year. An Act was passed providing for the remission of penalties on delinquent personal and real estate taxes, which will save the taxpayers of Missouri \$30,800,000.

"At the special session of the legislature the license tax on motor vehicles was materially reduced.

"The bone-dry law was repealed and laws regulating the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors were passed.

"A reforestation Act permitting the Government to acquire, not to exceed 100,000 acres in any one county for the purpose of establishing National Forests, was passed and the Federal Government is now acquiring lands in our beautiful Ozarks for forestation purposes.

"Our insurance laws were so amended as to give the Insurance Commissioner greater authority over the regulation and control of foreign and domestic insurance companies, thereby affording better protection to the policy holders.

"The Banking Laws were changed so as to permit State Banks to take advantage of Federal Insurance and the State Banking Department to cooperate with the National Banking Department in order to obtain Federal Relief. Building and Loan Associations were given authority to take advantage of the provisions of the National Home Owners' Loan Act of 1933.

"An Act was passed providing for the establishment of farm warehouses so that farmers might obtain Government loans on corn.

"Several local laws were passed providing for the establishment of sewage and drainage districts.

"A Constitutional Amendment to be submitted to the people authorizing a Bond Issue of \$10,000,000 for the purpose of repairing, remodeling, or rebuilding all or any of the Eleemosynary or Penal Institutions of this State was passed.⁴

* * *

"During the past year, as you know, a condition of distress, now materially ameliorated, existed within our borders. Approximately 200,000 men, women and children 'blood of our blood and flesh or our flesh' were on the relief roll and received aid from the State and National Governments. The State at the regular session of the Legislature appropriated \$250,000 to aid in the relief of this condition. * * * It was my feeling that property, already over-burdened and staggering under its load of taxation should not be called upon to meet this obligation and for this reason I asked the Legislature to pass what is commonly called a Sales Tax as a temporary measure to meet this emergency; and the Legislature did pass an Act, which I approved, levying a tax of one-half of one per cent upon retail sales in this State. This law will expire at midnight, December 31, 1935.

"You will agree with me that upon its record of laws passed, our State Legislature is to be commended. I doubt whether in the history of Missouri any Legislature, in that respect, has a better record.

"You will recall that your last party platform promised economy in Government. May I ask that you bear with me for a little while longer that I may submit the proof that we have kept the faith?

"As has been stated, there were two sessions of the Legislature in 1933. The total cost of these two sessions amounted to \$412,018 as compared to \$811,000 for the session of 1929 and \$640,000 for the session in 1931. On January 1, 1933, when the present Administration took charge, there was only \$300,724.26 in the General Revenue Fund. We were confronted with unpaid bills amounting to \$1,883,501.82 in excess of the cash on hand—a heritage from the previous Admin-

istration. These bills have been paid. * * * It has been my endeavor (and in this I have had hearty support from my appointees) in all Departments under my control, to cut expenses to the minimum without impairment of efficiency. The other Elective State Officials have also been most considerate in the interests of the Tax-payer.

"If it is extravagant to feed the hungry, relieve the distressed, find work for the unemployed, care for the poor and needy, then and then only, may we be convicted of extravagance. We have cut salaries and reduced the number of employes materially.

"In conclusion, Young Democrats, keep the faith of Jefferson, Jackson, Wilson and Roosevelt. Under our scheme of Government, Parties are necessary and desirable, but also remember this—that above Party comes Country. Your first duty as citizens is patriotism, obedience to constituted authority and observance of the laws. You are Democrats because you believe in the eternal principles of that Great Party. You need have no fear of the ultimate outcome of the great struggle in which we are now engaged. Where Roosevelt leads, you may safely follow. He is 'driving the Money Changers from the Temples,' yet will safeguard legitimate businesses. The farmer is receiving aid, the laborer employment and the average citizen is being restored to his inalienable rights, but Communism and Socialism have no place in the great program of permanent restoration."

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST YEAR OF THE NEW DEAL

On March 4, 1934, in its retrospection of the "First Year of the New Deal," the St. Louis Post Dispatch said editorially:

"March 4, 1933. Every bank in the country is closed. Some 13,000,000 workers are unemployed. Every fourth family in the country is dependent on charity. Industry is at a standstill. Business is flat on its back. Depression has endured for three and a half years. Business and political leadership is bankrupt. The people are bewildered. They despair of the future. Even Wall Street is talking revolution. From the welter of confusion, one clear voice speaks: 'The people of the United States have not failed. This great Nation will endure as it has endured; will revive and prosper. The only thing we have to fear is fear itself.' With these words, Franklin D. Roosevelt assumes the responsibilities of the presidency. Behind him, an election which amounted to a political revolution; a mandate to do something, anything at all. Before him, chaos.

"March 4, 1934. The banks are functioning. Three million men have gone back to work. Relief has been extended to the needy. Factory wheels are beginning to turn. Business is picking up. Depression is giving way to recovery. Inaction has yielded to action. The people face the future with renewed confidence. Courageous leadership has initiated a far-flung program of social and economic reconstruction. Again the nation marches. A transformation has been wrought, not by yielding in despair to dictatorship; not by resorting to violence and destruction; but through the employment of the orderly processes of democratic government.

"The first year of the New Deal has been packed with action. For twelve long years, conservatism was in the saddle. It protected privilege. It prevented the progressive adaptation of political institutions to changing social needs. The new administration found much to do. It responded with a program of liberal legislation, which surpasses even the record of the first congressional session under Woodrow Wilson. A mere catalog of the administration's measures would fill a volume. We can do no more than indicate their direction.

"The financial crisis was met with decision and courage. Congress was assembled. The Emergency Banking Act of 1933 was prepared, enacted and put into operation within the space of a few days. The sound banks were reopened under conditions which assured the people of their strength. Desperate expedients were avoided. Hysteria was dispelled. Attention was then directed to other emergency needs.

"Federal credit was re-established by reducing ordinary expenditures, reorganizing Government departments and preparing the way for the taxation of liquor. Measures were adopted to reduce the burden of farm and home debt. Further loans were extended by the RFC to avert the impending bankruptcy of railroads, banks and insurance companies. A Federal Co-Ordinator of Transportation was appointed, to increase the efficiency and reduce the costs of the carriers, staying off threatened defaults. Before summer came, the financial emergency was definitely passed.

"The problem of relief remained. There can be no question that this administration has done an incomparably better job of relief than its predecessor. It has abandoned the preposterous notion that private charity and local government alone must assume the responsibility of providing for the needy. It has

made direct cash grants to the states. It has bought surplus crops for distribution among the destitute. It has put thousands of men to work through the CWA and the CCC. The President has fulfilled his promise that no one should go through another winter like the last. It is to this relief of distress that we may attribute the social stability which has been maintained in the face of dire need.

"The past year has marked the resurgence of a social conscience in government. Social legislation, estopped for more than a decade by official taboo, has once more found friends in authority. The principle of nation-wide minimum wages and maximum hours has been recognized by the Federal Government. The right of collective bargaining has been explicitly written into Federal law. The sweatshop has been outlawed; child labor abolished under the codes.

"The Wagner bill, creating a national system of public employment exchanges, once killed by President Hoover's veto, has become law over his successor's signature. Senator Wagner and Representative Lewis have introduced a bill into Congress which would speed the enactment of unemployment insurance laws by the states. The President himself has appealed to the states to enact minimum wage legislation and has expressed his hope that the child labor amendment to the Constitution may be carried into ratification. This sympathetic support of social legislation is an attitude in which all liberals must rejoice.

"The President, too, has proved that his denunciation of the money changers was not empty rhetoric. The Securities Act subjects the stock and bond merchants to public regulation. The Fletcher-Reyburn bill would extend this control to corporate financial practices and to trading on the exchanges. Other pending legislation would apply it to the commodity markets. The tax bill, now before Congress, plugs many of the gaps through which men of wealth have been able to escape the payment of income taxes.

"The Banking Act divorced commercial banks from their investment affiliates and severed the business of deposit and investment banking. Public development of the power resources at Muscle Shoals and Federal assistance to municipal ownership of utilities have confronted the utility barons with the threat of effective regulatory competition. The Secretary of Agriculture has initiated action against the great packing houses. The Senate Committee on Banking and Currency has relentlessly pushed its investigation into corrupt corporate practice. The administration, with unexampled directness, has canceled mail contracts which were secretly granted to political favorites. It has broken all precedent in driving the purveyors of political influence from its doors. The present rulers of Washington are honest. There are even those who assert that they are too honest, charging that Secretary Ickes, by his meticulous scrutiny of applications for public works funds, has unduly delayed the initiation of public construction.

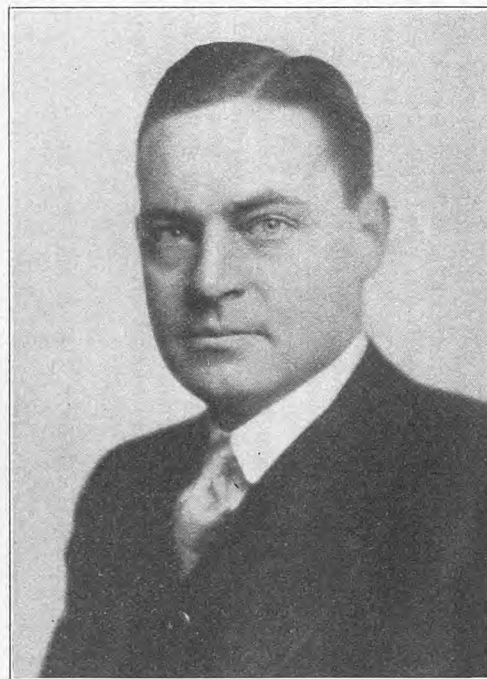
"In addition to meeting the emergency, extending relief, enacting social legislation and subjecting business abuses to regulation, the New Deal has undertaken to promote industrial recovery. Three billion dollars have been allotted to public works projects. Prohibition has been repealed. Agricultural output has been reduced and subsidies have been extended to the farmer as a means of increasing agricultural purchasing power. Industry has been brought under codes of fair competition, which check the further depression of labor standards and call for an increase in employment and payrolls. The dollar has been devalued to 59.06 cents in an effort to boost price levels and thus stimulate business activity.

"Much of the New Deal presents possibilities of permanent economic reconstruction. The Tennessee Valley Authority is planning the economic development of a whole area. The Agricultural Adjustment Act is inducing farmers to cooperate for the solution of their problems. The codes of fair competition adopted under the NIRA may well evolve into permanent industrial constitutions. The Banking Act of 1933 has made a start toward the reorganization of our banking system.

"The administration has placed its emphasis on domestic action. International relations have been subordinated, for the time being, to the requirements of the



HON. JAMES R. CLAIBORNE
United States Congressman



HON. THOMAS C. HENNINGS, Jr.
United States Congressman

domestic situation. Not until two days ago did the President tackle the tariff problem, when he asked Congress for authority to make reciprocal trade agreements with other countries, to expand our foreign markets. Progress may be reported on other foreign fronts. Russia has been recognized. Pacification has been achieved in Cuba without formal intervention and the sugar agreement now promises to restore prosperity to that unhappy island. The world economic conference, it is true, ended in failure; but only because the time was not ripe for cooperative action. Our Latin American relations, thanks to the President Wilson Day address and to the diplomacy of Secretary Hull at Montevideo, are better than they have been for a generation. Only our overly ambitious progress of naval construction beclouds the international horizon. And even here, one must recall the stirring appeal for disarmament which the President directed to the rulers of the nations last May 16.

"Such is the record of the first year. And even this is incomplete. Much still remains to be done. Construction of low-rental working class housing is still in the future. The war debt problem has been delayed; not settled. The railroad legislation of 1933 is admittedly temporary; definite action must eventually be taken. Compulsory unification of our banking system is still ahead of us. All these things will come in due time. Rome was not built in a day."

AS WE LEAVE THE POLITICAL SCENE

As we bring to a conclusion this historical narrative of Missouri's political existence, there is now in progress an active campaign in behalf of the Democratic ticket. Judge Harry S. Truman⁵ of Jackson County, was nominated for United States Senator over Congressman John J. Cochran of Saint Louis, and Congressman Jacob L. (Tuck) Milligan of Ray County, after a spirited contest.

Lloyd W. King⁶ of Monroe County defeated Charles A. Lee, for the Democratic nomination for State Superintendent of Schools. Judge C. A. Leedy⁷ of Platte County, and Judge John T. Fitzsimmons⁸ of Saint Louis were nominated, without opposition to the two places to be filled on the Supreme Court. Jefferson D. Hostetter⁹ of Pike County is the nominee for Judge of the Saint Louis Court of Appeals.

The nominees for Congress in accord with the newly created districts are:

1st District	M. A. Romjue of Macon.
2nd District	William L. Nelson of Columbia.
3rd District	Richard M. Duncan of Saint Joseph.
4th District	Charles Jasper Bell ¹⁰ of Kansas City.
5th District	Joseph B. Shannon of Kansas City.
6th District	Ruben T. Wood of Springfield.
7th District	Frank H. Lee of Joplin.
8th District	Clyde Williams of Hillsboro.
9th District	Clarence Cannon of Elsberry.
10th District	Orville Zimmerman ¹¹ of Kennett.
11th District	Thomas C. Hennings, Jr. ¹² of Saint Louis.
12th District	James R. Claiborne of University City.
13th District	Joseph A. Lennon ¹³ of Saint Louis.

CHAPTER III

STATE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

"We, the Democrats of Missouri, in state convention assembled in the City of Jefferson, September 11, 1934, renew our allegiance to the principles of Democracy as taught and exemplified by the founder of our party, Thomas Jefferson, and submit to the voters of Missouri the following declaration of our principles, purposes and beliefs.

"We heartily and fully indorse the national administration. Under the wise and fearless leadership of the great statesman and humanitarian, Franklin D. Roosevelt, our country is rapidly recovering from the deplorable condition in which it was left after twelve years of Republican rule. A wrecked financial structure has been rehabilitated; prostrated business re-established; farm distress is being relieved.

"We pledge President Roosevelt our utmost aid in his commendable work for a new and better social order and particularly felicitate him upon the plans he has furthered in giving widespread employment and aid to the millions of jobless and helpless as we emerge from the condition of unprecedented economic and social distress brought about by the disastrous policies pursued by the government under the administration of Herbert Hoover and his immediate Republican predecessors. We deplore the fact that the Republican leaders are seeking to bring back into the control of national affairs Mr. Hoover and the policies advocated and followed by him and his chief advisers.

* * * *

"We hold pride in the progressive, efficient and economical government of Missouri given by Gov. Guy B. Park and the efficient services rendered the state by the various state officials. We believe that a public office is a public trust and that a political party is responsible for the conduct of public officials chosen by it. We commend the honest and efficient administration of the Federal and State officials chosen by the Democratic party.

* * * *

"We give the warmest indorsement to the candidacies of Judge Harry S. Truman for the United States Senate, of all the Democrats nominated for the lower house of Congress, Supreme Court, and Superintendent of Public Schools. "We heartily indorse the candidacies and urge the election of the Democratic candidates for the State Senate and House of Representatives of the 58th General Assembly.

"We commend President Roosevelt and pledge our support in his heroic efforts to aid agriculture, to establish a parity between farm and industry and especially for his broad plans to restore our export trade in agricultural and industrial products through the medium of reciprocal trade agreements. We pledge our continued support and aid in making farming a profitable enterprise. We pledge the Democratic party to the continuance of the policy of prompt and comprehensive relief to the drouth areas and to the general agricultural interests of the state.

* * * *

"We pledge ourselves to continued coöperation with Federal and local governments and with the employers of labor and with labor organizations in relieving the great weight of unemployment.

* * * *

"We recognize the proper education of youth as a prime social obligation in democracy. We, therefore, pledge our aid in securing adequate financial support for and progressive improvement of all of our public schools, from the rural schools to the higher educational institutions, to the end that all of the children of the state will have equal educational opportunities and the highest standards of instruction and guidance, and we are proud of the record of the present state administration in furnishing increased financial aid to our public schools."

FOOTNOTES—CONCLUSION—1933-34

¹ John Nance Garner. See p. 355.

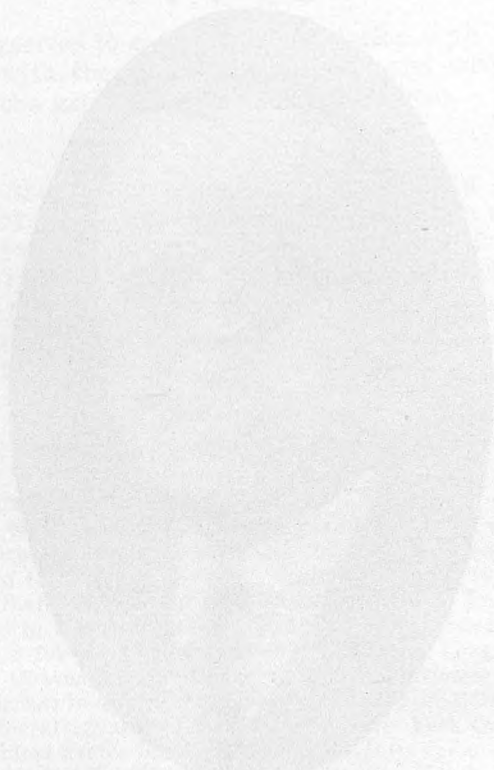
² Thomas James Walsh, a Senator from Montana; born at Two Rivers, Manitowoc County, Wisconsin, June 12, 1859; attended the public schools and was graduated from the law department of the University of Wisconsin at Madison in 1884; taught school; was admitted to the bar in 1884 and commenced practice at Redfield, Spink County, South Dakota; moved to Helena, Montana, in 1890 and continued the practice of law; unsuccessful candidate for election in 1906 to the Sixtieth Congress; delegate to the Democratic National Convention in Denver in 1908, at Baltimore in 1912, at St. Louis in 1916, at San Francisco in 1920, and at New York City in 1924; was the permanent chairman of the Democratic National Convention at New York City in 1924; elected as a Democrat to the United States Senate in 1912 for a term commencing March 4, 1913; reelected in 1918, and again in 1924 for the term ending March 3, 1931. He died suddenly on March 2, 1933. Had Thomas J. Walsh lived, he would have been Attorney-General in the Cabinet of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.—"Biographical Directory of the American Congress."

³ The question has often been asked as to what name the initial "A" stood for, as used by Senator James A. Reed. The Senator explains that it is just an "A", without further significance. Originally christened "James Reed," he himself adopted the middle initial "A" that his name might be the more readily distinguished.

⁴ At a special election held May 15, 1934, the amendment was ratified 285,452 to 157,368.



HARRY S. TRUMAN
United States Senator



⁵ Judge Truman was born in 1884, in Lamar, Missouri, where his parents were temporarily, although residents of Jackson County. His early life was spent on the farm; attended high school; secured appointment to West Point but failed in the physical examination on account of weak eyes; worked as a wrapper in mailing room of Kansas City Star; time-keeper for railroad construction gang; then became clerk in Union National Bank of Kansas City; later, with father and brothers took over management of six hundred acre farm near Grandview, belonging to his grandmother. Served during the World war as Captain of the famous Battery B, 129th Field Artillery, 35th Division, taking part in the Meuse-Argonne and Verdun engagements. Returning home Truman entered the haberdashery business, which failed during the deflation period. Elected Presiding Judge of Jackson County in 1926, when he became very active in the development of roads in the county. In 1928, a \$6,000,000 bond issue was voted, other road projects following. In 1931, at Judge Truman's suggestion, several city and county functions were combined, such as tax assessment and collection offices and welfare units, which resulted in a great saving to the taxpayers. Also urged permanent registration of voters, thus saving about \$50,000 annually. Was appointed Federal Re-Employment Director for Missouri in October, 1933, and resigned to enter race for United States Senator from Missouri. His home is in Independence, Missouri; is married and father of a daughter. Judge Truman is a Colonel in the 381st Field Artillery (reserve regiment); member of Tirey J. Ford Post, American Legion; the Veterans of Foreign Wars; a thirty-second degree Mason and a Shriner.

⁶ Lloyd W. King was born in Palmyra, Marion County, Missouri, 1892. Is married and has one daughter. Attended schools at Palmyra; graduated from William Jewell College, Liberty, Missouri; received Master's degree from University of Missouri; served as principal of high schools at Memphis and Shelbina for two years each; entered military service during World war as private in 19th Machine Gun Battalion; served overseas twelve months; commissioned at Combat Officers' Training at Langres, France; was elected Superintendent of Monroe County Public Schools in 1921; past President of Northeast Missouri Teachers' Association; present President of Missouri State High School Athletic Association; past President of Northeast Missouri School Masters Club; Director for Northeast Missouri of Committee on Emergency in Education; active in civic affairs; former President Monroe City Chamber of Commerce; past commander Edgar McCann Post, No. 263, American Legion.

⁷ Judge C. A. Leedy, Jr., Judge of Supreme Court of Missouri, was born at Benton, Scott County, Missouri, May 20, 1895. Educated in the public and high schools of Cameron and Plattsburg, and Missouri Wesleyan College. Studied law at St. Joseph Law School, and under Alonzo D. Burnes, judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit of Missouri, while acting as court reporter for that circuit, in which capacity he served from 1912 to 1925, except 1918-19 while engaged in the military service. Discharged from the latter to become official reporter of the proceedings of the Peace Conference at Paris and Versailles, which resulted in the Treaty of Versailles. Admitted to the bar at Plattsburg, January, 1922, and in 1925 removed to Kansas City, forming an association with his brother, H. G. Leedy. Continued in general practice until February 14, 1933, when he was appointed by Governor Guy B. Park as judge of the Supreme Court for a term ending December 31, 1934, to succeed Judge Clarence A. Burney, deceased. Married Miss Agnes Hudson of Plattsburg, and they have one son.

⁸ John T. Fitzsimmons, St. Louis, was born December 29, 1869, in St. Louis Mo. Educated in public schools of Saint Louis and also in St. Louis University, from which he was graduated with honors and received the degree of A. B. in 1890. Employed as a reporter and news editor on St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*; studied law while in the newspaper business and was admitted to practice in October, 1899. He was chief deputy clerk of the circuit court in that city 1903-07. Engaged in the general practice of law in St. Louis from January 2, 1907, to December 2, 1929, during which time he was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of the United States. Member of American, Missouri and St. Louis Bar Associations. In December, 1929, was appointed by Governor Caulfield as one of the two additional judges of the Circuit Court of the City of St. Louis for a term ending December 21, 1930, under the Act of the Fifty-fifth General Assembly, increasing the number of

judges in St. Louis from 16 to 18 and providing that one of the new appointees should be a Democrat. Appointed as commissioner of State Supreme Court in April, 1931, for a four-year term ending April 10, 1935. Elected to Missouri Supreme Court November 6, 1934, dying of heart attack a few days later. (See biographical section.)

⁹ Jefferson D. Hostetter of Bowling Green was appointed judge of the St. Louis Court of Appeals, January 3, 1934, to succeed Judge Joseph Kane, who died in December, 1933. Judge Hostetter, a former state representative and senator, later succeeded Judge William Dee Becker as presiding judge of the court. His term expires January 1, 1935. (See biographical section.)

¹⁰ Charles Jasper Bell was born in Lake City, Colorado, on January 16, 1885. His father, Dr. Thadeus P. Bell, although born in Georgia, went west and as an army surgeon, served under General Custer and other commanders in the early Indian fights. His mother's family were pioneers in Missouri. His great-grandfather, Francis Cowherd, settled early in eastern Jackson County, acquiring large tracts of land. Another great-grandfather, Francis R. Palmer, was a pioneer preacher, organizing the First Christian Church at Kansas City, and assisted in the organization of Missouri State University and became a member of its first Board of Curators. After graduation from high school he attended Missouri University, as a student of Arts and Science. Entered the law firm of Cowherd and Ingraham and attended the Kansas City School of Law, graduating and being admitted to the bar in 1913. Is a member of the Bar Association, Temple Lodge, Mason, Optimist Club and Blue Valley Manufacturers' Association. Elected to the City Council of Kansas City in 1926; helped draft the "Code" under which the city now operates. Was elected Circuit Judge for the Independence Division of the 16th Judicial Circuit, November 4, 1930, for a term of six years, expiring December 31, 1936. In 1915 married Grace Smith of Chicago; has five children; lives near Blue Springs, Missouri. In May, 1934, resigned his office as Circuit Judge and formed a partnership to practice law in Kansas City, Missouri, under the name of Mosman, Rogers, Bell and Buzard, at the same time announcing his candidacy for Congress in the new Fourth Missouri District. Elected in general election of November 6, 1934.

¹¹ Orville Zimmerman was born on a farm in Bollinger County, Missouri, near the village of Glen Allen, on December 31, 1881. Attended one-room public school and Mayfield-Smith Academy at Marble Hill; taught a few terms and entered Southeast Missouri State Teachers' College at Cape Girardeau, graduating in 1904. Taught high school in Dexter and in 1908 entered the Law Department of Missouri University, graduating in 1911. Practiced law in Dexter, Missouri, and ran for Congress from the old Fourteenth District in 1930, being defeated only by a very slight majority by the Hon. James F. Fulbright. Re-entered the race in 1934 as a candidate from the New Tenth Congressional District, and won over the other candidates by approximately 15,000 votes. Mr. Zimmerman was married in 1919 to Miss Adah Hemphill, who was reared in Lincoln County, and came from one of the oldest Democratic families in Northeast Missouri. They have one son, Joe, now thirteen years old.

¹² Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., 4540 Lindell Boulevard, an assistant circuit attorney, is the Democratic nominee for Congress from the new Eleventh District, which takes in virtually the heart of the city from the river to Forest Park. Born in St. Louis, June 25, 1903; son of former Circuit Judge Thomas C. and Sarah Poullain Wilson Hennings. Educated in St. Louis public schools, Soldan high school, and graduate of Cornell University, with A. B. degree, in 1924. Graduated from Washington University Law School in 1926, and admitted to bar same year. Engaged in private practice until 1929, when he was appointed an assistant circuit attorney by Circuit Attorney Franklin Miller. Member of the American, Missouri State and St. Louis Bar Associations. Director representing the western states for the Cornell Alumni Corporation; director of Big Brother Organization; member of the Community Council Committee on Delinquency and its Prevention; director of American Red Cross; lecturer on criminal jurisprudence, Benton College of Law. One of the organizers of the new Jefferson Club, the reorganization being effected primarily to interest young Democrats in their party.

¹³ Lennon was nominated at the primary election, but at a meeting of the Congressional Committee following, he tendered his resignation as a candidate and the name of Congressman John J. Cochran was substituted.

THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTION OF 1934

The result of the November election in 1934 was a stupendous Democratic victory in State and Nation. In an overwhelming vote of confidence the National, State and local Democratic administrations were indorsed. In Missouri Judge Harry S. Truman was elected to the United States Senate to succeed Roscoe Patterson by a majority of 265,000 votes, with even greater majorities being given Judge John T. Fitzsimmons* and Judge C. A. Leedy elected to the Supreme Court, and Lloyd King to the Office of State Superintendent of Schools.

Very noticeable majorities were also piled up in the various Congressional contests, only one of the thirteen newly organized districts going Republican. The First District elected the veteran Milton A. Romjue; the Second, William L. Nelson; the Third, Richard M. Duncan; the Fourth, Charles Jasper Bell; the Fifth, Joseph B. Shannon; the Sixth, Ruben T. Wood; in the Seventh District the Republican candidate, Dewey Short, defeated Frank H. Lee, Democrat, but by a majority much less than normal; Clyde Williams was returned from his district, the Eighth; Clarence Cannon from the Ninth; Orville Zimmerman was elected from the Tenth; in the Eleventh District (St. Louis) young Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., defeated former Congressman L. C. Dyer; Congressman James R. Claiborne defeated former Congressman Cleveland A. Newton for election from the Twelfth (St. Louis) District; and in the new Thirteenth, the popular John J. (Jack) Cochran defeated his Republican opponent, George W. Strodtman, two to one. Summing up the Congressional race, the only loss in the sweeping Democratic tide was in the Seventh District, made up of strong Republican counties in the southwest corner of the State.

In the State Legislature the Democrats will have an overwhelming majority in the House and all but two members of the Senate. In the City of Saint Louis the entire Democratic ticket was swept into office in all major positions, the Republicans saving only two justices of the peace and two constables. It is to be regretted that the well known Democratic Speaker of the Missouri House of Representatives, Willis H. Meredith of Poplar Bluff, went down to defeat before his Republican opponent.

The victory is summed up in the following statement from the Honorable James P. Aylward, Chairman of the Democratic State Committee, which appeared in the *Missouri Democrat*, issue of November 9, 1934:

"By no possibility can anyone misunderstand the popular verdict rendered in Tuesday's election. This nation is determined to go forward, and it has chosen the Democratic party as the vehicle of progress.

"There can be no alibis from the opposition, for the issue was well defined. The people of the United States were called upon to choose between

* Judge Fitzsimmons died suddenly, November 10, 1934, and with the resignation of Judge Frank E. Atwood, effective January 1, 1935, Governor Park has named Hon. Walter D. Coles of St. Louis as the member of the Supreme Court to fill the place to which Judge Fitzsimmons was elected.

the New Deal and the Old Deal, between President Roosevelt and the Democratic administration, on one hand, and Messrs. Hoover, Mills, Mellon and other reactionaries, on the other hand.

"Here in Missouri the size of the Democratic victory paralleled the outcome in the nation as a whole. Never before in national history has a political party won such a tremendous off-year victory. It is significant not merely of contemporary thought but also of another great nationwide sweep certain to occur in the next presidential election.

"The old order is gone forever. The people of the country have decreed that they will no longer tolerate an economic setup which takes from them their means of livelihood. We have waged no mean partisan battle in this campaign; we have fought for popular rights. Ours has been the battle against starvation and despair, and we have won. The Tories have attempted to picture us as destroyers. In point of fact, the Democratic party is a savior.

"Of course, I am not satisfied with the Democratic majority in Missouri. Instead of 250,000 or more, it should have been 500,000. We have the votes, and in the next election we shall get them; for then we shall be better organized and more militant. There is hard work to be done by our people, and I shall leave nothing undone to strengthen our organization and still further awaken the fighting spirit. For such efforts as were put forth by Missouri Democrats in this campaign I tender my heartfelt thanks."

THE SUPREME COURT OF MISSOURI

By Hon. John Turner White*

The Constitution of 1820, provided for three Judges of the Supreme Court. The first three who served in that capacity were Mathias McQuirk, John D. Cook and John Rice Jones.

The Constitution of 1865, likewise provided for three Judges of the Supreme Court. Up to that time it appears that three judges could dispose of all the cases appealed from the trial courts.

The Constitution of 1875, provided for five Judges of the Supreme Court and created the St. Louis Court of Appeals with three judges. It afterwards appeared that the Supreme Court and the St. Louis Court of Appeals could not expeditiously dispose of all appeals from circuit courts. By an amendment to the Constitution adopted in 1884, the Kansas City Court of Appeals was created and the jurisdiction of the St. Louis Court of Appeals was extended from the city to cover certain counties and the Kansas City Court of Appeals was created with jurisdiction over the remainder of the State; those two courts having original appellate jurisdiction in a certain class of cases. The Amendment of 1884, also provided for the creation of an additional court of appeals by an Act of the General Assembly. Such an Act was passed during the administration of Governor Hadley and the Springfield Court of Appeals was established with appellate jurisdiction of numerous counties formerly within the St. Louis Court of Appeals and the Kansas City Court of Appeals districts.

In 1890, the Constitution was amended, increasing the number of Judges of the Supreme Court to seven and creating two divisions, with the court en banc. Notwithstanding this increase in appellate courts the business of such courts became so great that the Supreme Court was authorized by statute to appoint Commissioners, first four and later six, to assist in the disposition of cases. Later, the St. Louis Court of Appeals and the Kansas City Court of Appeals were empowered by statute to appoint Commissioners. All this steady and continuous increase in the working force of appellate courts was made necessary by the continuous and rapid increase of cases appealed from trial courts.

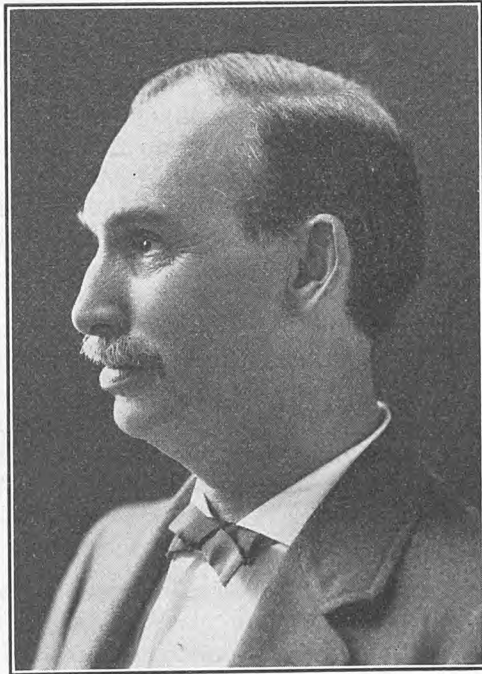
It would be of interest, no doubt, to recount in detail the work of many members of the Supreme Court but the purpose of this article is to show briefly the advance of the Court in liberal construction of statutes and the simplifying of technical common-law rules which hampered the administration of justice. This applies particularly to the criminal law and procedure. In 1900, the Constitution was amended, now Section 12, Article 2, providing that prosecutions for crimes should be by indictment or information. Up to that time one charged with a crime could be prosecuted only under an indictment which was construed strictly according to the common-law rules. After an indictment was returned by a grand jury it could not be amended by a prosecuting officer because it was the work of a grand jury which was usually adjourned before a test

of the indictment could come up in court. Hence any infirmity in the indictment was likely to result in a reversal of the case.

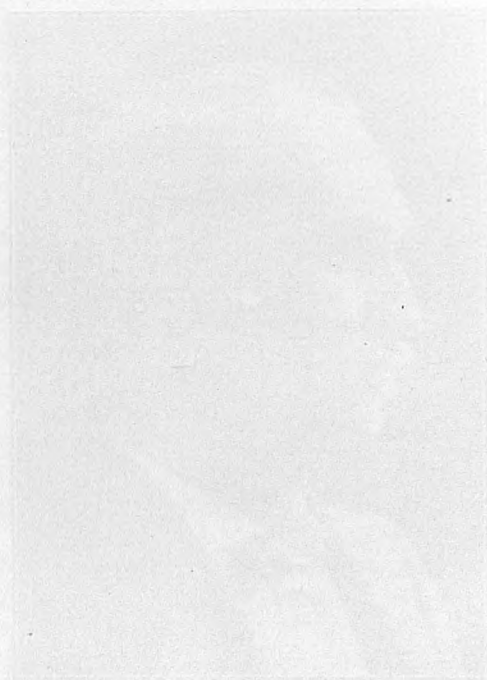
An information filed by a prosecuting attorney under a statute enacted in 1901, pursuant to the Constitutional Amendment, was not required to be so formal as an indictment and it could be amended at any time before a trial if defects were shown by the defense. One of the first cases construing the amendment and the statute regarding informations was *State v. Bonner*, 178 Mo. 424, in which an opinion written by Judge James B. Gantt went a long way in liberalizing the form of informations and simplifying the method of charging a crime. More liberal construction of the rules of procedure followed. Progress was slow and difficult because many Judges of the Supreme Court, educated under the old procedure, found it difficult to break away from rules which had governed their practice in early days.

PROGRESS WAS MADE

Yet, step by step, progress was made and in 1913, the case of *State v. Larkin and Harris* was decided, 250 Mo. 218. In an exhaustive opinion written by Judge Farris it was held that when a defendant charged with a crime takes the stand in his own behalf, he waives his Constitutional immunity against self-incrimination and can be made to tell as a witness anything that would tend to his conviction, provided only that he should not be cross-examined, under our statute, regarding any matter not testified to in chief. It was further held in that case that after defendant takes the stand to testify, the prosecuting attorney in his argument might comment upon the failure of the defendant to explain or deny the damaging facts which appeared in the evidence. A consideration of those two points will show what a long step was thus attained in liberalizing criminal prosecutions. Judge Farris in the opinion supported his position by cogent reasoning and the citation of authorities. Did that opinion attract any public attention at the time or afterward? It did *not*. The newspapers at that time were busy pointing out that the Supreme Court was unable to do justice in criminal cases because of its slavish adherence to technical rules of construction. The newspapers began about that time and continued for many years afterwards, stroke by stroke, to etch upon the public mind a sketch of the Supreme Court entirely without conscience and bereft of common sense, with glasses adjusted for microscopic flaws in pleadings and records in criminal cases. Yet the Court, notwithstanding that handicap, continued progressively to liberalize criminal procedure. It became a rule that an information charging a crime in the language of the statute creating the crime, or substantially in that language, was always sufficient without the circumlocution and involved terminology used in the common-law indictment. Notwithstanding that, the magazines as well as newspapers joined in the continued attacks on the Courts, not only in this State but in others, laboriously quoting extracts from the long and labored common-law indictments and informations which were not held *bad* by the appellate courts. They seemed to assume that because such involved indictments were not condemned as *bad* they



HON. JAMES B. GANTT
Missouri Supreme Court Justice



were held *necessary*, although at the same time by the same courts simplified forms were held sufficient, and no case was ever pointed out where the long and involved terminology of the common-law indictment was held to be necessary.

In 1923, the case of *State v. Lee* was decided by the Missouri Supreme Court, 303 Mo. 246, in which the form of the indictment was challenged. It was a murder case. An extract from the opinion in that case will show how the Supreme Court viewed the form of indictments:

"A common-law indictment was not necessarily so involved, redundant and obscure as it is painted. It was made bad in practice. It was not framed for the purpose of apprising a defendant of the 'nature and cause of the accusation,' but so as to be proof against the attacks of opposing counsel. Often the pleader did not try to be clear, but to be *complete* in his statement. In order to be sure that nothing was left undone he would state the same proposition in as many different forms as he could think of, as a sort of multi-plated armor of defense, and then to make assurance doubly sure he would throw out a rhetorical smoke screen, enveloping the entire subject with a cloud of turgid phrases, so that the opposition would be unable to locate and attack the particular facts pleaded. The use of language to conceal thought is a strategic maneuver not wholly unknown, even now in civil pleadings. * * *

"It was formal, sonorous, officially impressive, an indispensable part of the habiliments of the charge, often pronounced with awesome, orotund solemnity, when delivered to the jury. It performed the same office for an indictment that judicial robes performed for the judges investing the subject with a dignity and impressiveness which the facts sometimes did not possess."

Thus the Supreme Court recognized that the involved form of indictment was harmless though entirely unnecessary. If the prosecutor saw fit to use language in order to conceal thought nobody could complain but the counsel for the person accused. That case and others about that time and afterwards continued to knock down the technicalities which had previously hampered legal procedure. But the attacks of the newspapers continued until about 1927, when they finally began to perceive what the court had been doing for about fifteen years in the way of simplifying court procedure. Yet in some publications the attacks upon the courts continued and continue to this day. As late as November, 1927, an article appeared in *Harper's Magazine* entitled, "The Great American Game," by which term the writer designated the criminal prosecutions in the United States. The writer, Professor Rollin M. Perkins of the University of Iowa, cited certain freak cases in many states and none of the numerous cases showing the general trend of rulings in liberalizing criminal procedure. Among others he cited the noted "The" case from Missouri as an illustration of the *present* tendency of the Missouri Supreme Court, when that decision had been rendered twenty years before and had been overruled for many years, all of which the writer knew as shown in

his letter to the writer of this article who wrote to him in regard to his method of selecting cases to illustrate his point.

As late as 1931, an article appeared in the *Woman's Journal*, quoting from Judge Kavanagh, who wrote a book on criminal procedure, the exact title of which I have forgotten, in which he said:

"If a murderer, for example, commits his crime with a gun and the indictment charges he did it with a knife he must go free in thirty American States."

RECKLESS STATEMENTS

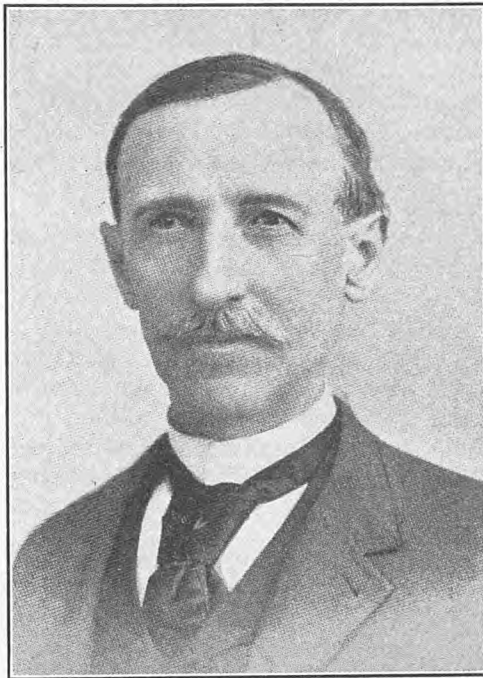
Judge Kavanagh and the writer of the article in the *Woman's Journal*, Mr. Strout, got that statement from an article in the *Harvard Law Review*, which in turn got it from a passage in Bishop's Criminal Procedure. That passage in Bishop says nothing like that quoted but is a general statement regarding the matter of variance between the pleading and the proof in regard to the weapon used in the commission of the murder, with citations from thirty states. Two of those citations are from Missouri and decide exactly the contrary to the statements of Judge Kavanagh. Of the other citations only two could possibly be said to support the conclusion. Thus it appears that Judge Kavanagh merely counted the citations in the foot notes and assumed that in each case cited the conclusion was the same as he erroneously inferred from the text.

I state this as an illustration of how the attacks on the courts during the last twenty years have been made without reasonable foundation. It is not too much to say that the Missouri Supreme Court during the last twenty years has led in liberalizing constructions, in the effort to explain away technical defects presented in defenses; in other words *it has been making history*. It is said on good authority by someone who has looked the matter up that the decisions of Missouri's courts of last resort are cited oftener than the decisions of any other State west of the Mississippi River.

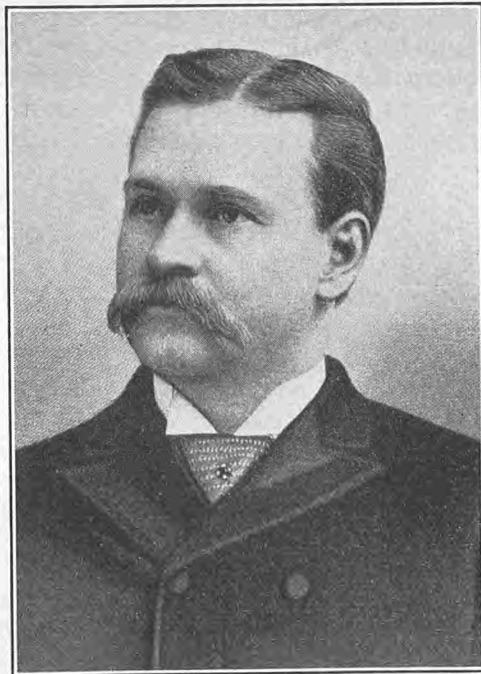
In simplifying the forms of indictments and informations and rules of procedure, the Supreme Court was hampered not only by its own early rulings but also by the almost uniform like constructions of other states, rulings which were influenced by the attitude of mind in judges, educated and trained in common-law procedure.

It is difficult now to appreciate how in the elder day ceremony was the essence of social and official life. Not only executives but courts of justice could not function without elaborate ceremonial. Form was so essential that it could not be distinguished from substance. Just as in the philosophy of matter, "the thing itself" cannot be separated from its size, shape and color. The *form* of the law was the *law*. Certain forms of procedure became so fixed in practice and acquired so definite a significance, that to break away from them at once and entirely was to be left without compass or guide, the sport of judicial whim.

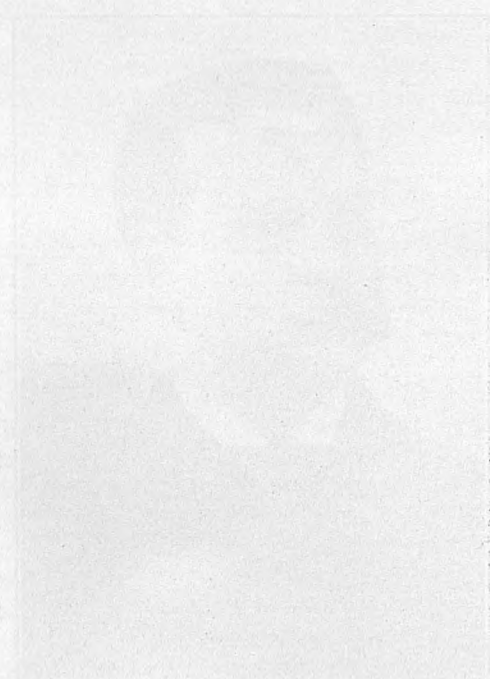
Thus the formal conclusion of an indictment in a murder case was also the formal conclusion of an information as follows:



HON. LEROY B. VALLIANT
Missouri Supreme Court Justice



HON. HENRY W. BOND
Missouri Supreme Court Justice



THE
END

"and so, the grand jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do say that the said John Doe, him the said Richard Roe, in the manner and by the means aforesaid, feloniously, unlawfully, deliberately, premeditatedly, and with malice aforethought, did kill and murder."

That conclusion was held necessary in early cases on the ground that it showed the authority upon which the charge was presented, the grand jury.

The first case in late years that came before the Supreme Court in which that conclusion was directly challenged was *Ex parte Keet*, 315 Mo. 695, 1926. A woman convicted of murder in the second degree and committed to the penitentiary sought release by *habeas corpus* on the ground that the information upon which she was convicted did not contain that formal conclusion. The opinion in the case, written by Judge Ragland said:

"Under our law there is no more reason why an indictment for murder should rehearse the ancient formula in conclusion than that it should allege the value of the weapon with which the homicide was committed. It is a mere form, without life or substance, which we have been idolatrously following. If its omission be regarded as a 'defect or imperfection,' it is one 'which does not tend to the prejudice of the substantial rights of the defendant upon the merits,' and which therefore does not render the indictment invalid. * * * The writer of this opinion yields to no one in admiration of the character, learning and ability of the great judges who were members of this court at the times those cases were decided (referring to earlier cases). But they were under the influence of the thought and traditions of another generation. Methods more direct and involving less of circumlocution than were then employed are now demanded in all of the activities of life. And a court, which discharges so vital a function as the administration of justice, should in some measure keep pace with the other agencies of social endeavor. There is small danger that such tribunals will ever cease to be imbued with reasonable conservatism."

CITING MISLEADING DATA

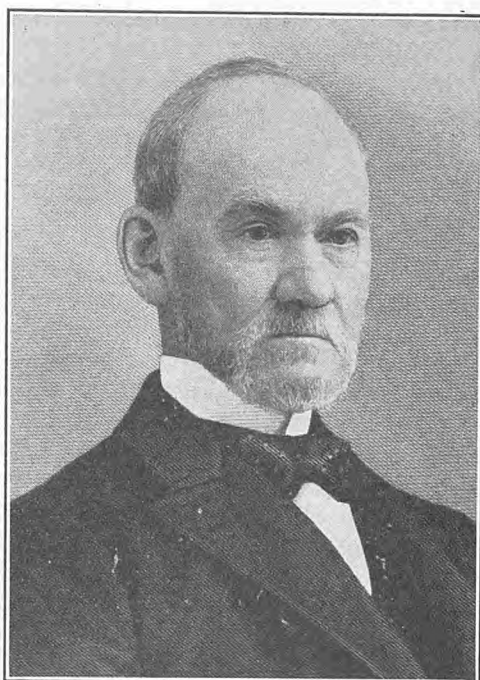
This emphatically put a quietus upon the adherence to that old form. Nevertheless in the October, 1933, number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, John Barker Waite, Professor of Criminal Law in the University of Michigan, in one of a series of articles on the administration of the criminal law in the United States, as an illustration of the practice in Missouri, called attention to earlier cases where the Supreme Court of Missouri held that an indictment, omitting the words "upon their oath" from that form of conclusion rendered the indictment bad. The latest cases, so holding occurred in 1902, 171 Mo. 210, and in 1903, 172 Mo. 259. Professor Waite might easily have referred to the *Keet* case rendered in 1926, seven years

before he wrote his article. He could have found it with as little effort in his investigation as he found the earlier cases.

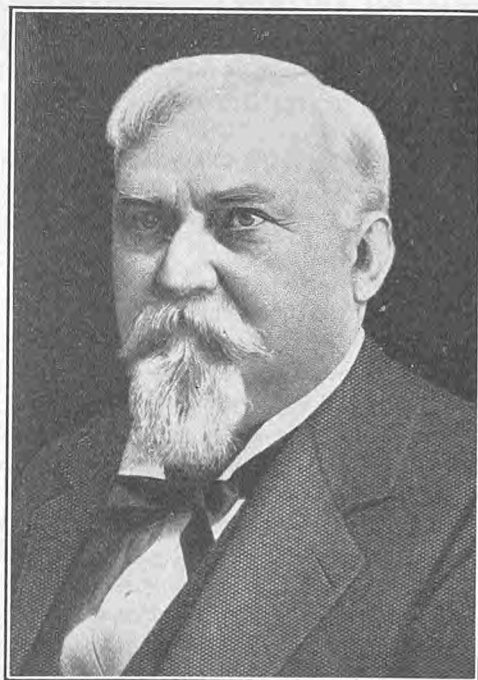
He also referred to the Campbell case where the word "the," omitted from the constitutional requirement of an indictment, was held to be bad for failure to declare that the offense was against *The State*, and he mentioned the date, 1908. He might also have mentioned, if he had been as industrious in looking up the present procedure in Missouri, *State v. Adkins*, 284 Mo. 680, decided in 1920, in which the decision in the Campbell case and all similar decisions were overruled. The Adkins case was decided thirteen years before Professor Waite published his article and yet he was unable to find it. It seems that he, like other magazine writers of which there have been many of recent years, considering criminal procedure in the different states, go back to old, technical cases, long since abandoned and fail utterly to consider the present tendency of the courts, particularly of the Supreme Court of Missouri.

Thus far I have considered only the progress made in the forms of indictments and informations. I think it would be difficult to find in the Missouri Reports any criminal cases within the last fifteen years where a judgment was reversed because of a defect in the form of an indictment or information. It must omit averment of some essential fact, an element of the crime charged in order to nullify the charge, and usually a defect even of substance cannot be taken advantage of after verdict. Many recent cases might be cited where the omission of a word, necessary to the meaning of a sentence, did not render an information bad. Such omitted words were understood by construction. Likewise words descriptive of the quality of the offense charged, such as "feloniously," "burglariously," and the like, which if omitted from the charge were formerly fatal to an indictment, in recent years have been held unnecessary where the facts were stated. In fact the Missouri Reports are replete with cases in which technical objections to information have been disallowed, until now anything goes which substantially charges the crime, and substantial objections, to be available, must be presented before verdict so as to give opportunity for amendments.

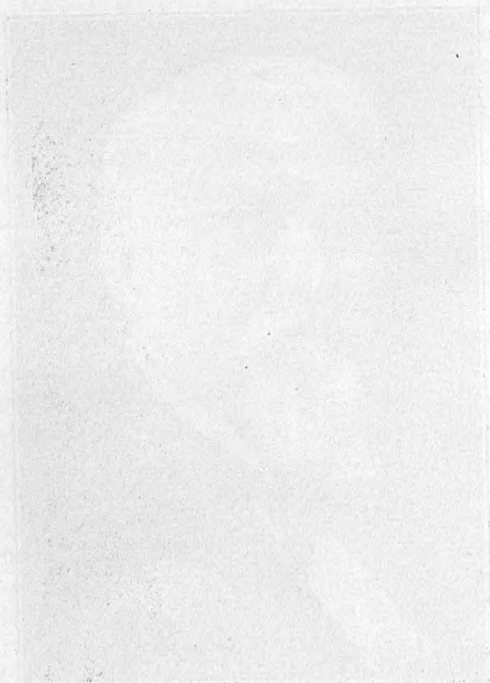
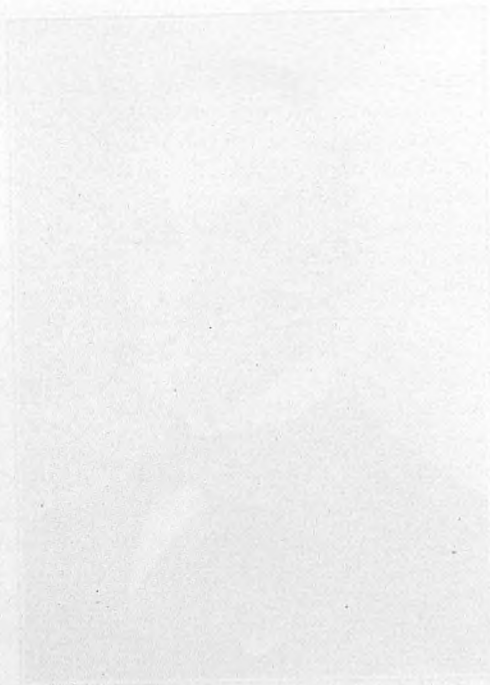
It would be instructive and possibly interesting to go through the numerous cases showing the progress and simplification of procedure in respect to instructions to juries, the examination of witnesses, the competency of evidence, the argument of prosecutors, particularly in referring to failure of the defendant to explain incriminating circumstances. But all of that would take up too much space. An examination of the recent Missouri cases will show that in general, in almost every phase of a prosecution for crime, Missouri State Courts, though hampered by procedural statutes, are much more liberal and much less technical than Federal Courts, where the common-law rules and forms have been very little modified by statutes or by rules of court. Yet it is generally charged that justice in criminal cases is much more easily achieved in the Federal Courts than in the State Courts. Whatever difference there is, *if any*, in favor of the Federal Courts in that respect does not come from stricter adherence to rules in the State Court. It is generally conceded that convictions



HON. SAMUEL TREAT
Missouri Supreme Court Justice



HON. WARWICK HOUGH
Missouri Supreme Court Justice



are easier to obtain in a Federal Court than in a State Court because the Federal Judge may comment upon the evidence and give his views upon it.

JURORS MUST NOT BE INTELLIGENT

One supposed defect in criminal procedure exploited at length very recently by newspapers of this State and of other states is the matter of qualifying jurors. Cartoons were printed, with explanatory editorial comments, showing that a juror could not be qualified if he had read the newspapers, if he had heard anything about the case, if he had any information generally which would make him intelligent enough to comprehend what the case was all about. In other words he could not sit in the case if he possessed the character and intelligence which a juror ought to have. Yet it has been held in Missouri for many years, and in nearly every state, that a talesman is not disqualified by having read the newspapers or talked with persons about the case, or expressed an opinion about the guilt or innocence of the defendant. It is required only that he state in his *voire dire* examination that he can decide the case according to the evidence to be produced and the law as declared by the court, *State v. Herring*, 208 Mo. 529, *State v. Samis*, 296 Mo. 486-7, *State v. Woodard*, 309 Mo. 27. The opinion in the last case was written by Judge Walker. These are only a few; they run back fifteen years. There was no excuse for not finding them. The notion that a juror who had formed an opinion or had heard about the case was disqualified must have been inferred from the examination of talesmen by attorneys for the defendants who would ask questions in regard to the things mentioned so as to get as complete information as possible of the attitude of mind, etc., with respect to the offense charged.

It is not too much to say that the Supreme Court of Missouri has led in the liberal interpretation of procedural statutes and in determining cases upon the merits rather than upon technical imperfections in the proceeding.

The continuous attacks of the newspapers upon the Supreme Court and inferior courts following its rulings led to the formation in 1926 of the Missouri Association for Criminal Justice. This association, comprising persons representing different organizations of the state and others, embraced in its membership many prominent persons including lawyers of distinction and ability. A large sum of money was raised, committees appointed, experts employed and set to work upon the different phases of criminal proceedings in the state, including an examination of decisions of the Supreme Court for the preceding ten years. The enterprise resulted in gathering a mass of valuable statistics, the first of its kind, I believe, in the United States. The Missouri Crime Survey has been referred to many times by important publications and by investigators of crime in other states. The result was published in a volume which will be valuable for many years to come. The members of the association in charge of that report instead of putting all the blame of the miscarriages of justice upon the Supreme Court or any courts, pointed out the many defects and

insufficiencies in the Code of Procedure; recommended to the Legislature a number of amendments to the statutes which would have a wholesome effect upon expediting trial and securing convictions of persons guilty of crime. Practically all of the recommendations were disregarded by the Legislature. Only a very few of the less important ones were ever enacted into law.

Some observations in the survey exonerated the Supreme Court and its rulings from responsibility for the failure to detect and punish crime. It was said of the Supreme Court and its decisions in recent years (Survey, p. 262):

"It seems that the decisions of the court and the language of the judges used in different cases show a decided inclination to consider cases on appeal upon their substantial merits and not to grant new trials unless some error has been committed in the trial court which actually was prejudicial to the defendant's rights or prevented his having a fair trial."

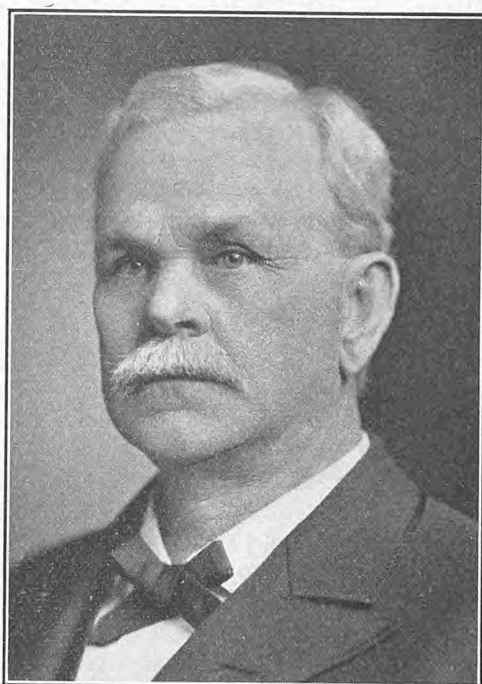
This was the language of Judge Grimm in analyzing decisions during the preceding ten years. The progress which had been made then has been continued more progressively and in a more pronounced manner since that time, yet the progress for that ten years had not been perceived by the critics of the Supreme Court.

Notwithstanding the substantial value of this crime survey there appears in some of its conclusions two remarkable errors in direct conflict with the statistics themselves which the book contained.

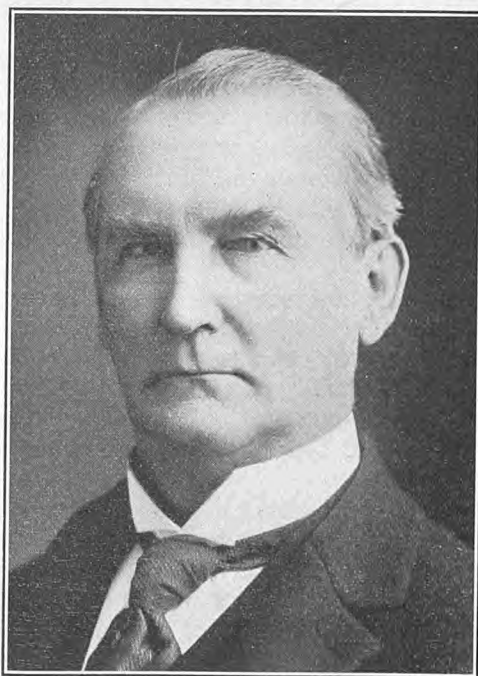
Among the experts which the association employed in analyzing the statistics was Professor Raymond Moley, criminologist, recently resigned as a member of the "Brain Trust," adjunct to the present Federal Government Administration. Apparently Professor Moley was wholly unable to grasp the significance of the figures before him.

One of these fundamental errors was that the courts, the trial courts and the Supreme Court, were efficient in direct proportion to the ratio of convictions and inflictions of punishment. The other was that the estimate of the efficiency of courts was determined on the percentage of success in the number of *cases* and not in the number of *persons charged* with crimes.

As to the first, it was often said by the president of the association, from figures taken from the Survey that "considering those apprehended and indicted for major offenses it (criminal procedure) is only twenty per cent efficient, and including those actually tried for major offenses only about fifty per cent efficient." This estimate was taken directly from the tables showing the percentage of convictions and punishments. This is upon the theory not only that every man convicted was guilty but that *no person charged* with a crime and *acquitted was innocent*; that is, there could be no possible case in which a person charged with a crime ought to be acquitted. Such an attitude, of course, would do away with the necessity of a trial. A charge of crime was all that was necessary. On that theory the Constitution should be amended doing away with juries, or



HON. GAVON D. BURGESS
Missouri Supreme Court Justice



HON. THOMAS A. SHERWOOD
Missouri Supreme Court Justice

any kind of trial of one charged with a crime. The procedure of the Queen of Hearts in Alice in Wonderland would be the proper one: "off with his head," the summary decree against anyone charged with a crime. This attitude assumes also that in every case reversed by the Supreme Court the Court is wrong, a conclusion which would take away the right of appeal on the assumption that the defendant, tried for a crime, always has a fair trial.

ABSURD CONCLUSIONS

The other fundamental error was in taking *cases* as a basis for conclusion instead of the *persons* charged with crimes and basing the percentage of efficiency on the percentage of convictions in the cases. It is well known that the same individual is often charged with a number of crimes or charged in different ways, by different informations, with committing the same crime; where a conviction on one charge is followed by a *nolle pros* of the other charges. For instance a man charged with robbery in several instances is tried on one charge and sent to the penitentiary for twenty years, the other charges of lesser robberies are dismissed because the trial judge thinks the punishment inflicted is sufficient. Yet, according to Moley's interpretation, that goes into the statistics as one success by the state and failure of all the other cases where there was a dismissal. A pertinent illustration occurred some years ago in Texas County where a man murdered an entire family, consisting of the man, his wife and three children. He was charged in five indictments, each for the murder of one person, five murders. He was tried on the first case, convicted and hanged. The other four cases were dismissed. The jurisdiction had been transferred to a tribunal where the state courts could not function. That instance did not occur in the territory which was covered by the Survey of the Association for Criminal Justice, but if it had been in that territory the figures would have shown *twenty per cent efficiency in the court*. Out of five cold-blooded, dastardly murders, there was only one conviction and one punishment and in the other four cases the defendant escaped.

The survey in order to be accurate and convey exact information should have taken the *name* of each person charged with crime and the different crimes with which he was charged and show what became of *him*, not what was done with the cases against him after he was executed. Professor Moley was wholly unable to grasp this principle or to understand the figures with which he worked and from which he drew his conclusions.

The Supreme Court, not only in criminal cases but in civil cases, in late years has shown a pronounced tendency to decide them upon their merits, disregarding technical obstructions to administration of justice. Little attention has been paid to this because civil cases are generally matters of no concern except to the parties involved while criminal cases are always a matter of public concern.

* EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

DEMOCRATIC EDITORIAL ASSOCIATION OF MISSOURI

By Mrs. W. W. Henderson*

Originating as the Democratic Editorial Association did in the period of great political and economic stress of 1894, the peaks of its history and assemblies always have been under the fervor of similar urgency. At Pertle Springs, June 5, 1894, Missouri Democratic editors first met and organized. The Pullman employees' strike was rampant, McKinley's high protective tariff, Free Silver and Bryan's 16 to 1 were in the offing for the 1896 election. Before a fair attendance of editors, Governor William J. Stone commended the action of Missouri's senators on the Wilson bill, but paid his respects in a rather harsh manner to those few Democrats who stood with the Republican side in the opposition to "progress in the senate." A feature noted in press dispatches was that many ladies were in attendance. This was the year in which Kentucky women lined up for John C. Breckenridge in that state's campaign in which Owens attacked the private character of Breckenridge. This was a significant beginning of women's militancy in politics.

Permanent officers of the Democratic Editorial Association elected were: H. Martin Williams, Herman *Ledger*, President; U. A. McBride, *Journal-Democrat*, Warrensburg, Secretary; J. B. McDonald, Warrensburg *Star*, Corresponding Secretary; C. R. Walters, Rich Hill *Review*, Treasurer. Vice Presidents were: J. A. Hudson, Macon *Times*; B. F. Blanton, Paris *Appeal*; George W. Trigg, Richmond *Conservator*; W. T. Jenkins, Platte City *Landmark*; W. G. Musgrove, Lexington *Intelligencer*; C. H. Whittaker, Clinton *Democrat*; J. B. Jewell, Springfield *Democrat*; C. M. McCrea, Rolla *Herald*; M. S. Goodman, Clarksville *Sentinel*; D. D. Gallemore, Washington *Observer*; Robert M. Yost, St. Louis *Republic*; Charles W. Knapp, St. Louis *Republic*; Theodore D. Fisher, Farmington *Times*; E. P. Carruthers, Dunklin *Democrat*; Everett Bean, Nevada *Post*.

A committee on constitution, by-laws and declaration of principle was composed of Sam B. Cook, Mexico *Intelligencer*; H. A. Peed, Sweet Springs *Herald*; Pete Stratton, Sedalia *Democrat*; Witten McDonald, Kansas City *Times*; C. F. Cochran, St. Joseph *Gazette*. That campaign opened at Pertle Springs under auspices of the association, and in an editorial, "Fires on the Hilltops," the St. Louis *Republic* said that they "seemed to have caught already the coming infection of enthusiasm." Tent meetings were held in September, one being held for three days near Kansas City by eight counties in a special effort to elect Democratic congressmen in Missouri, the McKinley protective tariff bill having been abandoned by Congress. Sam Cook, editor of the Mexico *Intelligencer*, was chairman of the Executive Committee, J. W. Zevely, the "Unterrified Democrat," was secretary, and headquarters were opened September 3, at the Laclede Hotel, St. Louis, to organize the party "to knock Filleyism and the Kohesive power of public plunder."

FREE SILVER MEETING

In 1895 a free silver meeting of fifty-three of the two hundred and ninety-six Democratic editors in Missouri, met at Sedalia July 23, among them being Col. C. F. Cochran, J. T. Bradshaw, H. W. Ewing, J. T. Bell, W. S. Gallemore, Thomas D. Bogie, Baxter Brown, A. R. Bishop, J. K. Pool, Wm. Musgrove, C. J. Walden. Col. W. F. Switzler, Boonville *Democrat*, was president of this convention, H. J. Groves, Lexington *Intelligencer*, secretary, and James R. Allen, Boonville *Advertiser*, assistant.

A Committee on permanent organization was P. B. Stratton, Sedalia *Democrat*, S. G. Tetweiler, Charleston *Democrat*, C. J. Walden, Nevada *Mail*, J. T. Bradshaw, Lebanon *Rustic*, J. K. Pool, Centralia *Courier*.

The vice presidents from each congressional district were:

First—John A. Knott, Hannibal *Journal*.

Second—B. F. Blanton, Paris *Appeal*.

Third—T. D. Bogie, Richmond *Democrat*.

Fourth—C. F. Cochran, St. Joseph *Gazette*.

Fifth—W. N. Southern, Independence *Sentinel*.

Sixth—C. H. Whittaker, Clinton *Democrat*.

Seventh—T. B. White, Warsaw *Enterprise*.

Eighth—J. P. Bell, Fulton *Telegraph*.

Ninth—E. R. Britt, St. Charles *Banner*.

Tenth—Wm. McNamee, St. Louis *Times*.

Eleventh and twelfth unrepresented.

Thirteenth—S. H. Lewis, Farmington *Herald*.

Fourteenth—S. G. Tetweiler, Charleston *Democrat*.

Fifteenth—O. W. Bingham, Schell City *News*.

No records are found of the Democratic Press Association until the wet and dry issues, McKinley's assassination in 1901, and the "accidental presidency" of Theodore Roosevelt stirred Missouri editors to reorganize September 15, 1902. Governor A. M. Dockery greeted about fifty editors who met in Democratic headquarters in the Commercial Building in St. Louis. Again they stated their purpose was to "form a Democratic editors' association."

At this time there were published 1,048 newspapers in Missouri, the next ten years showing a decrease to 966. Among the 110 Democratic editors present for the organization meeting were: J. L. Baity, LaPlata *Home Press*; J. R. Lowell, Moberly *Democrat*; Joe L. Heifner, Macon *Times-Democrat*; R. M. White, Mexico *Ledger*; John W. Jacks, Montgomery City *Standard*; J. T. Bradshaw, Chillicothe *Democrat*; H. F. Childers, Troy *Free Press*; John A. Knott, Hannibal *Journal*; W. D. Thomas, Fulton *Sun*; Joe Doyle, Shelbyville *Herald*; V. L. Page, Bonne Terre *Star*; Theodore D. Fisher, Farmington *Times*; T. H. Sosey, Palmyra *Spectator*; E. P. Caruthers, Kennett *Democrat*; C. J. Walden, Brunswick *er*; A. W. Bradshaw, Lebanon *Rustic*; C. P. Vandiver, Keytesville *Courier*; W. H. Tom, West Plains *Gazette*; P. L. Lyle, Eminence *Current Wave*.

The officers elected served until 1909. They were: President, J. T. Bradshaw, Chillicothe *Democrat*; Corresponding Secretary, I. L. Page, Bonne Terre *Star*; Recording Secretary, R. M. White, Mexico *Ledger*; Treasurer, J. T. Barbee, Ash Grove *Commonwealth*.

Vice Presidents: First District, J. J. Heifner, Macon *Times-Democrat*; Second District, J. N. Shepler, Milan *Standard*; Third District, A. R. Alexander, Plattsburg *Leader*; Fourth District, James Todd, Maryville *Democrat*; Fifth District, A. J. Adair, Oakgrove *Banner*; Sixth District, C. D. Middleton, Warrensburg *Star*; Seventh District, J. G. Coe, Higginsville *Jeffersonian*; Eighth District, D. W. Jones, Boonville *Democrat*; Ninth District, W. D. Thomas, Fulton *Sun*; Tenth, Eleventh and Twelfth not listed. Thirteenth District, E. L. Purcell, Fredericktown *Democrat-News*; Fourteenth District, W. R. Lacey, Caruthersville *Democrat*; Fifteenth District, W. H. Cecil, Mount Vernon *Chieftain*; Sixteenth District, C. L. Woods, Rolla *Herald-Democrat*.

BOODLE INVESTIGATION ENDORSED

Among the speakers at their "first annual meeting" at Kansas City, April 20, 1903, were Mayor James A. Reed, Senators Francis M. Cockrell and William J. Stone, John A. Knott, Hannibal *Journal* and William J. Bryan, editor *The Commoner*. Representatives of William Randolph Hearst, editor *Chicago-American*, alleged candidate for the presidency in 1904, were present. A heated discussion was provoked by an attack by Editor Read of the *Ozark Democrat* on "so-called Democratic leaders." George Scruton, editor of the *Sedalia Sentinel*, offered a constitutional amendment providing "when a well known boodler is nominated for office it shall not affect the standing of any paper in the association to oppose his election." After a lively debate, the gathering endorsed the boodle investigation and the work of Folk, Crow, and the grand juries, just as if no Democrats were involved in their exposures, "although," says the *Jefferson City State Tribune*, "it is now clearly understood that more Republicans than Democrats have been indicted."

The 1909-10 officers were J. J. Heifner, Macon *Times-Democrat*, President; John W. Jacks, Montgomery City *Standard*. 1911-12, H. J. Simmons, Clarence *Courier*, President; H. J. Blanton, Monroe County *Appeal*, Secretary.

In 1912 came the Wilson campaign and rumbles of the World War, and H. J. Blanton of the *Monroe County Appeal* was elected President and Omar D. Gray, Sturgeon *Leader*, Secretary. George Scruton, *Sedalia Democrat*, became President and was reelected in 1922 with Eugene B. Roach, Carthage *Democrat*, Vice President; W. H. Maas, St. Louis, secretary, and A. L. Preston, Marshall *Democrat-News*, Treasurer.

On December 1, 1923, the largest and most enthusiastic meeting in the previous history of the Democratic Press was held in St. Louis, with 130 editors present. George Scruton was reelected President, Mrs. W. W. Henderson, LaPlata *Home Press*, Vice President; R. Earle Hodges Mo-

kane *Missourian*, Secretary, and A. L. Preston, Treasurer. Resolutions were adopted endorsing former Governor Frederick D. Gardner for Vice President, but Senator James A. Reed immediately announced his candidacy for the nomination for President and Governor Gardner withdrew. Following the death of the association's president, November 29, 1925, Mrs. Henderson served as president until April 23, 1927, when John C. Stapel, Rockport *Mail*, was made President, Mrs. Henderson, Vice President, L. R. Bagby, Craig *Leader*, Secretary, and R. L. Walton, Armstrong *Herald*, Treasurer. These officers continued through the 1932 campaign, with the association's largest paid-up membership. In 1933 Stapel was appointed Publicity Director by Rubey M. Hulen, Chairman of the Democratic State Committee.

A list of newspaper appointments in the 1933 state administration includes:

Edgar C. Nelson, former editor at Bunceton, Boonville and Marshall, chairman of State Workmen's Compensation Commission.

Fred Hull, former Maryville newspaper editor, member of State Public Service Commission.

W. D. Meng, formerly of Kansas City *Star* and Kansas City *Journal-Post*, editor of "Missouri Blue Book" in offices of Secretary of State.

Jewell Mayes, former editor of Richmond *Missourian*, Assistant Commissioner of Agriculture.

A. J. Slack, editor of Steelville *Ledger*, assistant chief of parks, in State Game and Fish Department.

E. L. Preston, editor of Norborne *Democrat*, secretary of State Game and Fish Department.

L. T. Daniels, editor of Ellington *Press*, printing clerk in office of Secretary of State.

Mrs. W. W. Henderson, editor of LaPlata *Home Press*, Superintendent of Child Welfare and State Home for Children.

Mrs. Alice Moss Ferris, editor of Laddonia *Herald*, Secretary of State Bureau of Mines.

Dan M. Carr, formerly of Kansas City *Journal-Post* and former rural newspaper editor at Liberty and elsewhere, Secretary of State Penal Board.

Garret L. Smalley, editor of Kansas City *Southside Press*, member of State Athletic Commission.

Wallace Crossley, editor of Warrensburg *Star-Journal*, chairman of Commission for Construction and Relief in Missouri.

Rupert McGregor, formerly of Linn County *Budget-Gazette* of Brookfield, clerk in automobile department of Secretary of State's office.

V. H. Steward, former Poplar Bluff editor and publisher, commissioner of motor vehicles in Secretary of State's office.

Joe Berner, former Poplar Bluff newspaperman, clerk in automobile department of Secretary of State's office.

Joe Hansman, former rural newspaperman in Missouri, clerk in State Treasurer's offices.

V. L. Medling, former newspaperman of Campbell, official in Blind Pension Department of State Auditor's offices.

Cance A. Pool, formerly of *Daily Capital News* of Jefferson City, assistant editor of "Missouri Blue Book" in Secretary of State's offices.

S. D. Allegri, editor of *Houstonia Leader*, parole officer at Boonville Reformatory.

Charles F. Ward, editor of *Plattsburg Leader*, member of board of Curators of the University of Missouri.

Edmund McWilliams, editor of *Clinton County Democrat* of Plattsburg, member of board of regents of Northwest Missouri State Teachers' College.

Dr. William J. Thompkins, editor of *Kansas City American*, Negro newspaper, member of board of curators of Lincoln University.

DeWitt Masters, editor of *Perry Enterprise*, member of board for the State School for the Deaf at Fulton.

J. E. Bouchard, formerly of the *Lead Belt News* of Flat River, clerk in automobile department of Secretary of State's offices.

W. W. Gibbany, former rural newspaperman of Missouri, official of the Commission for Construction and Relief in Missouri.

Ralph Stufflebam, formerly of the *Bolivar Herald*, chief clerk of the State Highway Patrol.

Norman Higgs, former St. Louis newspaper reporter, publicity director of State Highway Department.

Mrs. Mary E. Ryder, formerly connected with a St. Louis publishing company, executive director of the Missouri Commission for the Blind.

Robert Mundorff, Cassville newspaperman, secretary of the Missouri Athletic Commission.

O. Popham, editor of *Hayti Herald*, game warden.

J. W. McCammon, city editor of *Springfield News*, chief clerk of the State Building and Loan Bureau.

George W. Lane, of the *Waynesville Democrat* (Pulaski County) assistant Secretary of the Penal Board.

C. M. Fleming, *Knobnoster Gem*, member board of managers of State School for the Deaf.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

THE LITERARY SOCIETY OF MISSOURI

V. J. Mackay, former newspaperman of Campbell, elected in 1910.

From a list of names of those who have been elected to the office of

President of the Society, the following are given: 1911, J. H. Mackay;

1912, J. H. Mackay; 1913, J. H. Mackay; 1914, J. H. Mackay; 1915,

1916, J. H. Mackay; 1917, J. H. Mackay; 1918, J. H. Mackay; 1919,

1920, J. H. Mackay; 1921, J. H. Mackay; 1922, J. H. Mackay; 1923,

1924, J. H. Mackay; 1925, J. H. Mackay; 1926, J. H. Mackay; 1927,

1928, J. H. Mackay; 1929, J. H. Mackay; 1930, J. H. Mackay; 1931,

1932, J. H. Mackay; 1933, J. H. Mackay; 1934, J. H. Mackay; 1935,

1936, J. H. Mackay; 1937, J. H. Mackay; 1938, J. H. Mackay; 1939,

1940, J. H. Mackay; 1941, J. H. Mackay; 1942, J. H. Mackay; 1943,

1944, J. H. Mackay; 1945, J. H. Mackay; 1946, J. H. Mackay; 1947,

1948, J. H. Mackay; 1949, J. H. Mackay; 1950, J. H. Mackay; 1951,

1952, J. H. Mackay; 1953, J. H. Mackay; 1954, J. H. Mackay; 1955,

1956, J. H. Mackay; 1957, J. H. Mackay; 1958, J. H. Mackay; 1959,

1960, J. H. Mackay; 1961, J. H. Mackay; 1962, J. H. Mackay; 1963,

1964, J. H. Mackay; 1965, J. H. Mackay; 1966, J. H. Mackay; 1967,

1968, J. H. Mackay; 1969, J. H. Mackay; 1970, J. H. Mackay; 1971,

1972, J. H. Mackay; 1973, J. H. Mackay; 1974, J. H. Mackay; 1975,

1976, J. H. Mackay; 1977, J. H. Mackay; 1978, J. H. Mackay; 1979,

1980, J. H. Mackay; 1981, J. H. Mackay; 1982, J. H. Mackay; 1983,

1984, J. H. Mackay; 1985, J. H. Mackay; 1986, J. H. Mackay; 1987,

1988, J. H. Mackay; 1989, J. H. Mackay; 1990, J. H. Mackay; 1991,

1992, J. H. Mackay; 1993, J. H. Mackay; 1994, J. H. Mackay; 1995,

1996, J. H. Mackay; 1997, J. H. Mackay; 1998, J. H. Mackay; 1999,

2000, J. H. Mackay; 2001, J. H. Mackay; 2002, J. H. Mackay; 2003,

2004, J. H. Mackay; 2005, J. H. Mackay; 2006, J. H. Mackay; 2007,

THE JEFFERSON CLUB

By Frances B. Feldkamp,* Washington, D. C.

The history of Missouri Democrats would not be complete without an article on the old Jefferson Club of St. Louis, which was organized on July 24, 1892.

Prior to the organization of the Jefferson Club the City of St. Louis had been continuously under Republican rule. There were only three Democratic justices of the peace in the city. That was the sum total of Democratic office-holders. A few members of the Legislature were elected and one or two state senators.

The Democracy would come to the border of St. Louis with an overwhelming Democratic majority, only to have this wiped out by the Republican machine in St. Louis.

The Club had its origin in a group of young lawyers who were studying Blackstone, and met at the home of Thomas M. Knapp, who was a son-in-law of Col. Griff Prather, at that time Democratic national committeeman from Missouri. It happened that this group of young lawyers were all Democrats, followers of Thomas Jefferson, and out of it grew what first became known as The Young Democracy.

Its original home was on Vandeventer Avenue, in 1893. Its primary object at that time was to debate public questions. Its moving spirit was Harry B. Hawes, afterwards United States Senator. William F. Woerner, later city counselor and candidate for mayor, Benjamin F. Charles, well-known attorney, William Garvin, Lebbeus R. Wilfley, later United States judge in China, Adolph Wislizenus, later a member of the Supreme Court in Manila, Philippine Islands, John Hogan Boogher, grandson of an old Democratic mayor, John Hogan, Dr. H. Wheeler Bond, later president of the Board of Public Health, Dr. Norvell W. Sharp, Judge Virgil Rule, Charles P. Senter, Douglass W. Robert, L. D. Lawnin, Judge R. B. Haughton, Judge Thomas C. Hennings, James M. Franciscus, James Hagerman, Jr., later collector of internal revenue of St. Louis, Judge Glendy Arnold, Former Mayor Edward A. Noonan, Andrew Scully, M. H. Alexander, T. R. Ballard, later police commissioner, William T. Atwood, later police commissioner, Con P. Curran, Eugene O'Fallon, Judge Thomas B. Crews, Cornelius H. Fauntleroy, Aikman Welsh, Judge Walter B. Douglass, Judge Moses N. Sale, John C. Roberts, George J. Tansey were the group, or part of the group of young men at that period who participated in the debates and discussions on political matters.

The club rapidly grew in popularity and membership, and gradually commenced to engage in practical politics, and finally became an organization of some power.

The quarters became too small, and the club moved to a three-story building at 3022 Olive Street. These headquarters were provided with a large hall seating 1,000 persons, bowling alleys, a billiard room, card rooms, a kitchen, and a large buffet downstairs was fitted up in the form of a Palm Room which at that period was in vogue.

With its removal to its new home, the club developed from a small group of law students to a city-wide organization of over 8,000. The annual dues were \$6 a year. This gave it a revenue of \$48,000, to which was added contributions, bringing up its annual expenditures to approximately \$100,000 a year.

The club had a plan for collecting the old discarded clothes of its members, which were sterilized and cleaned and distributed to the needy. It purchased coal and distributed that, and, in the summer time, distributed ice. It established and maintained a free employment bureau.

ANNUAL FEATURE

One of the annual features was a Newsboys' Christmas Dinner. Each boy was presented with a cap and a sweater, or some other token, and this became an event that the newsboys looked forward to with great interest.

Entertainments were given twice a month, including boxing, wrestling matches, and vaudeville entertainments.

The club later established a Negro branch, which was fitted up in a smaller way with a bowling alley, billiard rooms, and other forms of entertainment.

It had a Jewish branch and a Polish branch.

Carrying out this plan of entertainment, it created and uniformed a soccer football team, which became the local champions, but, as Senator Hawes once said, it was a poor investment because the team was too good; it won too many contests.

Probably its most spectacular entertainment was its Drum and Fife Corps, which had the uniform of the old Colonial soldiers. This Drum and Bugle Corps was trained by Capt. Frank B. Higgins. Its other officers were Dr. H. E. Mack, lieutenant; W. Ford, drum major; James Moran, quartermaster.

On May 28th, 1895, the name of the club was changed from "The Young Democracy" to "The Jefferson Club Association."

At the time of the pilgrimage to Monticello, the roster of the Drum and Fife Corps was as follows: John J. Vahey, R. Gallagher, F. Morrissey, Edward F. Creed, J. J. Thornton, Michael O'Malley, W. Harding, W. J. Ratchford, Joseph Tighe, H. E. Mack, H. A. Boone, Clem Kentzinger, Jr., P. Kavanaugh, J. Sauer, Peter Laurie, Thomas W. Morris, V. T. McCormack, Frank Mulderig, John T. Mathews, J. St. L. Maher, D. J. Cronin, John T. Hunt, J. P. McGrain, E. Schofield, John D. Ryan, Jerry J. McGrath, J. H. O'Connell, Edward Shea, F. E. Bergen, Thomas Brady, John J. Ward, John J. Healy, Clarence Coff, E. A. England, E. A. Burkhardt, W. F. Sheehan, J. P. Cahill, W. J. Lonergan, J. J. Cook, L. W. Zierlein.

The first president of The Young Democracy was Thomas M. Knapp; the second president, in 1893, was William E. Garvin; the third president was Benjamin H. Charles; Virgil Rule was the fourth president in 1897; Mr. John C. Roberts in 1898; Joseph W. Folk in 1899.

Harry B. Hawes was president in 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903 and 1904. He was also the first vice president during all of the above administrations.

As the membership of the club grew, Mr. Hawes took up the task of systematically registering voters and getting citizens to the polls on election day. The arrogance and indifference of some of the Democratic "bosses" had brought party discipline to a low ebb in St. Louis, and the well organized Republicans won easily.

In 1899 the Jefferson Club started its ward, precinct and block organization. The effect was instantaneous. The Democrats flocked under the standard of the Jefferson Club in such large numbers as required a removal to larger quarters. As many as three hundred applicants were passed on frequently at monthly meetings.

At this time the Jefferson Club frequently entertained the entire Missouri Legislature. Speakers of nation-wide prominence were brought in. James A. Reed was introduced to the St. Louis public largely through his speeches made at the Jefferson Club.

PILGRIMAGE TO TOMB OF JEFFERSON

Probably one of the most dramatic pilgrimages for a political club was the Pilgrimage to the Tomb of Thomas Jefferson undertaken by the Jefferson Club in October, 1901.

The members of the general committee which brought this about were as follows: Lt. Governor John A. Lee, Cornelius H. Fauntleroy, Tom L. Anderson, John H. Boogher, Gov. Alexander Monroe Dockery, James Monroe Seibert, Joseph W. Folk, Breckenridge Jones, R. F. Coombs, Henning W. Prentis, John T. Fitzsimmons, Jere M. Hunt, Wm. J. Flynn, Jerry J. Sheehan, Wm. Marion Reedy, and George E. Baker.

The men who participated in this Pilgrimage and contributed to its financing were as follows: Thomas L. Anderson, Reno A. Auer, M. H. Alexander, W. S. Anthony, L. A. Anthony, T. S. Aubuchon, Wm. Aull, Benjamin Atkins, John Adams, M. H. Alexander, Jr., R. F. Brown, T. R. Ballard, Arthus S. Bohlinger, R. S. Brank, Joseph P. Brennan, John H. Boogher, Martin S. Brennan, V. J. Boyd, John Boyd, Walter F. Burke, Ewing C. Bland, A. J. Butler, Simon L. Boogher, M. E. Benton, J. R. Butler, A. F. Blong, G. E. Baker, S. B. Brown, John P. Collins, D. J. Casey, P. J. Carmody, R. F. Combs, Con P. Curran, T. J. Conway, George J. Chapman, Thomas A. Conley, D. F. Cunningham, Charles F. Cochran, E. D. Colburn, James M. Clack, T. E. Collins, Jerry Culbertson, Dr. E. H. Chinn, P. J. Clifford, M. J. Cullen, D. T. M. Craig, Gideon Crews, Daniel Corcoran, Rev. E. A. Casey, M. J. Cullinane, T. Joe Canty, W. C. Cone, W. S. Calcutt, Joseph Devoy, Lawrence Doran, P. S. Drown, T. B. Drum, Joseph F. Dickmann, Phillip Dwyer, John P. Dolan, August F. Daus, J. S. Dunwoody, J. L. Duffy, Rev. Patrick Dooley, Rev. Timothy Dempsey, Waller Edwards, Dr. J. C. Edwards, F. M. Estes, John T. English, J. W. Folk, C. H. Fauntleroy, J. T. Fitzsimmons, W. J. Flynn, John Fletcher, F. H. Farris, P. R. Fitzgibbon, Dr. T. F. Frazer, W. G. Frye, Rev. J. J. Furlong, J. J. Gilfoil, James Garrigan, R. E. Gorman, M. J. Gallaher, Charles L. Geraghty, E. E. Guion, Augustine Gallagher, Thomas A. Garrigan, A. Harty, J. F. Hannemann, Harry B. Hawes, Thomas C. Hennings, O. B. Hudson, Thomas Hart, James Hagerman, Jr., J. W. Heffernan, T. J. Hen-

nessy, T. F. Hart, J. D. Hannegan, L. F. Hammer, Jr., F. A. J. Hiller, C. H. Haughton, E. T. Harkrader, Patrick Kane, Nicholas Kloess, Bart. D. Keaney, Thomas F. Keane, A. Kolp, F. M. Klaiber, J. R. Kemp, John E. Love, John A. Lee, Charles Langenecker, M. D. Lewis, T. J. Lysaght, F. J. Lansbert, J. R. McCarthy, Thomas S. McGuire, A. C. Maroney, O. P. Mallard, J. A. McHose, Owen McNamee, W. P. Murphy, John J. McMahon, B. C. Moore, Thomas Morris, James McCaffery, George F. Mockler, J. T. McCaffery, John Murray, J. H. McClanahan, William Mahoney, Henry Newmark, Asa Norman, C. J. Nordmeyer, John Nichols, George Neville, Emmett Newton, John J. O'Brien, M. J. O'Brien, D. P. O'Brien, William O'Connor, D. W. O'Connor, T. L. O'Sullivan, Dr. Daniel D. O'Gorman, William J. Pollard, H. W. Prentis, August Priesterbach, Hiram Philipps, George Peterson, David J. Perkins, Charles Phillips, A. J. Pudvitr, E. B. Pope, Edward Quinn, J. J. Ryan, W. Ratican, B. M. Rassmisser, George W. Rinkel, John Rabbit, H. S. Rumsey, James D. Ryan, Thomas G. Rutledge, James A. Reed, J. P. Rice, W. M. Reedy, Dr. J. T. Soraghan, Jerry J. Sheehan, James J. Spaulding, J. C. Shaner, Garard Strode, R. B. Swift, L. B. Starke, Joel Short, A. J. Stevens, Alexander Stewart, Charles P. Senter, John Sartorius, William J. Stone, H. L. Stapel, Dr. John H. Simon, W. H. Sanders, James Smith, W. R. Taff, George B. Thomson, B. P. Taaffe, W. H. Truitt, Jr., Albert T. Terry, J. R. Tapley, R. Park Von Wedelstadt, T. J. Ward, Dr. George W. Westbrook, Peter Walsh, Frank M. Watke, T. O. Wengler, Brent T. Williams, Dr. E. J. Walsh, Rolla Wells, R. M. Wray, E. S. Wylie, Aikman Welch, N. J. Winters, Otto Ziesse, Louis Acuff, Ben Adler, Samuel Adler, T. Adreveno, James Alexander, William Allen, T. T. Almon, William T. Anderson, Charles Atmore, Andrew Auer, S. E. Baker, James Bannerman, George W. Badger, J. N. Barbee, James Barry, Charles Battersby, Fred Behm, A. C. Bernays, C. O. Biggs, Charles Bilhartz, L. D. Blankenship, Richard T. Bradley, Thomas F. Brady, H. A. Buck, George M. Burriss, J. A. Burton, Edward Butler, Frank A. Cafferata, James Campbell, T. Joseph Cauty, Jr., T. J. Cauty, A. J. Carroll, Murray Carleton, John S. Carroll, M. J. Casey, Eugene Clifford, James Corcoran, F. W. Cordell, Dan J. Cosgrove, Daniel Danaher, Timothy Danaher, T. W. De Moss, Edward Devoy, Eugene Devoy, T. J. Donegan, Walter B. Douglas, James Dixon, William Dougherty, James P. Doyle, William Druhe, H. I. Drummond, R. B. Dula, Michael Dundon, John Dwyer, Edward E. Eichhorn, Charles S. Emerson, Louis I. Finn, Thomas Fogarty, Joseph W. Folk, W. S. FitzGerald, John R. Fontana, D. R. Francis, Thomas Finnerty, Gus A. Fisher, Patrick FitzGerald, P. R. Fitzgibbon, Henry F. Finley, Albert Fuldner, R. M. Funkhouser, Dave Galvin, Louis Ganahl, Joseph P. Gannon, Michael Gannon, R. P. Garrett, Eugene Gartland, W. J. Gavigan, C. E. Gibson, Edward Gill, Paul Girard, F. E. Gunn, Herman Haegele, James Hagerman, J. S. Hawkins, John Higgins, William J. Hanley, Robert A. Hanna, John P. Hannegan, John J. Hayes, Gustav Helm, John Hogan, August Heman, James Hickman, John M. Holmes, John Howard, Gus Hufsmith, William Hughes, C. H. Huttig, Joseph Israel, F. D. Johns, Breckenridge Jones, Peter Joyce, Patrick Kane, Felix Keating, Daniel Keeman, Thomas

E. Kelly, S. M. Kennard, John J. Kennedy, R. H. Kern, John King, E. J. Lally, Fred Lanz, John J. Lavin, A. J. Lawlor, S. F. Lawlor, James G. Lightholder, I. H. Lionberger, P. McAliney, William McCauley, James G. McConkey, Phil McCormack, Jesse A. McDonald, R. McDonnell, Edward McDowell, Charles McSherry, Joseph McSherry, Peter McCann, John C. McMahon, Edward Mackle, W. T. Maginnis, Thomas S. Maguire, F. E. Marshall, W. H. Matthews, T. P. Moran, Guy F. Moorman, Peter Monretus, Henry Nickelaus, Louis Nolte, Thomas Nugent, William J. Odlum, E. P. O'Fallon, John D. O'Keffe, T. O'Keefe, Dennis O'Leary, John J. Owen, Joseph Pasquier, P. J. Pauley, Sr., James Y. Player, Frank Pearson, Henry Pelser, Fred Percival, R. H. Phillips, David Powers, H. S. Priest, Thomas Purcell, Thomas H. Quinn, John T. Reardon, A. Retagliata, Peter Reynolds, John Rhodman, John C. Roberts, John R. Rolfes, James Richardson, John J. Ryan, Thomas F. Ryan, J. M. Seibert, H. H. Sommers, Thomas D. Stack, John Staed, H. W. Steinbiss, Edward Stevenson, A. C. Stewart, William F. Scott, William J. Sedvic, William L. Schaeffer, William R. Schulte, John M. Shea, Patrick Shea, J. F. Shepley, James A. Smith, George C. Steele, A. C. Stuever, Joseph E. Sullens, S. J. Sullivan, George J. Tansey, W. H. Tate, Dan G. Taylor, Samuel R. Taylor, J. H. Telken, A. R. Thompson, William Timke, Daniel Tracy, C. H. Turner, R. S. Van Sant, Theodore Volmer, Chris Von der Ahe, Festus J. Wade, Daniel Walsh, John Walsh, Patrick Walsh, Richard Weber, Rolla Wells, Thomas P. Whalen, Ben F. Wiggernhorn, Casper J. Wolf, John M. Wood, J. W. Woods, John H. Wray, J. L. Zanone, A. Zipf.

CHARTERED SPECIAL TRAIN

The club chartered a special train, took with it its famous drum corps and spent four days on the trip.

The history of the Pilgrimage, in an illustrated volume of 78 pages was prepared by William Marion Reedy.

The Club had made a granite shaft which is now in front of the main entrance to Monticello. This was built by August and John C. Heman (members of the club) at their quarries at Doe Run, Missouri. It weighed 10,000 pounds.

Henning W. Prentis, then superintendent of public schools, had charge of the inscription on the monument, which is as follows:

THOMAS JEFFERSON
Citizen Statesman Patriot

The Greatest
Advocate of Human Liberty
Opposing Special Privileges.

He loved and trusted
the people.

To Commemorate His
PURCHASE OF LOUISIANA

Erected by
THE JEFFERSON CLUB
Of St. Louis, Mo.,
On Their Pilgrimage, Oct. 12, 1901.
To Express Their
Devotion to His Principles.

The address of welcome was delivered by Hon. Jefferson M. Levy, then the owner of Monticello. The response to this address was made by the Hon. Harry B. Hawes. Other speakers at the dedication of the monument and at the banquet given by the University of Virginia were William M. Thornton, Congressman James T. Lloyd, Dr. Paul B. Barringer, of the University of Virginia, Rev. James J. Furlong of New Madrid, Mo., Hon. Rolla Wells, Dr. John H. Simon, Hon. Frank H. Farris, Joseph W. Folk, William Marion Reedy, Ames A. Reed, Cornelius H. Fauntleroy, Congressman Charles F. Cochran of St. Joseph, and Senator William J. Stone, whose term as governor of the state had recently expired.

Letters from the then United States Senators F. M. Cockrell and George G. Vest were read.

Congressman M. E. Benton made the address at the formal presentation of the monument and the Hon. Frank M. Estes delivered the concluding address of the ceremonies at the tomb.

Congressman Jefferson M. Levy, who at that time owned Monticello, presented Mr. Hawes with a chair made and used by Thomas Jefferson, which is now on exhibit at the Jefferson Memorial in St. Louis.

After the bitter gubernatorial primary fight between Harry B. Hawes and Joseph W. Folk, Mr. Hawes resigned as president of the club and fearing that it might be disrupted because of the hostility of some of Mr. Folk's friends, requested that the entire organization be given over to Mr. Folk's friends.

This was followed by the election of Horace S. Rumsey as president, and later by Robert H. Kern.

Mr. Hawes retired from politics for a period of nearly sixteen years, but before his retirement, by a singular change, there were only three Republican justices of the peace holding office in the city. At the time the warfare in the Republican organization began, there were only three Republican justices of the peace in the City of St. Louis. All other offices were held by Democrats. The legislative representation had been increased, the senatorial representation had been increased, and for nearly eight years Missouri cast a Democratic vote for Democratic candidates.

The first great battle of the Jefferson Club was to introduce what was called the precinct organization. This was vigorously fought by the Democratic committeemen of that day, and it became necessary for the Jefferson Club to take its fight to the state committee and later to a state convention. Once having established the principle of precinct organization, the club became a great political power. Its ward organization committee was headed for many years by Judge Frank M. Klaiber, assisted by William J. Flynn. Its policy was to appoint as ward committeemen of the

Jefferson Club those city committeemen who were in accord with it, and to oppose and fight those who were opposed to it. This finally resulted in the elimination of nearly all of the organization obstructionists, and the Jefferson Club became supreme.

When the Club went into active politics, it gathered new recruits, amongst others Judge John T. Fitzsimmons, William J. Flynn, Thomas L. Anderson, Benjamin Atkins, T. R. Ballard, Andrew F. Blong, John P. Collins, R. Ford Coombs, M. J. Cullinane, Edward Devoy, Joseph F. Dickmann (former sheriff and father of Mayor Dickmann), who served on the board for many years and was a very active member; Philip Dwyer, Waller Edwards, P. R. Fitzgibbon, Charles L. Geraghty, E. E. Guion, L. F. Hammer, Jr., Judge Patrick Kane, John R. McCarthy, A. C. Maroney, Judge James McCaffery, Geo. F. Mockler, Henry Newmark, John J. O'Brien, Judge William J. Pollard, H. S. Rumsey, Jeremiah J. Sheehan, Judge James J. Spaulding, Garrard Strode (afterwards public administrator), L. B. Starke, Senator John Sartorius, Judge B. P. Taaffe, Albert T. Terry, Thomas J. Ward, Peter Walsh, former Mayor James Bannerman, the famous physician Dr. A. C. Bernays, Charles Bilhartz, Murray Carleton, William Druhe, ex-Governor D. R. Francis, Dr. R. M. Funkhouser, Frederick D. Gardner (afterwards governor of Missouri), August Heman, William H. Hughes, C. H. Huttig, Breckinridge Jones (who was long a financial adviser and friend of the organization), James G. Lightholder, I. H. Lionberger, Judge Jesse A. McDonald, James Y. Player, Judge Henry S. Priest, Thomas H. Quinn, John T. Reardon, John R. Rolfes, William F. Scott, James A. Smith, A. C. Stuever, George J. Tansey, Judge Daniel G. Taylor, Judge Daniel O'Connell Tracy, Festus J. Wade, Rolla Wells, Casper J. Wolf and George H. Moore.

The roster was too large to mention all of them, although I am sure I have forgotten some.

As you will note, many of the members attained high places in public office.

What is needed is a rejuvenation of this kind of an unselfish organization.

The Club was successful largely because of two provisions of its By-laws:

"Article XVII. Endorsement of Candidates.

"This Association shall not as an Association formally endorse or oppose any candidate for office before nomination or appointment.

"Article XVIII. Support of Platforms and Candidates.

"This Association shall support all regularly nominated candidates and all regularly adopted platforms of the Democratic Party."

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

THE FIRST YOUNG MEN'S DEMOCRATIC CLUB OF MISSOURI

The first Young Men's Democratic Club ever organized in the state was effected at the old Exposition Building on Olive Street where the library now stands, in May, 1889.

The Legislature had just adjourned and there was a gathering of Democrats from nearly every part of the state, and there were a number who afterwards rose to places of preferment in state and national service.

Champ Clark, who had been a prominent member of the lower house of the Legislature, was made president, and R. P. Thompson, secretary. The election of Champ Clark to the presidency of the club preceded his election to Congress from the Ninth District, which he represented for twenty-six years, becoming one of the most outstanding men of the nation.

Writing of this meeting in the *Kansas City Times*, John N. Edwards said, in part:

"Representative Democrats from all parts of the state have just met in St. Louis to consider the ways and means of a practical and thorough reorganization of the party. Any political caucus or convention which the Hon. Champ Clark of Pike County presides over and addresses, commends itself at once, not alone to the confidence, but to the active support of the entire Democracy of Missouri. Young as he is, he is possessed of that kind of progressive ardor and all-providing faith which removes mountains. In the lares and penates of his political household there are only the gods of his fathers."

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN MISSOURI

A BRIEF HISTORY

By Luella St. Clair Moss*

One state historian traces the inception of the movement for woman suffrage in Missouri to the period immediately following the Civil war. The state seems to have remained almost untouched by the suffrage propaganda of the Woman's Rights movement which in the Eastern section of the United States reached a high tide in the decennium of 1850-1860.

The close of the Civil war brought not only civil freedom and political equality to the black man but it brought also to the women suffragists a growing sense of the great injustice to women of longer denying them the right to vote. The war had strengthened the self-confidence of women through activities in war relief organizations, and in the necessity of carrying on the business responsibilities of men away in the war. Experience in the public duties of the many temperance societies, together with better educational opportunities, had also increased the self-confidence of women.

St. Louis, because of its contacts with the East, its wealth, and its large number of educated women interested in public affairs, became the leader of the woman suffrage movement in the state. Mrs. Virginia L. Minor of St. Louis, encouraged by a declaration made in the United States Senate by Senator B. Gratz Brown, that he favored universal suffrage, wrote a letter of commendation to the senator, secured a number of signatures and presented the letter to Senator Brown upon his return to St. Louis.

The first campaign for woman suffrage in Missouri was launched by a petition to the Legislature in 1867. This was signed by 355 women and was rejected by the House of Representatives by a vote of eighty-five to five. Thereafter, the suffrage petition to the Legislature became one of the fixed policies of the suffrage movement. The first woman suffrage association in Missouri was organized in St. Louis in 1867, Mrs. George D. Hall, Miss Penelope Allen, Mrs. Rebecca N. Hazard, and Mrs. Anna Clapp constituted the organizing group which numbered seventeen charter members.

By 1869, the Missouri suffrage movement was under way and two delegates were sent to the national convention at Washington, D. C. A task of major importance was that of securing a woman suffrage amendment to the state constitution. Petitions were circulated and a delegation of ten women presented them to a joint session of the Senate and the House. The signatures of Governor McClurg and about eighty legislators were secured, making a total of approximately 2,000 names. During this year, a committee was appointed to invite the interest and coöperation of the working women in the seeking to equalize the wages of men and women and in securing the vote for women. The result of these efforts was the organization of a Working Woman's Protective Association.

A National Woman's Suffrage Convention was held in St. Louis in October, 1869. Mrs. Hazard, Mrs. Minor and Miss Phoebe Couzins were active participants in the convention. The suffrage petition presented to the State Senate in 1871 requested that this body memorialize the Missouri members in Congress to urge a sixteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution recognizing the right of women to vote.

Two national woman suffrage associations existed for some time and at the annual state convention in 1871 it was voted that the Missouri Association should become auxiliary to the American Woman Suffrage Association. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century the suffrage movement in Missouri was not marked by much activity. During the eighties, the interest of suffrage leaders turned to the seemingly more attainable goals of school and municipal suffrage rather than the right to vote at general elections.

In May, 1879, the National Woman Suffrage Association met in St. Louis with 120 delegates representing twelve states. Missouri towns represented were: St. Louis, Lexington, Warrensburg, Louisiana, Oregon and Bloomington. Under the leadership of Miss Susan B. Anthony, there was founded at this convention a new society known as the St. Louis Branch of the National Woman Suffrage Association.

The right to petition was again exercised by the Missouri suffragists in 1881, delegates appearing before the General Assembly petitioned for a constitutional amendment. Again, in 1883, they petitioned for general and for presidential suffrage. In the convention of 1889, there were evidences that suffrage interest was widening its field in Missouri. Vice presidents were elected from Bloomfield, Brookfield, La Monte, Montgomery, Fayette, Wentzville and Cameron. Petitions were sent to the Legislature from the counties of Pike, Clinton, Jackson and St. Clair.

By the period of the nineties, certain economic and social forces were moving to lessen, or to break down, opposition to woman suffrage. Women had been gradually advancing along the road of economic independence. School suffrage had been granted in a number of states. The Populist Party and the Peoples Party both favored woman suffrage. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union was a strong supporter of suffrage. The woman's club movement, through the organization in 1896, of the Missouri Federation of Women's Clubs, while avoiding the shoals of a definite alignment with suffrage, was still a strong aid to the growth of suffrage sentiment. Many of the club women were active suffragists.

SUFFRAGE DISCUSSED

In February, 1892, an Interstate Women's Conference was held in Kansas City. Among the program discussions were suffrage and the legal status of women. This conference was followed by the first Kansas City woman suffrage organization known as the Equal Suffrage Association of Kansas City. Mrs. Kersey Coates was the first president; other presidents were Mrs. Frances Jenkins and Mrs. G. B. Longan. Delegates were sent to the national convention in Des Moines in 1897. In this year, Mrs. Virginia Hedges of Warrensburg was elected president of the State



FIRST SUFFRAGE ORGANIZATION MEETING IN SALINE COUNTY, AT HOME
OF MRS. JAMES COONEY
Showing the Susan B. Anthony Balcony

Suffrage Association, the first time the presidency had been held outside of St. Louis. In 1895, a state association of suffragists was formed and took the name of the Missouri Equal Suffrage Association. Mrs. E. P. Johnson of St. Louis was elected president and other officers were from Kansas City, and Shelbyville.

In 1896, the strategy was tried of holding a convention of the Missouri Equal Suffrage Association in St. Louis at the same time as the Republican National Convention with the view of inducing the Republican convention to include in its party platform a plank on woman suffrage. The strategy failed. Mrs. Ella Harrison of Carthage, succeeded Mrs. Johnson as president of the Missouri Equal Suffrage Association. Progress of the Association was marked by reports at conventions held at Bethany in 1897; at St. Joseph in 1898; at Chillicothe in 1899; at St. Joseph in 1900; at St. Louis in 1901.

The cause of woman suffrage in Missouri suffered a partial eclipse during the opening years of the new century. No conventions were held for several years and no petitions were presented to the General Assembly from 1901 to 1911. In 1911 the Kansas City Woman Suffrage Association was formed with Mrs. Henry N. Ess as president. In 1914 this body reorganized under the name of the Central Suffrage Association with Mrs. Henry N. Ess as president. It is interesting to note that of the eighteen proposals for woman suffrage brought before the Missouri Legislature from 1867 to 1901, only eight came to a vote. These eighteen measures were introduced in twelve of the twenty assemblies held during this period.

The struggle for woman suffrage in Missouri was a long drawn-out siege extending over more than half a century. From first to last, St. Louis was the G. H. Q. of the suffrage siege furnishing most of the state officers as well as many of the tireless soldiers in the ranks.

In 1916, twenty years after the disappointment of the suffragists at the hands of a National Republican convention held in St. Louis, the National Democratic convention met in this city. The St. Louis suffragists opportunists put on a brilliant program to enlist the interest of the delegates to the end of cooperating with the plan of the National Suffrage Association to get a woman suffrage plank in the National Democratic platform. About 7,000 women took part in a "Walkless-Talkless Parade," gowned in white with yellow sashes and parasols, they formed a "Golden Lane" of ten blocks through which the delegates walked from their hotel to the convention hall. Other demonstrations for votes for women were put on by the suffragists including suffrage speakers on many of the downtown street corners. The result of the talkless and talking appeals of the women was a suffrage plank, so weak and non-committal that the earnest, thinking suffragists laughed good-naturedly at the "joker" handed to them by the convention.

With the heavy shadows of the World war over the country, patriotic suffragists turned all their time and energies to war work. Suffrage was relegated to the background, thus repeating the history of the Civil war period. With the close of the war, suffrage workers returned to

their interrupted siege with the added prestige to their claim to full citizenship gained from their efficient and untiring service in helping to "win the war."

One of the most dramatic chapters in the history of the United States is that of the seventy-year struggle by women for equality with men in full enfranchisement. In Missouri the drama moved through the years of 1918-1919 to a triumphant close.

Two semi-centennial events in 1919 are significant in the history of woman suffrage in Missouri. On January 8, 1919, the Fiftieth General Assembly convened in Jefferson City and in his message to the Legislature Governor Gardner recommended the passage of "such suffrage legislation as the women might desire." The first measure introduced in the beautiful new Capitol was the Presidential Suffrage bill. Senator McKnight, Democrat, author of the bill, scored the first victory by moving that the bill be put on the calendar over the adverse report of the Elections Committee. After a heated debate, the motion won. The House passed the bill by a vote of 122 to 8. After a close vote in the Senate, the battle was won and on April 5, Governor Gardner signed the bill and presidential suffrage for women became a law of the state.

The Golden Jubilee convention of the National American Suffrage Association met in St. Louis the closing week of March, concurrent with the time of intense excitement over the fate of the Presidential Suffrage bill. With the arrival from Jefferson City of Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, president of the State Suffrage Association, and other last-hour workers bringing news of the great victory, the convention held a spontaneous and joyous celebration.

SIGNED BY MARSHALL

Meanwhile, Congress was busy in Washington. On June 4, 1919, after many sessions of rejections, the Susan B. Anthony Amendment to the Constitution was passed by both houses, every Missouri member of the House and one Senator voted for the amendment. On June 6, in the absence of President Wilson, the Federal Suffrage Amendment was signed by Vice President Marshall. President Wilson had previously made a strong plea to Congress to pass the amendment. The biggest battle had been won.

To enable the women of Missouri to have a full enfranchisement before the next presidential election, it would be necessary to have a special session of the Legislature to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment. To the weary but jubilant suffragists this seemed a Herculean task. With the continued sympathetic support of Governor Gardner, the special session was called. By the heroic efforts of the suffragists and their friends, a "round-up" of the legislators was made, many of them offering to come at their own expense. On July first, a brilliant Ratification Dinner was given in Jefferson City with the members of the Legislature guests of the State Suffrage Association. On July 2, the House voted in favor of ratification by a vote of 125 to 4, and in the Senate by a vote of 29 to 3.

A Democratic governor, Frederick D. Gardner, and the Fiftieth General Assembly will ever be held in grateful memory by the forward-looking women of Missouri for their comradeship and aid in bringing about the happy ending to the long and now historic legislative battle for suffrage.

Within the limits of this article, it is not possible even to list the names of the many women who enlisted under the banner of political liberty and who served the cause worthily and well. The official records show the roster of presidents of the Missouri Woman Suffrage Association to be as follows: Mrs. Robert Atkinson, 1910-12; Mrs. George Gellhorn, 1912-13; Mrs. W. W. Boyd, 1913; Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, 1913-1916; Mrs. John R. Leighty, 1916-17; Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, 1917-18; Mrs. David N. O'Neil, 1918-19; Mrs. George Gellhorn, 1919.

In January, 1931, at an impressive ceremony, a bronze tablet on a wall on the first floor of the Capitol at Jefferson City, was dedicated. The names of fifty-five Missouri women who had served the cause of suffrage were inscribed below the dedicatory lines which follow:

THIS TABLET IS A TRIBUTE
TO THOSE WOMEN IN MISSOURI WHOSE COURAGEOUS WORK
OPENED THE OPPORTUNITIES OF COMPLETE CITIZENSHIP
TO ALL WOMEN IN THE STATE

Mrs. Beverly Allen	Marie Garesche	Mrs. Francis Minor
Marie Ames	Mrs. George Gellhorn	Luella St. Clair Moss
Thelka M. Bernays	Mrs. E. M. Grossman	Mrs. John C. Orrick
Emily Newell Blair	Mrs. W. R. Haight	Mrs. Aaron S. Rauh
Cora Dunham Boyd	Mrs. George D. Hall	Bertha E. Rombauer
Mary Bulkley	Rebecca N. Hazard	Mary Semple Scott
Nelle C. Burger	Rosa Russell Ingels	Blanch H. Stephens
Anna H. Sheldon Chubb	Mrs. Dan Knefler	Mrs. Ernest W. Stix
Mrs. Kersey Coates	Mrs. W. R. Leighty	Mrs. Isaac H. Sturgeon
Anne Branch Cushing	Mary Lionberger	Neva L. Thomas
Mary Ames Cushman	Ruth White Lowry	Mrs. Louise L. Werth
Ella Victoria Dobbs	Mrs. W. W. Martin	Mrs. John Barber White
Mrs. Fred L. English	Mary Asbury McKay	Laura L. Runyon
Phoebe Routt Ess		Charlotte Rumbold
Florence Lewis Atkinson	Mrs. Walter McNab Miller	
Mrs. Frederic Blain Clarke	Mrs. Berenice Morrison-Fuller	
Christine Orrick Fordyce	Mrs. Alice Curtice Moyer-Wing	
Clara Cramer Leavens	Barbara Blackman O'Neil	
Mrs. Emma Lard Longan	Florence Wyman Richardson	
Mrs. John Livingston Lowes	Florence W. Richardson Usher	
Mrs. Elizabeth Avery Meriwether	Victoria Conkling Whitney	

PLACED BY THE MISSOURI LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
JANUARY, 1931

Source material for this article has been taken from: Mary Semple Scott, "History of the Woman Suffrage in Missouri," *The Missouri Historical Review* Vol. XIV (1920); Monia Cook Morris, "The History of Woman Suffrage in Missouri, 1867-1901," *The Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXV, (1930).

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

THE NEGRO IN MISSOURI

By James W. Hutt,* St. Louis

In 1794 the Royal Decree of Charles III of Spain said: "No slaves save only Native Africans shall be brought into Louisiana Territory by this Royal Grant given by the Crown to the Merchants of Cadiz."

When Lieutenant Governor Henry Hault DeLassus appealed in 1796 to Governor General O'Reilly for a modified code, allowing settlers to bring their slaves into Upper Louisiana, O'Reilly replied, "His Christian Majesty Charles III has decreed and *you will obey without question.*"

Thus did Spaniards endeavor to keep Americans confined to the region East of the Mississippi. The Americans, desiring the peaceful realms beyond the Father of Waters, had begun to settle quietly on large tracts of fertile plains and noble forests.

Those returning to their former home told of this bountiful and peaceful country and among others attracted the attention of Thomas Jefferson, whose unfailing insight into the young nation's well-being caused him to begin at once a plan for the acquisition of this land that was bounded on the West by "Mountains of the Sunset," as the Indians so poetically called them.

The same prophetic vision that formulated the Declaration of Independence, the same conscientious mind that so sanely drafted the Constitution, grasped this timely opportunity to make the West safe for American expansion and in 1804 the great Louisiana Purchase was thrown open to the pioneers who longed for broad acres and virgin forests.

They came in ever increasing numbers—the cavalier of Virginia, the courtly Carolinian, the high-strung Kentuckian—bringing in wagons their families, their servants, their entire wealth of goods; stock, cattle and all their treasured hopes of a large estate, with the comforts and security of a home.

Their servants, having always been treated kindly, were happy in hewing out a "New Home for Our Family," and soon the hilltops were crowned with the settlers' mansions; and a period of conquest over the wilds was in progress.

The status of the Negro servant was: To marry and rear a family without fear of separation; liberty to attend religious worship, to give parties and entertainments with the aid and presence of their masters.

The estate of a Missouri gentleman was usually a brick or stone mansion in a large park surrounded by a plantation of trees and flowering shrubs and broad lawn of the even then famous "Blue Grass of Kentucky."

The house servants' quarters were near by and farther removed were the stables, cow-sheds, sheep pens, corn cribs, granary, hennery and farthest removed, the pig pen, where the choice fatlings were carefully tended so that there was never a scarcity of hams, bacon-side meat or fresh pork.

Every estate had its own blacksmith and usually its carpenter, weaver and always a farmer who carried on the farmwork. This organization naturally led to a close relationship between the master and his servants.

Just why Dred Scott was declared free by the St. Louis County court is easy to understand, when one is aware of the common practice of slaves being allowed to purchase themselves and families and to remain in the community as freemen on or near the estates of their former masters.

NEW ERA FOR NEGRO

The war between the States was the beginning of a New Era for the Negro in Missouri, for when the young masters joined with Price in Missouri, the young Negroes joined with A. J. Smith in Illinois and when the strife was over, the Negroes in blue and the whites in gray settled back into the pleasant neighborly atmosphere of "Home with our folks."

The politics after the war were very perplexing to the politicians outside of Missouri, because the whites were Democrats and the Negroes were Republicans. This classification had no place in local affairs, for Negroes voted nationally Republican, locally for "our home folks."

There were and still are Negroes throughout the State who were lifelong Democrats, whose efforts, never violent, were constant in their party loyalty, knowing full well that "Government by the People" would prevail, and when that moment came their teaching was rewarded by a tidal wave of Negro Democratic votes, washing away the blot of servile obligation, not owed, but always to be paid, to Plutocracy.

Credit is due and thanks must be paid to those sterling minds that held fast to the dictum of the Sage of Monticello—"All men are born equal," which is an echo to the gentle voice of the Nazarene's "Love Thy Neighbor."

So we pour our meed of praise to the memory of J. Milton Turner, whose most lasting monument is Lincoln Institute at Jefferson City, for he stood firmly on his Democracy, saying, "Though dark, I am a man."

Peter H. Clark was an educator whose fame was known only to a few; yet his is the most revered of all names connected with Sumner High School in St. Louis, and he said: "You will, when your minds mature, be Jefferson Democrats."

Sode Sims, the tersely abrupt business man of Mexico, said, "You will see the Truth sooner or later." His conviction was firm, and time has proven it was true, when Fred Ferguson of Sedalia said, "Missouri is home to me, and as Missouri says, so says the United States in all matters concerning me and my People."

The one outstanding Jacksonian, Leon Jordan, said, "Everything done for the Negro will be done by Democrats."

The editor of *The World*, George B. Vashon, holds that "Recognition of the needs of our People must come from those who know him best."

In farm activities the splendid achievements of N. C. Bruce of the Dalton Farm School, is proof of his practice of "Teaching by doing and doing our best."

The present day leaders in Kansas City, Doctor Thompkins, Doctor Smith and Felix Payne.

In St. Louis we have Father Clark of All Saints Episcopal Church; Joseph L. McLemore, our "Almost" Congressman; Ben Petty of the Fifth Ward; Doctor Craddock of the Twenty-third Ward; Charles A. Mills of the Seventeenth; Jack Thatcher of the "wicked" Sixth; Mrs. Dyer of the Twenty-second; Dr. Oral McClellan of the Twentieth and "Silent" Kinard of the grand old steadfast Fourth.

These and many more are ardently seeking political sanity and desiring a place in the never ending caravan moving ever toward the Shrine where sleeps the great Jefferson, a shrine over which with never dimming luster beams the Star of Bethlehem, guiding all "Men of good will" onward to the "Dawning of a better day."

The three outstanding Negro Democrats that Missouri may be proud of, are J. Milton Turner, Peter H. Clark and Dred Scott.

Turner, after his term as minister to Liberia became an ardent and convincing Jeffersonian and among his many public acts the establishment of Lincoln Institute at Jefferson City, and his being enabled by a Democratic School Board in 1877 to replace white teachers in the Negro Schools of St. Louis, are worthy of the Sage of Monticello's teachings.

Clark's school in Cincinnati, Ohio, supplied most of the Negro teachers in 1877 and later in 1879, Clark came to Charles Sumner high school, and began instilling into the minds of the Negro youth of succeeding years the clean-cut principles of Democracy that reached its fullest power of expression in 1932, giving Missouri and St. Louis an opportunity to show what an aroused Democracy will do when the needs arise.

Dred Scott's truly famous case, which was the cause of the war between states, originated in this manner:

Scott was a slave of Doctor Emerson, United States army surgeon, stationed at Jefferson Barracks, who was transferred to Rock Island, Illinois, army post in 1834 (100 years ago) taking with him his family and slave.

In 1836 Doctor Emerson was transferred to Fort Snelling, Wisconsin, and again his family and slave went with him.

In 1836, while at Fort Snelling, Dred Scott met and loved Harriet, a slave of Major Taliaferro, commandant of Fort Snelling. Scott implored Doctor Emerson to buy Harriet that she might become Scott's wife, and Dr. Emerson, a fine gentleman with kindest interest in Scott's future, did purchase Harriet and gave her in marriage to Scott. Of this union two daughters were born, Eliza, at Fort Snelling in 1837, and Lizzie after the return of the Emerson family to St. Louis, where, because of an economical condition, Scott and his family was sold to Sandford, a slave trader.

Scott, through his many white friends, instituted a suit in the Circuit Court of St. Louis and was declared "Free with Harriet his wife and children, Eliza and Lizzie," by the court.

This case was based on the facts "Scott served his master in the free States of Illinois and Wisconsin without attempting to flee or contest his freedom while out of the Slave State of Missouri, and only enters the court now when his family passes with him into the hands of one whose business is trafficking in human chattels."

APPEALED TO SUPREME COURT

Sandford appealed to the Missouri Supreme Court, which court reversed the lower court's decision.

Scott's attorney, Frank P. Blair, appealed to the United States Circuit Court of which Missouri was a part of the U. S. Circuit District and the St. Louis Circuit Court was sustained.

Sandford attempted at this juncture to forcibly seize and hold the Scott family, when his attorney placed the case before the United States Supreme Court with these citations:

Commonwealth vs. Pleasants (S. Carolina 1851) 10 Leigh Rep. 697; Commonwealth & Betty vs. Horton (S. Carolina 1850) 5 Leigh Rep. 615, and citations from the courts of Mississippi, Virginia, Louisiana, Kentucky, Maryland and Massachusetts. The Taney decision, while much criticized, was concurred in by six justices, opposed by two and left in doubt by two justices.

This decision was really the prime reason for Missouri's failure to join in the conflict between the states, because the Jeffersonian principles exemplified by the masters of slaves were a part of the Christian faith in Missouri.

Dred Scott lived quietly with his family and refused repeatedly to lecture on his life and acts; he was a clean-cut citizen, loyal to his friends, domestic in his tastes and a splendid representative of The Negro In Missouri.

* EDITOR'S NOTE: James W. Hutt: Actively identified with Democratic organization work in St. Louis; was born in Lincoln County, Missouri, the son of a former slave; was reared by the Hutt family, prominent in Lincoln County political and civic affairs.

In a letter to the editor Hutt makes this contribution to Lincoln County history, with the following comment:

"As a proof of Lincoln County's attitude toward the Negro, I cite this very convincing fact—we leave home reluctantly and only for economical reasons and we always return to spend the twilight hours of our lives in Lincoln County, 'Our Home.'"

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

MISSOURI
DMS 6817 2-1

OLD NEWSPAPERS OF ST. LOUIS

By R. P. Thompson*

The first issue of the *Missouri Gazette*, a weekly newspaper, was on July 12, 1808, by Joseph Charless, Sr. This was the first paper to be printed west of the Mississippi River. The following year he changed the name to the *Louisiana Gazette* as being more appropriate. In 1812, when the name of the Louisiana territory was changed, the paper became the *Missouri Gazette*.

Joseph Charless, Sr., was born in Westmeath, Ireland, July 16, 1772. Being implicated in the Irish Rebellion of 1795, he fled to France and sailed for the United States, arriving in New York in 1796. He added an "s" to his name of Charles, in order to write it as it was pronounced—"Charless." He settled in Philadelphia, and being a printer he worked for a time on William Duane's *Aurora*. He was the owner of the *Missouri Gazette* for twelve years, when he disposed of the paper in 1820 to James C. Cummins. Cummins sold the paper in 1822 to Edward Charless, the oldest son of Joseph Charless, Sr. The name of the paper was changed in 1822 to the *Missouri Republican*, and the first number was issued on March 20, 1822, with Josiah Spaulding as editor.

During the months in which the paper was in possession of James C. Cummins the files were not kept and the history of the paper for that time is not recorded.

"Laws of the Territory of Louisiana," by Frederick Bates, were printed by Joseph Charless, Sr., in 1808. It was a book of 372 pages, embracing all the laws of the Territory to the close of the year 1808. The book was printed in St. Louis and was the first book to be printed west of the Mississippi River. Soon after disposing of the *Missouri Gazette*, Joseph Charless, Sr., entered the commercial life of the city. He died July 28, 1834.

In 1828 Nathaniel Paschall obtained an interest in the paper. In 1837 the paper was sold to the firm of Chambers, Harris and Knapp. A. B. Chambers was chief editor and Nathaniel Paschall associate editor. In 1854, on the death of Chambers, Paschall became editor. Paschall is given credit for the discovery of William Hyde, whom he employed on the *Republican*, and who continued on that paper for many years. There is no doubt that Nathaniel Paschall and William Hyde contributed much to the early development of the press of St. Louis. William Hyde was not only a writer of influence, but his personality dominated the press of the city at that time.

GEORGE KNAPP

In 1827 George Knapp entered the office of the *Missouri Republican* as an apprentice. The Knapp family came to St. Louis from Orange County, New York, about 1820. In 1856 John Knapp became a partner in the paper. The Knapp family was connected with the *Missouri Republican* for many years, Charles W. Knapp being the last of the name, until it was disposed of December 4, 1919.

In 1815 the *Western Journal* was established by Joshua Norvell, which in 1817 was changed to the *Western Emigrant*. In 1819 it passed into the hands of Isaac N. Henry, with Thomas H. Benton as editor, under the name of the St. Louis *Enquirer*. Mr. Henry owned the paper until his death in June, 1821, about the time Thomas H. Benton was elected to the U. S. Senate. During Benton's brief experience as editor of the *Enquirer* the editorial expressions of the paper were characteristic of the man.

Some interesting facts reminiscent of old newspapers of St. Louis are furnished by Jean McCluer Watson, of St. Louis, as follows:

"Thomas Watson emigrated from Strabane, County Londonderry, Ireland, to Newbern, N. C., early in the nineteenth century. He was an ardent democrat, and a personal friend of Senator Thomas H. Benton, which circumstance probably brought about his removal to the City of St. Louis, where he became editor and publisher of the *Missouri Argus*, the democratic organ at that time. The *Argus* was in its third year under that name, being the successor of the *Workingmen's Advocate*, a democratic paper founded in 1831.

"In 1840 Thomas Watson was appointed by President Van Buren to the postmastership of St. Louis. There had been but five previous incumbents of that office, which was established in 1804: Rufus Easton, Dr. Robert Simpson, Capt. A. T. Crane, Capt. Elias Rector and Wilson P. Hunt, Thomas Watson being the sixth.

"On September 27, 1837, the name of the firm publishing the *Missouri Argus* was changed from Corbin & Watson to Thomas Watson¹ & Son. The son who was associated with his father as partner was John H. Watson, the eldest, a young lawyer. He was appointed secretary of a group of men who took steps to secure the first Federal Building ever granted to St. Louis, their efforts finding culmination in the erection, in the '50s, of the Federal Building at Third and Olive streets.

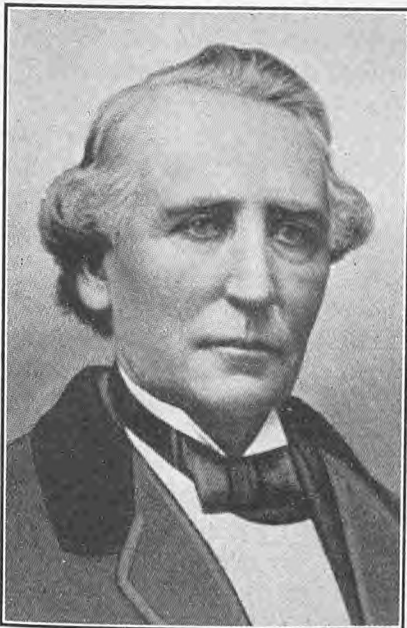
"In 1841 the *Missouri Argus* passed from the hands of A. R. Corbin, who after the death of Davis had for the second time become its publisher, to Shadrach Penn, who changed its name to *Missouri Reporter*. In 1848 it was bought by Lorenzo Pickering, who changed the name to *Union*, and in 1852 the *Union* was absorbed by the *Missouri Democrat*, the latter being the paper which in 1875 was bought and combined with the *Globe*, to form the *Globe-Democrat*."

About 1866 Stilson Hutchins came to St. Louis from Iowa, and with John Hodnett and D. A. Mahoney started the *Daily Times*. Hutchins was a democrat, a practical worker and a versatile writer, and soon stamped his individuality on the community and the unorganized democracy. It might be truthfully said that his coming into the state did much to revive and bring to life those whose spirits had been prostrated by the restrictions of the Civil war. While not of robust health, he was the personification of activity for his party.

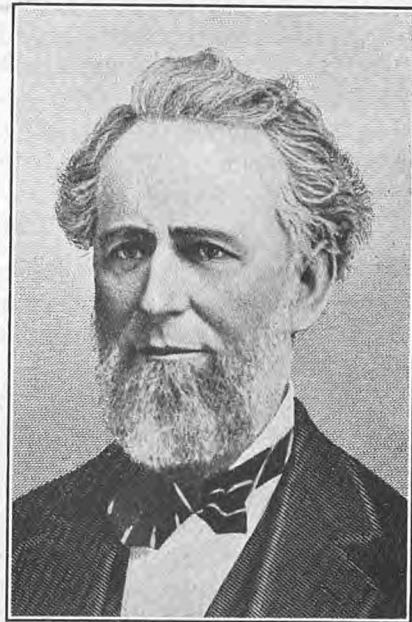
In 1872 he sold the *Times* to John Hodnett, Charles Mantz and John T. Crisp, and the editorial department was then directed by Major Sylves-



CHARLES W. KNAPP



GEORGE KNAPP



JOHN KNAPP



PLATE 1. 1917

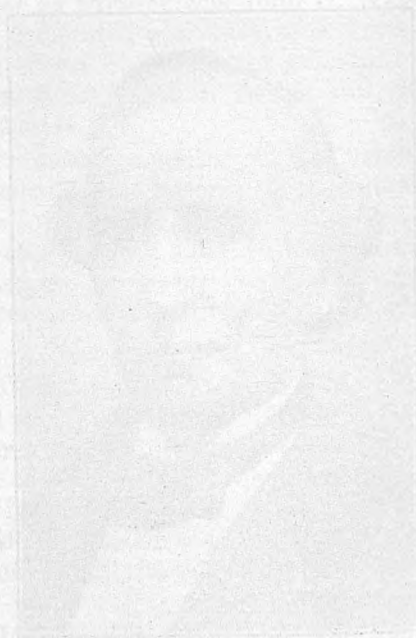
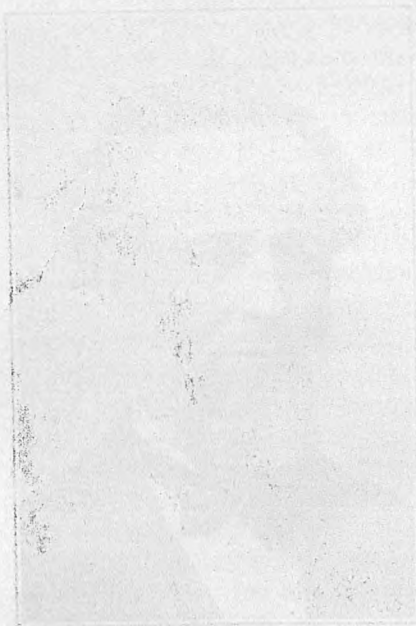


PLATE 2. 1917

ter and William A. Thompson, on strict democratic lines. However, the combination did not last long; John Crisp returned to Kansas City.

The next change in the history of the *Times* brought it under the editorial control of Maj. John N. Edwards. He was one of the most forceful writers of the country. He had served in the Confederate Army with distinction and went to Mexico with Gen. Jo Shelby to back the imperial government of Maximilian.

His political editorials bristled with invective, as he was a master of caustic and biting phrases. Notwithstanding this, Edwards was a man of the most pleasing personality, the perfect gentleman under all circumstances, refined, well bred.

Few people now can comprehend the character of editorial expression of those days. Col. Emory S. Foster, editor of the *Journal*, gave editorial expression on a controversial subject in a manner which Edwards would not tolerate. A challenge followed and a duel was arranged. Col. H. B. Branch acted as the second of Edwards, and W. D. W. Barnard served as second for Foster. The surgeons were Dr. P. S. O'Reilly for Edwards, and Dr. Montgomery for Foster. The ground selected for the duel was in Northern Illinois. Fortunately, after one fire, Colonel Foster said he had satisfied Edwards; friends got together and the affair terminated.

The *Dispatch* was purchased in 1873 by William H. Swift. He had grown to be a power in the democratic party, and had worked up from a lowly position on the *Missouri Republican*. The editorial control was under William A. Thompson. About 1874 it was moved to Broadway and Olive and came under the control of the McGuffin family, who had for years been prominent in the circulation departments of different papers. John M. McGuffin is credited with perfecting a system of circulation, and afterwards he was with Pulitzer on the *New York World*.

Stilson Hutchins came back as the owner of the *Dispatch*, but when it was absorbed by Pulitzer, went to Washington, D. C., acquired the *Post*, and bought the rights of the newly perfected typesetting machine, which enriched him.

NEWSPAPER MEN

There were many men who were associated with the newspaper life of St. Louis who deserve to be mentioned in the history of the press. Their democracy was of the Jeffersonian character and always helpful to the party.

George Munson was the first newspaper man to make a specialty of publicity, which he followed for some years. He possessed a fine personality, and during the Civil war was on the staff of Mosby, the Confederate raider. It is singular to relate that though Mosby was a terror to the Union forces during the Civil war, President Grant gave him a government position in which Mosby rendered valuable services to the country.

William Vincent Byars occupied many places of importance in the press during his life. His composite character made him singularly valuable, and as a poet he left something to posterity of undoubted merit.

Colin M. Selph was much in the life of St. Louis newspapers and the democratic party, and served with distinction as postmaster of St. Louis under the Wilson administration.

Major Sylvester, after leaving the *Times* when it passed out of the Crisp management, went to the *Republican* as an editorial writer, and then to the Washington, D. C. *Post* under Stilson Hutchins.

John Hodnett, one of the founders of the *Times* with Stilson Hutchins, while not a writer, was long years in the service of his party in many capacities, as a democratic leader and publisher.

O'Brien Moore, who commanded a regiment in the Spanish-American war, was a vigorous and brilliant writer, and will be remembered for his fierce war on the lobby at Jefferson City, where he represented the St. Louis *Republic*.

J. H. R. Cundiff, once manager of the old *Times*, went to St. Joseph, where he became prominent in the business life of that city.

In 1888, Col. Charles H. Jones, of Jacksonville, Fla., came to St. Louis and purchased an interest in the Missouri *Republican*, and the name which had stood for this publication before and after the Civil war, was changed to the St. Louis *Republic*. Jones soon impressed his character as an editorial writer upon the city and state. After some years he transferred his interests and became the editor of the *Post-Dispatch*.

Joseph A. Graham took the place of Charles H. Jones after the latter left the *Republic*. Graham was one of the most forceful writers who ever worked in St. Louis, and a man of much personal charm.

The changes in the affairs of the papers soon brought Robert Yost to the head of the *Republic*, where he continued until leaving for the West, where he died. The memory of this man will linger long with those who knew him.

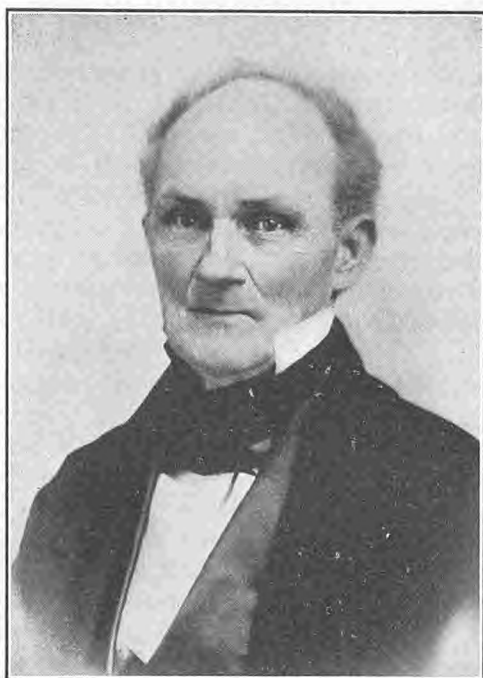
Charles G. Gonter's work dates back to the Civil war. He was an encyclopedia of news, a most interesting character, and lived long to impress it on the community.

Michael Angelo Fanning was here long enough to gain a place in the history of the city. After his newspaper experiences he became the secretary of Governor Francis, afterwards removing to New York.

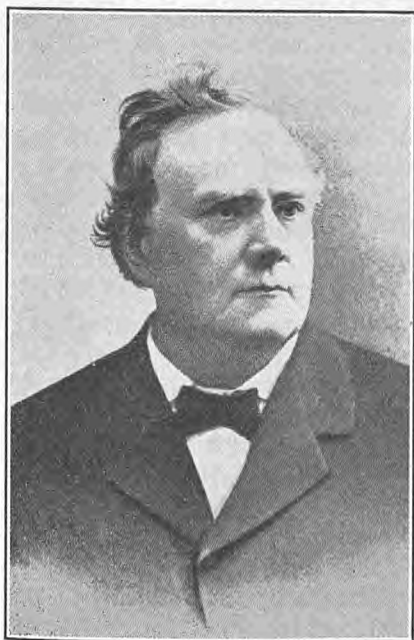
John Edwards, a son of John N. Edwards, was editor of the *Republic* for a time, and showed much of his father's genius as a writer. He went from St. Louis to Old Mexico, where he died.

Cortez Kitchen, the youngest soldier in the Confederate Army, was for a long time prominent in newspaper work here, and always for his party. Going to Atlanta, Georgia, as a delegate to the Confederate Veterans' Association, he became ill and died.

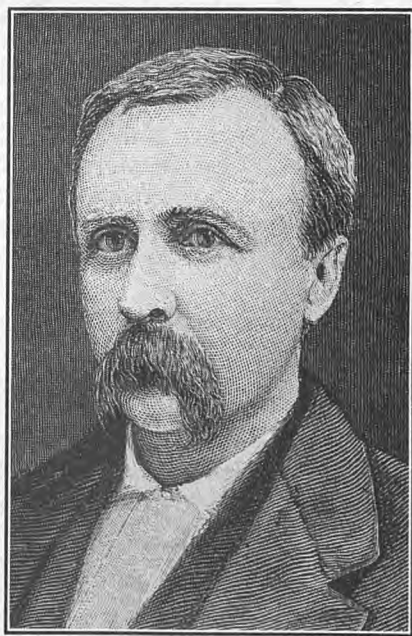
There are some men who reached places of notoriety and prominence and were at times associated with the press of St. Louis, who also deserve mention. D. Robert Barclay, with the *Dispatch* in 1873, and always prominent in the counsels of the Democratic Party, left the newspaper field for the law. He sold the *Dispatch* in 1873 to William H. Swift.



THOMAS WATSON
Editor of the Missouri Argus, 1837-1839
Postmaster at St. Louis, 1840-1842



WILLIAM HYDE



JOHN N. EDWARDS

No man in the history of the city or state stood higher in public estimation than Charles P. Johnson. He was connected with the newspaper business for a time (the *Dispatch* in 1867) and left it to become one of the leading lawyers of the West. He possessed a personal character that endeared him to all who knew him.

Waller Edwards, an honored name in the newspaper profession of the state, was a city editor of the *Republic*, which he left for a business career. He was recently appointed chief clerk in the Internal Revenue Department under Hon. Thomas F. Sheehan, Collector of Internal Revenue for the Eastern District of Missouri.

George F. Mockler, long connected with the press of the city and always found working for his party, contributed his last effort in behalf of the candidacy of Mayor Bernard F. Dickmann, and passed away soon after Dickmann's election.

Samuel Williams engaged in newspaper work in Paris and Louisville, Kentucky, and located in St. Louis in 1872, to accept a position on the *Missouri Republican* under William Hyde. He afterwards went to the *Kansas City Times*. In 1881, he became editorial writer on the *Post-Dispatch*, afterwards going to the *New York World*. After being connected with the press bureau of the World's Fair, he returned and died January 24, 1928, in Webster Groves. He was recognized as one of the leading writers of his time.

John R. Reavis was attached to several publications in St. Louis, and established the *Spectator*. He was the father of Hollis Reavis, who was with the *Republic*. Hollis' mother, before becoming Mrs. Reavis, was Mildred Donan, sister of D. Pat Donan, editor of the *Lexington Caucasian*, a publication that gained a considerable notoriety in the years following the close of the Civil war.

William A. Kelsoe came to St. Louis in 1874, and worked successively on the *Dispatch*, *Morning Times*, the *Times-Journal* and the *Missouri Republican*. In 1895 he became assistant city editor of the *Globe-Democrat*, serving until the World's Fair in 1904, when he was in charge of the Press bureau. Afterward he returned to the *Globe-Democrat*; then in 1907 to the *Times*; then to the *Post-Dispatch*.

Norman J. Colman, of Colman's *Rural World* was personally one of the most popular men in the state. While the paper was strictly a farm journal, the man was essentially a Democrat. His familiars were the leading men of the Democratic Party. He was a member of the Black River Club, and there is where his companionship and geniality were most pronounced. He was elected in 1874 as lieutenant-governor on the ticket with Gov. Charles H. Hardin, and during this administration the Democratic Party "came into its own" in Missouri. As the appointee of President Grover Cleveland, "Governor" Colman, as he was always referred to by his friends, enjoyed the great distinction of serving as the first secretary of agriculture, this cabinet portfolio having been established through the untiring efforts of Congressman William H. Hatch.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

FOOTNOTE—OLD NEWSPAPERS OF ST. LOUIS

¹ Three sons came with Thomas Watson to St. Louis. The eldest, John H. Watson, a lawyer who was associated with his father in the publishing of the *Argus*, active in the promotion of civic enterprise, died while still a young man. The second son, Henry, was appointed Assistant Postmaster under a later administration. The third, Thomas II, entered the ministry, and was pastor of a church in St. Charles County, on the old Boonslick Road, for more than forty years. Thomas Watson II was the grandfather of Samuel McCluer Watson of St. Louis. The daughters of the editor Thomas Watson were Margaret, Emily, Sarah, Julia, and Rosalind. Margaret married Dr. Thomas Coffey in 1841. She left no descendants. Emily married James Downey Houseman. She was the mother of James D. Houseman II, who was well known as a promoter of electric railroads in the vicinity of St. Louis, and for the building of the St. Charles highway bridge. Sarah married Edward McKay Jordan of Pensacola, Florida, some of her descendants being residents of St. Louis.

THE COUNTRY PRESS

By R. P. Thompson*

The history of the Democratic Party in Missouri would be imperfect if it did not mention the country editors of the past, who served the Party with such loyalty and devotion as those who are recorded here, and have gone on.

For many years I was fortunate in meeting and knowing on the most intimate and friendly terms, the men whom I mention in these memorials.

William F. Switzler must be accorded the dean of country editors. As editor of the *Columbia Statesman*, he accomplished much helping Brown, Blair and Broadhead in the fight for reconstruction and the removal of the "Iron Clad Oath," which prevented many citizens from "preaching, teaching or practicing law." Personally he is spoken of in great praise by his contemporaries, and from the *Statesman* offices were graduated some who made their mark in journalism.

Among the editors who stand out prominently was John E. Hutton of the *Mexico Intelligencer*. Commanding a splendid personality, he accomplished much for the party. He served two terms in Congress from the old Seventh District, and was the only man who ever served two terms as President of the Missouri Press Association. In 1879, under his instruction, I organized and began the publication of a daily edition of the *Mexico Intelligencer*, still one of the most prominent of the small town dailies of Missouri.

Hutton and John W. Jacks organized this office on the relics of the *Mexico Ledger*, and selected the name, *Intelligencer*. Under Colonel Hutton's management, the paper gained great prominence for several reasons. It was the first daily that had the temerity to start in a small city. It had the distinction of introducing Charles A. Grasty to the world. He was the son of the Reverend Mr. Grasty, pastor of the Mexico Presbyterian Church. Starting on the *Intelligencer* as a reporter, Grasty became a world character. He reached the head of the *Baltimore Sun* and afterwards became a world correspondent, dying abroad.

While Freddie Bonfils of the *Denver Post* was not at any time attached to the *Intelligencer*, he told the writer that he got his inspiration for the newspaper business from that paper.

Sam B. Cook became the editor of the *Intelligencer*, and from there he became secretary of state, and the organizer of the Central Missouri Trust Company at Jefferson City, which is a monument to his character and resourcefulness. In the counsels of the Democratic Party he had no superior in tact and political judgment.

The *Columbia Statesman* had the field to itself until Edwin W. Stephens started the *Columbia Herald*. This man went far in the newspaper and publishing business, and the *Herald*, with Walter Williams as its editor, soon took rank with the leading Democratic papers of the state, and its publisher rose to positions of importance, the most conspicuous

being on the commission that built the new Capitol. He was a refined and companionable man, whom it was a pleasure to have known.

J. A. Hudson made the *Macon Times*, a power in the First Congressional District, and during William H. Hatch's fight in Congress for tariff reductions, he added much to the strength of Hatch in that District. He removed to Columbia, and entered the telephone business where he accumulated a fortune.

John A. Knott and the *Hannibal Journal* fought the battles of the party in a manner that characterized his indomitable and fighting spirit. Knott was Railroad and Warehouse Commissioner from 1902 until 1912 and was one of the most aggressive members of the board, which had under its management the grain inspection department. After his death the paper was lacking in the aggressiveness that characterized it while he lived.

James B. Thompson bought the *Moberly Monitor* some time after it had been started by "High Tone" Brown. The paper soon became prominent in party matters. Thompson went to La Plata and soon Colonel Alex Phipps became the editor of the *Monitor*. Thompson started the *Home Press*, which is now one of the best papers in North Missouri.

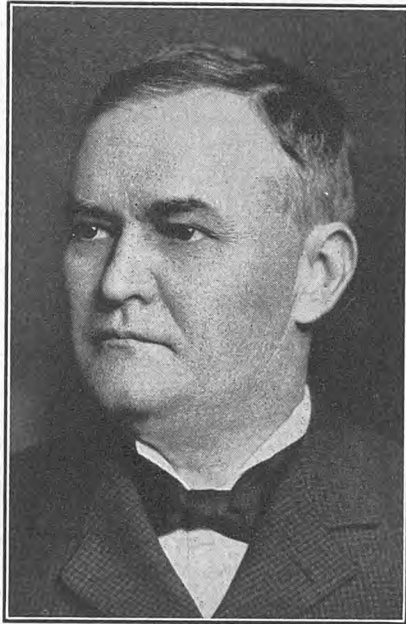
The *Springfield Leader*, under Dan C. Kennedy, during the campaign of John S. Phelps for the gubernatorial nomination in 1876, was a fighting spirit and was endowed with a reverence for Jeffersonian principles, with Jacksonian courage thrown in. Kennedy got into the consular service and the scenes that knew him so well knew him no more. His son, Robert, is now doing creditable work on the *Leader-Press* at Springfield.

John Bell Wolfe published the *Democrat* at California in Moniteau County for many years and until his death. He was one of those sterling characters who had passed through the Civil war and disfranchisement; and through all the vicissitudes of life, he was a man above reproach. He fought the battles of his party when the odds were against him, and always with the same upright determination that honored him.

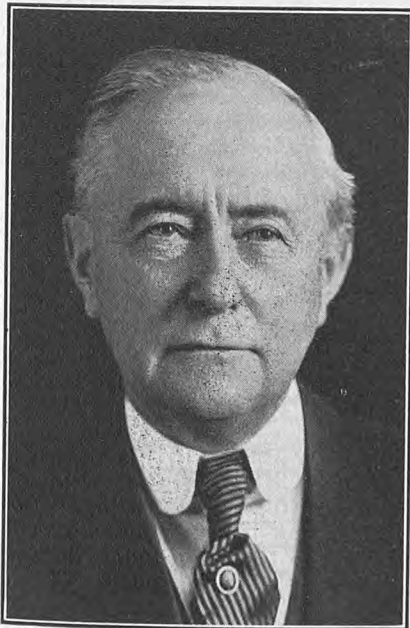
Charles J. Walden had the *Fayette Advertiser* and later the *Boonville Advertiser*. He was a fluent writer, and a courageous one. Fortunately his surroundings were in keeping with his principles.

Dick Speed started the *Warrenton Banner*, and typographically it was the finest paper in the state. After he finished his term as oil inspector under the Stephens' administration, he went to Nevada and started the *Daily Mail*. Speed was the ideal country newspaper man—a good printer, a versatile writer and a disposition that fitted the occupation. The *Mail* under his control was always for the party, and was published in the town of William Joel Stone, of sainted memory.

Of all the men who composed the Democratic country press in the '70s and '80s, none was more illuminating than J. West Goodwin of the *Sedalia Bazoo*. He was a man of "intense likes and dislikes." More or less embroiled in defending his friends or punishing his enemies, he was always an interesting character, and underneath his brusque exterior there was a man. He was a news man in the publishing business, publishing anything he thought the reading public would be interested in. One of his



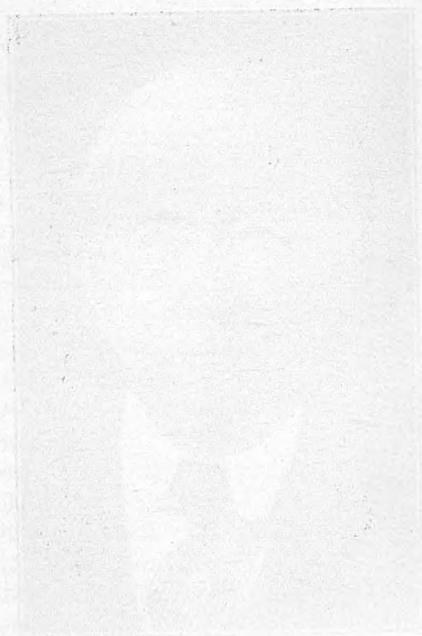
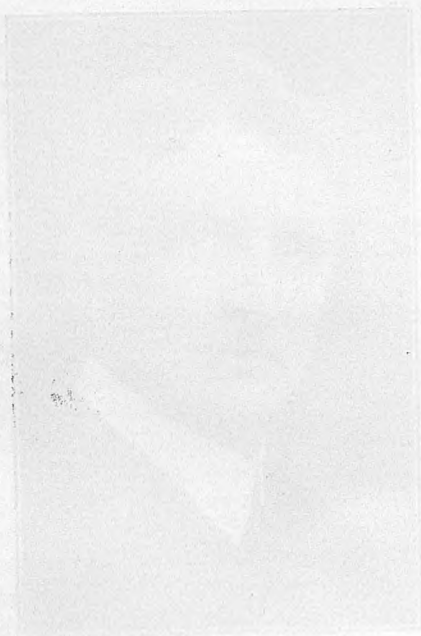
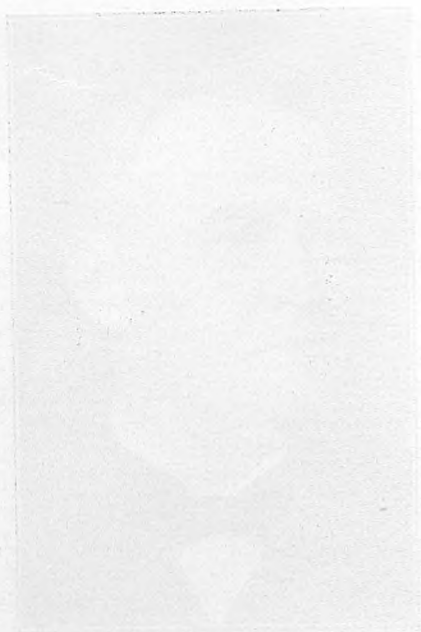
RICHARD SPEED



E. W. STEPHENS



SAM B. COOK



great schemes was reporting at length public executions, sometimes running a train for that purpose, and the writer of this article covered several "hangings" for him. He was ever at antagonisms with the rival paper, and at times his comments were intense, for he was a master of invective. But having been his competitor with the *Sedalia Democrat*, I want to attest the fact of his fairness to me. His fight for the corporations in the railroad strike of 1894 was of a fierce and determined character, and there was no compromise in his attitude. It is hardly to the credit of those for whom he fought that his last days were passed in physical misfortune and penury—a dominating spirit, too proud for charity.

The Moberly *Monitor* under the editorial direction of Colonel Alex Phipps became a dominant force in the Second Congressional District up to 1878, and a strong influence in the affairs of the state. Phipps was a highly educated man and an orator of eloquence and force that was well known. In those days it was often that controversies between rival editors became personal. Colonel Phipps became ill, and it was of such a serious nature that it caused alarm of his friends. Now when everybody thought Eugene Field was a Republican, it was noted that nearly all his familiars were Democrats—as Colonel Phipps, Henry Newman and Nat Dryden. So when the doctors announced that Phipps was dangerously ill, Eugene Field wrote him the following letter:

"THE JOURNAL EDITORIAL ROOMS

"St. Louis, Feb. 24th, 1878.

"My dear Phipps:

"I am deeply pained to see by the *Monitor* that you have suffered a relapse and, as I have already stated through the columns of the *Journal*, I trust the report of your condition may prove to have been exaggerated. If some of us have said naughty things of you sometimes, it has been merely in the spirit of mirth and now that you're down sick we're all of us with you in spirit and regretting that we cannot in some way minister to your comfort. I want to see you well and strong again. I want to read your bright paragraphs, and be able to imagine your burly form seated on a three-legged stool and pouring out invective against poor Bogie. Ah well, 'twont be very long before you'll be up and all right—most sincerely I hope so. Be cheerful and determined. The eyes of the Missouri paragraphists are upon you and we're all praying for your immediate recovery. If my prayers were of any avail, the blessings of heaven would forever rest upon you.

"Sincerely and faithfully,

Eugene Field.

"Major Alex. Phipps."

Tom Lingle of the *Clinton Tribune* was always in the trenches when there was a chance to fight for the Democratic Party. He published a paper in a town that had for citizens two outstanding party leaders in its history—Harvey Salmon and Peyton Parks. Salmon had been head of the party organization in many campaigns, and knew the state from every angle politically. Peyton Parks was a man of great political sagacity, and was close in the party counsels. Lingle was a valuable assistant to those men who with C. C. Dickinson, the present congressman, could about control the old Sixth District.

Henry Ewing of the Jefferson City *Tribune* belonged to the family of that name that had been so prominent in Democratic affairs since the Civil war. His father, Ephraim B. Ewing, held several state offices, and Henry had served in many places in the party organization. The *Tribune* for many years controlled the state printing, which gave it great prestige.

Wes L. Robertson of the Gallatin *Democrat* was one of the most widely known and popular editors in the state, and had the distinction of publishing a paper in a congressional district noted as the home of Alexander Monroe Dockery, and the town had been made famous by the trial of Frank James. Robertson was a Democrat of the "Old School," kind, versed in his profession and his paper carried an influence throughout that part of the state. He was one of the oldest members of the editorial association, and served with distinction as its president.

The Howell County *Gazette*, published at West Plains, has had the distinction of having for its editors two of the most conspicuous Democrats of that profession in the state. For years the paper was owned and edited by J. C. Kirby, a pronounced party man, with a long experience in the publishing business. Will H. Zorn succeeded to the ownership of the *Gazette*, and made it perhaps the most positive Democratic paper in the state, although its surroundings were Republican, as Howell County was usually found in that column. Zorn prided himself on his Democracy, was a member of the state committee many times, and was always present at important meetings of that committee.

George W. Trigg of the Richond *Conservator* is remembered as one of the aggressive writers of the western part of the state. This paper ranked high in character under men of distinction, among others, J. T. Child and T. P. Bogie, who went to Richmond from the Huntsville *Herald*, and who is mentioned in Eugene Field's letter to Colonel Phipps.

PRAISE DUE

A man who would persistently publish a Democratic paper in an overwhelmingly Republican county as Atchison deserves more than ordinary praise. Such a man was H. F. Stapel of the Rockport *Mail*, a man of sterling integrity, who not only advocated the principles of his party, but was an active worker in its interests. John C. Stapel is carrying on, as it seems to the writer, his father would want him to do, and is doing so with credit.

Wallace Williams of the Fulton *Telegraph* never failed to keep the Kingdom of Callaway in line to elect the state ticket and Champ Clark to Congress on numerous occasions. He was a man brought up in country journalism and a Democrat of the Jeffersonian kind.

Joe Burnett of the Ralls County *Record* was what might be termed a typical country editor. A good printer, for in the old days many country newspaper editors were also good printers, he gathered his inspiration like many others—from the old Paris *Mercury*. His county was one of the dependable Democratic counties in the old Champ Clark district, and furnished quite a number of Democrats who became prominent. Joe Burnett was a friend of Mark Twain.

The Paris *Mercury* under the ownership of Bean and Mason, was the outstanding country paper of a large portion of the state, and Paris was one of the best towns in the state. From the *Mercury* office there emerged many men who became prominent in the country newspaper field. The Thompson family furnished three: William A., James B., and Richard W. Then there was John W. Jacks. The Bean brothers, John and Everett. Not only did these men, Bean and Mason, teach the art of printing, but both were men of influence and in their intercourse with those under them, set an example of rectitude and character.

A. L. Preston had a varied experience with several papers, and all with the character that he stamped on anything that he began. He was a man of sterling character and at different times had the Nevada *Daily Mail*, Marshall *Democrat-News*, Moberly *Index*, Boonville *Advertiser* and the Liberty *Tribune* and *Advance*.

Eli D. Ake edited the Iron County *Register* since 1867. He fought in the Civil war for the Union, but his Democracy was his greatest prize; and the paper still carries on.

William VanCleve was at various times with the LaGrange *Democrat*, Moberly *Democrat*, and in 1899 founded the Springfield *Record*. With James Todd as his partner, the Maryville *Democrat* was acquired and shortly afterwards the Maryville *Forum* was consolidated as the *Democrat-Forum*. This firm then established the Moberly *Index*.

Albert O. Allen of the New Madrid *Record*, was a Democrat of the old school, too. He served in the Confederate Army with some distinction, and after the Civil war he was for many years in the State Auditor's offices under Thomas Holliday and John Walker, as chief clerk, continuing in the same capacity under James M. Seibert. In 1900 he was nominated for state auditor over Frank Pitts of Monroe County. He was renominated in 1904, but failed of election through party strife. In A. O. Allen, his son, he left one to go on for the party as he tried to do with the *Record*.

Ed Mayhall of the Bowling Green *Times* made his paper one of the best in the state, and published in the home of Champ Clark, its Democracy was a pattern for many other to follow. He was always present in the gatherings of the country editors and ever responded to help the party in time of need.

John W. Jacks was a man longer in the service of the Democratic Party than any other man that could be mentioned. The Montgomery *Standard* was one of the best papers in the state, not only in the character of its opinions, but it was neatly printed and in other respects, exceptional. Jacks was active in party work. He was a man of unblemished character and one worth knowing—this from one who knew him as a friend.

The Lexington *Intelligencer*, under Alex A. Leseuer, was always one of the leading party papers of the state. Published in a town where the famous D. Pat Donan operated the *Caucasian*, a paper had to be something out of the ordinary. Leseuer became secretary of state for three terms, and during his time the Missouri *Manual*, commonly referred

to as the Blue Book, was made a state publication. Under M. K. McGrath, whom he succeeded, the *Manual* was published on a subscription basis. Leseuer went to Oklahoma, where he engaged in banking.

John Sosey of the *Palmyra Spectator* was one of the veteran Democratic editors of the state, and the paper published with the coöperation of his distinguished brother, Frank Sosey, was always considered one of the best in the state. During the years the latter held a high office in the service of the government, John Sosey distinguished himself in the conduct of the *Spectator*. The paper was of great influence in the First Congressional District, a district that has had many distinguished men in the Democratic Party, and also a district that has made much political history.

The career of the *Sedalia Democrat* has produced some men who stood high in the profession and in the Democratic party. Doc Graham was the first to take over the paper after the campaign of 1888. He was more of a practical business man than an editor, and under him the paper succeeded. Then among others came B. P. Stratton who made a decided improvement in the character of the paper. One of the most popular men who was associated with the *Democrat* was George Scruton, who was perhaps one of the most popular of its many editors. He was a candidate for United States Senator in 1920 when Long, Hay, Priest and Higdon were candidates, the nomination going to Breckinridge Long.

R. H. McClanahan of the *Green City Press*, was widely known throughout the state. Bob was for years the reading clerk of the lower house of the Legislature, and when not reading he was making votes for the Democrats and friends for McClanahan, for all who met him were pleased with his uniform courtesy.

Charles Ray of the *Cassville Democrat* passed on some years ago, but the paper still goes on under the management of his son. Charles Ray got the paper from his father who fought the battles of the Democratic Party through and after the Civil war. It is recorded that the cabinet of the Confederacy met at Cassville, and that George Graham Vest was a member of it.

The editors of the country lost a valuable and able associate when William F. Johnson left the *Pilot Grove Leader* for a more active life in another sphere. He represented Cooper County in the General Assembly, and began the practice of law at Boonville in 1889. He was prosecuting attorney of Cooper County for three terms, and in 1912 was a delegate to the convention that nominated Woodrow Wilson.

Sanford J. Preston, when he died at Walker, May 1, 1931, had been one of the oldest newspaper men in the state. He established the *Walker Herald* in 1881, and was its owner and editor for almost fifty years. He was at all times a strong supporter of William Joel Stone.

Rolla R. Rothwell for a long time was connected with the *Moberly Monitor*. He served as mayor of Moberly for three consecutive terms. After serving a term as county clerk, he was again elected mayor in 1923, and in 1927 and 1929. The name of Rothwell has long been prominent in the Democracy of the state.

DeWitt C. Cunningham located at Doniphan in 1893 and was at first editor of the *Prospect-News*, and later he established the *Ripley County Democrat*. Cunningham had a remarkable career, served two terms in the Ohio Legislature, and in 1926 represented Ripley County in the Missouri Legislature. He died at Doniphan, October 26, 1927.

W. O. L. Jewett of the *Shelbina Democrat* left the state some years ago for California and it was that state's gain and a loss to Missouri. Of the forty or more country editors who are being mentioned in this chapter, this man stood as one of the foremost. It was not only that the *Democrat* fought for the principles of his party, but he was an example of what a man ought to be for probity and integrity. He gave much of his time to state and county matters, and will long remain in affectionate remembrance in that community.

Ed. P. Caruthers started out in the city press, and finally landed on the *Kennett Democrat*. All the old reporters on the *Missouri Republican*, *Globe-Democrat* and *Post-Dispatch* knew him well. He made a wise choice, for Dunklin County was Democratic enough to suit his fancy, as it was afterwards the banner Democratic county of the state. He was a vigorous and interesting writer, and a strong party man.

Wallace J. Davis of the *Pike County Post* was not only an able editor, but represented his county in the Legislature, and while a member published a photographic history of the assembly. He was a great admirer of Champ Clark and was ever singing the praise of the man who brought such fame and honor to his county.

Few Democrats now living will remember John Hannay of the *Versailles Leader*, but those who do, treasure the memory of this man. Publishing a Democratic paper in a strong Republican county does not conduce to sweeten an editor's temperament, but Hannay—known as "Johnnie Hannay"—was an unusual fellow and everybody's friend.

Tom W. Park in 1877 was president of the Missouri Press Association and editor of the *Platte City Landmark*. He was chief clerk in the secretary of state's office under Alex A. Leseuer. He was in the Confederate Army under Sterling Price, and was prominent in the counsels of the Democratic Party.

J. W. Barrett of the *Canton Press* was the first president of the Missouri Press Association, which was organized in 1867, and served as president in the sessions of the association in 1868 and 1869, when he was succeeded by Norman J. Colman of the *Rural World*.

Frank H. Sosey was born at Palmyra, Missouri, in 1864; died at St. Louis, April 7, 1934. He was editor and owner of the *Palmyra Spectator*, a strong Democratic paper, the oldest newspaper in Missouri, and for nearly a century the paper was owned by father and son; president of the Missouri Press Association; represented Marion County in the General Assembly in 1907 and 1909; United States Appraiser at St. Louis port under President Wilson's administration. The members of the Missouri press will long hold in affectionate remembrance this splendid man. He was one of the most prominent members of the country press of the

state, a versatile writer, and contributed much of interest in the history of the state and the Democratic Party.

As I have said before, a man who could publish a Democratic paper in a Republican county like Gasconade ought to be treated with great consideration. Such was Captain Thomas Irvin Goddin, who published the *Hermann Ledger* from 1886, to the time of his death. He was a Kentuckian, and ran a paper at Richmond, Ky., 1848-54; his support of Jeffersonian principles was always vigorous and pronounced. Glenn Goddin, a grandson, at this writing is a candidate for the General Assembly in Ripley County.

PRESS CORRESPONDENTS OF THE STATE CAPITAL

Since the Civil war many distinguished newspaper men have acted as correspondents of Metropolitan newspapers and press associations at the state capitol of Missouri during the sessions of the General Assembly. Reporting the proceedings of legislative assemblies, either state or national, is one of the most important and interesting experiences of a newspaper man's life. Some who are contributing to the press of today as columnists and noted writers, began in this work.

The dean of the press correspondents at Jefferson City was J. Harry Edwards, a representative of the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*. Mr. Edwards has had forty-five years of continuous service at the state capitol, during which time he has represented the leading papers of the state.

Other newspaper men of prominence who have served as correspondents at the capital, some of whom have gone on, include: Asa Hutson, *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*; Curtis Betts, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*; Joseph J. McAuliffe, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*; Charles B. Oldham, *Kansas City Star*; O'Brien Moore, *St. Louis Republic*; Eugene Field, *St. Louis Journal*; J. J. Dickinson, *St. Louis Republic*; H. Martin Williams, *St. Louis Republic*; John N. Edwards, *Kansas City Times*; William Vincent Byers, *St. Louis Republic*; William Marion Reedy, *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*; Gaty Pallen, *St. Louis Republic*; Joseph Holland, *St. Louis Star*; T. C. (Tod) Alford, *Kansas City Star*; R. E. Holloway, *Kansas City Journal-Post*; Boyd F. Carroll, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*; Roy A. Roberts, *Kansas City Star*; Calvin N. Speedy, Associated Press; Duke Shoop, *Kansas City Star*; Vincent M. Carroll, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*; George K. Wallace, *Kansas City Star*; Bradley B. Huff, *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*; Hawley W. Drake, *Kansas City Star*; A. T. Edmonton, *St. Louis Republic*; Thomas H. Rogers, *St. Louis Star*; A. G. Benesch, *St. Louis Times*; Nolen Bulloch, United Press Association; James F. King, Associated Press; Hume D. Duval, *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*; James Craig, *St. Louis Star*; Allen Quinn, Associated Press; Hebert Monk, *St. Louis Times*; Herbert Rice, Associated Press; John W. Dailey, *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*; John G. Leslie, Associated Press; Herbert Nations, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*; R. J. Rhodes, *Kansas City Star*; R. D. Lewis, *St. Louis Times*; Stanley Mendenhall, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*; James H. Higgs, *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*; L. N. Hildebrand, Associated

Press; E. B. Atchley, *Kansas City Post*; H. F. McDougal, *St. Joseph Gazette*; W. E. Babb, *St. Louis Times*; John C. Stapel, Democratic publicity.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

GENE FIELD ABROAD

One of the most popular of Eugene Field's verses was written upon the occasion of his tour of Europe and following his visit to the zoo at Berlin. Field, a native Missourian, was entranced upon viewing a raccoon, and this furnished an inspiration for one of the most interesting poems. The verse was entitled:

PLAINT OF THE MISSOURI 'COON IN THE BERLIN ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS

Friend, by the way you hump yourself you're from the States, I know,
And born in old Mizzoorah, where the 'coons in plenty grow.
I, too, am native of that clime; but harsh, relentless fate
Has doomed me to an exile far from that noble State;
And I, who used to climb around, and swing from tree to tree,
Now lead a life of ignominious ease, as you can see.
Have pity, O compatriot mine! and bide a season near,
While I unfurl a dismal tale to catch your friendly ear.

My pedigree is noble; they used my grandsire's skin
To piece a coat for Patterson to warm himself within,—
Tom Patterson, of Denver; no ermine can compare
With the grizzled robe that Democratic statesman loves to wear.
Of such a grandsire I am come; and in the County Cole
All up an ancient cottonwood our family had its hole.
We envied not the liveried pomp nor proud estate of kings,
As we hustled round from day to day in search of bugs and things.

And when the darkness fell around, a mocking-bird was nigh,
Inviting pleasant, soothing dreams with his sweet lullaby;
And sometimes came the yellow dog to brag around all night
That nary 'coon could wallop him in a stand-up barrel fight.
We simply smiled and let him howl, for all Mizzoorians know
That ary 'coon can best a dog, if the coon gets half a show;
But we'd nestle close and shiver when the mellow moon had ris'n,
And the Hungry nigger sought our lair in hopes to make us his'n.

Raised as I was, it's hardly strange I pine for those old days;
I cannot get acclimated, or used to German ways.
The victuals that they give me here may all be very fine
For vulgar, common palates, but they will not do for mine.
The 'coon that's been accustomed to stanch Democratic cheer
Will not put up with onion tarts and sausage steeped in beer!
No; let the rest, for meat and drink, accede to slavish terms,
But send *me* back from whence I came, and let me grub for worms!

They come, these gaping Teutons do, on Sunday afternoons,
And wonder what I am,—alas, there are no German 'coons!
For if there were, I still might swing at home from tree to tree,
The symbol of Democracy, that's woolly, blithe, and free.
And yet for what my captors are I would not change my lot,
For *I* have tasted liberty, these others, *they* have not;
So, even caged, the Democratic 'coon more glory feels
Than the conscript German puppets with their swords about their heels.

Well, give my love to Crittenden, to Clardy, and O'Neill,
To Jasper Burke and Colonel Jones, and tell 'em how I feel;
My compliments to Cockrell, Stephens, Switzler, Francis, Vest,
Bill Nelson, J. West Goodwin, Jedge Broadhead, and the rest.
Bid them be steadfast in the faith, and pay no heed at all
To Joe McCullagh's badinage or Chauncey Filley's gall;
And urge them to retaliate for what I'm suffering here
By cinching all the alien class that wants its Sunday beer.

A BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE JEFFERSON MEMORIAL MOVEMENT

A little over a year ago, Mayor Dickmann called a meeting of representative businessmen of St. Louis and outlined to this group his ideas for a Memorial on the Mississippi River to Thomas Jefferson and the pioneers who gave us National Expansion. From this informal gathering has developed the Jefferson National-Expansion Memorial Association. A historical data committee was appointed, and out of the research of this committee came a more significant appreciation of the importance of Old St. Louis as the cradle of the continent's conquest.

Through the efforts of the Jefferson National-Expansion Memorial Association a Joint Resolution was passed in the Seventy-third Congress of the United States, authorizing the creation of the United States Territorial Expansion Memorial Commission, "for the purpose of considering and formulating plans for designing and constructing a permanent memorial on the Mississippi River, at St. Louis, Missouri, said Commission to be composed of fifteen commissioners, as follows: three persons to be appointed by the President of the United States, three Senators by the President of the Senate, three members of the House of Representatives by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and six members of the Jefferson National-Expansion Memorial Association to be selected by such association."

On December 19th, 1934, this Commission held its first meeting, in St. Louis, Missouri. At this meeting Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky was elected chairman; Dr. Charles E. Merriam, of Chicago, vice-chairman, and Mr. Luther Ely Smith, Mr. Newton D. Baker, Mr. William Allen White, Mr. Wm. T. Kemper, and Mr. J. Lionberger Davis were elected to the Executive Committee. The second meeting of the Commission was held in Washington, February 1, 1935, and conferences regarding the project were held at this time with Secretary Ickes and President Roosevelt.

So out of this first meeting called by Mayor Dickmann, the movement has progressed slowly but purposefully, and at the present it is developing a momentum that augurs well for ultimate success.

Members United States Territorial Expansion Memorial Commission.
—William T. Kemper, Kansas City, Missouri; General Jefferson Randolph Kean, (great-great grandson Thomas Jefferson), Washington, D. C.; J. Lionberger Davis, St. Louis, Missouri; Senator Alben W. Barkley, Paducah, Kentucky; Senator Frederick Van Nuys, Indianapolis, Indiana; Senator James J. Davis, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Representative Kent E. Keller, Ava, Illinois; Representative Lloyd Thurston, Osceola, Iowa; Representative John N. Sandlin, Minden, Louisiana; Newton D. Baker, Cleveland, Ohio; Amon G. Carter, Fort Worth, Texas; Dr. Charles E. Merriam, Chicago, Illinois; William Allen White, Emporia, Kansas; Matthew Woll, New York City, New York; Luther Ely Smith, St. Louis, Missouri.

Members Jefferson National-Expansion Memorial Association.—Bernard F. Dickmann, Honorary Chairman; Charles Nagel, Honorary Vice-Chairman; Rolla Wells, Honorary Vice-Chairman; Luther Ely Smith, Chairman; Morton May, Carl F. G. Meyer, Frank C. Rand, Vice-Chairmen; John G. Lonsdale, Treasurer; Tom Gilmartin, Secretary; W. C. D'Arcy, William J. Gibbons, McCune Gill, Mrs. E. M. Grossman, Gale F. Johnston, Jesse McDonald, Sidney Maestre, Isaac H. Orr, Col. A. T. Perkins, Claude B. Ricketts, Max O'Rell Truitt, Charles P. Williams, Executive Committee; Russell Murphy, Executive Director; Temple Burrus, Executive Secretary.

MEETING
OF
UNITED STATES TERRITORIAL
EXPANSION MEMORIAL COMMISSION
HOTEL JEFFERSON
AND HOTEL CHASE
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI
DECEMBER 19, 1934

WEDNESDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 19, 1934

The first meeting of the UNITED STATES TERRITORIAL EXPANSION MEMORIAL COMMISSION convened at 10:40 A. M. in the Adolphus Room of the Jefferson Hotel, St. Louis, Missouri. The Honorable Bernard F. Dickmann, Mayor of St. Louis, welcomed the members of the Commission.

MAYOR DICKMANN: Gentlemen, one of the duties of the chief executive usually is to make an address of welcome. This, I think, is unnecessary in this gathering, because I feel like a "small fry" among the distinguished gentlemen who are present. However, I personally want to thank each and every one of you for accepting the appointment to membership on this Commission. Your duties will be explained to you by the gentlemen who are familiar with the details of the plans of procedure that have been pursued during the past year.

This project originated with the thought that something was sorely needed out here in the Middle West to commemorate those who apparently had been lost sight of, and at the same time stimulate the development of our river front. One of those in particular whom it was our desire to commemorate was Thomas Jefferson. It seemed unusual that there has never been an adequate national monument erected in his honor. We felt that this was a suitable place in the Mississippi Valley to place a monument for a man of his character and a man who had so much to do with the development of the west through the purchase of the Louisiana Territory. We had hoped, and our plan is, to dedicate a shrine to all who pioneered in the territory west of the Mississippi, and it is our desire to build it here.

Usually monuments are built in Washington, and I think the Senators and Congressmen will agree, the only time we live in Washington is when we have business there.

If we consider it from either an educational or a historical standpoint, we need the memorial here in the Middle West.

With that thought in mind, we have invited you gentlemen here so that you may become familiar with this situation and get first hand information on the site where we are planning to build a monument of this character.

I want to tell you how pleased we are to have you in St. Louis. We feel signally honored in having such a distinguished group of men here as our guests. We are going to try to make it as pleasant as we can, and if any of the facilities of the city government can be helpful, all I am asking this Commission to do is to command me. We are at your service.

I am going to turn the meeting over to Mr. Luther Ely Smith, who is Chairman of our Committee. Mr. Smith.

MR. LUTHER ELY SMITH: Gentlemen of the Commission and friends: We have a very important duty to perform, to organize, and I believe the first step we should take would be to select a temporary chairman, and I will be glad to hear nominations for temporary chairman.

MR. J. LIONBERGER DAVIS: Mr. Smith, I will nominate General Kean as Honorary Chairman.

. . . Nomination seconded by Senator Van Nuys . . .

GENERAL KEAN: Gentlemen, before you take the vote, please let me say that I am, by a good deal, the oldest person here, and I am the only one officially decided by the government to be too old for work, and that happened ten years ago with me. I have certain limitations, lack of familiarity with the personnel, etc., and am quite in ignorance of parliamentary procedure, so I hope you will give me the privilege and my official right to do nothing, as a retired man, and let me take a back seat, here, not ask me to do something that I could not do nearly so well as any other member of the Commission.

MR. SMITH: Gentlemen, I think we can comply with General Kean's request at the conclusion of this morning's meeting, and it is eminently fitting that, at this first session, while we are beginning our organization and, perhaps forming a committee to organize and a committee on permanent officers, that General Kean should head this temporary organization, and we will promise him that at the conclusion of this session, we will let him retire as far back as he desires, so long as it isn't so far that we cannot get our hands on him whenever we want him.

Any other nominations for temporary chairman?

MR. DAVIS: With the understanding that he will be discharged at the luncheon.

MR. SMITH: Discharged with honor, at the conclusion of this "battle." All in favor of this motion, say, "Aye," opposed, "No."

. . . Motion carried. . .

General Jefferson Randolph Kean assumed the Chair. . .

SENATOR A. W. BARKLEY: Mr. Chairman, I nominate Mr. Luther Ely Smith as temporary Secretary.

. . . Nomination seconded by MR. KEMPER; motion put and carried. . .

MR. SMITH: Mr. Chairman and members of the Commission: The Act of Congress under which this Commission was created was passed by the Senate on the 29th of March, by the House on the 8th of June, and was signed by President Roosevelt on the 15th of June. It reads as follows:

"JOINT RESOLUTION"

"Authorizing the creation of a Federal memorial commission to consider and formulate plans for the construction, on the western bank of the Mississippi River, at or near the site of old St. Louis, Missouri, of a permanent memorial to the men who made possible the territorial expansion of the United States, particularly President Thomas Jefferson and his aids, Livingston and Monroe, who negotiated the Louisiana Purchase, and to the great explorers, Lewis and Clark, and the hardy hunters, trappers, frontiersmen, and pioneers and others who contributed to the territorial expansion and development of the United States of America.

"WHEREAS, Thomas Jefferson, as President of the United States, insured, through the Louisiana Purchase and the Lewis and Clark Expedition, the expansion of our national domain to the Pacific Ocean; and

"WHEREAS, the early exploration and occupancy of those vast territorial additions of diversified climate and great riches, down the Ohio and up the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers and over the Santa Fe Trail and Oregon Trail to the Pacific, stirred and broadened the Nation to a vision of our safety against encroachment from without and of our economic independence from within, that would come with a rounding out of the national boundary by the annexation of Texas and the acquisition of California; and

"WHEREAS, the National expansion of our country westward from its original confines along the eastern seaboard to include a continental empire stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific is due in large part to the vision and genius of Thomas Jefferson and the other patriotic citizens who worked to the same end; and

"WHEREAS, There exists no adequate permanent national memorial to Thomas Jefferson, the Louisiana Purchase, the Lewis and Clark Expedition, or the other important movements and achievements connected therewith in the Mississippi Valley or elsewhere in the United States; and

"WHEREAS, the American people feel a deep debt of gratitude to Thomas Jefferson and all those who contributed to the territorial expansion of our Nation: Now, therefore, be it

"RESOLVED by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that there is hereby established a commission to be known as the 'United States Territorial Expansion Memorial Commission' (hereinafter designated as the 'United States Commission'), for the purpose of considering and formulating plans for designing and constructing a permanent memorial on the Mississippi River, at St. Louis, Mo., said Commission to be composed of fifteen commissioners, as follows: three persons to be appointed by the President of the United States, three Senators by the President of the Senate, three members of the House of Representatives by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and six members of the Jefferson National-Expansion Memorial Association to be selected by such association.

"SEC. 2. The United States Commission may, in its discretion, accept from any source, public or private, money or property to be used for the purpose of making surveys and investigations, formulating, preparing, and considering plans and estimates for the improvement, construction, or other expenses incurred, or to be incurred.

OUTLINE OF THE JEFFERSON MEMORIAL MOVEMENT 461

"SEC. 3. The United States shall not be held liable for any obligation or indebtedness incurred by the United States Commission, the State of Missouri, the Jefferson National-Expansion Memorial Association, the City of St. Louis, Mo., or any other agency or officer, employee or agent of them or any of them, for any purpose."

Mr. Chairman, perhaps it would be well to call the roll of the Commissioners who have been appointed.

CHAIRMAN KEAN: The Secretary will please call the roll.

MR. SMITH: Taking them in the reverse order, that is, those appointed first by the Jefferson National-Expansion Memorial Association:

MR. NEWTON D. BAKER: Mr. Baker sent his regrets. He expected to be here, but owing to his recent employment in the Tennessee Valley case, he is obliged to be in New York.

DR. CHARLES E. MERRIAM: "Present."

MR. WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE: Mr. White is on the way. His train is reported two and a half hours late on account of the snowstorm.

MR. MATTHEW WOLL: Mr. Woll expected to be here, but sent a telegram yesterday, saying he could not come.

MR. LUTHER ELY SMITH: "Present."

MR. AMON G. CARTER: Mr. Carter, of Fort Worth, was doubtful as to whether he could come.

Appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

REPRESENTATIVE JOHN N. SANDLIN: We have regrets from Representative Sandlin. He is not well. He was through here in November, and Congressman Cochran and a few of us met him at that time.

REPRESENTATIVE LLOYD THURSTON: "Present."

REPRESENTATIVE KENT ELLSWORTH KELLER: Representative Keller was doubtful about his ability to come, and, yesterday, he telegraphed that he would not be able to be here.

Appointed by President of the Senate:

SENATOR ALBEN WILLIAM BARKLEY: "Present."

SENATOR JAMES JOHN DAVIS: Senator Davis, at first, sent regrets, but later wrote that he thought he might be able to come.

SENATOR FREDERICK VAN NUYS: "Present."

Appointed by the President of the United States:

MR. WILLIAM THORNTON KEMPER: "Present."

GENERAL JEFFERSON RANDOLPH KEAN: "Present."

MR. J. LIONBERGER DAVIS: "Present."

A quorum is present, Mr. Chairman.

MR. SMITH: Mr. Chairman, there has just been handed me a telegram from the White House, addressed to the United States Territorial Expansion Committee, Jefferson Hotel, December 18th (Night Message):

"All good wishes for the success of your Commission's efforts to recall and perpetuate the ideals, faith and courage of the pioneers who developed the great West."

(Signed) Franklin D. Roosevelt."

CHAIRMAN KEAN: We are delighted to have this telegram from our Chief Executive. I am sure that every member of the Commission will be deeply gratified and greatly encouraged in this work, to have such an inspiring message from President Roosevelt.

MR. SMITH: On the agenda, it was suggested that a report of the work that had been done locally would, perhaps, best be made by representatives of the Jefferson National-Expansion Memorial Association.

That Association was organized about a year ago. The first two meetings were in this room, called by the Mayor, as a result, a voluntary organization was incorporated under our Missouri Voluntary Incorporation Law. The Association has had a number of committees which have been working on this movement from time to time, as you gentlemen are probably aware of from the literature you have received,—among other things, a copy of this first Memorial Booklet.

We have had a Committee on Coordination of the work of our own Jefferson National-Expansion Memorial Association with that of the Commission, and Mr. Isaac H. Orr and Colonel Albert T. Perkins have given considerable attention to that, and Mr. Chairman, I believe if you would recognize one of those gentlemen, he would be glad to tell you more of the work.

CHAIRMAN KEAN: We shall be glad to hear from Mr. Orr.

MR. ISAAC H. ORR: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Commission: I do not know just how much of this story I am supposed to tell, but I believe I am to speak on it from the standpoint of the business interests of the city.

As has already been intimated to you, this suggestion of this permanent memorial was made by our Mayor, in this room, about a year ago, to a group of business people whom he called together for that purpose.

To some of you Senators and Representatives, who are not familiar with the political history of St. Louis, I might say (not as a business man) this is the first Democratic Mayor we have had for many, many years, and as business men observing the political movement from the sidelines, we were not surprised to be called together and have this unusual proposition suggested to us, and we were most happy and inspired to receive it.

We have read carefully the resolution which has just been reread in your hearing and, from a business standpoint, we notice that Congress has declared that the American people want to erect a permanent memorial to Mr. Jefferson and his associates, who made possible our wonderful country. They provide for the appointment of a commission of highly representative men to make plans, to consider the subject, and to work out details, and, presumably, report back their suggestions to the President and the Congress. Then, they tack on an "Exhibit 'A'" to their resolution, in which they specifically say that the government of the United States would not be obligated or must not be charged with any of the expenses which you may incur or which may be incurred in connection with the enterprise. I think that was a very wise exhibit to attach to the resolution.

So, we, as business men, see here a great project to which every American citizen, who has any knowledge at all of the history and development of his country, will subscribe. The resolution indicates that this monument would be located in St. Louis, so that the business people of St. Louis recognize the fact that it is up to them to furnish the sinews of war for the preliminary work, to see whether or not this great project is practical and workable.

As a result—whether you know it or not—the Industrial Club, which is closely affiliated with our Chamber of Commerce and is one of the potent commercial forces in our city, is the host of this organization, today. The expenses of this meeting, entertainment of the Commission, etc., are being borne by that Club.

I might say in advance that we have incorporated the Jefferson National-Expansion Association, so that it is a legal entity and is recognized in the resolution passed by Congress, and is given the rare honor of appointing six members of this Commission. Now, we stand ready to do whatever work this Commission assigns us to do.

We have conceived that you have come, today, to make your permanent organization and possibly or probably will delegate or instruct the Jefferson National-Expansion Memorial Association here in St. Louis, at their own expense, to do the preliminary work contemplated by your resolution; in other words, to make surveys and work out plans, etc., to be submitted to your Commission. If such a course is taken by your Commission, permit us to suggest, if we may, that in your permanent organization you also set up an executive committee or a small committee with whom we may confer, pending details completed for submission to the Commission. We purpose, as business people, as soon as this meeting of the Commission is over and as soon as we have instructions from your Commission to do the work, to proceed at once to raise a fund necessary to pay all of these preliminary expenses.

I think that, Mr. Chairman, is the business people's point of view relating to this Commission. We cannot express too emphatically or effectively the real enthusiasm with which the people of St. Louis have received this suggestion and the response which we expect them to make.

CHAIRMAN KEAN: We would like to hear from Colonel Perkins.

COLONEL A. T. PERKINS: I think there is nothing more to be said on this subject than what Mr. Orr has said, so I will not take up any time.

MR. SMITH: On the agenda, the Plan and Scope was the next item. We were very fortunate in having as Chairman of our Plan and Scope Committee, Judge Jesse McDonald, and Mr. Louis LaBeaume, we were fortunate in having him, at Judge McDonald's suggestion, as Vice-Chairman.

I might state that, in the beginning when we met here a year ago this time, the Mayor thought it desirable to have a meeting—and it proved to be very desirable—at his office, of a larger group, just before Congress met, that is, in the holidays between Christmas and New Years, and at that time, the President of the Local Chapter here of the American Insti-

tute of Architects, volunteered to get up a sketch that might be exhibited at that meeting. That was done, and it visualized a view or a possibility of the treatment of the terrain very effectively for that meeting. It was done under great pressure and haste, and we were all deeply indebted to those gentlemen who did it. Later, Judge McDonald and Mr. LaBeaume and others of the Committee went into the matter more thoroughly, and another tentative sketch was worked out by Mr. LaBeaume.

We expected to have Judge McDonald here, today, and I was very much shocked, yesterday afternoon, when I went to see him, to find that he was going to the hospital last night, for a going-over. He has been under great strain in the Frisco hearing which has been in session for some weeks, here, in addition to his other many private and public duties. He, therefore, could not be here, but he said he felt that the matter could be thoroughly covered by the Vice-Chairman of the Plan and Scope Committee, Mr. LaBeaume, who is the author of these tentative sketches.

I make this explanation, Mr. Chairman, because Judge McDonald's name appears on the agenda, and I know that it was with the deepest regret that he felt, under his physician's directions, he was obliged to be away.

CHAIRMAN KEAN: We shall be glad to have Mr. LaBeaume give the report.

MR. LABEAUME: General Kean and gentlemen: It became apparent, early in the deliberations of the Plan and Scope Committee, that some attempt should be made to crystallize definitely, our conception of the scope of the memorial to define more or less definitely the terrain which it is supposed to cover, and to make certain surveys relative to the proposed cost of any adequate memorial to be built, as well as to make surveys of the cost and the value of the property involved. Judge McDonald, personally, I think, bore the brunt of that work and, in order to obtain some visualization as to what such a memorial might be, he asked me, a member of his committee, to coöperate in that phase of the work.

We were given a conception of the Mayor's vision and some idea of the historical perspective to be covered and, of course, had some definite instructions as to the site on which this memorial was to be placed. It was immediately decided that these preliminary sketches or studies could be considered only tentative and could be considered as valuable only for the crystallization of the ideas of the local committee, and that perhaps eventually they might help to develop the ideas of the national commission, of which you are members.

The site chosen for the memorial is historical, as relates to St. Louis, in that it occupies the terrain, the site of the original establishment of the city here. Our town extended for half a mile or three-quarters of a mile along the river front, just south of the Eads Bridge, and extended as far west as Third Street, and, only the other day, I saw a map which would interest you, Mr. Gill, made in 1818, showing the original plotting of the streets, the Old Cathedral location and the original stockade around the town, which stockade in effect really bounds this memorial, as we have conceived it.

On this site, of course, some very important historical events took place, particularly the transfer of the Louisiana Territory, and other significant episodes following its acquisition by the then acting administration under Thomas Jefferson, in 1803. You are generally familiar, perhaps—but I won't assume that you are, because we are so familiar with the site—that the ground on which the city is built rises from the river in a series of hills. We are on a much higher elevation here in this room than the elevation at the site of the memorial.

We used that gradation in these present designs to establish a plateau on the level of Third Street, a normal plateau, not raising the level of Third Street, which was then the western boundary of the city, and which for many years was an important thoroughfare in the enlarged city and is to some extent still. We placed the memorial on this plateau, and then terraced down to a lower elevation, toward the levee, so that this whole memorial will overlook the river and will also be visible to the traveler coming across either of our bridges there, or into the city by train or boat.

We conceived that the memorial should embrace all the other factors that were significant in the territorial expansion of the country, and preliminarily, we devised other buildings surrounding the Jeffersonian shrine, in which the history and participation of the different states which had been cut out of this territory, should be fittingly illustrated and epitomized. In other words, every one of the states cut out of the Louisiana Purchase will have its own shrine in this memorial, and every state resulting from the movements of George Rogers Clark, as well as those other movements through which we acquired the Oregon country and the Spanish domain will be illustrated here, and it is planned that in this memorial a place will be found for the proper illustration and glorification of the original Thirteen Colonies then existing when these expansion movements took place.

So, in effect, this memorial is conceived as a sort of Pantheon to all our explorers, pioneers and statesmen, who made the territorial integrity of the United States between the two oceans and the Canadian border on the north and the Gulf on the south, possible. It is hoped that a place will be found here to celebrate the achievements, not only of the early French and Spanish explorers, but all the Americans and men of other races, who contributed either by their statesmanship or their courage or their vision to making this country what it is today.

While we feel that St. Louis, here at the crossroads, is a fitting place at which to build this memorial, we feel also that, when built, it will be a truly national shrine and that every American in every section of the country will find here something reflecting the contribution of his own section of the country toward the present greatness of the United States.

It will be necessary for this Commission, it seems to the Plan and Scope Committee, in view of the fact that this is to be a truly national monument, to secure in its solution the very best architectural, sculptural and other artistic advice possible. It cannot be confined or controlled to any one small group, and the only way that we can conceive of this Commission taking advantage of the artistic ability in the country would be

through some sort of nation-wide competition in which architects, sculptors, mural painters, and landscape architects might collaborate and present solutions to this problem.

It will be necessary for this Commission, we believe, to make a very definite program, so far as the site and physical factors of the site are involved, the element of cost and other vital points, so as to prepare for this competition, and to keep it within bounds, physically and materially. So, you may regard those studies as only preliminary attempts to envisage in some way, the idea.

The site involved occupies about a half a mile from end to end, lying just south of the Eads Bridge. You will see, sometime during the day, the site, yourselves; you will have an opportunity to see just where it lies and what it looks like, now.

It was necessary to make some preliminary estimates of cost, but they are not necessarily important to this Committee, or to your Commission. You may have entirely other ideas as to how extensive this memorial should be. It occupies, as I say, a half a mile north and south and about a quarter of a mile from Third Street down to the levee line. It seemed to us that such a space would be necessary in order to memorialize adequately so important a factor in our national history. If you agree, the cost of building such a structure, as nearly as it can be computed (exclusive of site), would run to something like \$20,000,000 for the actual construction, to say nothing of the value of the land.

I do not know whether you, Mr. Chairman, wish any further report, or you, Mr. Mayor. I merely make that outline for Judge McDonald.

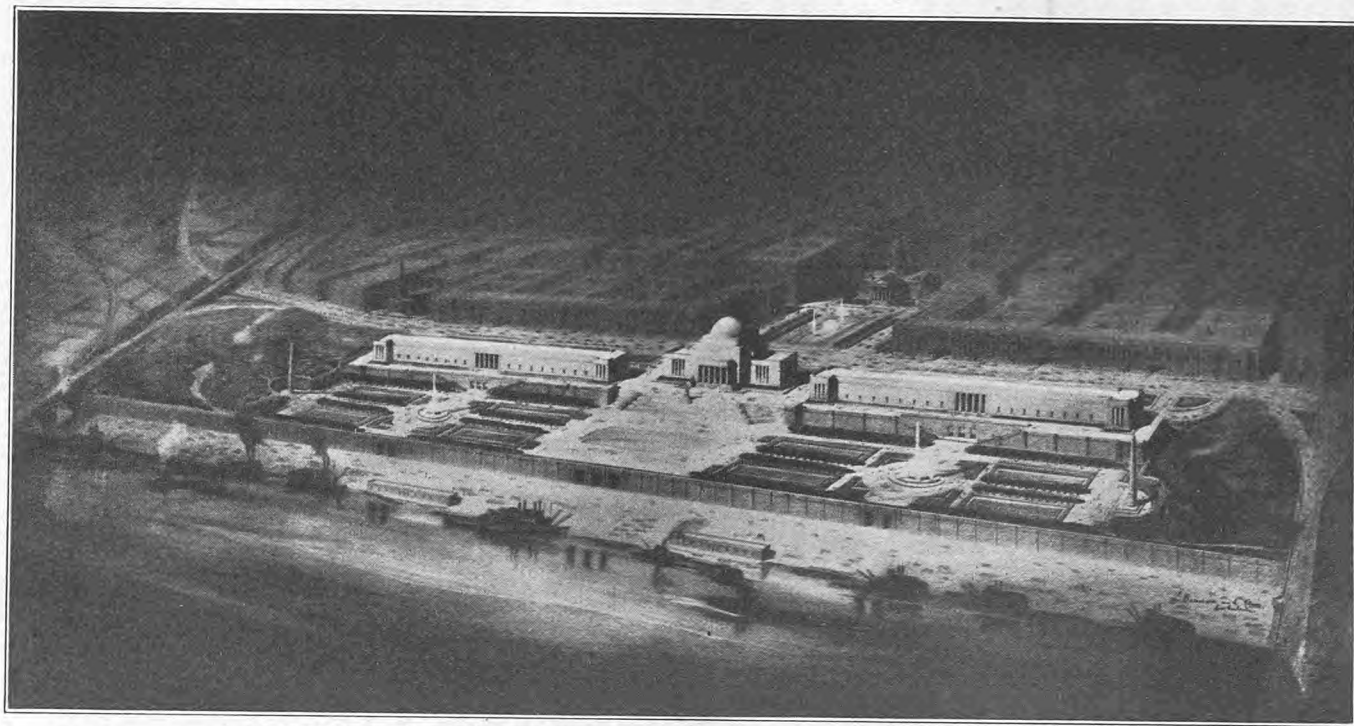
MR. SMITH: I think, Mr. Chairman, it would be interesting if Mr. LaBeaume would point out on the sketches he has made, some of the features he has mentioned.

MR. LABEAUME: It would hardly be possible to do that, for the light here is not very good, (exhibiting sketch). This afternoon, you will probably stop at the Old Courthouse shown here. This Courthouse was built in the '30s and '40s and is one of our historic buildings. This street is Fourth Street, this is Broadway or Fifth Street. We have incorporated or attempted to incorporate the Courthouse into this memorial by opening up a place between the Old Courthouse and whatever central building may be here, if that be the design, and this central structure is supposed to be—the main feature of the memorial.

MAYOR DICKMANN: Mr. LaBeaume, I think, before you leave that Courthouse, you should give something of its historical significance. That was the first Courthouse here and the slaves were sold there.

MR. LABEAUME: The slaves were sold on the steps of the Courthouse and the Dred Scott case was decided here and many historical events transpired here. Mr. McCune Gill could enlarge on that history much more intelligently than I can, Mr. Mayor.

This is the widened Third Street, which will connect with the roads leading out of the city to the northwest and the roads leading out of the city to the southwest. In this central building, it is expected that the main factors of the expansion will be celebrated, and in these side buildings, the niches or museums for the different states will be provided



A MEMORIAL TO THOMAS JEFFERSON AND OUR NATIONAL EXPANSION
To be erected on the River Front at St. Louis. Note the old Cathedral on the left. A preliminary sketch prepared by La Beume & Klein from which Architects may achieve the ultimate design.



and, as this is conceived, each state, the southwest here and the northwest here, will illustrate its participation, its contribution, and celebrate its heroes. There will be mural paintings and ample opportunity for sculpture, either in the buildings or in the gardens on this lower level.

This might be the obelisk of the Oregon Trail, and this the obelisk of the Santa Fe Trail. The idea is so grandiose and so inspiring that here indeed will be a summing up of all the historical achievements of the nation, and it will be a visual and enduring page of history.

DR. MERRIAM: What is the top height of that building? (pointing to central Memorial Building shown on sketch).

MR. LABEAUME: It would be about 140 feet to the dome. This would be the main cornice line, Dr. Merriam. Generally speaking, I should say that the cornice line of these buildings would be about sixty to seventy-five feet above the pavement; that is about the scale. These buildings are seven hundred and fifty feet long, as they are shown here, and the plan is left open so that you get a view of the river and the steps leading down to this lower level. This garden lies along the river and this is the elevated railroad which runs into the Union Station, coming over the Merchants' Bridge. That is there now and we have made a virtue of necessity, because it is almost impossible to conceive of its removal, and every visitor by train will pass along this memorial for a half mile, coming into or leaving the city.

The bridge at the lower end of the picture is our so-called Free Bridge, and this is the Eads Bridge built by Captain Eads, just after the Civil War, one of the great engineering feats of that day and still a very beautiful structure. The levee line here is zero, this elevation is twenty-four, at the tracks of the elevated railroad. This elevation, (on the main plateau of the memorial area), as I said a moment ago, is fifty, and these grades run down. It is perfectly possible to utilize the space underneath this memorial, because it will not be filled, but will be built upon a framework.

MR. DAVIS: Is the drop from Third Street to the top of the railroad tracks twenty-four feet?

MR. LABEAUME: Twenty-six feet. It is also possible to come under it by means of ramps under Third Street. It is possible to utilize this space under the memorial for parking or other purposes; also perfectly possible to utilize some of this space underneath the historical buildings as exhibits for state resources, if it is so desired in the judgment of the Commission. It will not interfere with our levee. This is our old shipping levee. We haven't so many boats here now as we had at one time, but there are still those who dream of having more.

This is the Old Cathedral, it now exists on this spot. From the earliest times, from the time of 1764 or 1780, when the French settled here, the Cathedral Square was in this block, bounded by Third and Walnut and Market. The Cathedral still stands; you will see it, this afternoon. It will have to be lifted up and set west of Third Street, otherwise it would be depressed in almost any architectural scheme, and I think the Archbishop realizes that and is sympathetic with the idea.

DR. MERRIAM: What is the height of the buildings in the background?

MR. LABEAUME: This building, the Pierce Building, is seventeen stories high. That is the highest building in the immediate background. The City, in widening Third Street, will, in our judgment, have to exercise control over the buildings that are built west of Third Street. It would be desirable for them to have a uniform height level, whatever their type of architecture may be, so as to make a fitting background for this memorial. So, we have indicated a row of new buildings here, private buildings, which have an even sky line, which the City can and should control.

SENATOR BARKLEY: How high is that central building, as contemplated, as compared to the Old Courthouse?

MR. LABEAUME: I haven't the exact figures. I do not think it is quite as high as the dome of the Old Courthouse. Again, there is a slight rise up to the Old Courthouse. We are not trying to hide the Old Courthouse, but to make these buildings complement each other and make an open plaza between these two buildings. Our central building may not have a dome, it may have an entirely different form. We have cut these buildings open so as to have a view of the river as far as possible from this wide drive called Third Street.

MR. DAVIS: This would not interfere in any way with the use of the levee?

MR. LABEAUME: No, there can be stairs from the inside of the garden or elevators going down, the streets can be ramped through underneath and vehicles can come out onto the levee.

SENATOR BARKLEY: Where are your public wharves?

MR. LABEAUME: Our freight wharves for the barge system are in North St. Louis.

SENATOR BARKLEY: Is there any active shipping?

MR. LABEAUME: Not very much. There are a few excursion boats landing here and the old-time side-wheelers and others, but not very much traffic, though even so, if there were, they could be accommodated there just the same.

MAYOR DICKMANN: The boats using this wharf are mostly pleasure boats.

CHAIRMAN KEAN: Mr. LaBeaume, in whom is the title vested to the bank of the river on this side?

MAYOR DICKMANN: It is owned by the city. The remainder of the property is privately owned, but the levee is owned by the city.

MR. SMITH: Do you want to show the other drawing?

MR. LABEAUME: I do not want to bore the Commission. This is nothing but a diagram (exhibits sketch), the flat plan. The cross at the top is the Courthouse. This is the open plaza, this is the tall building I spoke of, and these are the buildings that ought to be regulated on the west side of Third Street. This is the Eads Bridge, this is Third Street going Northwest, and you see the turn southwest. This white line is the elevated track, you see the bend to the south, going to the Union Station,

and the distance from here to the other obelisk is about a half mile. This shows the different sections in the building. Your ultimate plan may take an entirely different form. The extreme difference in elevation is fifty feet, this is twenty-four, this is zero.

REPRESENTATIVE THURSTON: How far from the line to the water front?

MR. LABEAUME: About seventy-five or eighty feet. It depends entirely on the water line, the water controls that.

MAYOR DICKMANN: There has never been a time when the water has come up to the height of that bridge, it never has.

MR. LABEAUME: Oh, no, but it may come up to this zero line.

CHAIRMAN KEAN: The old plan and scope seems to be the meat of the matter. Is there any member of the Commission or any person present who would like to express an opinion or make a comment or ask questions?

MR. SMITH: Mr. White, I understand, is in the building and will be down and Mr. Burton will be with him. Mr. Burton has with him another book that the Jefferson National-Expansion Memorial Association would like to present to the Commission for its approval, before proceeding with it, because if it does not meet with the approval of the Commission, they do not want to use it, and if it does, they want to proceed.

Mr. D'Arcy, who is Chairman of our Publicity Committee and has taken a very keen interest in the movement, was, unfortunately, called east last Sunday. He promised to get back and intended to fly back, but he called up last night, and said he could not make it.

Mr. Burton was born and brought up in Emporia, Kansas, and when he knew that Mr. White was coming, he insisted on meeting him and bringing him down, so those two gentlemen will be down, presently.

On the agenda there was the suggestion for the permanent organization, possibly two committees that might be appointed, one on organization and another on nominations for permanent officers. That can be done and we could consider it either this morning, or possibly right after luncheon.

The program for the balance of the day is as follows: at twelve-thirty, at the Chase Hotel, a luncheon is being given by the ladies of St. Louis to the members of the Commission and their wives. Some of the members of the Commission have brought their wives, Mrs. Kean is here, Mrs. Thurston is here, and Mrs. Van Nuys. They are all welcome at the Chase Hotel at twelve-thirty. We will, perhaps, get there earlier than that. Then, at the conclusion of the luncheon, if we have not transacted all of our business, we have a room reserved at the Chase, so that we can meet there. Then, the plan is to leave about three o'clock and go to the Old Courthouse and other historic places. So as to minimize the problems of transportation, we have a large de luxe White bus, which we believe will be comfortable and will accommodate all of us, both the Commission and the Association.

MAYOR DICKMANN: Mr. Smith, do you think it advisable to hear from Mr. Gill on the historical significance of some of these places?

MR. SMITH: I think it would be fine.

CHAIRMAN KEAN: We shall be glad to hear from Mr. Gill, Chairman of the Historical Data Committee of the Jefferson National-Expansion Memorial Association.

MR. McCUNE GILL: Gentlemen, we propose to take you around to show you this site, to tell you of some of the historical spots which we think are very significant in the entire history of the country.

For some years, some of us St. Louisans have been interested in interpreting the basic facts of the history of our country to the public, and we found a very ready and significant response to that. Particularly, we tried to point out why this country is not five or six different countries, different nationalities. We have continually brought to the fore the stupendous thing that did happen in the last century, which was that a few men in the eastern English colonies determined that the influence of those colonies the English common law and the English idea of political liberty, must be pushed clear across this vast continent.

We like to point out objects to visualize this. I think it is quite fortunate that, this morning, we are meeting in this room, because just outside that window, on the north side of this room, we have one of the most historic thoroughfares in this entire country. We call it now "St. Charles Street." It is a little narrow street; originally, it was called the road to St. Charles. It is none other than the eastern end of the Santa Fe and Oregon Trails, because in the development of this country, pioneers came down the Ohio, up the Mississippi, disembarked at St. Louis, (some of them went on to Independence on the Missouri, but most of them stopped here), and it was here that the development of the west was really made a fact,

Many of our prominent people of that date came from the east, so we feel a memorial at this point will be very interesting to our eastern friends, because this focus of western development was made possible by the people who came from the east.

We feel that our friends in the west will be interested in it, because we were the ones who sent the pioneers out west. We hear a great deal of the "Covered Wagon," but few of us stop to ask who made those covered wagons. We built them in St. Louis; we had thirty wagon companies here in 1840. Who put the goods in them? Our merchants, largely on credit; the pioneers filled their covered wagons at the site of this memorial; then they began the long drive to the west on this little narrow street; reaching the western end, they branched over on the Oregon or Santa Fe Trails.

So, we feel St. Louis did a great deal to preserve the ideals set up by the future-looking patriots of the Eastern Colonies, did a great deal to make the national expansion of this country a fact. That is why we want to build this memorial here, in the center of the country, so that everybody can see it; the school children—who, perhaps, will not get to Washington for years—can see it; people who come through the central part

of the country can see it. It will be permanent historical evidence of the tremendous fact that this is *one* country, and an exposition of the reason why it is one country.

We hope each state of the entire country will be represented in this memorial, so that the eastern states can show what men they sent here to make the national expansion a fact. The states of the west can send memorials here, to show what was done there, largely because of the expansion which flowed through this gateway to the west and south.

We hope you will be interested in our Old Courthouse. We will show you the very room in which the famous Dred Scott case was tried. We will show you the very spot where United States Senator Thomas Benton thirty years a Missouri Senator at Washington, a man imbued with the idea that expansion must be westward (as shown by the replica of a painting which is now in our State Capitol), made one of the epochal speeches of our entire history, a speech in which he insisted that the United States Government, at that time, must foster the development of railroad transportation in the west, rather than continually keep its face toward the east.

We will show you the Old Cathedral, one hundred years old now, itself preceded by other church buildings on that same site, which preserved the religious idea through all these years. We will show you the precise spot and will describe the scene of the transfer of Upper Louisiana from Spain to France and from France to the United States. We will show you the home of General Grant, when he lived in St. Louis and was only "Lieutenant Grant." We will show you the childhood home of Eugene Field. We will try to impart to you the enthusiasm we feel in favor of the thesis that here was the focal point of the entire development of the country.

. . . Entrance of Mr. White, Mr. Burton, and Mr. Gibbons. . .

CHAIRMAN KEAN: Mr. Burton being here, will tell us about the educational work and publicity.

MR. BURTON: I am very sorry Mr. D'Arcy could not be here. He expected to fly back here from Wilmington, but the weather has kept him east and he has been unable to get here; therefore, I am "pinch-hitting" for Mr. D'Arcy.

Of course, you know we must create public sentiment in St. Louis and also raise money here, and for that purpose, under Mr. D'Arcy's direction, has been prepared a booklet or brochure, which is to be used by Mr. Maestre, Chairman of the Finance Committee. At first, we will have three hundred copies; later on, a larger number will be printed for general use in the city and elsewhere.

This book will attempt to visualize what we all have in our minds about the Jefferson National-Expansion Memorial. The title will be, "Jefferson and the Pioneers who gave us National Expansion;" Jefferson, who originated the idea of the Louisiana Purchase; the "Pioneers"—I think it is well to emphasize them, because, at this time, you hear more about pioneers than we have heard in the previous seventy-five years.

This booklet will have a map here in the front and in the back. The map will visualize the section from the Pacific Ocean to the Mississippi River, showing the trails. It shows the trails leading to St. Louis, all converging there, the National Old Roads and the Daniel Boone Trail from St. Louis, the Lewis and Clark Expedition, the Oregon Trail, the Santa Fe Trail, the Ozark Trails, and all the others, as Benton said, "spreading fan-like north, south, and west, clear to the Pacific Ocean."

This in the front is the section from St. Louis to the Pacific, including the Mississippi River, and on the other side will be the Mississippi to the Atlantic Ocean.

The next page reads "By authority of the United States Commission." We will ask your authorization, after we have shown the brochure to you. This is to show, locally, that we have the backing of this Commission of impartial appointees, giving the national viewpoint, and we need your backing to get the local support that we should have. It means that we need every bit of help we can get, and if we can have this "By the authority of the United States Commission," we will be helped a great deal.

On the next page is a pictorial representation of the transfer of the Louisiana Purchase, showing the three flags, the transfer from Spain to France and from France to the United States, with the foreword telling something of what is to be done.

On the next page, setting forth the national import of the whole movement, is a large drawing of the National Capitol, at Washington. This will be used artistically to give the impression that this is something in which the whole nation, both those who live in the east and those who live in the west, should have an interest. We will quote from the act of Congress creating the Commission.

On the next page is a famous statue in the State Capitol of Missouri at Jefferson City, showing the transfer of the Louisiana Territory, with Livingston, Marbois of France, and Monroe. Then we hope to have someone designated by your Commission, who will prepare a statement, only a short statement of four or five hundred words, for the Commission, itself. At the proper time, I imagine you will designate the person who will write this message for you.

On this next page are the pictures of the United States Commission, those appointed by the President of the United States, by the President of the Senate, by the Speaker of the House, and also by the Jefferson National-Expansion Memorial Association. We have prepared short biographies of the members of the Commission. I think all of you received them for correction.

On the next page is the history of the movement to date. I believe, without bringing up any question of doubt, it was the Mayor who brought up this idea. As soon as it was mentioned to the Historical Societies, they began passing resolutions—the American Historical Society, and also the various Societies of Missouri and Illinois, and other States. I think fifteen or twenty throughout the United States, have passed resolutions endorsing this movement.

We have here at this point a representation of the Memorial itself. This will be printed to take up three full pages. It is an enlargement of this picture that you have been shown here in this room. This sketch is only a tentative proposition, because your own plans that will be formulated will give definite form. It simply gives an idea. Here on this page will be an airplane view of the site, showing the location on the river front. We haven't that picture here, but it shows the site from the air, across the river up here and also the ground layout. It may have been stated to you that the site runs approximately from the Eads Bridge to the Free Bridge.

Then the historical significance of this movement, and, afterwards—a word that is somewhat new to me—a “photo-montage” of some of the leading historical memorials that have been built in this country. This is not the thing itself, but we have accumulated pictures of thirty-five or forty monuments and memorials. We will have Plymouth Rock, the Vincennes Memorial, and others, almost everything of importance that has to do with memorializing the peaceful historical development of the country will be put into this three-page “montage,” which will be indexed to show that this memorial which we propose to build is something not only in keeping with what the country has done, but is immensely larger and of more significance than any that have been erected heretofore. We have also suggestions as to the architectural character of the Memorial and what form it shall take, and, in the end, we have this other photograph.

As I say, we are going to print only three hundred copies at first. Later on, we will have a more popular edition. This is simply a deluxe presentation of the whole movement for the propagation of the idea.

MR. BURTON then read the text to be used in the Proposed Brochure,—beginning “The architectural studies, etc.” . . .

SENATOR BARKLEY: I want to congratulate whoever drew up that statement. I think somebody should move that, at least in spirit, the statement of the background of this movement be approved by this Commission, and I make such a motion.

. . . Motion seconded by Representative Thurston . . .

CHAIRMAN KEAN: It has been moved and seconded that at least in principle and in general the outline of the historical statement that we have just heard be approved by this Commission. All in favor, say “Aye,” opposed, “No.”

. . . Motion carried. . .

CHAIRMAN KEAN: Is there anything else, Mr. Secretary, on the agenda?

MR. SMITH: The question of an organization and also permanent officers is something that has tentatively been visualized on the agenda. It was contemplated appointing committees to report back. That was, of course, merely a suggestion. That could be done and they could report immediately after the luncheon. We have a room at the Chase Hotel, if the Commission wants to do that.

CHAIRMAN KEAN: Is it the wish of the Commission that we adjourn?

MAYOR DICKMANN: Before adjourning, I want to remind you that this matter has been under way about a year. There has been some progress made on it, and I do not see any reason why this proposed memorial could not be placed in such an historical spot as this in the Middle West. I know the Commission is going to weigh it carefully and they will report to the President and then Committees will be appointed and a permanent organization perfected.

I want to say, while I am not an historian, yet from what I have gathered since the meetings came about and the vision we have gotten in the Middle West, that, sooner or later, it must be recognized that we have an opportunity now to carry this project through, with Congress and the Senate and the President wishing to keep men employed. We have that opportunity here. We haven't anything to sell here, all we have is something of historical significance.

I had hoped to be with you at the luncheon at the Chase, but, unfortunately, I have to address another meeting, make an address of welcome, but I will be with you, this evening.

MR. WHITE: Are we organized as a commission?

SENATOR BARKLEY: Mr. Chairman, I want to make a motion. It seems that we ought not to adjourn without taking steps looking to a permanent organization, at least, set up a committee to consider it. We have not decided just what officers are to be selected or what officers this Commission needs. I take it you will need a permanent Chairman and a permanent Secretary; whether there will be any additional permanent officers, I do not know, but, certainly, you need those two, maybe others.

I do not see any need for two committees, however. It seems to me that one committee could decide on what the permanent organization should be, and bring in a recommendation as to whom they should be, and that is a matter of very great importance.

Of course, this Commission must consider, in naming its permanent officers, those who have time and facilities for doing the work. I am frank to say that I do not believe either of these officers should be a member of Congress, because they are more or less ex-officio members of this Commission and they have to pass on—in a double capacity, as members of the Commission and as members of Congress—the plans and the scope of the work and the amount of money appropriated, or to be asked of Congress. Therefore, I am convinced that no member of Congress ought to be an officer of this Commission; but the Chairman and Secretary, those who are to carry on the active work are important.

Therefore, I move that you appoint a committee of three to consider what permanent organization is necessary, and that the same committee bring in a list of nominees for such officers as they may decide to recommend to the Commission, and that that committee report immediately after the luncheon at the other hotel.

. . . Motion seconded by Mr. Davis. . .

OUTLINE OF THE JEFFERSON MEMORIAL MOVEMENT 477

CHAIRMAN KEAN: It is moved and seconded that a committee of three be appointed to select a larger committee to perfect the organization.

SENATOR BARKLEY: The motion was that a committee of three be appointed to consider what permanent officers are needed and make a recommendation to the full Commission of nominations for those offices.

CHAIRMAN KEAN: You have heard the motion. Is there discussion? All those in favor, say, "Aye," opposed, "No."

. . . Motion carried. . .

. . . Mr. Smith made announcement in re: Photograph to be taken of the Commission; announcement in re: Transportation to the Hotel Chase.

CHAIRMAN KEAN: The Committee appointed is: Senator Van Nuys, Mr. Thurston, and Mr. White.

There were present during the meeting of the Commission, the following members of the Jefferson National-Expansion Memorial Association:

HON. BERNARD F. DICKMANN, MR. McCUNE GILL, MR. TOM GILMARTIN, MR. GALE F. JOHNSTON, MR. SIDNEY MAESTRE, MR. ISAAC H. ORR, COL. ALBERT T. PERKINS, MR. CLAUDE B. RICKETTS, MR. LOUIS LABEAUME, MR. P. E. BURTON, MR. W. J. GIBBONS, MISS TEMPLE BURRUS.

And there was also present

MR. RICHARD G. BAUMHOFF of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.

. . . Adjournment at 12:15 noon. . .

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON

Luncheon meeting, Mrs. Charles Mullikin presiding. A luncheon, tendered by the ladies of St. Louis, was served in the Crystal Room at the Chase Hotel, Kingshighway and Lindell Boulevard, at 12:30 P. M., in honor of the Commissioners and their wives.

THE CHAIRMAN, MRS. CHARLES MULLIKIN: The purpose of this meeting is to familiarize the women of St. Louis with a project of national scope and of civic interest, namely, the creation of a memorial to an outstanding figure in American history, Thomas Jefferson.

The recognition of the St. Louis waterfront as a site for this memorial is a tribute to the historical background of our wonderful city, for when Jefferson, with his great vision and statesmanship, acquired the vast territory west of the Mississippi River for the expansion of young America, St. Louis stood at the gateway of this promised land.

It is my privilege, today, to extend a very warm welcome to our distinguished guests, and I am now going to ask the Chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Jefferson National-Expansion Memorial Association to preside at this meeting. I am pleased to present Mr. Gale Johnston. (Applause.)

. . . Mr. Johnston assumed the Chair. . .

CHAIRMAN JOHNSTON: Ladies and gentlemen, it is a pleasure to welcome you here, today, on an occasion which we hope will be historic. My father always told me that if anything great was to be done, it should have the backing of the ladies, and I am pleased to inform you that this is the first public meeting of the Jefferson National-Expansion Memorial Association, and it is given for and attended largely by the ladies.

We bring to you, today, the members of the United States Commission, as our honored guests.

There are certain announcements to be made before presenting the guests of honor. There are several relatives of Thomas Jefferson at this meeting, and, at the conclusion of the luncheon, we shall be pleased to have those relatives make themselves known. The members of the Association will be very glad to greet all of you at the conclusion of this meeting.

. . . Mr. Johnston read a telegraphic message from President Roosevelt . . . (Applause).

So that you may know more in detail the work of the Commission, the work the Commission is to do and the work that preceded the formation of the Commission by Congress and by the President of the United States, we have asked Mr. Isaac H. Orr, a member of the Executive Committee, to address you at this time. It is a pleasure to present Mr. Orr. (Applause.)

MR. ISAAC H. ORR: Mr. Johnston, Mrs. Mullikin, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen: It is embarrassing enough to be presented to such an august body and asked to say something, but to be confronted by a microphone is an experience unheard of by the average business man.

I was somewhat in doubt as to what I was expected to say, until I was introduced. My subject had not been assigned. I am very happy to report what has been done insofar as the Jefferson National-Expansion Memorial Association of St. Louis is concerned. The idea was suggested about a year ago, the Mayor called together about a dozen business men, organized the Committee, and that Committee formulated some plans, raised a little money, and finally sent to our Senators and Representatives in Congress a resolution which was introduced and finally passed. This resolution created the Commission which is having its first meeting in St. Louis today.

The preamble of that resolution, as indicated by your honored Chairman, sets forth that the purpose of the resolution was to create a Commission to plan and arrange for a permanent memorial on the banks of the Mississippi in "Old St. Louis"—whatever that may mean (laughter)—in honor of the men who made possible our national territorial expansion. That is the purpose of the Commission, and that is why, as Mr. Johnston says, we hope this meeting will be an historic event in the history of St. Louis as well as in America, because we expect that there will radiate from this meeting and a meeting of our men folks tonight, an influence and a determination which will ulti-

mately be translated into a magnificent permanent memorial to Thomas Jefferson and the men of his time, who made possible our territorial expansion. This great monument will be erected on the water front of our city and will for all time stand and serve its purpose to memorialize the acts and deeds of our forefathers.

Now, it is not easy to picture the significance of this memorial in the Mississippi Valley, and this memorial emphasizing particularly Thomas Jefferson, without some historical data which I rather hesitate to give. I was, fortunately, seated with Mr. McCune Gill on my right. He is the recognized historical authority in the City of St. Louis. He has more accurate information upon the history of this City than any other individual, I believe. On my left was an honest-to-goodness great-great-grandson of Thomas Jefferson, himself. Now, what show did I have to talk about an historical event in such presence? (Laughter.) But, absent a map, I will have to ask you to use your imagination and go back to the situation on this continent, following what we call the French and Indian War, the war which began with the Battle of Fort Duquesne and Braddock's defeat, and which practically ended, so far as this continent was concerned, at the Battle of Quebec, where both Wolfe, the English General, and Montcalm, the French General, were killed.

As a result of that war, France gave up her Canadian possessions, which left her only what we call the Louisiana Territory on the west bank of the Mississippi and the territory surrounding New Orleans on the east bank of the Mississippi. England acquired the entire North American Continent, east of the Mississippi River, except the strip belonging to Spain, running from New Orleans east to the Atlantic Ocean. That was the picture when the Revolutionary War was fought.

So far as the colonies were concerned, you recall that in New York and to the north, they extended only from the coast to the mountains, their face was to the east, their tendency was to commerce and industry. So far as the colonies to the south were concerned, Virginia and the Carolinas, they were planters and their tendency was to move on and to explore. The result was that when the Revolutionary War broke out, there were to the west of Virginia and Carolina, in what is now Kentucky and Tennessee, many hardy pioneers.

To the north of the Ohio River and west of what is now Pittsburgh (the Northwest Territory), there were practically no American settlements, as we call them. I say "no"—the English had a fort, Fort Sackville at Vincennes, Indiana, and there were two French settlements on the east side of the Mississippi river, namely Kaskaskia and Cahokia—hence they were in English territory.

Now, the war was going on. George Rogers Clark, a Virginian, who had won signal victories fighting Indians in Kentucky, went across the mountains to Virginia and offered his services. Governor Patrick Henry wanted him to go north and join Washington. Clark, who knew this western Mississippi Valley country and the Indians and so forth, knowing these English outposts, wanted to organize a small army and

capture the English outposts on the frontiers—Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Fort Sackville. Patrick Henry would not accede to his request, but insisted that he should join Washington. He reported to Jefferson. Jefferson was a young man; he was not a soldier, but he was a statesman. Clark laid the picture before Jefferson, and Jefferson saw its importance. He realized that if and when we won the Revolutionary War—and the colonists all expected to win it—we would get the Atlantic Seaboard, but the western boundary line would probably be the western line of our settlement. Whereas, if we had captured this western country, which meant these two or three little outposts, then when the treaty of peace would be signed, our boundary on the west would be the Mississippi River.

Jefferson encouraged Clark and argued with Patrick Henry, and the result was that George Rogers Clark, with probably two hundred men, came down the Ohio, up the Mississippi and took Kaskaskia. He then came up to the little town across the river from St. Louis, Cahokia, which readily surrendered. By this time he was out of money, and he came over to St. Louis, a French City outside of his country. Fortunately he had that peculiar gift or ability to "sell" himself and his proposition to a stranger. He borrowed from an Italian merchant here, by the name of Vigo, enough money to outfit his men, and then marched across the country and captured Fort Sackville. The result was that when the treaty of peace with the British was signed, there was no question about our coming to the Mississippi River for our boundary line, as a result of the Revolutionary War.

This incident is the first that I have been able to recall, that showed the tremendous foresight and statesmanship of Thomas Jefferson. Twenty years later, Mr. Jefferson was President of the United States.

I will follow that map picture a little further. When England got Canada from France, and left France simply this border beyond the Mississippi, France gave it to Spain, or sold it to Spain. So that the Louisiana Territory, although it was settled by the French and was always occupied by the French—and we are very proud here in St. Louis of our old French ancestors—as a matter of fact, was a Spanish possession.

When Laclede came up here in 1765 or '64 and selected the spot at the foot of Market Street and marked the trees and told his nephew, Chouteau and his companions, to do thus and so and build a village and name it St. Louis, he thought it was French territory and that he was acting under a French concession. But, the next year, when he got back to New Orleans, he found that the French had sold out and he was living in a Spanish domain; although he continued to live there for the next thirty-five years. So that it follows, that while we are a French city, so far as language and custom and people are concerned, our titles are all from Spain, and all of the underlying land grants in St. Louis and in this section of the country are Spanish land grants.

So, when Thomas Jefferson became President of the United States, the country west of the Mississippi belonged to Spain. In 1800, Spain

made a secret compact with Napoleon and transferred to France again this American colony. That was a secret treaty, but Mr. Jefferson in some way found it out before the people in the province out here found it out, and he immediately wrote a letter to Mr. Livingston—and I would like to quote from that letter. I will not quote exactly, but it is to this effect—he said, “There is on the Globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans.”

Now, you will have to go and look at your map again, to understand the picture. You remember the Mississippi River, starting in Northern Minnesota, is the boundary line between states all the way down the line until you get to Louisiana, and then Louisiana spreads out on both sides of the Mississippi River. At the time Jefferson became President, there was a strip of land running from New Orleans east to the Atlantic Ocean and to the southeast, which belonged to Spain. The Florida of Spain ran across to New Orleans, or practically to New Orleans, but there was no way for the people of the Mississippi Valley to get to the outside world except to go through New Orleans. That is what Mr. Jefferson had in mind. He also said that so long as it was in the possession of Spain, which was a lax and inactive nation, we could get along all right. But since it was falling into the hands of the strongest nation in Europe, namely, France, under the management of that ambitious and indomitable Napoleon, our interests were at hazard. That was the substance of Jefferson’s letter to Livingston in 1800, before the secret treaty had been made public.

At the same time, he sent his friend, Monroe, the best diplomat he knew, to Paris, with these instructions: “You tell France that we propose to keep the New Orleans gateway open at all hazards,” and then by way of postscript added, “Sound Napoleon on the theory of selling to us” (not the Louisiana Territory), “New Orleans and the surrounding territory.”

There was the second instance of the tremendous vision of this statesman. Before the world knew what it was about, he saw this great Mississippi Valley filled with Americans, and no way to get to the sea, except through enemy territory. The net result was, as you know, Monroe got over there and they bought not only New Orleans and the territory on both sides of the River, but the entire Louisiana Territory, infinitely larger in area than all the Thirteen Colonies over which Jefferson presided. And he bought it for the relatively insignificant sum of fifteen million dollars. One hundred years later, we thought so much of that event here in St. Louis that the people of St. Louis, themselves, gave \$5,000,000; the City of St. Louis gave \$5,000,000; and the State of Missouri gave \$1,000,000 as a nucleus to establish a great World’s Fair fittingly to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of that event.

There are many, many incidents in the life of Jefferson, which are worthy of commemoration at this time, in connection with our territorial expansion. One of the familiar quotations of Champ Clark, when he was Speaker of the House—he was a great admirer of Jefferson—

was, "But for Jefferson and this one act, people could not live where I live and be American citizens."

Now, that is what it means to us as St. Louisans, what it meant to our ancestors and what it means to the generations yet to come. But for the foresight and statesmanship of Jefferson, we would not be living in the United States, today; because if Napoleon had come out on this new venture, he would have established a nation on the west side of the Mississippi River, and we would be living in New England or North Carolina, or something of that kind. It was that tremendous vision and the statesmanship to carry it out and translate it into action, that makes Jefferson stand out as the man of his time in the development of the American nation.

It is for that reason it has been suggested we build this Memorial, and the people have been ready and willing and anxious to help to do it. Now, of course, we cannot do it without the ladies. This means sacrifice, it means work and all that, and the purpose of this meeting, today, was to have you ladies meet the distinguished guests who have come to us on this wonderful mission. We want you to know about it, and we know that, at the proper time, you will help us. I thank you. (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN JOHNSTON: Thank you, Mr. Orr. Now, it is with a great deal of pleasure that I present to you the members of the Commission, who are our guests at this luncheon, today. First, I would like to present DR. CHARLES E. MERRIAM, of Chicago, who is Chairman of the Department of Political Science at the University of Chicago. He is the author of numerous works in the field of research. He is consultant to various local and national officials. He was a member of President Hoover's Commission on Social Trends, and he is a member of President Roosevelt's National Resources Board. (Dr. Merriam was unavoidably detained from the luncheon.)

It is a pleasure to present to you the HONORABLE WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE, Editor of the *Emporia (Kansas) Gazette*. We all know and love Mr. White. Mr. White was the recipient, in 1934, of the Theodore Roosevelt Medal, as the distinguished interpreter of American life and ideals. (Applause.)

It is a pleasure to present to you our own MR. LUTHER ELY SMITH, who is Chairman of the Jefferson National-Memorial Association. I might say right here that this great movement we have before us has had Mr. Smith's ardent support from the very beginning. (Applause.) I have seen men do lots of hard work on important things, but I have never seen such devotion to a cause as Mr. Smith has given to this movement. It is a pleasure to present Mr. Smith. I am going to interrupt just one moment and present to you, perhaps, the real reason for the great success Mr. Smith has had in this and many other important civic ventures, MRS. LUTHER ELY SMITH. (Applause.)

The first three gentlemen introduced were appointed by the Jefferson National-Expansion Memorial Association, which is our local Organization. The United States Commission came into being by act of

Congress, a joint resolution passed in both Houses, this year, which provided that three appointments were to be made by the President of the United States, three by the Speaker of the House, and three by the Vice President of the United States.

Appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and our guest today, is the HONORABLE LLOYD THURSTON, member of Congress from Iowa. I wish to present Mr. Thurston to you. (Applause.) And in this strongly Democratic neighborhood, at the present time, I might tell you that Mr. Thurston is a Republican and was elected by a very substantial majority in the last election. He has been in Congress for a number of years.. (Applause). I also present to you, perhaps, the cause of his success, MRS. THURSTON, who is with him in St. Louis and has been here for several days, and has endeared herself to many of us here. Mrs. Thurston. (Applause.)

Appointed by the President of the Senate: First, I shall present to you SENATOR ALBEN WILLIAM BARKLEY, of Kentucky. (Applause.) Senator Barkley is a veteran legislator and one of America's most distinguished statesmen. I might say he belongs in part to St. Louis, now that his daughter is Mrs. Max O'Rell Truitt, of St. Louis. We are delighted to have her here and, perhaps, that will bring the Senator to see us more often.

Also appointed by the President of the Senate is SENATOR FREDERICK VAN NUYS, of Indiana. He was elected in 1932 and he has already distinguished himself as an outstanding leader in the Senate. Senator Van Nuys. (Applause.) And MRS. VAN NUYS is here—perhaps the cause of his success. (Applause.) We are delighted to have you as our guest, Mrs. Van Nuys.

The President of the United States made three appointments. We are delighted to have all of them here. The first is that great citizen of Missouri, HONORABLE WILLIAM T. KEMPER, Chairman of the Commerce Trust Company of Kansas City, whom you all know. (Applause.)

MR. J. LIONBERGER DAVIS, of St. Louis, our own Mr. Davis, another Presidential appointee. (Applause.) And the cause of Mr. Davis' success is also here, and I should like to present MRS. DAVIS. (Applause.)

The third appointee of President Roosevelt is GENERAL JEFFERSON RANDOLPH KEAN, United States Army, retired. I should tell you something about General Kean. He is the great-great-grandson of Thomas Jefferson, to whom Mr. Orr referred. General Kean has had a very distinguished career in the military service. He organized the Health Service in Cuba. He organized the base hospitals during the war, and his was the first case of yellow fever that ever came to the attention of the great Dr. Walter Reed. I know you will be delighted to meet General Kean, and I wish he would just say a word. General Kean! (Applause.)

GENERAL JEFFERSON RANDOLPH KEAN: The Toastmaster has asked me to give a word of greeting to the ladies of St. Louis. That

may mean only one word or may mean many words. It is a great pleasure to meet the ladies of St. Louis and to be here. I visited St. Louis probably before many of you were born; I passed through on my way to my first station in the Indian Territory, fifty years ago, and I have been here a number of times since. As you all know, St. Louis is the gateway through which we all have to go. I have certainly never before come under such charming and honorable auspices, and I certainly never dreamed that I would be associated, at the command of the President, with such a group of able and distinguished men as my fellow commissioners, men who have accomplished great things in the political world, in finance, in the law, and in business. I have not done any of these things, and I am a little embarrassed at such association.

I am quite conscious that the only reason for my being here—and I am not responsible for it—is the fact that my grandfather was the grandson of the great man whom Mr. Orr has described so interestingly and in terms so complimentary. It may have been thought that some of his qualities had descended through the dilutions of four generations, but I am afraid that that is not true. If any have come down to me by the genes of heredity, they have been qualities that would not conduce to success in life. One I recognize, Mr. Toastmaster, is an aversion, almost an inhibition against doing what you have ordered me to do—that is, talking on my feet. Another is a fondness for French wines. (Laughter.)

Before I sit down, however, I would like to make one suggestion to this group as to the memorial. I cannot attempt to tell you anything of the greatness of St. Louis, you know more about it than I do. What the memorial is going to be has not been decided, but I have one suggestion to make.

You, being a very cultivated audience, have heard of the Hundred Years of War in Europe—I want to speak about the Hundred Years War in America, which is now nearly forgotten. It began in the administration of Washington, with the disastrous defeat of General St. Clair by the Indians, followed by the fine victory of General Anthony Wayne, which brought us possession of Indiana and Illinois and resulted in the moving of the Indians west of the Mississippi.

For one hundred years, that warfare was carried on by the very small regular army of the United States, the Blue Army, which was almost entirely distributed as a thin blue line between the advancing settlements and their very cruel savage foes—I speak of it as a “blue line,” because the Army wore the blue uniform for a period of about one hundred years. Their last appearance in this warfare of one hundred years was in the administration of President Benjamin Harrison, in Christmas week of 1890. I remember it distinctly, because I was there. The Sioux, an unconquerable race, made their last stand against the advance of white civilization, in a desperate and savage fight called “The Battle of Wounded Knee.” In about a decade thereafter the little Blue Army disappeared; it was absorbed into the volunteer regiments, then newly formed, to fight the Spanish War and for the

Philippine occupation. The sombre mud-colored khaki has displaced the blue uniform, and the methods and traditions of the old Army are forgotten for the teachings of the German General Staff.

This is the law of progress and we must accept it, but the purpose of memorials is different. It is to turn our eyes for a moment from the importunities of the present and the allurements of the future and to fix them on the great deeds of the past which we inherit.

In the memorial which we are planning today, I hope that a place may be found for the gallant little Army in blue that fought the war of a Hundred Years to win for the civilization that is yours, our great empire of the West. (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN JOHNSTON: Thank you, General Kean. I would like to present to you, MRS. KEAN, who is our guest in St. Louis. (Applause.)

We would appreciate it very much, Mr. Davis, if you would say a word of welcome to the visiting Commissioners.

MR. J. LIONBERGER DAVIS: Ladies and gentlemen: On behalf of St. Louis, I want to express to the members of the Commission our appreciation of their realization of this meeting for memorializing qualities in our ancestors, both male and female, who made possible this western sweep of empire. Something that took place, thank God, without the sword, but by peaceful negotiations.

I hope that we will not give too much thought to material things. Because if there ever was an hour in the history of our nation, it is now that we must restore those intangible, imponderable forces which, in my opinion, made America great, not only in territory, but in manhood and womanhood, which we must recapture and hold as we face this great new frontier which lies beyond us.

I do not think we ought to forget, in memorializing men, the qualities of courage and vision and faith on the part of the wives and the mothers and the daughters of these pioneers. They were the ones who inspired them then, and I believe they will inspire us in this present day to go forward in our efforts and turn our eyes on to this great section of our country, and to build here—both in stone and brick, and in mortar, and also in the lives of our people—those sturdy qualities which made America great and without which America cannot persist. (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN JOHNSTON: Thank you, Mr. Davis.

It is now a great pleasure to call upon the Honorable Frederick Van Nuys, of Indianapolis, who will speak to you. (Applause.)

SENATOR FREDERICK VAN NUYS: Mr. Toastmaster, distinguished guests, and ladies: This is wholly unexpected, this call, but I am thoroughly grateful for this opportunity to say just a word of appreciation for the fine hospitality and the numerous courtesies which have been shown the members of this Commission since coming to St. Louis.

Most of us, I think, have come here to be informed and educated more than to make any suggestions at this early stage of the Commis-

sion's life. We spent the morning at the Jefferson Hotel, listening to what to me was a wonderful revelation of resourcefulness, vision, and determination, upon the part of your local citizens, to build a memorial here in keeping with the great purpose in their mind. I was delighted and surprised to see the amount of work that had already been accomplished by your local association.

I am here as a new member, an uninformed member of the Commission, to pledge to this Woman's Organization and to your Local Committees and to your City authorities my full coöperation and hearty sympathy with the entire purpose and plan of your wonderful program. I thank you.

CHAIRMAN JOHNSTON: Thank you, sincerely, Senator.

Our concluding speaker will be our dearly beloved neighbor from Kansas, Honorable William Allen White. (Applause.)

HON. WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE: I wish, ladies of the Memorial Association, Mr. Toastmaster and "visiting firemen" (laughter), to assure you that, up to this second, I haven't the slightest idea of what I am going to say. For, up to thirty seconds ago, I did not dream that I was to speak. Nevertheless, I am indeed proud to be a part of this meeting, to be a part of this enterprise.

It seemed to me that this endeavor to build, here on the western banks of the Mississippi, a great Jefferson Memorial is fitting; particularly in these troubled times, and at this particular time. For the vital, important contribution to humanity which Thomas Jefferson made in opening this western Mississippi Valley, in giving his country the domain which has been covered by these prairie, plains and mountain states stretching to the western coast, was not, of course, even vaguely in his mind when he bought this territory. The real substance of his gift to America came as an incident of his primary vision. Let me explain:

In our history, Thomas Jefferson was the great exponent of Eighteenth Century liberty. He proclaimed it in the Declaration of Independence. But the Constitution has preserved for America a new kind of liberty, a certain common security for everyone, a certain broad economic equality which is essential with all liberty. That new American economic equality sprang out of these western plains. For a century this democratic equality was guaranteed to our nation. Because, in opening these vast lands, in putting this undreamed of wealth into the hands of the American people, in the very nature of the pioneer conquest—a kind of economic equality for Americans was inevitably maintained. America could not drift into classes which certainly would have destroyed our democracy. It could not drift into classes because this ever-opening cornucopia of wealth on the slowly receding frontier kept flooding its bounty over our whole continent—east, west, north and south, from this territory that Jefferson gave us, thus preserving that great degree of economic equality so necessary to liberty.

It was not consciously in his vision that he was preserving democracy to his country by the sheer opulence of the land he bought, making

it hardly possible for a man to be poor unless his acquisitive faculties were so atrophied that he did not care for wealth. But nevertheless the Louisiana Purchase did give us economic equality and the security which comes from a wide base of economic equality, and held our land as a great economic democracy—the land of opportunity—where men for a century were indeed born approximately equal. They were not equal in their qualities, not equal physically, mentally, perhaps not even spiritually. But this wealth, this great fountain of wealth that came out of the soil and out of the mines, the rivers and the forests of this land, did prevent classes from forming, and did guarantee our democracy.

That first Jeffersonian vision based upon Eighteenth Century psychology, has faded with time. We are now standing at the threshold of a new era in which we, too, must carry on Jefferson's deeper vision; in which we, too, must struggle to preserve our democracy. How—I do not know; nobody knows how. No one consciously knew one hundred years ago how it would be done. Unwittingly Jefferson did it, rather than Washington or Hamilton. We are beginning to grope our way now along the new path—to our new, unknown country. Yet out of the spirit of Jefferson, out of the dream that he dreamed—without knowing its dimensions or its form—came the preservation of democracy in the Nineteenth Century. And if we hold his high democratic vision in our heart, today, as we go into this new era, someday, out of our political institutions, out of our financial set-up, out of the yearning in our heart that men shall be approximately equal, we shall preserve for the next century under the new order that shall come, the democracy that was our heritage from Jefferson one hundred years ago. We, who are here today, who have gathered about this board, are envisioning a vision to commemorate a vision. When we are gone, our vision will be a substantial dream in stone and marble. And when this strange interlude of sleep that we call our life is over, our dream will persist even after the fitful fever of our sleep has passed. (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN JOHNSTON: As our meeting concludes, we may carry away with us the ideal and dream of a great National Memorial, perhaps, to be located on one of the most historic spots in the country, on the banks of the Mississippi River here in St. Louis. May we dream of and create a memorial that will be the equal of any great national shrine that exists in the world.

We appreciate your presence, today. The meeting is adjourned.

. . . Adjournment at 2:55 P. M. . .

ADJOURNMENT

* * * * *

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON

The Executive Session convened at 3:20 P. M., Wednesday, December 19, in room 239, Chase Hotel, St. Louis, Mo., the Chairman GENERAL JEFFERSON RANDOLPH KEAN, presiding, Mr. Smith acting as Secretary, and the same members present as at the morning session.

SENATOR VAN NUYS: Mr. Chairman, the Committee has met, Mr. White, Mr. Thurston, and myself, and we have been advised, not on personnel of the officers but on the general set-up as to the offices that ought to be created; and I think Mr. Smith can detail that better than I can. We have adopted largely, his suggestions on that set-up, so his report will be the report of the Committee.

MR. SMITH: Mr. Chairman, the Committee thought well of and approved the following general form of organization: That there be a Chairman, a Vice Chairman, an Executive Committee of five, and, of course, such administrative officers as Secretary, and others, as the Executive Committee might choose to adopt. That the Executive Committee have power to act ad interim between meetings of the Commission; the minutes of the proceedings of the Executive Committee to be sent to all members of the Commission as soon as possible after the meeting of the Executive Committee. Any objection or suggestion by any member of the Commission, with reference to proceedings taken by the Executive Committee, might be noted at once to the Secretary and, within ten days of the receipt, in due course of mail, of the copy of the proceedings of the Executive Committee, and any such objection so noted to the Secretary would automatically suspend the action taken by the Executive Committee until such time as the Commission might act upon it.

That meetings of the Executive Committee would be held on call of the Chairman, or of any two members of the Executive Committee; meetings of the entire Commission on call of the Chairman or on request of any three members of the Commission.

MR. DAVIS: I move the adoption of the report of the Committee.

CHAIRMAN KEAN: Any expression of opinion desired on the part of any? You have heard the motion, is it seconded?

. . . Motion seconded by Mr. White and carried unanimously. . .

SENATOR BARKLEY: As I understand, Mr. Chairman, the question of Secretary of the Commission is left up to the Executive Committee, or do you provide for it in your report?

MR. SMITH: We have no provision for that.

DR. MERRIAM: You authorize them to choose one?

MR. SMITH: The Committee made no selection at this time, but the Executive Committee was authorized to select such administrative help as they might need.

SENATOR BARKLEY: When the Secretary is elected, would he be Secretary of the Executive Committee or the full Commission?

MR. KEMPER: I should think the full Commission.

SENATOR BARKLEY: You should have a Secretary. I do not see how you can get along without one.

SENATOR VAN NUYS: When he or she is appointed by the Executive Committee.

Now, there is another phase of it: The functioning of this Committee was to suggest or put in nomination the different officers. The Committee begs to report that they nominate Senator Barkley, from Kentucky, as Chairman. Dr. Merriam, Vice Chairman. Mr. Smith as Chairman of the Executive Committee. Mr. Baker, Mr. White, Mr. Davis, Mr. Kemper, as members of the Executive Committee. I move the nominations be closed and the Secretary instructed to cast the unanimous ballot for these nominations.

REPRESENTATIVE THURSTON: I second the motion.

CHAIRMAN KEAN: Is there any objection?

. . . Mr. Kemper requested that the nominations for members of the Executive Committee be repeated. Senator Van Nuys repeated them. . .

MR. KEMPER: There are two St. Louis men on that Committee. I think that is probably all right.

MR. WHITE: They have to have at least one of the rest of us for a quorum.

MR. KEMPER: I think that is as it should be.

SENATOR BARKLEY: Mr. Chairman, before you vote on this set-up here, I want to say just a word. Evidently, I haven't got much influence with this Commission that you appointed, this morning, because they either did not take me at my word when I made the suggestion that no member of either branch of Congress ought to be president, or, for some other inscrutable reason, they have seen fit to make a recommendation not in accordance with that suggestion.

I was sincere when I made that suggestion. I did not even know that I would be considered for the Chairmanship of this Commission, but I felt, and still feel, that in the capacity which I occupy in the Senate, there may be some inconsistency in making me Chairman of this Commission.

All legislation looking to this memorial, of course, has to go before the Committee on Library in the Senate. This resolution, which has already been passed by Congress, was referred to that Committee and voted out and passed under the recommendation of the Committee on Library. I happen to be Chairman of that Committee. Now, whatever this Commission recommends to Congress will have to go before that Committee for consideration, and I am agitated over the question of whether it is really proper for me, as Chairman, to be the Chairman of the Committee on the Library, which must pass on whatever recommendations are submitted to it and, at the same time, Chairman of this Commission. It would put me in the attitude of passing on my own work, more or less.

I realize, and it has been brought to my attention since I made that suggestion, this morning, that Senator Fess occupied a similar position with respect to the George Rogers Clark Memorial at Vincennes. He was Chairman of the Committee on Library and he was also Chairman of

the Commission. I do not know whether any embarrassing inconsistency ever arose in regard to that or not.

There is another element that seems to me to be worth consideration. We are approaching a session of Congress, nobody knows how long it will last, nobody knows just what all we will have to deal with. I am a member of the Committee on Finance and on Banking and Currency and on Interstate Commerce, all three of which deal with important matters of legislation, which require our constant time and attention and study, day and night, in order to try to master and be able to explain, to our colleagues and to the country, legislation which we offer and pass. That element of time there, in my case, is one of importance.

I do not want to be just a figurehead Chairman, I do not want to be just an Honorary Chairman. If I am to be chairman of anything, I like to be an active chairman and do what I can to further the cause which it represents. I am worried about whether those two things make it unwise for me to be selected as Chairman of this Commission. I appreciate the compliment, and I am not going to be obstinate about it, but I do think that that is an important element to be considered by the Commission in determining whether I ought to be chosen.

SENATOR VAN NUYS: Mr. Chairman, the Committee debated those things. Being one of the trustees of the George Rogers Clark Association, I know from experience that Senator Fess had little if any duties to perform. They were all done by the Executive Committee. This is not the same set-up but a similar set-up, and I am quite sure there is no inconsistency or impropriety in this. As suggested by some of the local men who have spent worlds of time and energy on this proposition, this is a national undertaking. If you select some local man, it may look like it is a City of St. Louis proposition, and we cannot have the coöperation of New Orleans, Indianapolis, Louisville, etc., that we otherwise might get. Personally—and I think I speak the sentiments of the Committee—I feel that Senator Barkley is the ideal selection as Chairman, and I am quite sure, having known him for a long number of years, that he will not be a nominal president, but he will be a working and a worthy Chairman. I think the subject ought to be put to a vote.

CHAIRMAN KEAN: May I inquire, for my own information, whether the Chairman is a member of the Executive Committee, or is it separate?

SENATOR VAN NUYS: It is separate.

CHAIRMAN KEAN: Then, he would consider something that is brought to him by a committee that he is not on. What is your wish, gentlemen?

MR. WHITE: That puts questions of broad policy up to the Chairman of the Committee, questions of detail up to your Executive Committee. I think that, so long as this is a national organization, it is highly important that some national figure should be at the head of this Association. So far as the conflict of duties, which is more obvious than real, I think there would not, in the minds of Senator Barkley's colleagues, be any criticism nor any misunderstanding about his connection, his high-minded

view. He will, first of all, be a Senator from Kentucky, representing his country; incidentally, his colleagues will realize that he is such, and he will not be embarrassed by any appropriation matters that should come up, insofar as this Committee is concerned. If he were a different man in a different cause, it would be a different situation, but this cause and this man, it seems to me, will himself, remove the very objections which might be insurmountable in another situation.

MR. DAVIS: Mr. Chairman, I talked to the Senator, coming up in the automobile, but I have changed my opinion. He tells me he is not a member of the Committee on Appropriations and I do not believe there will be any embarrassment.

. . . Question called. . .

CHAIRMAN KEAN: Are you ready for the question? All in favor of accepting this report of the Committee will say, "Aye," opposed, "No." The vote is carried and the appointments are made.

. . . Senator Barkley assumed the Chair. . .

CHAIRMAN BARKLEY: Gentlemen, I, of course, appreciate the compliment, the honor that this selection carries with it. My objection to being chosen, I hope, will not be construed as indicating any lack of enthusiasm for this project. I have, all my life, been a great admirer of Jefferson, and I think it is almost a national disgrace that no outstanding monument has been erected to his memory or to his achievements.

I shall, inasmuch as I have to make a speech tonight, not burden you with any remarks today, except to say that I shall do the best I can to cooperate with you and with all those who are interested in this project from every part of the country. I hope it will be in truth a national proposition. It certainly ought to be.

A good many years ago, when we were undertaking to provide flood control down the Mississippi River, there was objection to it on the ground that it was local, and that the people of all the states should be required to contribute in the form of taxation to the very meager sum then as compared to present expenditures in the matter of flood control. But Congress took the position and wrote into the Act the announcement, that the Mississippi River flood situation was a national project, because it drained (I may have forgotten the exact number) thirty-one states, I believe, of this Union.

In the same sense, Jefferson's contribution to the expansion of the nation, his conceptions of liberty, which have followed the flag from the Atlantic to the Pacific and into the islands of the sea; his pioneering spirit, not only in the acquisition of land but in the teaching of the principles of liberty and of self-government and freedom, entitle him to an enduring national monument.

They started out, an association of women, I believe, to build a monument to George Washington, in the nation's Capital, and they got it up probably one hundred feet and it stood there, uncompleted, for years. Congress finally had to appropriate the money to finish it, and, if you are a close observer, you will see the dark line that goes around that monument at the point where private subscriptions ran out. Congress appro-

priated two million dollars, and increased it, later, to build the Lincoln Memorial; appropriated a million and three-quarters to help Indiana and the patriotic societies build a monument to George Rogers Clark at Vincennes. I had the honor to introduce a measure in the Senate, which appropriated \$100,000 to build a monument at Harrodsburg, Kentucky, to George Rogers Clark, as a monument to that expedition which brought into the Union the territory east of the River, about which we heard so much today. And on the most gorgeous autumn day I ever saw, President Roosevelt dedicated that monument in Harrodsburg, Kentucky.

So, it isn't a new thing to ask Congress to appropriate money for a great monumental purpose of this sort and the effect on our national history, in the tremendous vision and the conceptions of those who fathered the Jefferson purchase of the Louisiana territory, together with all those who have, by a similar vision, added to the domain of our country, which took in the body of the midcontinent between the two oceans. This project, this conception, this memorial, in my judgment, outstrips all of them, because of its tremendous importance in the history of our country.

I hope it will become truly a national project and all the states of the Union, not only those involved in the Louisiana Purchase but all of them, will do themselves honor and credit by contributing to this memorial. And we shall prevail upon Congress to allot out of public funds a sufficient amount to make it a thing of pride to every American citizen. Whatever I can do to further that cause, I shall be glad to do. (Applause). What is the further pleasure of the Commission?

MR. SMITH: Mr. Chairman, there is ready a large White de luxe bus to take us down, under Mr. Gill's auspices, to see the historic spots. We think we can do it within the hour.

CHAIRMAN BARKLEY: Is there any further official action the Commission needs to take? Will we have occasion to meet any more on this visit to St. Louis.

MR. SMITH: There was nothing more on the tentative agenda we drew up.

MR. DAVIS: Mr. Chairman, I would like to make one motion. I happen to be a citizen of St. Louis, but having been out of town for two weeks, perhaps, it would be in order for me to make the motion. I think it would be a very gracious act on the part of the Commission to pass a resolution expressing appreciation for the help of the ladies at this luncheon, and also the Industrial Club, tonight, because they have given us the sinews of war to start.

MR. KEMPER: I would like to make that motion.

. . . Motion seconded by Dr. Merriam. . .

CHAIRMAN BARKLEY: Moved by Mr. Kemper, seconded by Dr. Merriam, that the thanks of this Commission be expressed to the ladies of St. Louis and the Industrial Club for the delightful entertainment which they have afforded us while in the city. As many as favor that motion will say, "Aye." It is unanimously carried.

MR. KEMPER: Have you anyone, you or Mr. Davis, to suggest as secretary? You are going to need a secretary, pretty quickly.

MR. SMITH: I haven't, at the moment. Miss Burrus has been acting as Secretary of the Jefferson National-Expansion Memorial Association.

MR. KEMPER: I wonder if she will continue?

MR. DAVIS: I suggest we leave that to the Executive Committee.

CHAIRMAN BARKLEY: Senator Van Nuys moves that we also express our appreciation to the press for the courtesies shown to the Commission and to the project which it represents.

. . . Motion seconded by General Kean and carried. . .

CHAIRMAN BARKLEY: May I make this suggestion, gentlemen, as to meetings of the Commission? I do not know what occasion there will be for a meeting at any particular time in the future. We ought to meet sufficiently often to keep the spirit alive and not let it lag, but those meetings will have to be called after consultation with the Executive Committee, upon the arising of any circumstance that would call for action of any sort, so that the Chair will take the liberty of reserving the right to call those meetings whenever it seems expedient to do so. I hope, when they are called, we may have as full and as enthusiastic attendance as we have had, today.

It is unfortunate that Secretary Baker and three or four other members of the Commission were not able to be here, but I think under all the circumstances, we are to be congratulated on as good an attendance as we have had. I know that we will take this assignment of duty seriously, and it will not only be a great monument to Jefferson, but it will be in the nature of a monument to the members of this Commission, and if all goes as it should, I am sure we will bring about the early consummation of this project.

MR. DAVIS: I would like to make one suggestion before we adjourn. Don't you think it would be a good thing if you could have one meeting of the Commission during the pending session of Congress?

CHAIRMAN BARKLEY: Decidedly so. There are many reasons why the Commission ought to meet at least once in Washington, this winter. There will be more members of this Commission in Washington at any time during the session than would be in any other locality of the country, and it would be easier for other members to come to Washington than for all the members of the two Houses, the six members, to go anywhere else. We will consider that when we get to it.

MR. SMITH: Mr. Chairman, there was one matter which, this morning, was left open when the Commission, upon motion made by yourself, voted to approve in spirit the brochure which Mr. Burton read. There was one page that provided for a message from the Commission, and it has been suggested that it might be well, perhaps, for the Commission, while here, to designate someone to do that.

REPRESENTATIVE THURSTON: If it is in order, I would be glad to make the motion that Mr. White be designated by the Commission to write that page for the booklet.

. . . Motion seconded by Mr. Davis and carried. . .

DR. MERRIAM: Mr. Chairman, I have several suggestions which I would like to make sometime before you adjourn.

CHAIRMAN BARKLEY: It occurs to me that it might not be a bad gesture for the Chairman of the Commission to be authorized to send the President a wire, thanking him for his message of good will, this morning.

DR. MERRIAM: I so move, Mr. Chairman.

. . . Motion seconded by General Kean and carried. . .

The following telegram was sent:

"St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 19, 1934.

"President Franklin Roosevelt,
White House, Washington, D. C.

The U. S. Territorial Expansion Memorial Commission deeply appreciated your cordial telegram of greeting and good will stop We had a most gratifying session today which will be reported to you later.

Alben W. Barkley, Chairman."

DR. MERRIAM: I do not know when we may be together again. I have several suggestions I would like to make briefly, with your permission. One is, I am told there is being organized a National Association for the Preservation of National Historic Places, to be organized on a considerable scale. I think that, perhaps, may be a private organization or semi-private, but I would suppose if organized, it might be interested in this sort of thing. I was going to suggest to the Executive Committee that they keep their ears to the ground, and I will be glad to do what I can. You know, England has quite an organization for the preservation of historic sites and monuments. They have organized a sort of trust, to which money may be contributed and is contributed, from time to time, by people who want to leave money for that purpose. They are not particular as to what historic site or monument it goes to, but they want to leave it in the hands of that commission.

We have had some evidence of that here in the case of Williamsburg, that has all been rebuilt at the expense of a good many million dollars, twelve million dollars. I have not been down there, but everyone says it is worth going to see.

CHAIRMAN BARKLEY: Similar organizations have been perfected in the states and they have done really a very fine piece of work in marking and preserving historic places. I know in Kentucky, they have such an organization. In my own town of Paducah, which was built on a part of the seventy-six thousand acres of land donated by the federal government to George Rogers Clark, after he became a pauper, in recognition of the great service he rendered the country, they have designated historic places there, and they are doing it all over the state, and in many other states they are doing the same. I think out of these state organizations has grown this more or less nebulous National Association which is in process of formation, and whether we could financially benefit by that organi-

zation, their coöperation and sympathy and agitation, would certainly be a fine help to this Commission.

DR. MERRIAM: It would help to make it a national organization. There is now under way, under FERA, a national survey of historic sites and places.

MR. SMITH: That was done, last year.

DR. MERRIAM: They started it last year, but it is still going on.

GENERAL KEAN: They have a very active association in Virginia and it is incorporated; and George Mason's beautiful place, Gunston Hall, below Mount Vernon, has been left in the will of its owner to the Society for Preservation of Historic Places.

CHAIRMAN BARKLEY: You cannot drive along the highways of Virginia without realizing they have an organization of some kind.

DR. MERRIAM: My second suggestion is that if this should start along rapidly enough, we might get help in the preparation of plans from the federal government (again through the FERA). I do not know what you men are going to do in Congress about CWA or PWA or how you are going to handle your problem.

CHAIRMAN BARKLEY: The theory is that we are going to have to continue FERA and PWA both, at least during the coming year.

DR. MERRIAM: Possibly some variation of CWA and PWA. If that is the case, it might well happen that some funds be made available for this purpose.

CHAIRMAN BARKLEY: I think it can be. I know, down in Kentucky, they used quite a force of CWA employes, last winter, to beautify and make a sort of park out of a tract of land on which Thomas Lincoln lived, prior to his removal to the place where Abraham Lincoln was born, and they did a very fine piece of work there. That is only in a small way what may be accomplished in furtherance of this matter, if it gets along fast enough to become practical in the way of actual physical development.

MR. DAVIS: We have had a very good example of it in this metropolitan planning around St. Louis, including a part of Illinois.

CHAIRMAN BARKLEY: Those suggestions, Doctor, I think are very practical and we all appreciate them.

DR. MERRIAM: My third and last one, which will probably go to the Executive Committee, is, if you had money enough and it seemed to be appropriate, it might be worth while getting up a classical history of the Louisiana Purchase Territory, its growth and development and the effect on the national growth and development. You could probably get somebody to do that without being paid for it, to give an historical background to the whole thing, an interpretation of the Louisiana Purchase region in national terms. That is a detail.

MR. SMITH: I think Mr. White might be encouraged to do it.

MR. WHITE: If you like the first page, I will write the other two hundred and ninety-nine. (Laughter.)

CHAIRMAN BARKLEY: We thank you for those suggestions, and I am sure the Executive Committee will act upon them as circumstances may permit. Anything further, gentlemen?

MR. SMITH: Mr. Chairman, before making any further announcements there is one matter that you have all had called to your attention in letters and I do it now, that is, that your expenses in coming to St. Louis and while here are borne by the local group, and if you will be good enough either now or when you get back home, to send us a memorandum, we will be very glad to see that it is taken care of, immediately.

The balance of the program is this, that Mr. Gill thinks he can take us over the important historical points in less than an hour, then you are due in Room 5 at the Jefferson Hotel at six-thirty. We will meet the directors of the Industrial Club and our Association in a friendly way, at six-thirty. The dinner is at seven o'clock.

CHAIRMAN BARKLEY: The Commission stands adjourned.

. . . Adjournment at 3:45 P. M. . .

ADJOURNMENT

VISIT OF THE COMMISSION TO THE SITE OF THE PROPOSED JEFFERSON NATIONAL-EXPANSION MEMORIAL

At 3:45 P. M., the Commission and their wives and other interested persons boarded a bus and proceeded to the site of the proposed memorial.

MR. McCUNE GILL, Chairman of the Historical Data Committee, pointed out various scenes enroute, as follows:

"Gentlemen of the Commission and Ladies and Gentlemen:

We will now proceed to the site of the proposed Memorial. As it is some distance from here, you may be interested in having me point out some scenes enroute, which will bear on the historic significance of St. Louis.

The street which we are now entering is called Kingshighway, because it was one of the public roads during the French and Spanish regime in Upper Louisiana. It was then called Rue d'Roi in French, or Camino Real, in Spanish.

To your right, you will notice a large bronze statue of United States Senator Frank P. Blair, one of the two men selected by Missouri to represent this State in Statuary Hall in the Capitol at Washington. Senator Blair endeared himself to Missourians of both Southern and Northern inclinations. While he advocated the preservation of the Union, he also insisted that the Southern sympathizers should be fairly treated during the reconstruction days following the Civil War.

We are now turning into West Pine Boulevard, and in this connection it will interest our Eastern friends to know that the original street-naming system of St. Louis follows that of Philadelphia, using tree names for the East and West streets and numbers for the North and South streets. Many of the people who came to St. Louis in its early days were from Philadelphia. One of these was our first Mayor, Dr. William Carr Lane, and when the Post Office Department insisted that our streets be named, he chose the naming system of the city whence he came.

We are now entering Lindell Boulevard, which with widened Olive Street, forms a magnificent broad thoroughfare running entirely across the City from East to West.

We are now passing the residence of the Archbishop and will soon pass the New Cathedral, both of which are decorated in honor of the 50th anniversary of the Archbishop's ordination, which is being celebrated here this week.

"Lindell" Boulevard is so called because it runs through the center of a large tract of land originally owned by one of our prominent early merchants, Peter Lindell. He was one of the group of St. Louis merchants who did much to make possible the settlement of the Western country by providing the pioneers with goods and supplies, which they loaded into their covered wagons on their way to the West.

We are now passing the two large Temples of the Masonic Fraternity, the members of which have always been prominent in plans for the development of this part of the Country.

You will notice that we are now crossing Grand Avenue. Here was the site of Camp Jackson, the militia encampment sponsored by Governor Claiborne Jackson of Missouri in the spring of 1861. Captain Nathaniel Lyon, suspecting that this encampment was composed of Southern sympathizers, raised a large force of volunteers and occupied the camp on May 10, 1861, thus settling the Civil War so far as St. Louis was concerned.

Along Olive Street, which we are now crossing, the tents of the officers were placed, and the infantry and artillery battalions were scattered about in the grove which was then situated on the Eastern part of Lindell's property and was called "Lindell's Grove." The growth of the City can be realized when we compare that suburban grove with the present many large buildings located here.

We are now passing along Locust Street which is another one of our streets named for trees, and approaching one of our main North and South streets which is called "Jefferson" Avenue. This Jefferson Avenue, as well as Jefferson Hotel and Jefferson City, the Capital of Missouri, indicates the desire of St. Louisans to remember the part Thomas Jefferson had in the national expansion of the country.

We are now turning South on to Twelfth Street, which you will see is a very wide thoroughfare. Formerly a market place occupied the central portion of this street, and I think it is interesting to know that it was at this market, just in front of the Jefferson Hotel, where you are staying, that Ulysses S. Grant sold cordwood which he had cut on his father-in-law's farm in St. Louis County. This of course, was shortly before the Civil War, which brought him so much fame and made him President of the United States.

On your right you will see the new Plaza, which the City of St. Louis has created by tearing down some seven square blocks of old buildings, and around it you will see several of our new Municipal Buildings, all of which has been paid for out of an \$87,000,000 bond issue authorized about ten years ago. I mention this fact to indicate that St. Louisans have

not been remiss in spending their own money to widen streets or create plazas and build buildings, and it has always been the intention to integrate this plaza with a river front plaza such as is proposed to be created under recommendations from your Commission.

The most Western building which you see is the new Auditorium, with an arena seating some 20,000 people, one of the largest in the country. The next building is a Courthouse and between it and the City Hall, you will see a statue of Pierre Laclede, founder of St. Louis.

Next on the East is a statue of General Grant and on the opposite corner is the new Federal Courts Building. The building which we are just passing is the new sky-scraper Civil Courts Building.

We are now approaching the old historic Courthouse and on the North side of the street at No. 505 Chestnut Street was the first law office of a man who is now very celebrated in Washington, Justice Brandeis of the United States Supreme Court.

(The bus then stopped at the door of the Courthouse and the Commissioners' party proceeded to enter the rotunda. Mr. McGill continued his explanations as follows:—)

"We are now within one of the most historic buildings in St. Louis and in the entire Mississippi Valley. It is the old Courthouse Building, built almost 100 years ago. It has a very graceful dome, a type of architecture characteristic of earlier public buildings. It is proposed that this building be left standing and that it be used for historical exhibits and that it overlook that part of the proposed Memorial Plaza extending from the present point to the Mississippi River. You will see on the wall, an enlarged map of downtown St. Louis with the buildings of colonial St. Louis outlined in red upon it. You will see the lines of the old stockade around the town and the Fort San Carlos which stood just South of this building. In 1780, when the British were attempting to subdue the Western country, a battle was fought at this point and the British and Indian force was repulsed. Because of this defeat, the British gave up their plans to take the Western country, and this fact contributed greatly to the subsequent victory of Washington. Although this battle was fought by Frenchmen under Spanish officers against a force largely composed of Indians, it rated as one of the decisive battles in the American Revolution.

The members of the Commission who are lawyers will be interested to know that in the room just to your left was decided one of the most important lawsuits in the history of the country, namely, the Dred Scott case. The Circuit Clerk, Hon. John Schmoll, has kindly loaned us the original files in that case, the style of which was "Scott vs. Sanford." You will see that they are no different from any other time-stained court files. You are all familiar with the stirring events which followed the decision of this case.

On the wall you will see an enlargement of a painting which shows United States Senator Thomas H. Benton standing on a temporary platform erected on this very spot, and delivering his famous address advocating that the United States Government give aid to the building of railroads in the West. Benton was an earnest advocate of national expan-

sion and opposed too much Federal aid to transportation facilities to Europe. The peroration of his speech has become famous. Pointing out that door toward the West, he declared, "there lies the East" and indicated that Federal aid should be granted to projects looking to the development of the West.

(The Commissioners' party then boarded the bus and were driven to Third and Walnut Streets where their attention was directed, in passing, to the Old Cathedral, which had just celebrated its 100th birthday. The party then proceeded Eastward to First and Walnut Streets, and Mr. Gill continued his explanations as follows:)—

"On the Southeast Corner of this street intersection, you will see the large tablet indicating that this particular site is one of the most historical in the entire country. In 1804, there stood on this corner a small log house built in the French style, with logs placed perpendicularly and with a slanting roof extending over the porch in front of the building. This was the colonial office of the Spanish Lieutenant Governors of Upper Louisiana, and here it was that Governor Delassus representing Spain made formal and written delivery of Upper Louisiana to Captain Amos Stoddard, representing France and the United States. The flag of Spain was then hauled down from the flag staff which stood here and the flag of France was hoisted. At this point of the proceedings, the French inhabitants requested Captain Stoddard to allow the French flag to fly until the next morning. After a night of festivities, the French flag was taken down the next day and the United States flag was raised. Then the American soldiers marched up this hill to Fort San Carlos and occupied the barracks just vacated by the Spanish soldiers.

(The bus then proceeded North on First to Market Street, then turned West on Market Street and passed the old National Hotel at the Southwest corner of Third and Market Streets. Mr. Gill continued his remarks, as follows:)—

"On your left, you will see the building which was built 102 years ago and which has been used for hotel purposes during that entire period. It was at first called the 'National Hotel,' and we are mainly interested in it because many of the national figures of our history stopped there at various times. One of the first celebrated visitors, United States Senator Daniel Webster, delivered one of his characteristic addresses from the second story window above the entrance just around on Market Street. Henry Clay and Zachary Taylor stayed here; Robert E. Lee lived here for some time while Lieutenant of Engineers. He was building a dam on the other side of the river, to connect the Illinois shore with the famous Bloody Island, where so many duels were fought between men of prominence. Abraham Lincoln also stopped here several times, on his way from his home in Springfield to take the boat up the Ohio River on his way to Washington.

(The bus then returned to the Jefferson Hotel at 12th and Locust streets and Mr. Gill concluded his remarks thus:)—

"We wish to thank very much the gentlemen of the Commission and their wives, and the other ladies and gentlemen in the party for having

listened to this little story of Old St. Louis. Now that you have inspected the site of the proposed Memorial, we trust that you will share with us the enthusiasm we feel for placing the Jefferson National-Expansion Memorial on the historic river front at St. Louis."

WEDNESDAY EVENING

Dinner meeting, under the auspices of the Industrial Club of St. Louis, Mr. W. T. Nardin, President of the Industrial Club, presiding.

CHAIRMAN NARDIN: We will ask the audience to stand while we sing one verse of the Star Spangled Banner, and, during the singing, we will unveil a prevue of the Jefferson Memorial, which you will see just above the speakers' table.

. . . Assembly singing and prevue of proposed Memorial unveiled. The dinner was then served.—At the conclusion of the dinner the program proceeded as follows:

CHAIRMAN NARDIN: It is my privilege to read to you the following telegram:

"United States Territorial Expansion Memorial Commission:

"All good wishes for the success of your Commission's efforts to recall and perpetuate the ideals, the faith and courage of the pioneers who discovered and developed the great west.

(Signed) Franklin D. Roosevelt."

(Applause.)

The culmination of our meeting tonight, in connection with a movement that touches a project with such great historical significance and the presence here of guests of such great distinction, makes it a very impressive occasion for all of us. It is a particularly happy event for me, because of the privilege that is mine of presenting to you one of our own citizens, a man of great distinction, whom with much pride I call my friend. The community is fortunate indeed that can claim such a man as this as one of its own. He is rich in honors that have come to him from the possession and the practice of great abilities and virtues of rare quality, through a long and vigorous life. He is still possessed of the vision of youth, and of a splendid vigor which is at the service of all good and worthy causes.

It is my very great pleasure and my honor to present to you our distinguished, much admired and greatly beloved fellow citizen, who will present to you our guests. Honorable Charles Nagel. (Applause).

TOASTMASTER NAGEL: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen: I suppose I ought, in some way, to make acknowledgment for the very courteous introduction made by the President, but you see, I have two masters: Mr. Smith, as the Chairman of the Memorial Association, has restricted me to five minutes, so I want to make the best use I can of that time.

If I were asked what has impressed me most in connection with the movement in which we are all interested, I should say that it is the remarkable absence of any inherited political controversy. To my mind, it is a matter of great satisfaction that the members of Congress, regardless of old controversies, have been able to unite and endorse this movement as happily as they have.

I know it is said of old men that they either become more set in their conservatism or more radical in their liberalism. I regard either as a token of disappointment. As I see it, the opportunity to observe and the actual experience of life should prompt men and women, as they grow older, to search for the essential merits of the doctrines of the forefathers, and to seek to unite these in some common purpose for the support and maintenance of our institutions.

Today we speak of Jefferson. I was brought up, perhaps not a Federalist but a Republican, and the more I see of my country and the more I read, the higher is my estimate of the teachings of Thomas Jefferson. (Applause.) He was not limited to one point of view. Jefferson, by his Declaration of Independence, became the champion of personal liberty, and Heaven knows, this is the time to remember that doctrine. (Laughter and applause.) But when it came to the test, Jefferson did not hesitate to invoke a national authority, for which Hamilton himself might have envied him. If we look at these things fairly and are not lost in the controversy of technical contention, we will find that the great men of our country had vision, and when it came to action, were not restricted to some accepted formula.

As history tells us, every great deed, every great movement, has its leader, and through them his name is cherished in our memory.

It is proper that the occasion which we now have in mind should be known by the name of Thomas Jefferson. He was the man who had the responsibility; he had the courage, and his was the act. But as we speak of memorials, I for one, would say that we should not forget his advisers, his counselors; such as Livingston, Monroe, and many others, regardless of party affiliation, who stood by him at that moment. We should go further. We should include in our memorial the men who met challenge of adventure and went across this country to explore the domain that had been won, and to report what they had found. We should remember above all, I think, and include in this memorial the men and women and children who had the courage to go forth, not to explore and come back to report, but to become inhabitants of that territory and settle, once and for all, that it belonged to the United States. (Applause.) Their graves may be unknown; many of them were lost on the way; but they gave an interpretation to the meaning of the Louisiana Purchase, perhaps far beyond and broader than even Thomas Jefferson himself had dreamed.

More than that, it must be not only a memorial to the past; but a rededication of ourselves to the principles of the men who at that time made the sacrifice. This is the time to revive the principles for which Jefferson and his opponents stood; principles that we mold into union, giving new life to the essentials of what they dreamed and said. In that

way only, can we, as the American people, maintain our institutions; perhaps not according to the forms of our ancestors, but true to the spirit in which they thought of their time and of the future. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, you must all have felt that those of us who are at home would be glad to extend a personal welcome, especially to those who have come from outside of our city. That we cannot do, but we have our own representative, who may extend for us the official welcome. We know his admiration for Jefferson, and you may be sure that there will be no lack of enthusiasm, and that there will be every evidence of good will. I present to you the Mayor of St. Louis, the Honorable Bernard F. Dickmann. (Applause.)

HON. BERNARD F. DICKMANN: Our distinguished Chairman, our distinguished guests, members of the Industrial Club, fellow citizens: Looking over this gathering, I have thought that if St. Louis should suffer a catastrophe tonight, if a tornado should strike this building—so far, at least, as the business fraternity of the city is concerned—it would be the end of St. Louis; for I certainly believe that our most representative group of business men are gathered here on this occasion. This is, indeed, a compliment to our distinguished guests, and a compliment to the Industrial Club.

We are here tonight for a purpose. Little did I think, a year ago—not quite a year ago—when an idea was emanated that something should be done with our river front, that in less than a year's time a Commission could have been appointed to come to St. Louis to see what we had to offer.

This morning, the session opened for the purpose of investigation. You know what has happened and it will be told to you later, of what has transpired during this year. It is just another realization of the possibilities that are before us. It is something of which we are very proud. Congress has agreed with us, the Senate has agreed with us and the President has agreed with us.

Today, we have here distinguished representatives of the President of the Senate, of the House, and representatives of our own Commission. Some day we hope to visualize on our waterfront what you see on the back of your menu card. I predict that before five years are over, and not in an optimistic view, that after the spirit of St. Louis, as evidenced tonight, goes back to Washington, we can look forward to a realization of what we have before us, tonight.

May I say, in welcoming our distinguished guests, we of St. Louis want you to be part of us. There is nothing here that is held secretive, nothing of which we are ashamed. All information that you will ask for is available from any citizen of St. Louis. It is my privilege, my honor, as Mayor of St. Louis, to have the opportunity of welcoming such distinguished guests to the City of St. Louis. We want you to feel at home, feel a part of us, and know you are one of us while you are here. I thank you. (Applause.)

THE TOASTMASTER: It is now my privilege to introduce the Chairman of the Jefferson National-Expansion Memorial Association. We

were fortunate in this selection. He has been indefatigable in his work, attentive throughout. Sometimes, I chide him because he expects his staff to do as he does. Perhaps, that is the explanation for my being here, since I am called upon, although I am only Honorary Vice Chairman, to introduce the real Chairman, Mr. Luther Ely Smith. (Applause.)

MR. LUTHER ELY SMITH: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Mayor, members of the Commission, members of the Industrial Club, and gentlemen: In June, 1913, the Honorable Dwight F. Davis, then Park Commissioner of St. Louis, Miss Charlotte Rumbold, then Director of Recreation of St. Louis, Mrs. Everett W. Patterson, then as now a very public-spirited citizen of St. Louis, met at Tony Faust's for luncheon, to discuss the possibilities of a historic pageant for St. Louis, to be held in Forest Park. Less than a year from that date, there was held on the lagoon platform, in front of Art Hill overlooking the lagoon, a pageant which, for four nights, one hundred and fifty thousand people from this great Mississippi Valley witnessed, a cast of ten thousand performers reproducing before our eyes the history of this great Mississippi Valley. We not only saw the Mound Builders of Cahokia, the Indians of the Shawnee and Missouri tribes, Hernando DeSoto coming up from the Southwest, and discovering the Mississippi, Père Marquette, Joliet, and LaSalle coming down the great Father of Waters, but we realized that at the foot of Market Street, in the Old Stockade of Old St. Louis, was founded this great city in 1764, by August Chouteau and his uncle, Pierre Laclède Liguist.

From that time on, our city became history-conscious. We realized that we had here a wealth of historic material, a wealth of consecrated memories on the shores of the Mississippi River, which we had little dreamed of before; a variety which no other city that we could visualize had in its possession.

Time passed on, civic movements took shape. We had our great bond issue. We realized a building program right through the depression. Then came the national program, the Building and Works Program, and our distinguished Mayor called attention to the fact that on this very river front, in the midst of Old St. Louis where the Old Stockade had stood, where Fort San Carlos stood, and the Old Cathedral, we had the material, and the site for an historic memorial that would visualize the ideals of the nation; and we took to studying our history more seriously than before.

The Mayor has mentioned that we had meetings in this hotel and committees were formed. The Jefferson National-Expansion Memorial Association was organized, chartered by the State of Missouri; bills were introduced in Congress and a Commission was authorized by the Act signed by President Roosevelt, last June. Today, that Commission met, received the reports of the local group and organized by electing as Chairman, Honorable Alben W. Barkley, United States Senator from Kentucky; Vice Chairman Dr. Charles E. Merriam of the National Resources Commission, and we are now prepared to go forward with the plans of which we have been dreaming. Those plans are centered around

the fact that here in St. Louis, through this gateway passed the streams of the pioneer movement, which made our country what it is.

You will recall, many of you, that since that pageant of ours in 1914, there has grown up a new school of history in this country, which has turned its eyes away from the exclusive attention that was formerly given to the Atlantic Seaboard and has realized that the character of America was made not on the coastal plain of this great country, but was forged in the frontier as the pioneers went out to grapple with the conditions which confronted them; first in the Green Mountains and the Berkshires in New England, then in the Piedmont and the Cumberland, the Blue Ridge, the Alleghenies, down in the southern portion of our country, and then came forward over the mountains and down the rivers, down through the valleys, the Holston, the Cumberland, the Miami, the Wabash, on to the Ohio and the Mississippi, and through this gateway.

We searched out to find how that movement began, and we discovered that it all led back to Williamsburg in Virginia, the capital of that great colonial empire. And in 1778, when a proposition was put before Governor Patrick Henry to send an expedition out into the northwest territory to capture it from England, to redeem it from being a part of the Province of Quebec, to transform it into American territory, Governor Patrick Henry was not interested. He felt it would be a waste of time and money and effort. But the young Thomas Jefferson, then a member of the Governor's Select Council, came forward and, by his insistence and eloquence, persuaded the Governor to change his edict and to give his support to this great movement, and so the forts were captured on the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Wabash, and the northwest territory became the future Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, part of our great national domain, and the Mississippi River become the western boundary of the great new empire, instead of the Allegheny Mountains.

Almost twenty-five years to a day from the time that Thomas Jefferson was giving his support to this movement, Thomas Jefferson, as President, sat in the White House with the opportunity to buy the great territory west of the Mississippi River. Not only that, but when he bought it, he had already in readiness on the eastern shore of the river an expedition equipped and headed by Lewis and Clark, to explore this great region, and to open it up for the pioneers to go forward and possess and make American territory.

Following Lewis and Clark came the fur traders, the Oregon Trail, the Santa Fe Trail, Zebulon Pike out to the Rocky Mountains, Moses Austin and Stephen Austin into Texas, and hosts of others on the way to the west and the southwest—all through this gateway, all through this very region of Old St. Louis, through the Stockade down at the foot of Market Street, this sacred land consecrated by the best in American history. Fortunately, we found that this area on the riverfront was not covered with buildings of the character we are dining in, tonight; the Jefferson Hotel, the Statler, the International Shoe Company, the Railway Exchange Building, were not on the river front, but, such is the

character of the few improvements that remain there that the area was available for acquisition and utilization as a national memorial to the pioneers, to Thomas Jefferson and to those who aided them in this vision, and to all who had gone forward to subjugate the great frontier. And those pioneers went forward over these trails in covered wagons, they went forward over the rivers in keel boats and flat boats, and pirogues, and soon we had an American Empire stretching clear through to the Pacific Ocean.

It is a fact that not only did this ideal, this vision, this statesmanship of Thomas Jefferson make it possible to develop the American domain, it made it possible to develop the American character, and it is to memorialize the development of this character and the acquisition of this domain that we have started this movement, calling attention to the nation at large that it is not a local movement, but is one in which every state in the Union will have its part.

So, when the Mayor called the group together, last December, and arranged for a meeting to be held in the Mayor's office during the holidays, the St. Louis Institute of Architects, the Local Chapter, came forward, under the guidance of Mr. Mullgardt and Mr. Trueblood, and gave us a set of sketches which most effectually answered that purpose, and gave us a visualization for that meeting of the possibility of a memorial on this site, which made it a vivid reality to us.

Then, later, Judge McDonald, with the Plan and Scope Committee under his direction, and Mr. LaBeaume, the Vice Chairman of that Committee, gave us other sketches, which have been presented as tentative views of what the great memorial might be. Undoubtedly, in the future, there will be a national competition, a national architectural competition, which we hope will bring forward the best talent which the American nation can produce, and give us, on this historic site between the two bridges and east of Third Street, designs for a memorial which the nation will be proud of; which will last for all time, which will stand out in history, not one hundred years but thousands of years hence, and be for America what the Parthenon is for Athens, the Pyramids for Egypt, the Cathedrals of Chartres and Mont St. Michel are for Europe. We want to make this a shrine for the entire American continent, a shrine which will not be bounded by the limits of the Mississippi Valley but by the entire country.

We have this opportunity, ourselves. We have had the most marvelous response from every member of the Commission, from every border of the nation, and we believe that with the united support of the citizens of St. Louis, this can be a reality, not only within the time limit that the Mayor has suggested but, perhaps, even a shorter time than that.

We owe this debt to the pioneers, we owe this debt to Jefferson, Livingston, Monroe, and all those who came afterward; to William Henry Harrison, to Zachary Taylor, to Daniel Boone, and every one of these great men who trod this sacred soil; because it was in that way that we have been able to have the nation we now have. Let us vindicate ourselves, let us pay back the debt we owe to the American pioneers who

gave us the American nation and gave us the American character. (Applause.)

THE TOASTMASTER: What the Chairman has just told us recalls to my mind something I heard said by James G. Blaine, a Republican. I remember his visit to this city many years ago, when in the old Chamber of Commerce he made an address. I do not recall all he said, but I shall never forget his opening sentence.

"This is my second visit to St. Louis, and I am distressed to hear that you have not yet set a monument to Thomas Jefferson."

I recall also that one of Chicago's great architects, Daniel Burnham, who had much to do with the first World's Fair there, said to me also many years ago that

"You do not know your opportunities in St. Louis; that your river front presents one of the finest opportunities for a real monument that I can think of."

Gentlemen, we have with us a number of the members of the United States Territorial Expansion Memorial Commission. I propose to call on them in order to give you an opportunity to at least face them, and I will ask them, as I call upon them, to stand for a moment, just as a matter of courtesy to us.

I shall call first upon those who have been named by the Jefferson National-Expansion Memorial Association: Dr. Charles E. Merriam, Chicago (Applause). William Allen White (Applause), whom many of you have heard. He is one of the men who never lets us go to sleep at the political switch. (Laughter and applause.) Mr. Luther Ely Smith. (Applause.)

Those appointed by the Speaker of the House, who are with us, are: Representative John M. Sandlin. (The Toastmaster at this point was informed by Chairman Smith that Mr. Sandlin was not present.)—The Chairman has a way of misleading me at times.—The Honorable Lloyd Thurston, of Iowa. (Applause.)

Appointed by the Senate: The Honorable Alben William Barkley, of Kentucky. (Applause.) Senator Frederick Van Nuys, of Indiana. (Applause.)

Appointed by the President: Honorable William Thornton Kemper. (Applause.) Mr. J. Lionberger Davis. (Applause.) General Jefferson Randolph Kean. (Applause.) We are highly honored by the General's presence; he is a great-great-grandson of Thomas Jefferson. (Applause.) We warmly welcome him as we know how to appreciate the distinction of his being with us at this time.

It is now my privilege to present the next speaker, a gentleman from Iowa. I am not expected to dwell upon his career, but he is a man who has served his country in many capacities; in the Spanish War, in the Philippines, and also in the Great War. He has served his own state in the Senate and has now, for several terms, been a member of Congress.

I know there are some people who feel slightly uneasy at the mention of Congress—I have just been in the East—but I think we may approach him with entire confidence, and we shall be glad to hear from him. Representative Lloyd Thurston, Member of Congress from Iowa. (Applause.)

HON. LLOYD THURSTON: Mr. Toastmaster, members of the Industrial Club, ladies and gentlemen: My presence here might be explained by informing you that I am a member of the Appropriation Committee of the House of Representatives. (Laughter and applause.) However, I am greatly pleased to visit St. Louis, the unofficial capital of the Mississippi Valley. (Applause.)

This America of ours is the finest heritage ever handed down to a people, and while we are deeply concerned about the present and the future, yet, we should not be unmindful of the great benefits that have been brought to us under the form of government under which we are now organized and controlled. And no matter what happens, we intend to sustain this form of government. (Applause.)

In retrospect, would it not be interesting for us to visualize a map of North America and ponder upon this map. If the thought that had been expressed at the Hartford Convention had prevailed and New England had withdrawn from the Union, or if Lewis and his companions had not saved Oregon for the Union, and if Jefferson's foresight had not consummated the treaty whereby we acquired the Louisiana Territory, then we would have a situation upon this continent that might be compared to the present condition in Europe—a dozen nations, each jealous of the other, with trade barriers and insuperable difficulties of every possible character. And yet, through the foresight of the leaders in our land, we have been amalgamated into one great nation and have been saved all the animosities and the jealousies of a continent such as I have just mentioned.

It has been said of my own state, Iowa, that the affections of her people, like the rivers of her borders, flow to an inseparable union, and near the confluence of these two great streams, it has been proposed that a monument should be erected that will cement the east with the west and the north with the south, and that an enduring marker be made not only to Thomas Jefferson and his pioneer associates, but also for the purpose of reviving a national interest in this government of ours.

I wish that each of those present here, this evening, might have had the opportunity of listening to the reports submitted today by the local members of the Organization, who have promoted this project, and if you could have learned about the tremendous amount of work that they have performed, I am sure that each would feel deeply indebted to these persevering men, because of this splendid service.

Happily, there is a revival in this country in regard to our national government, and because of its unusual activities in reaching out to touch almost every line of human endeavor, we must become more intimately acquainted with its institutions, its laws, and more—the aspirations of our whole people. While I cannot speak for the Congress of the United States, yet I know that at the seat of your government many monuments and statues and public works have been erected to the leaders of our

nation, to keep history recorded as it has developed from time to time; so there is ample precedence in our land for this project which has been proposed here on the historic site in your city.

I feel, and believe, that this proposal will meet with a hearty response upon the part of those in the legislative branch of your government. (Applause.) While I am a member of the minority party, yet I know that those who are associated with me hold deep reverence for this truly great American, Thomas Jefferson, and I believe they will deem it a privilege to coöperate with you and your Organization, so that no time will be lost in the consummation of this very worthy project. I thank you. (Applause.)

THE TOASTMASTER: Our next speaker is a gentleman from Chicago, Dr. Charles E. Merriam, of whom I am tempted to speak in a rather personal way, because I have followed his career for many years, with admiration. He is a man who has stood for self-government; in that sense, I think he is a real Jeffersonian. He believes that the foundation of our country's success lies in an honest and intelligent management of local affairs. He has not always been triumphant, but he never struck a blow that did not leave a mark. He is now connected with the Chicago University, at the head of the Department of Political Science; in my judgment, one of the most important departments for a university, suggested and recommended many years ago by Francis Lieber, who was not heeded. I feel that if his advice had been taken and political science had been taught effectively in our universities, we might have avoided some of the mess in which we find ourselves. I now present to you Dr. Merriam. (Applause.)

DR. CHARLES E. MERRIAM: Mr. Toastmaster, Mr. Mayor, members of the Industrial Club: I have wandered down to St. Louis, during the last year, no less than four times. About a year ago, I came down here to talk to some of you regarding the plans for the metropolitan region of St. Louis. I came down, in September, to the City Managers' Association. I came down a little later to the Conference on Local, State, and National Planning, and here I find myself now uniting with you in the celebration of the Jefferson National-Expansion Memorial Movement. I feel highly honored, in view of my frequent appearances here in a relatively short time, to have any audience left at all. I assure you, while I hope to come again, I shall not inflict any more public speeches on the distinguished citizens of St. Louis for many a long day. I think, perhaps, the wisest thing I could do would be to follow the example of Solon and stay away from St. Louis until the day of dedication of this Memorial.

I am here on this occasion not because I am a member of any Committee on Appropriations, or for any other reason that I can discover, except, perhaps, a chance remark that I made here last—when did you have that breakfast, Mr. Mayor—when they were discussing the amount required for this Memorial. Having heard the remarks of your very persuasive Mayor and that wrecking crew he carries around with him, headed by Mr. Smith (Laughter), I said jokingly, "If I were the United

States Government, I would settle with you quickly, for I fear in ten years, the amount will be doubled." (Laughter) Judging from experience.

Whatever may have been the motives of your local Committee, my own interest lies in the fact that I have, for many years, been an admirer of the general statesmanship of Thomas Jefferson. And having visited, many years ago, the very humble and unpretentious but only national monument to Jefferson, in Monticello, I have never ceased wondering, down to this day, why a man, who was so closely identified with the history of the United States and with the development of democracy the round world over, should not have been given a more distinguished remembrance.

Jefferson was, in many ways, the outstanding figure in the troubled political life of the United States, for he combined in one person—I am not going to give you a long lecture on Jefferson—the ability of a philosopher, the ability of a practical party leader, and the ability of a great statesman, all rolled up into one. But that was Thomas Jefferson.

If the hand that wrote the immortal language of the Declaration of Independence had never penned another word, it would have been the hand of greatest distinction in the history of human liberty. Who would not have given all that he had to have written those immortal words, "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." These are the words that have rung 'round the world for one hundred and fifty years, wherever men have fought for justice and liberty against oppression and against injustice. And these words and the comments that were made upon them by the young Jefferson have stamped him as one of the great theoretical, philosophical exponents of modern democracy.

But Jefferson was more than a theorist; he was a great party leader, and a leader without many of the qualifications that would now be regarded as almost indispensable. Well, he did not have much patronage as some party leaders have or have had. He did not have a sense of humor, apparently, that has been regarded as indispensable. He was not a brilliant orator, very seldom spoke but often wrote. You know the old story, that he did not address Congress, but gave his annual message to Congress, because he was not a very good speaker. But he was a good writer.

Jefferson was the greatest of all party strategists, I daresay without any fear of successful contradiction for here was a man who not only won party victories, but wound up by absolutely annihilating the opposition party. He not only defeated the Federalists; he destroyed them. So that when Jefferson died, or before he died, he might well have attended, if there had been such an event, the funeral service of the opposition party. Many party leaders have longed to celebrate such a day (laughter), but none has ever achieved it, except the gentleman from Virginia.

Jefferson, so far as my judgment goes, produced the widest ranging program of statesmanship of any of the great American statesmen, or of any statesman of modern times, in the last one hundred and fifty years. Call the roll of the things for which Jefferson stood, when you observe how many of those survived, not all in his own day but in one hundred years, the record seems almost incredible.

Jefferson advocating universal suffrage in a day when it did not exist; Jefferson advocating religious tolerance in a day when it was not as frequent as it might have been; Jefferson advocating universal education and himself aiding personally in the foundation of the University of Virginia. Jefferson was chiefly instrumental in destroying in the State of Virginia the old land system of primogeniture and entail, upon which the whole proprietorship of the land in Western European countries rested. Jefferson was in favor of and advocated the superiority of civil government over military administration, and if he had lived only a few years longer than he lived, he might have seen all of these cherished programs of his actually put into effect.

Now, when this philosopher and practical political leader and broad and ample statesman faced the question of Louisiana, he certainly came to one of the tightest moments of a long and difficult life. For here was a man whose emphasis was primarily upon the rights of states; here was a man whose constitutional emphasis primarily was upon strict construction of the Constitution. But as he looked at something like this map, the Honorable Mr. President Jefferson must have spent many a weary moment considering what was the way out. If he neglected this opportunity, as he himself said, the United States would be thrown into a perpetual and intimate alliance with England, as over against the French, who now controlled the entrance to the Mississippi. Or, if he had been merely a philosopher, he might have missed the point. If he had been a mere timid type of party leader, he might have missed the train. If he had been merely a statesman of the smaller mold, he might have miscalculated the whole situation. But being not only a philosopher but being practically minded, and being not only a politician but also a statesman of the higher type, and being not only a philosopher and politician and statesman but a great American, he cut the cord or cast the die—whatever figure of speech you wish to use—and, by one stroke of the pen, gave the greatest of the young republics of the world the greatest empire that any nation has ever obtained by a peaceful method.

It has been said that this is one of the amazing transactions of history. Here was a deal made by a man who did not have the power to make it—that is, Jefferson in his own judgment; he did not have any money to make it with, dealing with Napoleon, who apparently did not have the power to make the deal, and dealing in regard to a territory the boundaries of which were, to a very large extent, undefined and not known. They both agreed heartily. (Laughter.) Napoleon got his fifteen million dollars, after a good deal of haggling and bargaining over what really should be paid, and Jefferson got his Louisiana, and

OUTLINE OF THE JEFFERSON MEMORIAL MOVEMENT 511

America got this great western empire without which there could not have been an America. (Applause.)

Now we are going to have a Jefferson Memorial and, so far as I can see, you are going to have it right here in St. Louis. (Applause). But, of course, you may also say, and I say now, "What is it a memorial to? Is it a memorial to the past, or a memorial that points toward the future?" Now, traditions may be and very often are the richest and finest assets of an individual or of a nation, but traditions may also bind and gall at places where they should not restrict. There are traditions that make you swell, and there are traditions that make you grow; you can swell with pride or you can grow and expand. There are great traditions that lead to future advance. Some traditions may be like stones, and some may be like seeds; the stone will stand where it is, but the seed will grow and live and lead to progress.

I agree with a remark which you may not have caught, made by our distinguished Chairman, Mr. Nagel, when he said that this Jefferson Memorial would be not only a memorial but, a rededication to the spirit of those who made the memorial possible.

America does not stand at the broken end of a worn out way. The future of this country is far greater than its past, great as that past has been. (Applause). The world is still young and our greatest triumphs are still before us. Therefore, I should look upon the Jefferson Expansion Memorial as a rededication to the spirit of democracy, which is not dead. I should regard it as a rededication to democratic statesmanship, which is not dead. I should regard it as a rededication to the tactics and policies of American democratic statesmanship, which in my judgment, are not dead.

I have only one word to say in conclusion, quoted often to those of us who were working on the Chicago Plan—this is my last word of advice, after my fourth time appearance in St. Louis, to you members of the Industrial Club and friends: In making the Jefferson Memorial, make no little plans; make a memorial that will be comparable to the greatest in this great world; make a memorial comparable to the great column of Trafalgar Square in London, that looms up in the fog; make a memorial like the Arc de Triomphe, that you see as you go into Paris; make a memorial that will compare with the great towering memorial to Washington in the City of Washington. Make it a fitting memorial to one of the greatest deeds of one of the greatest democrats, greatest philosophers, greatest statesmen, greatest tacticians of all times. (Applause).

THE TOASTMASTER: Our next and last speaker is the distinguished Senator from Kentucky. Some reference has been made to the Committee on Appropriations. The Senator is a member of several committees, among others, as Chairman of the Committee on Library, which I am told is the committee that will have a good deal to say about any measures that may be proposed or acted upon in connection with this memorial. But we do not count on that so much as we do upon his expressed sympathetic attitude. He is an experienced man. He has

been in Congress for years. He is now serving his second term in the Senate and, as we are glad to know, the best part of the second term has not yet expired, so we may hope to get through while he is there.

It is my privilege to present to you Senator Barkley of Kentucky, who was, today, elected Chairman of the Organization. (Applause).

SENATOR BARKLEY: Mr. Toastmaster, ladies and gentlemen: I have been very happily situated during the progress of this dinner, up until now. (Laughter). When I became a youthful member of the House of Representatives, on the 4th day of March, 1913, I witnessed what I am proud now to say was a regretful departure from Washington and from the official life of the nation, of a very distinguished Missourian, a very distinguished St. Louisan, of the opposite party from that to which I owe allegiance, who left Washington and left official life and came back to St. Louis, in the person of Mr. Charles Nagel. (Applause). I have known of him at a distance for many years, but I never had the privilege to meet him until tonight, and I hope that the years will continue to bring him fullness of honor and that he will become many times an octogenarian, before he takes his final departure from this world. (Applause).

I have always entertained a very live and active interest in the State of Missouri, as all Kentuckians do. I believe it is almost true that, until a few years ago, every governor that Missouri had was furnished by Kentucky. (Laughter). I recall that George G. Vest, who I believe was Governor, who I know was Senator, was born in Kentucky. That Senator William Stone, who had also been Governor, was born in Kentucky. That Governor Stephens was born in Kentucky. That Governor David R. Francis was born in Kentucky. That the great speaker of the House of Representatives, Champ Clark, was born in Kentucky. As I recount these historic names, I have often wondered what in God's name would have been the fate of Missouri had it not been for Kentucky. (Laughter and applause).

I have served in both Houses of Congress with many of your distinguished sons, and I have enjoyed the friendship of all of them. My interest in Missouri and in St. Louis has been very much accentuated during the last four or five years, since one of my daughters married a Missourian and now lives in the city, and has presented me with two very fine grandsons. (Applause).

Of course, I am sure you will appreciate what a neighbor of mine said in Paducah, when his first grandchild was born, among many congratulations and slaps on the back by his neighbors, one of them said to him, "Hal, how do you like being a grandfather?" "Well," he said, "I don't mind being a grandfather, but I hate like hell being married to a grandmother." (Laughter). After the first appearance, you get used to that and wish for more.

I sometimes get a certain amount of intellectual relaxation out of speculating over what would have happened in the world if something else had happened that did not. (Laughter). I realize that that is a sort of fruitless type of speculation. For instance, I have often won-

dered what would have been the history of Europe and of the world if that Belgian boy had not been where he was, driving home the cows during the Battle of Waterloo, and had not been able to direct a lost General toward the battlefield.

I have wondered what might have been the history of this country if George Washington had, at the age of fourteen, as he attempted to do, completed his enlistment in the British Navy. You may recall that, at that tender age, he started in the process of enlistment, and sent his clothing down to the shores of Virginia to be loaded on to a British Man-O'-War. And when he was telling his mother "Good Bye" on the front porch at Wakefield, she wept over his departure with such copious tears that, in a fit of petulance, and impatience, he threw his knapsack down on the floor and said, "All right, if you are that chicken-hearted about it, I will just stay at home." He sent down to the British Man-O'-War and had his trunk brought back and became the father of his country rather than probably a British admiral.

I have often wondered what would have been the fate of this nation if Abraham Lincoln's father had moved to Mississippi and Jefferson Davis' father had gone to Indiana and then to Illinois (laughter), for it was the merest accident, apparently trivial circumstances, that drove Jefferson Davis' father south and Abraham Lincoln's father north, and if the course of those two families had been reversed, would Lincoln have become President of the Confederacy and Jefferson Davis President of the United States, or would both of them have remained in that oblivion from which they came.

Now, there is no answer to those questions, because nobody knows, unless we are able to frame an answer in the language of the poet, who said:

"There is a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them how we will."

It is said that there is always a reason for everything; all of our actions, our traditions and our habits are based upon some ancient transaction that occurred among men or animals.

For instance, you will see a dog, before he lies down on the concrete pavement, go 'round and 'round in a circle, because, centuries ago, his ancestors in the jungle moved 'round and 'round to see that there was no obstacle or object that might injure his rest or disturb his peace of mind while he reclined.

They say that when Noah was out on the bosom of the waters about ten days, a leak sprang in the Ark, the water began to trickle up through it, and that a rat came along and, observing it, stuck his tail in it and stopped the leak for a moment, and that is why a rat's tail is always cold. (Laughter.) The leak still grew. Finally, a dog came along and stuck his nose in it, and that is why a dog's nose is always cold. But the leak still grew. Finally, one of the women in Noah's family came along and stuck her elbow in it, and that why a woman's elbow is always cold. But still the leak grew, and finally Noah, himself, came along and sat down

on it, and that is why a man always stands with his back to the fire. (Laughter and applause.) That explanation clears up a lot of things in the lives of most of us. (Laughter.)

I have been asked to speak for a very few moments, this evening, on our debt to the pioneers. I realize how broad a subject that is and, being a broad subject, I recognize how dangerous it is for any committee on program to ask a member of the United States Senate to make a brief address on such a subject. (Laughter.)

Pioneering has been one of the chief occupations of mankind since he was created. From the time that Adam and Eve were driven out of the Garden of Eden until today, man has been a wandering searcher for changed life. From the day when Moses led the children of Israel out of Egypt until this hour, man's aspiration has constantly led him away from his domestic surroundings, in search of what lies west of the setting sun.

One of the most interesting diversions that can occupy the mind of busy men and women is to trace the meanderings of the human race from the beginning until now, in its search for a better life, for a fuller conception of man's destiny, and a realization of all the hopes that have been entertained by all the countless billions of people who have lived in the world, from its beginning.

The very discovery of America by Christopher Columbus was a pioneering enterprise. He started out in search of a shorter route for trade, but, fundamentally, he was seeking a new life and a basis for the satisfaction of curiosity, which man instinctively has about that which he cannot see or understand.

Soon after he had discovered this Continent, the Atlantic Seaboard became the frontier of the English and the Dutch and the Germans and all of those nationalities which centered here in the greatest colonization movement that has ever been witnessed in the history of the world.

We sometimes wonder how it was, or why it was that along the Atlantic Seaboard from the bleak shores of Maine to the Everglades of Florida or north of it, where there were only about three million people, only about as many as they have in the City of Chicago—or had yesterday (laughter), I haven't seen today's schedules (laughter)—with what was at that time a vast expanse of territory between the Atlantic Seaboard and the Allegheny Mountains, we wonder why it was that these pioneers of English, German, and of Dutch, Austrian, and of French descent, were not satisfied to live on the Atlantic Coast, without making any further adventure into the hinterland west of the Allegheny Mountains.

But it was from what might have been regarded as a sufficient territory for all necessary future development and civilization that George Rogers Clark came out from Virginia into Kentucky and, in the City of Harrodsburg, organized a little band of less than two hundred men, who crossed the Ohio River and, for the number of men involved on his side, accomplished the greatest conquest of territory in the history of the

world, and made the Mississippi River the western boundary of the new nation, rather than the Allegheny Mountains.

Only a month ago, the President of the United States, on the very spot where George Rogers Clark organized that little band, dedicated at nine o'clock in the morning, before fifty thousand assembled Kentuckians, men and women from other states, a monument erected through an appropriation of the American Congress to George Rogers Clark and the pioneers who made possible the success of his expedition.

It was through the Cumberland Gap that Daniel Boone, becoming impatient with the restrictions even of pioneer North Carolina, moved out on the Clinch River at Kentucky and the French Road, then came through Cumberland Gap to settle at Boonesborough, which the State of Kentucky is now marking as an historic spot and upon which we hope, in the near future, to be able to erect a monument to Boone and his compatriots. Both Daniel Boone and George Rogers Clark came out into Missouri and formed another link of kinship between this state and mine. So, like a fan from the Atlantic Seaboard, all these activities converged upon the city of St. Louis, sometimes affectionately called "Old St. Louis," named so by Laclede in honor of the French King Louis.

Then, the reverse movement began in another fan shape expanse from this crossing of the Mississippi River out through the West to the Pacific Coast. From here, therefore, went Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, kinsman of George Rogers Clark, out through the Northwest, to gather the Oregon territory as a part of the domain of the United States. From here went Christopher Carson, sometimes known at "Kit Carson," or, I might say, more familiarly known as "Kit Carson," down through the Santa Fe Trail into New Mexico, and part of the time with him and part of the time without him, that great pathfinder, John C. Fremont, who married the daughter of Thomas H. Benton, who found the way to the Pacific Coast and added new domains to the territory of the United States.

It is a rather strange historical coincidence that the man whose praise has been sounded here, today; the man who is the center of all of our dedication, all of our efforts, and all of our encomiums, was the inspiration behind George Rogers Clark and behind Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, in the conquest of this great territory.

I agree most enthusiastically with the suggestion, Mr. Nagel, that it is not only in honor of Jefferson that we purpose to erect this great monument. We, who occupy a little temporary authority for a time, puff ourselves up with the belief that we are indispensable to the age in which we live, and, very often, the people have a very definite way of delivering and administering a rude awakening, to those of us who hold public office, from any such dream. I sometimes think that the man who digs a ditch down the center of your streets, to lay a pipe or a cable to bring heat and light and comfort to the homes of a city, has rendered as great a service to society as the man who occupies the governor's chair or sits on the bench or in the Senate of the United States.

So, I share the sentiment that this great monument, whatever may be its physical characteristics, shall be a monument to the countless unnamed men and women who gave voice and power and determination to the vision of men like Thomas Jefferson and of George Rogers Clark, John C. Fremont, and of Joliet and Marquette and all the rest of those whose names are written indelibly on the pages of American history. There will be a monument to the Unknown Pioneer no less than to the Unknown Soldier.

Not only were these men pioneers in battling with the elements of nature—nature which can be most cruel and forbidding, and yet most charming and most alluring, with all of her cross currents of complexity and inconsistency—not only did these men battle the elements of nature, not only were they pioneers in laying out territories, in the building of homes, in following the path of the buffalo and the trail of the Indian, they were pioneers likewise in the teaching of religious tolerance and religious liberty. For it was here in these regions where the Catholic priest built a mission or a Protestant preacher built a brush arbor, to teach and preach the gospel of Christianity.

It was here where the rude courts and legislatures met to discuss this new found doctrine of political equality, which had been announced by Thomas Jefferson. It was here where men, on street corners and around camp fires, philosophized not in a way to be written in history, but which has made history, because they made it possible for men whose names have become historical bywords in every home in the nation to epitomize and to consummate these immortal doctrines for which our nation stands and has always stood.

Some of these pioneers found it necessary, just as pioneers in our time find it necessary, to revise their preconceived notions of liberty and the relationships of men and of states, and especially the relationship of our federal government to the states which composed that federal government.

The Thirteen Original Colonies formed the American Union and, in that sense, the federal government was the creature of the states. But after the thirteen had formed a nation and our federal machinery began to creep slowly out across the mountains and the valleys and across the hills and the mountains and the streams, a sort of different conception of the relationship of the federal government and states began to take possession of the American people, because, as the federal government had been the creature of the Thirteen Original States, all the rest of the states were the creatures of the federal government, and that did have a very lasting effect upon the conceptions of some of those who found it necessary to revise their preconceived notions with respect to strict construction of our Constitution.

Reference has been made to the fact that Jefferson, himself found it necessary to do that. Jefferson was the outstanding strict constructionist of his day. He did not believe in a strong federal government, because he feared such a strong federal government. He did not believe, theoretically, in the government of the United States doing anything

that could be done by a state or by a local community, and he is sometimes quoted as having said, "That government is best which governs least." And I have always felt that quotation was unfair to Jefferson, because it took a single sentence out of voluminous writings upon the subject of government and political philosophy and made it appear that Jefferson believed that the weakest government was the best government. Of course, what he was talking about was an ideal society, where all men recognize the rights of all other men, and where it might not be necessary for the powers of government to be exercised in order that the weak might be protected against the strong, or the honest against the dishonest.

But even so, when Jefferson became President of the United States, he changed somewhat his original ideas about the functions of the federal government. While he was President, he found a surplus in the treasury of the United States, which is always a dangerous thing and which, in recent years, has been an unusual thing (laughter), and he desired to have that money expended in the building of highways and in the improvement of rivers and harbors. He did not believe that Congress had the power to do it, and so he asked Congress to submit an amendment to the Constitution, authorizing the federal government to spend money for the improvement of rivers and harbors and the building of highways across the states. The amendment was never submitted and, therefore, was never adopted, but, for seventy-five years, it has been the settled policy of our nation to do exactly what Jefferson wanted done but did not believe he had the power to do.

When the opportunity came for him to buy Louisiana from Napoleon, he doubted the power of the federal government to buy land or to expand. He searched the Constitution for specific authority to do it, but he was unable to find it, and then he decided that, under the treaty making power given to the President, he could negotiate a treaty with Napoleon, and, in that treaty, provide for the purchase of Louisiana. He got around his constitutional scruples by the device of negotiating a treaty with Napoleon Bonaparte.

So, my friends, the pioneers of former days gradually changed their conceptions of the relationship of our federal government until today, from one ocean to another, from the Dominion of Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, we no longer think in terms of provincialism or localism, we think in terms of America as a great nation. (Applause.)

It is in that sense that we are proposing to honor the memory of the pioneers of our country, who, in physical discomfort and hazard, endured the sacrifices, suffered the hardships that were necessary in the building of this great expansive and powerful nation.

Andrew Jackson was such a pioneer. He came out from North Carolina into Tennessee and, in his early twenties, he wrote a constitution for the Volunteer State, which has only been amended in such respects as are necessary to make it conform to modern complexity of politics and sociology and government generally.

Abraham Lincoln was such a pioneer; born in Kentucky, under circumstances of incredible hardship, crossing the Ohio River into Indiana, and then into Illinois, he became the embodiment of a different sort of pioneering spirit. He became the embodiment of the aspiration for a higher and fuller and more expansive life for the common man, without regard to his race or to his color.

I believe that Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln are the great trio of pioneers, not only physically but morally and politically, who have given to us our conceptions of today, of the rights and the obligations of American citizenship, without regard to location or ancestry. I think we owe to them the circumstance that we have the most expansive nation in the world, that speaks but one language and has but one allegiance, and thinks in terms of one great political concept.

You cannot travel for a half a day in Europe without crossing innumerable boundaries and encountering almost innumerable languages. In Russia, they have one hundred and sixty different races, speaking one hundred and forty-nine dialects, all under one government. Here we speak one language, we understand one philosophy, we owe allegiance to one flag, which is the conception and the embodiment of our liberties, of our obligations, of our mutual duties, not only as pioneers but as men and women willing to sacrifice, today, if necessary, as great comfort and as great ease, in order that we and our children and our posterity may enjoy a fuller life and a greater liberty than that which is ours, today.

Of course, there is no monument, however imposing, that can add anything to the accomplishments of Thomas Jefferson or to his reputation. His life has been lived, his place in history has been made. The great nation of which we are a part, today, unconsciously and automatically recognizes its obligation to Thomas Jefferson and all the pioneers, named and unnamed, known and unknown, who are a part of the early history of America.

We do not owe it to Jefferson or to Jackson or to Lincoln or to George Rogers Clark or to Meriwether Lewis or William Clark or John C. Fremont or Christopher Carson, to build a monument here on the Mississippi River. We owe it to ourselves and to those who are to live after us, to build such a monument (applause), in order that these men and their compatriots and their comrades may not become members of that long and imposing list of forgotten men in the world.

We have been tardy, my friends, in recognizing our obligation to the founders of this nation. Up in old St. Petersburg, now known as Leningrad, they preserved the house in which Peter the Great lived, two hundred years ago, while he built the Palace of the Czar. Whatever else may be said for or against the present regime in Russia, they have not destroyed the monuments of her greatness and of her pioneering days. Among all the things destroyed by the revolutionists in France, the Palace of Versailles, which exemplified French extravagance and royal debauchery, has been preserved for the Republic of France. Down in

Rome, there stands an imposing monument to King Victor Emmanuel, who united the provinces of Italy. Up in Genoa, the home of Christopher Columbus is preserved intact for the inspiration of the Genoese and the Italians and all the world.

At the site of the Battle of Waterloo, there is a great mound surmounted by a British lion, that was built by the hands of men and women who carried the dirt in baskets, in order that they might show their appreciation of the great victory that drove Napoleon to St. Helena and preserved the arms of the allies who were fighting against him.

In a little mound or a hillside in France, near Rouen, there is a monument to Joan d'Arc. Reference has already been made to the Arc d'Triomphe in Paris, and Trafalgar Square in London.

One day, I wandered through St. Paul's Cathedral, which was built by Sir Christopher Wrenn, who fashioned nearly all the imposing buildings in London and after which the dome of our National Capitol was fashioned, and as I walked through that great cathedral, I came suddenly upon the grave of Sir Christopher Wrenn, and I found upon it this inscription:

"Here lies the body of Sir Christopher Wrenn, builder of this cathedral. He lived not for himself alone, but for mankind."

And then, as if speaking to me, it said:

"Stranger, if you seek a monument, look around." Look around at a great cathedral dedicated to the worship of Almighty God. And I know of no more fitting epitaph that could be put upon the tomb of Thomas Jefferson, next to the one he put there, as "The Author of the Declaration of Independence, Founder of the University of Virginia," than "Author of the Statute for Religious Liberty, Political Freedom, Religious Freedom, Educational Freedom." No man in all history has ever added a greater trilogy to his accomplishments than that. And I would rather have been the author of those three great boons to humanity than own all the wealth of Croesus and all that has been accumulated from that day until now.

If we want a real monument to Jefferson, all we need to do is to look around—look around at a nation that, in a century and a half, has grown from three million to one hundred and twenty-five million; a nation that has grown from thirteen weak and jealous and disjointed colonies to forty-eight great states; a nation which, in a century and a half, has grown from an object of envy among the crowned heads of the world until it has become the great exemplar of liberty and freedom, of the rights of man throughout the world.

This is Jefferson's monument, but we owe it to those who fought with him, those who made it possible for him to accomplish these things, those who have handed down to us this wonderful nation. We owe it to them and to ourselves and to our posterity, to see to it that we pay homage in a spiritual way, which is more valuable than the mere erection of skyscrapers in all the great cities of our great Republic, for the victories of these pioneers were more than physical, they were more than

temporal, they were more than political, they were spiritual; and they have given to us a spiritual characteristic which has not been true in any other nation in all the world.

It is such a conception as that that I believe will appeal to every state in the Union and to all the people, without regard to politics, and to the Congress of the United States.

This Commission, today, has done me the honor to make me the Chairman, over my protest, because I did not believe it exactly proper for any member of Congress to be the Chairman of a Commission that might make a report to Congress upon which we might have to pass in a sort of double capacity, but the Commission has been generous and kind and complimentary enough to make me the Chairman of this Jefferson National-Expansion Memorial Association, and as Kentucky has been proud of what it has done for Missouri, I hope that when this great enterprise shall have been accomplished that not only Missouri, but all the nation may be proud of what at least one Kentuckian has attempted to do to reinspire the American people with gratitude and fortitude in the pioneering we are yet to do, to make and keep this great nation free, untrammelled and pure, as it was when it came to us. (Applause.)

It is, therefore, our duty to catch the torch that is handed down to us from our forefathers, and to throw it into the hands of those who come after us, because in the complexity of our lives, in the multiplicity of our problems, the pioneering is not over with. There are no more frontiers to conquer, no more rivers to bridge, no more mountains to scale, but in the field of society, in the field of education in the field of religion, in the field of politics, in the broad sense as the science of government, pioneers must still dwell among us; they must still march out on untried fields and take chances for the benefit of mankind.

I wish for all those who are interested in and inspired with this wonderful conception of the Mayor, Mr. Smith, and this Local Committee, who have worked for a year to develop this ideal, that it will be crowned with the greatest of success, and that, in less than five years from now, from all over the nation may come representatives of a united and concentrated people, to do honor to the memory of our forefathers, do justice to ourselves, and to those who come after, in this blessed nation. (Applause.)

THE TOASTMASTER: We wish to thank our distinguished guests for having come to be with us, today. I think I may congratulate this gathering upon a successful evening. I hope you share with me the feeling that the whole subject has been approached and discussed without any suggestion of party difference, and that we are of one mind, to unite our forces to set a monument not to past glory alone, but to a new glory to emerge out of the old, to speak for what has been done and for what in turn we shall have to do. Good night.

. . . Adjournment at 10:15 P. M. . . .

ADJOURNMENT SINE DIE

MEMOIRS

GEORGE D. ADDISON: Born in Richmond, Virginia, July 20, 1871; died in Salem, Missouri, November 1, 1932. He was chairman of the Democratic County Committee of Dent County for sixteen years, and represented the county in the State Legislature in 1927.

JAMES OWEN ALLISON: Born near New Hartford, Missouri, July 23, 1855; died at Hannibal, Missouri, January 24, 1930. He was elected school commissioner of Ralls County, and in 1884, 1886 and 1888 was elected representative of Ralls County in the General Assembly. He took a prominent part in Democratic Party matters and was a member of the state committee in 1896 when William Jennings Bryan was the Presidential candidate. Governor Dockery made him a World's Fair Commissioner in 1903 and he was a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1922. He served with distinction in the many places he was called to fill. He was a man of sterling character, and no man in the state exceeded him in popularity. He was a disciple and a student of Champ Clark, and one of that man's trusted friends. He made a practice of keeping political records and it was the pleasure of the writer to see them once. He was satisfied with his quiet life at New London, where he could be with his books—"away from the madding crowd's ignoble strife."

ROBERT A. ANTHONY: Born in Kaufman County, Texas, March 10, 1859; died in Fredericktown, Missouri, January 18, 1929. Served as prosecuting attorney of Madison County. In 1902 he was appointed judge of the 27th Judicial Circuit.

JOHN MORGAN ATKINSON: Representative of Ripley County, was born in Hickman County, Tenn., September 14, 1870, and came to Missouri with his parents in 1873. He served two terms as county clerk of Ripley County; was a member of the General Assembly for three successive sessions, being first elected in 1902; was speaker of the House in 1907; served as assistant attorney-general under Governor Major, from 1909 to 1913; was chairman of the Public Service Commission; Democratic nominee for Governor in 1920; unsuccessful candidate for nomination for governor in 1916; died at Los Angeles, California, March 14, 1934.

DAVID A. BALL: Born in Lincoln County, Missouri, June 18, 1851; died in Louisiana, Missouri, October 1, 1928. He was admitted to the bar in 1874; was elected city attorney of Louisiana, and four years later was elected prosecuting attorney of Pike County. He was elected to the state senate in 1884, and was made presiding officer of that body. In 1876 he was associated with Champ Clark in the practice of law. He was a candidate for governor in 1908, the nomination going to William S. Cowherd. He was elected probate judge of Pike County in 1918 and was serving in that capacity at the time of his death.

SHEPARD BARCLAY: Born in St. Louis, November 3, 1847; died at St. Louis, November 17, 1925. In 1882 he was elected circuit judge and in 1888 was elected to the Supreme Court. In 1897 he was made Chief Justice, and the University of Missouri conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws. He resigned from the Supreme Court, and in 1901 was appointed judge of the St. Louis Court of Appeals.

HARRY H. BARRETT: Born in Williamsport, Pa., November 23, 1855; died in Canton, Mo., December 13, 1933. He was graduated from Christian University in 1875. After the death of his father, the late J. W. Barrett, he and his brother, Charles W., took charge of the Canton *Press*, continuing until the death of the latter in 1928. The paper was then merged with the *News*, and Mr. Barrett served on the board of directors of the combined papers until his death.

JAMES J. BARRETT: Born in St. Louis in 1870; died in St. Louis, July 27, 1932. He had served in the General Assembly of Missouri, and during the administration of Governor Major was state labor commissioner. From 1916 to 1921 he was federal commissioner of conciliation for the Department of Labor.

JOHN SPENCER BARTON: Born in Monroe County, June 19, 1849; died near Oak Ridge, April 5, 1926. He served two terms as associate judge of the county court of Shelby County.

O. S. BARTON: Died in Kansas City, Missouri, August 27, 1925. At one time he served as prosecuting attorney of Howard County. He was the author of "Three Years With Quantrell." He was very prominent in the Democratic politics of the state.

MARION O. BIGGS: Born in Pike County, Missouri, December 27, 1871; died at Louisiana, Missouri, October 23, 1932. During the administrations of Governors Stone and Stephens he was superintendent of the State Hospital at Fulton.

JOHN WESLEY BOOTH: Born in Franklin County, Missouri, January 15, 1845; died in Union, Missouri, July 15, 1933. In 1862 he joined the Confederate Army. He was admitted to the bar in 1869; from 1874 to 1877 he was prosecuting attorney of Franklin County. In 1879 and 1887 he represented Franklin County in the General Assembly. He ranked high among the prominent lawyers of the state, and a Democrat of the Jefferson and Jackson type, always valuable in the counsels of the Democratic Party.

JOHN L. BRADLEY: Born in Knoxville, Tennessee, in 1852; died at Desloge, Missouri, June 9, 1927. He represented St. Francois County in the Legislature in 1897, and was elected to the Senate in 1902 and reelected in 1910. For ten years he was deputy state labor commissioner under Governors Gardner and Major.

NICK M. BRADLEY: Born in Johnson County, Mo., May 16, 1868; died near Warrensburg, Mo., February 21, 1934. He served two terms as prosecuting attorney of Johnson County, one term as circuit judge, one term as state senator, and one term as representative from Johnson County, the latter being in 1931-32. He practiced law and was also a breeder of saddle horses and mules.

EDWARD J. BREEN: Born in Maysville, Kentucky; died near Parkville, Missouri July 25, 1925. Located in Platte County in 1860. During the administration of President Cleveland he was postmaster at Weston; was deputy comptroller of St. Joseph in 1892 to 1895, when he was appointed county collector of Buchanan County by Governor Stone.

WILLIAM A. BRIGHT: Born in Callaway County, Missouri, September 8, 1850; died near Columbia, Missouri, March 4, 1933. He served in the Confederate Army under General Sterling Price. He moved to Boone County in 1878. He was for sixteen years treasurer of the State Board of Agriculture.

THOMAS B. BUCKNER: Born in Callaway County, Missouri, in 1853; died in Kansas City, July 8, 1925. After serving as prosecuting attorney of this county, he moved to Kansas City and in 1916 was appointed to the circuit bench by Governor Elliott W. Major. He was reelected and held the position until the time of his death.

THOMAS R. BUCKNER: Born in Louisiana, Missouri, January 8, 1861; died at St. Louis, Missouri, April 7, 1930. He and his brother, George Buckner conducted the *Bowling Green Post* in 1887. He represented Pike County in the lower house of the Legislature in 1878. He was correspondent for various newspapers for many years.

WILLIAM FITZHUGH BUCKNER: Born in Caroline County, Virginia, January 27, 1828; died in Paris, Missouri, June 16, 1929. He came with his parents to Paris in 1833. At the age of seventeen he enlisted for service in the Mexican war and marched with Col. Alexander W. Doniphan to Taos. He returned to Paris after fourteen months, and joined the gold rush to California in 1849. In 1854 he returned to Paris where he remained until his death.

CLARENCE A. BURNEY: Born near Rantoul, Kansas, March 27, 1876; died at Jefferson City, February 8, 1933. He moved to Kansas City in 1901. He was appointed city counselor, and in 1910 was elected judge of the North Side Court. In 1914 he was elected to the circuit bench, and in 1932 elected to the Supreme Court of Missouri.

WILLIAM HENRY BUTTS: Born in Casey County, Ky., July 25, 1859; died in Lebanon, Mo., January 22, 1934. He operated a hotel in Lebanon for years, then served one term as county collector. He engaged in the real estate and insurance business, and was representative from Laclede County in the 57th General Assembly.

JOHN H. CARROLL: Born in Erie County, New York, June 27, 1858; died in Washington, D. C., November 29, 1931. His early life was spent in Cincinnati, where he studied law. He moved to Linneus, Missouri, in 1880, to begin practice, and later moved to Unionville. During 1883-89 he was prosecuting attorney of Putnam County. He became the Jefferson City representative of the Burlington Railroad. He was a delegate to the Democratic National Conventions in 1888 and 1900, and was alternate in 1892. He was a member of the staff of Governor Francis. His home was in St. Louis during 1889-1917, and in the latter year he moved to Washington as a dollar-a-year man, serving on the War Industries Board. Later he represented railroad interests in Washington.

ALEX CARTER: Born in Callaway County, Missouri, in October, 1850; died near Mexico, Missouri, July 25, 1925. He was educated in Kentucky. He served two terms as presiding judge of the Audrain County Court and was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention in 1922-23.

WILLIAM FARLEY CARTER: Born in Osceola, Missouri, March 4, 1843; died at Clinton, Missouri, July 3, 1930. He was attending the University of Missouri at the outbreak of the Civil war. He enlisted in the Confederate Cavalry, later transferred to the Ninth Infantry, becoming second lieutenant. In 1862, he was appointed lieutenant-general of the First Missouri Brigade under General Sterling Price, where he served until the end of the war. He returned to Henry County where he served as county treasurer and mayor of Clinton.

JESSE CHILD: Born at Richmond, Virginia, March 14, 1860; died at Richmond, Missouri, December 1, 1925. In 1885 he was admitted to the bar. His uncle, Colonel Jacob T. Child, was appointed minister to Siam by President Cleveland, and Jesse Child was appointed secretary of the legation, remaining in Siam for six years.

WALTER K. CHORN: Born in Howard County, Missouri, in 1855; died in Kansas City, February 26, 1933. He was appointed state superintendent of insurance by Governor Major. He resigned to become president of the Missouri State Life Insurance Company.

ROBERT C. CLARK: Born near Fayette, Missouri, June 1, 1846; died in Fayette, December 21, 1926. He studied law under his father, Gen. John B. Clark and was admitted to the bar in 1869. He served two terms as prosecuting attorney of Howard County and under Governor Major he served as superintendent of the Booneville Reformatory.

HENRY ALLISON COLLIER: Born in Saline County, Missouri, March 26, 1883; died in Columbia, September 7, 1932. He was probate judge of Boone County from 1918 to 1928. He resigned when elected judge of the 34th judicial circuit, succeeding David H. Harris.

G. B. COOK: Born at Marquand, Mo., died in Fredericktown, Mo., January 23, 1934, at the age of 74. He served as treasurer, circuit clerk and recorder of Madison County, and in 1911 and 1933 served in the General Assembly. He was vice president of the Security Bank for many years.

JOHN A. CROSS: Died in Lathrop, Missouri, May 24, 1926. He served as prosecuting attorney and represented the county in the General Assembly. He was the last survivor of the first Democratic State Convention after the Civil war.

G. O. CUPPAIDGE: Born in Castle Rae, Roscommon, Ireland; died in Moberly, Mo., November 18, 1933. He studied medicine in England, then practiced in Texas. In 1896 he moved to Moberly to continue practice. He served with the M. N. G. on the Mexican border, rising to the rank of major. During the World war he was in the medical department of the 110th Engineers. Governor Major appointed him president of the State Board of Health.

HUGH DABB: Born in Rocky Comfort, McDonald County, Missouri, in 1867; died in Joplin, December 12, 1930. He was graduated from the Law School of the State University in 1892. He was prosecuting attorney of McDonald County, and removed to Joplin in 1901, and a few years later was appointed to fill a vacancy on the circuit bench.

SAMUEL DAVIS: Born in Saline County, Missouri, April 18, 1845; died in Macon, March 22, 1927. He was admitted to the bar when twenty-five years of age, and became prosecuting attorney of Saline County. He represented the county in two terms of the General Assembly.

HENRY CLAY DEAN: In the early history of Missouri, after the Civil war, Henry Clay Dean was one of the outstanding characters of the state.

In the *Missouri Historical Review*, July, 1928, Mr. Floyd C. Shoemaker has given an interesting description of Mr. Dean:

"Henry Clay Dean, lecturer, lawyer and writer, was born in Virginia, in the year 1822; moved to Iowa in 1850, and to Missouri some ten years later, locating on a farm in northeast Putnam County. After the war between the states, his home was referred to as 'Rebel Cove,' its owner being a staunch adherent of the Southern cause. Previous to the war Mr. Dean had been chaplain of the United States Senate for a time.

"With a wonderful library at command in his country home, Mr. Dean read and wrote constantly. His writing was like his platform speeches—brilliant, forceful and abounding in beautiful metaphor. He also was a past-master in withering sarcasm. No one who heard him speak ever forgot the magnetic Henry Clay Dean. Mr. Dean published a strong work entitled 'The Crimes of the Civil War.' This attracted a great deal of interest at the time of its issuance. When Mr. Dean died he left ready for the press the manuscript for a book, of which the following was the title page:

"'The Voice of the People in the Federal Government,' being an inquiry into the abolition of the abuse of executive patronage and the election of all the chief officers of the federal government by the direct vote of the people whom they serve.—By Henry Clay Dean. Liberty will be ruined by providing any kind of substitute for popular election.—Necker. In one volume.

"This exhaustive work was intended for the political guidance of the public over twenty years ago, but Mr. Dean happened to have his hands full of legal business and lecture engagements at the time he finished the manuscript, and he neglected to publish it. Those who have read the writing say that now a vast majority of the American public, irrespective of party, endorse Mr. Dean's position in this last important literary work of his life, but at the time of its writing many prominent Democratic friends advised him not to publish it, as it was twenty years too soon to dare enunciate such views. At the same time they admitted the teaching was sound, and that it would eventually be a controlling issue in this country. It was characteristic of Mr. Dean to think ahead of his time. Some of the things for which he was criticised for advocating on the platform, are today regarded as results of practical statesmanship."

LOUIS F. DINNING: Born in Jackson County, Mo., October 28, 1838; died in Los Angeles, Calif., December 11, 1933. He taught school and practiced law in southeast Missouri, and was elected judge of the 15th circuit in 1868, but because of charges of nonage and disloyalty to the Union did not secure his commission until July, 1873. In 1874 he was reelected, and following his term reentered private practice. After retiring he moved to Los Angeles.

A. J. DOUGLAS: Born in Bedford County, Virginia, May 7, 1837; died in Benton City, Missouri, May 13, 1928. He came with his parents to Missouri at an early age. In 1874 he was elected circuit judge of Audrain County, and served in the office for twelve years.

ARTHUR THOMAS DUMM: Born in Golden City, Colorado, October 22, 1874; died in Jefferson City, Missouri, April 28, 1930. Taught school in Chariton County and was admitted to the bar in 1899. The following year he moved to Jefferson City and became assistant reporter of the Supreme Court, which position he held for nine years. He represented Cole County in the General Assembly in 1913 and 1915, was a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1922 and president of the Missouri Bar Association.

FRED J. DWYER: Born in Montreal, Canada, in 1888; died in Kansas City, March 26, 1928. He was connected with the Missouri State Grain Department for

fifteen years. Later he was elected county collector of Jackson County, which position he held for two terms.

BENJAMIN R. DYSART: Born in Howard County, Missouri, April 13, 1834; died at Macon, April 1, 1925. Returning from Cumberland University in Tennessee, where he prepared for the law, he began his practice in Bloomington, the old county seat of Macon County, in 1858. He served in the Confederate Army during the Civil war. He was the last surviving member of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875.

LUCIEN J. EASTIN: Born in Clay County, July 12, 1868; died near Dearborn, October 8, 1931. He was admitted to the bar in 1894 and began practice in St. Joseph. He was elected circuit judge in 1908 and served until 1911, when he resigned. From 1922 to 1924 he held the office of Grand Sire of the World I. O. O. F.

GEORGE ROBERT EDMONDS: Born at Big Spring, Jefferson County, Missouri, November 26, 1834; died at Kansas City, Kansas, May 30, 1930. He first began on the *Lexington Express*, and in 1854 worked on the *St. Charles Reveille*, going from there to the *Missouri Republican* until 1856, when he began publishing the *Fulton Telegraph*. Later he published the *Arcadia Prospect*. At the outbreak of the Civil war, he joined the Confederate Army, enlisting in Fourth Missouri Cavalry. After the battle of Lexington, he served until his capture, May 22, 1863, near Vicksburg, Mississippi. He was imprisoned for twenty-two months, returning to Lexington, where he engaged in farming.

WILLIAM C. ELLISON: Born in Canton, Missouri, October 1, 1852; died in Fort Stockton, Texas, February 23, 1932. He was admitted to the bar in 1873 and located at Maryville, Missouri. He was elected prosecuting attorney of Nodaway County in 1886. In 1903 he was appointed judge of the fourth judicial court and was elected to the same position in 1902 and 1908, serving seventeen years.

JEROME D. EUBANK: Born in Saline County, Missouri, October 3, 1865; died in Kansas City, March 28, 1933. In 1890 he was elected to the General Assembly from Saline County.

FRANK H. FARRIS was born August 8, 1867, at Lebanon, Mo. He was educated in the public schools and at Marionville College. He began his legislative experience as a page, later being Assistant Secretary and Reading Clerk of the Senate. In 1898 he was first elected to the State Senate from the Twenty-fourth District, and was President *pro tem* of the Forty-first General Assembly. He was reelected Senator in 1902. As his father had done, he was first elected Senator and then Representative, one of the ambitions of his life. He represented Crawford County in the House in the Forty-fourth and Forty-sixth General Assemblies, and was elected to the Forty-eighth General Assembly to represent Phelps County, being reelected in 1916 to the Forty-ninth, where he was majority floor leader.

HON. JOHN WESLEY FARRIS: Born in Marion County, Illinois, January 20, 1846, son of Hiram K. and Abigail Farris. He enlisted in the Union Army October 23, 1861; participated in the Battle of Shiloh, where he was slightly wounded; was with the army of General Sherman in his march to the sea; after the Civil war he located at Lebanon, Missouri. In 1883 he was elected to the State Senate; in 1883 admitted to the bar; in 1896 elected to the General Assembly and became speaker of the House. In 1895 he was chosen chairman of the Laclede County Democratic Committee, which place he held for many years. He was closely identified with Richard P. Bland and his political career. He was a delegate to the Chicago Convention in 1896, and was in charge of Bland's campaign for President. He was twice married. In 1866 he married Josephine Lewis, who died April 10, 1877. There were three children—Frank H., William L., and Grace, deceased. On November 24, 1878, he married Mrs. Belle Bradshaw. He died April 4, 1916.

ARTHUR J. FITZSIMMONS: Born in St. Louis; died in St. Louis, November 25, 1930. He was chairman of the City Democratic Committee, and a member of the State Committee. In 1912 he was a delegate to the Baltimore Convention. He was a member of the old House of Delegates in St. Louis.

C. C. FOGLE: Born in Hardin County, Kentucky, July 28, 1847; died in Lancaster, Missouri, July 18, 1924. His family moved to Missouri in 1851. In 1878 he was admitted to the bar. He served in several local offices, and represented Schuyler County in the General Assembly from 1889 to 1895.

BEN FRANKLIN: Born in Putnam County, Mo., September 14, 1861; died in Macon, Mo., January 17, 1934. He attended Stanberry Normal School and the University of Missouri, being admitted to the bar in 1889. He practiced in Unionville until 1893, then moved to Macon. In 1896 he was elected prosecuting attorney of Macon County, and was reelected in 1898.

ALEXANDER J. P. GARESCHE: Born March 1, 1823, near Matanzas, Cuba, while his parents were temporarily sojourning on the island. In 1839 he came to St. Louis; finished his education at the St. Louis University; was admitted to the bar in 1845.

L. U. Reavis, in his "Saint Louis: The Future Great City," (pp. 628-29), says of Alexander J. P. Garesche: "No period of his life is more marked than that intervening between 1865 and 1867, during which he was debarred from practice, and which witnessed his brilliant and manly fight against the adoption of the Drake Constitution, his resistance to the proscription of the Ousting Ordinance, and his stubborn, unyielding effort to break down the Test Oath. The judges of the bench, the officers of the different courts, were all men who had succumbed to the necessities of the times, and fulfilled the requirements of the Test Oath. He alone held to his first convictions, and, notwithstanding the innumerable difficulties, he never lost confidence in the justice of his cause; he labored on until, in 1869, when by a decree of the Supreme Court of the United States, the Test Oath was declared unconstitutional, and he was restored to all the rights and privileges of an American citizen."

He died in St. Louis, November 10, 1896.

VAL H. GIESLER: Born near Salisbury, Missouri; died in Salisbury, January 1, 1933. He bought an interest in the *Press Spectator* and continued as editor until his death. He was president of the Northeast Missouri Press Association.

CHARLES GORDON GOODNIGHT: Born December 8, 1869, near Montserrat, Missouri; died August 14, 1927. From 1914 to 1918 he served as recorder of deeds in Johnson County. In 1922 and 1924 he was elected to the Legislature from Jefferson County.

ALLEN M. GREER: Born in Ohio, June 24, 1840; died in Warrensburg, Missouri, March 31, 1926. Prior to the Civil war he moved to Illinois. In 1861 he enlisted in the Union Army and served until the end of the war. In 1867 he moved to Johnson County, Missouri. In 1872 he was elected prosecuting attorney of that county, being the first Democrat elected after the war.

LAWRENCE M. GRIFFITH: Born in Virginia, March 16, 1876; died in Rich Hill, Mo., November 25, 1933. He moved to Missouri in 1881, and engaged in the merchandising business. He served as Alderman and Mayor of Rich Hill, and was representative in the 44th and 45th General Assemblies in 1907 and 1909.

WILLARD P. HALL: Born at St. Joseph, Missouri, September 9, 1851; died in Kansas City, Missouri, July 17, 1930. In 1872, he was graduated from Yale and entered the law offices of his father, the former Governor Willard P. Hall, in St. Joseph. He became prosecuting attorney of Buchanan County. In 1884 when the court of appeals was created, he was appointed one of the judges by Governor Crittenden. He was appointed to the Independence division of the circuit court to succeed Judge Kimbrough Stone when the latter went to the United States District Court in 1917. Judge Hall was elected to this office in 1918, and reelected in 1924. Following in the footsteps of his distinguished father, who rose to great prominence in the history of the state and nation, Willard P. attained a prominence in the history of Missouri which was in every way creditable. He was a man endowed with a charming personality, and had a high standing among those who knew him.

DAVID H. HARRIS: Born near Deer Park, Boone County, June 21, 1866; died in Columbia, December 11, 1930. Admitted to the bar in 1887, located at Fulton,

and after serving as city attorney was elected prosecuting attorney of Callaway County in 1894. He raised a company for service in the Spanish-American war. He succeeded Judge Thurmond on the circuit bench in the district composed of Boone and Callaway counties, where he served several terms.

ALFRED L. HARTY: Born in Stoddard County, November 3, 1867; died in New Madrid, March 4, 1931. For many years he was active in the affairs of Southeast Missouri. During 1918-21 he was Insurance Commissioner under the Gardner administration. His home was in Cape Girardeau.

THOMAS B. HARVEY: Born in Crawford County, Mississippi; died at St. Louis, May 15, 1929. He located at St. Louis in 1880 and was appointed circuit attorney and served until 1885. In 1905 he was appointed circuit judge by Governor Stone. In 1913 he was elected circuit attorney.

GEORGE HOWARD HIGGINBOTHAM: Born near Potosi, Missouri, December 3, 1876; died in Potosi, Missouri, February 4, 1934. He engaged in the mercantile business for many years, then retired. He was mayor of Potosi for two terms, and was representative from Washington County in the 57th General Assembly, 1933.

WILLIAM RUFUS HOLLISTER: Born in Monticello, Missouri, September 3, 1879; died at Jefferson City, Missouri, October 3, 1928. He began his newspaper experience with the *Lewis County Journal*. He was secretary to Senator William Joel Stone. He purchased a share of the *Capital News* at Jefferson City, and was editor of this paper when he died.

ZADOK WALTER HOOK: Born near Fulton, Missouri, May 3, 1850; died at Auxvasse, Missouri, April 15, 1928. He was associated with the *Missouri Telegraph* at Fulton, and in 1902 began publishing the *Review* at Auxvasse, which he continued until the time of his death.

EDWARD N. HOPKINS: Born near Eminence, Kentucky, June 24, 1864; died at Lexington, Missouri, March 5, 1930. In 1887 he was a member of the faculty of Wentworth Military Academy and taught there for fourteen years. In 1901 he became associated with I. G. Neale in the management of the *Lexington Intelligencer*. He organized the Lexington Historical Society.

JAMES A. HOUCHIN: Born in Logan County, Illinois, in 1869; moved to Jefferson City, Missouri, after he finished school; became a prison stenographer at the State prison, and this led him to the business of contract labor, from which it is said he accumulated a fortune; unsuccessful candidate for Governor in 1912, and again in 1916; at one time he was the owner of the Madison Hotel, in Jefferson City, long the Mecca of Missouri Democrats when visiting or sojourning at the State Capital; for many years he was known as an active advocate of prison contract labor; died December 14, 1933, at Springfield, Ill.

CLARENCE O. HOUSTON: Born in Chariton County, Missouri, April 6, 1854; died near Prairie Hill, Missouri, June 9, 1933. He was assessor of Chariton County during 1906-10, and was representative in the 49th, 50th, and 51st General Assemblies, during 1917-1921.

OTHO J. HURLEY: Born in Hagerstown, Maryland, March 4, 1839; died in St. Joseph, Missouri, August 12, 1925. In 1862 he joined the Confederate Army. He established the *Andrew County Democrat* at Savannah, August 20, 1876, and was its editor until 1895. From 1886 until 1890 he served as postmaster of Savannah.

JOHN BIGGS JEFFRIES: Born in Lewis County, Mo., September 1, 1862; died in Hannibal, Mo., December 4, 1933. He was graduated from La Grange College in 1882, then taught school. In 1905 he joined the staff of the *Hannibal Courier-Post*, and eight months later became editor, serving as such until 1916, when he became publisher. He was president of the Missouri Associated Press during 1925-33, and of the Missouri Press Association in 1933.

JAMES THOMAS MORRIS JOHNSON: Born in Ashland, Missouri, March 17, 1856; died in Washington, D. C., November 9, 1930. In 1887 he was ordained in the Baptist ministry and received the D. D. degree from Southwestern College in 1890. During the following years he was active in many church affairs. He was made a

delegate-at-large to the Democratic National Convention at St. Louis in 1916. He was the author of several books, including: "A Man With a Purpose," "The Question of the Hour," "Moral Heroes," and "World Patriots." He was buried near Ashland.

WILLIAM DANIEL JOHNSON: Born at Galatia, Illinois, June 27, 1859; died at Crocker, Missouri, November 30, 1924. He was prosecuting attorney of Pulaski County, represented the county in the legislature in 1913, and was postmaster of Crocker for eight years under President Woodrow Wilson.

WILLIAM TELL JOHNSON: Born at Osceola, August 4, 1838; died in Kansas City, September 11, 1930. He was educated in the University of Notre Dame, and read law with his father, Waldo P. Johnson. He was admitted to the bar in 1872. In January, 1879, he moved to Kansas City and formed a partnership with John H. Lucas. He was widely known in church circles and became a Knight of St. Gregory, the highest civil honor bestowed by the Pope.

T. A. JOHNSTON: Born in Cooper County, Mo., November 13, 1848; died in Boonville, Mo., February 5, 1934. He served in the Confederate Army, then studied in Prairie Home Academy, Kemper Family School, and the University of Missouri. He began teaching in Kemper Family School, now Kemper Military School, becoming president after the death of Frederick T. Kemper, March 9, 1881, a position he held until his death. The U. S. 40 bridge at Boonville is dedicated to him because of his efforts to secure it, and because of his civic work. He engaged in banking for many years.

MORTON JOURDAN: Born in Plattsburg, Missouri, December 19, 1864; died in St. Louis, November 12, 1932. He practiced law in Carroll County from 1883 to 1893, and moved to Jefferson City to become assistant attorney general of Missouri. In 1897, he helped organize the St. Louis Transit Company. He was active in Democratic politics until the time of his death.

JOSEPH KANE: Born at Pittsfield, Ill., in 1878; died in St. Louis, Mo., December 28, 1933. He was admitted to the bar in 1906, and practiced in St. Louis thereafter. He taught in the St. Louis University School of Law and the City College of Law and Finance. He was elected to the St. Louis Court of Appeals, assuming office January 1, 1933.

RALPH S. LATSHAW: Born in Ontario, Canada, October 7, 1865; died in Kansas City, May 17, 1932. He came to Kansas City with his parents when a year old. He was educated at Georgetown College and began the practice of law. In 1908 he was elected judge of the Jackson County Criminal Court and in 1926 was elected judge of the Sixteenth Judicial Court.

JAMES H. LAY: Born in Warsaw, Missouri, October 18, 1844; died in Warsaw, November 16, 1931. Admitted to the bar in 1864, and represented Benton County in the General Assembly in 1875 and 1883. He was appointed to the circuit bench by Governor Francis and was elected to the same position. He was one of the authors of the history of Benton County.

FRED LAMB: Born in Randolph County, Missouri, June 11, 1872; died in Brookfield, March 15, 1928. He read law in the office of Martin & Ferrell in Moberly, and was admitted to the bar in 1896. He was elected judge of the 12th Judicial Circuit, serving a term of twelve years.

SAMUEL LAZARUS: Born February 4, 1855, at Syracuse, New York. He began his business career at the age of thirteen, and from a clerk he became a cowboy, a cattle dealer, and finally the president of a railroad in Texas in 1910. After a business career in Texas he came to St. Louis. In 1914 he was elected as a Democrat president of the city council, and at times served as mayor when Mayor Kiel was absent from the city. For some time he was head of the Democratic League of St. Louis, and was always active and helpful in the campaigns of the Democratic Party.

His interest in William Joel Stone was one of his prime considerations and the death of Stone in 1918 greatly affected him. He was also a strong adherent to the

political fortunes of James A. Reed, and in 1922 during the latter's hectic fight for the nomination and again in the general election he was active in Reed's election to the U. S. Senate.

In his "Centennial History of Missouri," Walter B. Stevens says of Sam Lazarus: "There is always something encouraging in the history of such a man, as it shows what can be accomplished through individual effort. Dependent upon his own resources from the age of fourteen, he is now the head of important business interests, and a leading figure in the industrial and commercial life of St. Louis."

He was an ardent admirer of Champ Clark, and in 1912 he contributed in many ways to help Mr. Clark in Texas in the contest for the delegates to the Baltimore Convention. His wide acquaintance, and his former interest in the development of the railroads in Texas, made his influence and help valuable.

He was a delegate to the Democratic Convention at San Francisco in 1920, and tried in every way to harmonize the conflicting questions that disturbed that meeting. While attending a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Frisco Railroad in New York on March 5, 1926, he was stricken and died suddenly.

Politically his judgment of men was wonderfully accurate, and his opinions in the Party counsels always carried great weight. Personally, he was one of the most popular men of his time.

JOHN A. LEE: Born in Henderson, Kentucky; died in St. Louis, Mo., October 24, 1933, at the age of 83. He moved to Keytesville in 1875. He went to Jefferson City and held positions with the state auditor and state treasurer for many years. In 1916 and 1920 he was supervisor of the State Building and Loan Bureau. Perhaps no man ever in the employment of the state had a more practical knowledge of state finances than this man.

WILLIAM GOODIN LEE: Born in Mississippi County, Missouri, November 12, 1858; died at Charleston, Missouri, February 28, 1933. He served two terms as prosecuting attorney of the county. He represented Mississippi County in the 42d and 43d General Assemblies.

JAMES D. LINDSAY: Born in Henry County, Missouri, November 7, 1857; died in Jefferson City, August 18, 1930. He was prosecuting attorney of Henry County two terms, and a member of the General Assembly. He was assistant counsel of the Public Service Commission. He was appointed a commissioner of the Supreme Court, and reappointed in 1923, and again in 1927, dying during his term of office.

GEORGE F. LONGAN: Born near Houstonia, Missouri, October 28, 1856; died in Sedalia, December 7, 1931. In 1882, he was elected to the General Assembly from Pettis County. Governor Stone appointed him to the newly created Judicial Circuit Court, comprised of Pettis County. He was later elected to this office and served ten years.

JOHN (UNCLE JOHN) LUCAS: Born at Danville, Kentucky, February 8, 1852; died at Kansas City, March 18, 1926. He was married to Miss Nannie Caldwell at Harrisburg, November 25, 1869. In 1871 he moved to Osceola, Missouri, where he lived for 55 years. In 1874 he entered a law partnership with W. T. Johnson. He was active in the affairs of his section until the time of his death.

PLEASANT LEE BERT LYLES: Born at Oxford, Mississippi, December 4, 1861; died in Frankford, Missouri, June 23, 1932. He practiced law at Houston, Missouri, and for a time was editor of the *Eminence Current Wave*. He was representative from Shannon County from 1907 to 1913; also in the 44th, 45th, 46th and 47th General Assemblies, serving as Speaker *pro tem.* in the latter session.

A. STANFORD LYON: Born in Kansas City, Missouri, February 24, 1887; died in Kansas City, September 19, 1933. In 1926 he was elected judge of the 16th Circuit, and retired in 1928.

CHARLES W. McANINCH: Born in Casey County, Kentucky, March 5, 1849; died near Hughesville, June 22, 1926. He came to Missouri in early life and was educated at Georgetown Academy. He was presiding judge of the Pettis County Court from 1906 to 1914. He represented this county in the state legislature and served on the State Fair Board.

THOMAS EDWARD MCKINNEY: Born in Farmington, Mo., November 19, 1897; died in Bonne Terre, Mo., December 8, 1933. He engaged in the mercantile business, then studied law. In 1931 he was a member of the 56th General Assembly. He was assistant prosecuting attorney of St. Francois County at the time of his death.

WESLEY M. MCMURRY: Born at Colony, Knox County, Missouri, September 25, 1870; died at St. Louis, February 11, 1929. He moved to Rutledge and represented Scotland County in the Legislature for three consecutive terms. In 1922 he was elected to the State Senate, and reelected in 1926.

MRS. W. W. MARTIN: Died at Greensboro, N. C., January 29, 1934, from injuries received in an auto accident. She was a delegate to the State Democratic Convention at Joplin in 1920, from Cape Girardeau County, and made the opening speech against the seating of James A. Reed as a delegate from the Fifth Congressional District. Later, as a delegate to the National Democratic Convention at San Francisco she became a member of the Credentials Committee, which again refused Senator Reed a seat. Mrs. Martin was a former president of the Missouri Federation of Women's Clubs and was connected with the State Teachers College at Cape Girardeau.

OLIVER WORDEN MITCHELL: Born in Ellis County, Kansas; died in Springfield, Mo., January 24, 1934, at the age of 46. From the age of ten he had resided in Aldrich, Mo., and for years had engaged in the contracting business. He served as representative from Polk County in the 57th General Assembly, and in the extra session of 1934 until his death.

DAVID NELSON: Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, January 24, 1860; died at St. Louis, Missouri, December 15, 1929. He was active in Democratic political circles and was elected to the State Senate from St. Louis in 1903, and reelected in 1905.

STEPHEN A. NEWMAN: Born at Bethany, Missouri; died near Miller, Missouri, August 18, 1933. He began the practice of medicine at Mount Vernon, and during 1916-20 was superintendent of the State Hospital there. He was mayor of Cassville for four terms.

EDWARD ALOYSIUS NOONAN: Born in Reading, Pennsylvania, in 1848; died at St. Louis, September 23, 1927. Graduated from Albany Law University in New York, and removed to St. Louis. In 1876 he was elected Circuit Attorney and served six years, resigning to become judge of the criminal court of correction. Elected Mayor of St. Louis and served from 1889 to 1893.

ARCHIBALD A. PEARSON: Born in Tullahoma, Tennessee; died in Merriam, Kansas, May 19, 1928. He enlisted in the Confederate Army at the age of 16, in the 19th Tennessee Cavalry. Later he served under General Forrest. He was elected head of the Missouri Division of the United Confederate Veterans, and served continuously in that office until his death.

EDWARD EVERETT PORTERFIELD: Born in Berkley County, Virginia, March 29, 1861; died at Kansas City, Missouri, November 10, 1933. He moved to Kansas City in 1886. He was appointed to the Circuit bench in 1907 and reelected continuously thereafter. He founded and presided over the Juvenile Court until the day of his death.

J. ALLEN PREWITT: Born in Henry County, Kentucky, January 20, 1862; died in Independence, Mo., January 26, 1934. He studied law and taught school, being admitted to the bar in 1887. He was mayor of Independence, and in 1911, 1919, and 1921 was representative in the General Assembly.

HENRY J. PRIEST: Born near Stoutsville, Missouri, January 25, 1842; died in New London, January 10, 1926. During the Civil war he served in the Confederate Army. In 1899 he was elected presiding judge of the Ralls County Court, which position he held for sixteen years.

HENRY SAMUEL PRIEST: Born in Ralls County, Missouri, February 7, 1853; died at St. Louis, July 9, 1930. He was admitted to the bar in 1873 and began practice at Moberly. He was prosecuting attorney of Randolph County, and from

1881 to 1883 was attorney for the Missouri Pacific Railroad, then attorney for the Wabash, and finally general attorney for the Missouri Pacific Railroad. In 1894 he was appointed to a Federal Judgeship by President Cleveland. He resigned in 1920, and in 1924 became a candidate for Governor. He was president of the Missouri Bar Association, and the St. Louis Bar Association. He was also a Knight of the German Red Cross. In the Democratic primary of 1920, Judge Priest was a candidate for United States Senator, in which he was opposed chiefly by Breckinridge Long and Charles M. Hay, the nomination going to Long, who was defeated in the November election. In the primary of 1924, he was again a candidate, this time for governor, in which his strongest opponents were Dr. A. W. Nelson, Floyd Jacobs and George H. Moore, the nomination going to Nelson. For many years Judge Priest was head of the Missouri Branch of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment. From time to time he wrote in his usual strong and interesting way some convincing arguments against the prohibition amendment.

EDWIN LEONARD PURCELL: Born in New Orleans, Louisiana, in 1861; died in Illmo, Missouri, December 11, 1933. He operated the *Fredericktown Democrat-News* for eighteen years, then moved to Texas. For the last nineteen years he had been editor and publisher of the *Illmo Jimplicute*. He was president of the Missouri Press Association in 1912. He was city treasurer when he died. Purcell brought the name of *Jimplicute* from Jefferson, Texas, where it was published in 1875. Purcell was the office boy of the *Jimplicute*.

PERRY S. RADER: Born in Jasper County, Missouri, November 24, 1859; died in St. Louis, January 30, 1934. Elected official reporter of the Supreme Court of Missouri in 1897, he held the position until December 31, 1932. He was widely known as the author of "Rader's History of Missouri and Civil Government," a standard text book since its publication in 1896. A Democrat, he was a close friend of William Joel Stone, Alexander M. Dockery, and all the judges of the Supreme Court.

CHARLES RAY: Born at Gadfly, now Corsicana, Missouri, November 3, 1856; died February 28, 1926, at Cassville, Missouri. In 1893 he was appointed postmaster of Cassville, and at one time was treasurer of Barry County. He received the *Democrat* from his father, John Ray, who bought the paper in 1872 and who was an uncompromising Democrat in every essential; and Charles Ray conducted the paper along the same lines. When Charles Ray died, he left the *Democrat* property to his wife, Jennie Ray, a most estimable wife and mother. The paper is conducted by her son, John Ray, and is one of the outstanding Democratic papers of the Southwest. Another son, Means Ray, is widely known in Missouri politics, and is at the time of this writing mayor of Jefferson City.

THOMAS PIERCE RIXEY: Born at the old home place, "Falkland," south of Culpeper, Virginia. He moved to Missouri in 1880, and located in Montgomery County. He served one term as Labor Commissioner of Missouri. He was a lecturer with the National Good Roads Association for several years, and was quite active in the affairs of the Democratic Party of the State. He was admitted to the bar in Virginia in 1879. He was grand master of the Grand Lodge of Missouri. His daughter, Louise Emma Rixey, married Dr. Francis Joseph Tainter, surgeon at the St. Charles, Missouri, Hospital. Mr. Rixey died at the conclusion of a political speech in 1918.

SIDNEY J. ROY: Born near Nelsonville, Missouri, in 1873, and died in Washington, D. C., April 15, 1926. For years he was secretary of the Hannibal Chamber of Commerce, and later became secretary of the Mississippi Improvement Association, where he made an exhaustive study of river transportation. He was married in 1894 to Miss Jennie Curry of Jefferson City. Roy made two unsuccessful races for Congress in the First Congressional District—the one made famous by the long career of William H. Hatch. Sidney J. Roy was without doubt the best posted man in the nation on "Deep Waterways," to which subject he had given great thought. He was a brother of Judge Reuben Roy, of Ralls County, who stood high in the legal profession of the state.

HARRY M. RUBEY: Born at Macon, Missouri, July 25, 1865; died at San Diego, California, July 10, 1929. Elected mayor of Macon in 1904. Represented Macon County in the State Legislature in 1905. He served as president of the Missouri Bankers Association and in 1908 was chairman of the State Democratic Committee.

WEB M. RUBEY: Born in Danville, Missouri, October 19, 1835; died in Macon, Missouri, May 19, 1933. He began practice of law in Macon in 1863. He was elected to the state senate in 1874, and in 1897 was a member of the lower house, representing Macon County.

MOSES N. SALE: Born in Louisville, Kentucky, October 17, 1857; died in St. Louis, January 29, 1930. He was admitted to the state bar in Kentucky in 1879 and moved to St. Louis in 1881. In 1903 he was appointed by Governor Dockery to fill a vacancy on the circuit bench in St. Louis. He was elected in 1904 and again in 1928, for the same position. During the World war he served as chairman of the Draft Board in St. Louis.

EDWARD LUCKY SCARRITT: Born near Kansas City, Missouri, August 30, 1853; died in Kansas City, May 2, 1933. He practiced law in Glasgow in 1875, and in 1876 moved to Kansas City. In 1885 he was appointed City Counselor, and in 1888 he assisted in drafting the Kansas City Charter. In 1892 he was elected judge of the 16th circuit and served six years.

WILLIAM J. SCHOENLAUB: Born in St. Louis, Mo., June 18, 1867; died in St. Louis, Mo., February 4, 1934. He was elected to the State Senate from the 33rd district in 1900, and served in the 41st and 42nd General Assemblies of 1901 and 1903.

MADISON C. SCHOFIELD: Born in Lewis County, Missouri, October 30, 1873; died in St. Louis, October 10, 1932. He represented Marion County in the General Assembly in 1911, 1913 and 1918. He was appointed United States District Commissioner for the Hannibal district in 1930.

JAMES MONROE SEIBERT: Born in Perry County, Missouri; died 1935. See Biographical Section.

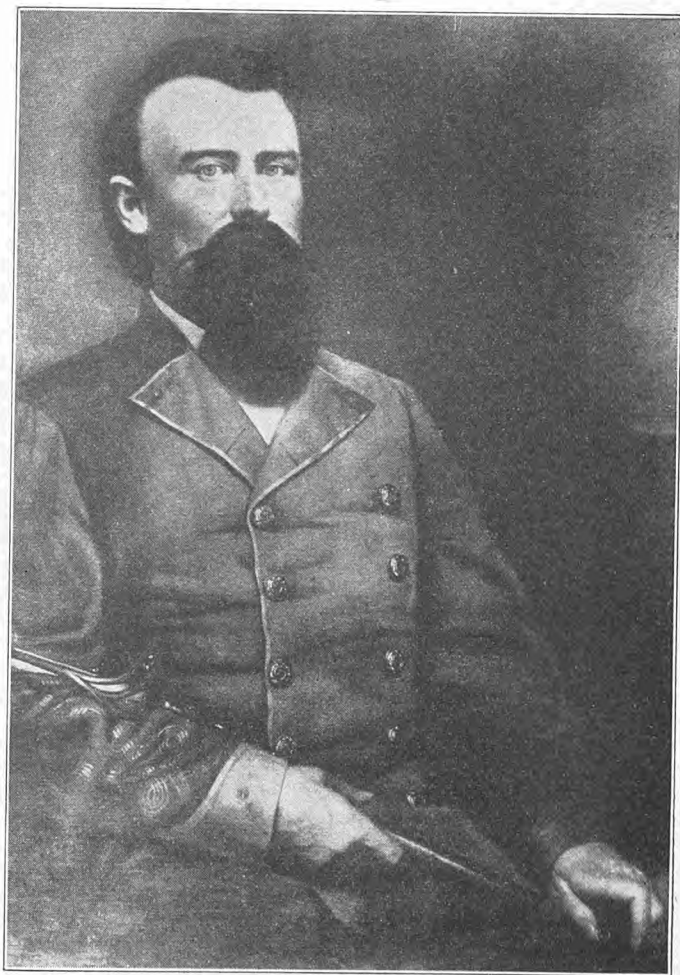
COLIN McRAE SELPH: Born in Richmond, Virginia, July 16, 1864; died in St. Louis, December 26, 1929. He moved to St. Louis in 1886. He was for a period of two years associated with the *Post-Dispatch*, and then became business manager of the *Kansas City Times*. In 1903 he was a member of the General Assembly, and in 1904 he organized the St. Louis Democratic Club and was admitted to the bar. In 1913 he was appointed postmaster of St. Louis by President Wilson. During the World war he was a special assistant postmaster general.

MAJOR-GENERAL JOSEPH ORVILLE SHELBY: Born in Lexington, Kentucky, in 1831. He came to Missouri in 1849 and settled in Lafayette County. He engaged in the manufacture of hemp rope, having factories in Lafayette County on the Missouri River. In 1858 he married Elizabeth N. Shelby. To them were born eight children: Orville, Joseph B., Benjamin G., Webb, Sam S., Nannie G., John S., and Howard H. Shelby.

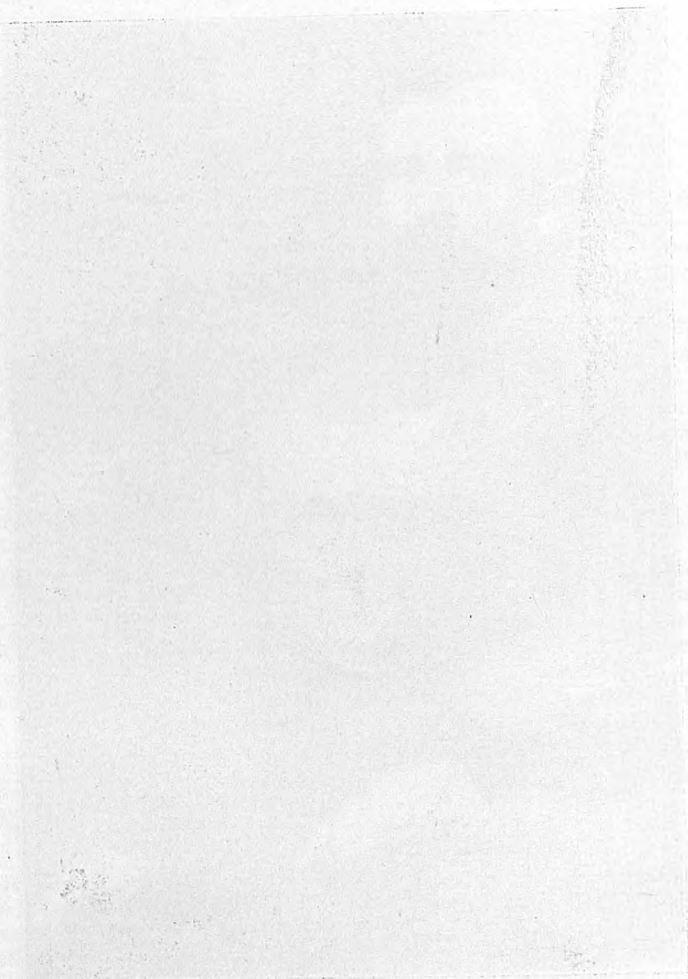
When the Civil war came he espoused the cause of the South, and after organizing a company, entered the Confederate service and soon became a colonel. He was in all the major battles fought west of the Mississippi River, and was with Marmaduke in many of them. And what a combination of bravery and indomitable courage existed in these two men. His campaigns are vividly described by Major John N. Edwards, who participated with him in all of them, in his history of "Shelby and His Men."

The day that the Confederate Congress made him a brigadier-general, Shelby was preparing to attack Steele's army. With 15,000 men Steele was marching South through Arkansas to join Banks, who was coming up Red River. Shelby had 1,000 men. He decided to make the attack on Steele at midnight. To inspire his men, he issued this address:

"Soldiers of Shelby's Brigade: You march in four hours to attack the enemy. He is strong, well equipped and not deficient in courage, but I intend that you shall



GENERAL JO SHELBY



ride down his infantry, and scatter his battalion by the splendor of your charge. You have just four hours to say your prayers, make your needful preparations and nerve your hearts for the onset. It will be desperate, because you are brave; bloody, because you are reckless, and tenacious because today I am a brigadier-general. I have told you often about our homes, our country, and our glorious cause. Today, I simply appeal to your ambition, your fame, your spotless reputation and your eternal renown."

This is like Napoleon speaking to the Old Guard, but it is recorded that there was desperate fighting for days.

After the surrender of Lee, he organized "Shelby's expedition to Mexico," which is characterized as "An Unwritten Leaf of the War." The intention of Shelby and his men was to support the cause of Maximilian, who was to have been placed on the throne as emperor of Mexico. The failure of this plan caused the expedition to return home.

Following the election of 1876, when the contest between Tilden and Hayes was undecided, the conditions grew threatening, and there was a fear that civil war might begin. At this crisis, General Shelby gave an interview to the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* in which he declared his intention to stand by President Grant. The interview attained wide circulation, and Colonel Clay King and Alonzo W. Slayback and other distinguished Confederates endorsed it and the threat quieted down.

During the second Cleveland administration, General Shelby's name was presented for United States Marshal for the Western District of Missouri. Major William Warner, former commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, who served in both branches of Congress as a Republican, wrote a letter endorsing Shelby's appointment and then wrote Shelby congratulating him on his appointment. Ex-Governor Thomas C. Fletcher, the war governor of Missouri, went to the attorney-general at Washington to say that no mistake would be made in the appointment of Shelby. The appointment was made February 4, 1894, and he served with credit to himself and to his party until the end of his life. Between Shelby and Grover Cleveland there existed a warm friendship. Shelby died on his farm in Bates County, Missouri, in 1897. He was buried in Forest Hill Cemetery in Kansas City, Missouri.

GEORGE M. SHELLEY: Born in Murray, Kentucky, in 1848; died in Kansas City, January 5, 1929. In 1868 he was in the wholesale dry goods business in Kansas City, and in 1878 was elected mayor. He was reelected for the following term. In 1886 he was appointed postmaster by President Cleveland. Governors Crittenden, Marmaduke and Stone all chose him as police commissioner of Kansas City.

NATHANIEL M. SHELTON: Born near Troy, Missouri, March 17, 1851; died in Macon, Missouri, September 21, 1928. He studied law under the direction of Judge Elliott M. Hughes, and in 1874 entered the law department of the University of Missouri. In 1875 he began practice of law in Shelby County. In 1884 and 1886 he was elected to the General Assembly of the state, and in 1888 was elected to the Senate. In 1898 he was elected judge of the second judicial circuit, composed of Putnam, Shelby, Adair, Macon and Schuyler counties, which he held for eighteen years.

NEHEMIAH JOHN SHEPHERD: Born in Lebanon, Illinois, October 7, 1850; died in Eldon, Missouri, October 23, 1930. He entered journalism early in life, and for more than thirty years was on the staff of the *St. Louis Republic*. He was "Query" editor and literary critic. On June 11, 1894, he established the *Eldon Advertiser*. Gov. Frederick D. Gardner appointed him representative to the National Farmers' Congress. The *Advertiser* is now conducted by his son, E. H. Shepherd.

ANTHONY D. STANLEY: Born in Cole County, July 27, 1854; died in Sedalia, January 5, 1931. He was engaged in various business enterprises, and in 1891 located at Sedalia, and bought the controlling interest in the *Democrat*. In 1907 the *Sentinel* was absorbed by the *Democrat*.

EDWIN WILLIAM STEPHENS: Born in Boone County, Missouri, January 21, 1849; died at Columbia, Missouri, May 22, 1931. He was educated in the University of Missouri. In 1870 he began his journalistic career at publisher of the *Columbia Herald*. He was president of the National Editorial Association, past president of the

Missouri Press Association, vice president of the World's Press Congress, and in 1930 received the University of Missouri's Medal of Honor in journalism. He was president of the commission that planned the construction of the present state capitol. He was the first president of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

WILLIAM ASBURY STEPHENS: Born in Tennessee; died at Warrensburg, Missouri, December 1, 1926. He finally located in Johnson County after coming to Missouri. After serving in several places in the county governments, he was elected to the General Assembly and served three terms.

SAM B. STROTHER: Born near Louisville, Kentucky, in June 1871; died at Kansas City, January 19, 1929. His first position after leaving school was secretary to Mayor William S. Cowherd. On the death of Mayor Cowgill in 1922, Mr. Strother was selected as his successor.

AUGUSTUS THOMAS was born in St. Louis, January 8, 1857. He was educated in the public schools; married a St. Louis girl, Miss Lisle Colby. He obtained degrees at the University of Missouri and Columbia University, and taught and studied at other institutions of higher learning. Earlier after his public school education, he served as a page in the Missouri Legislature and in the House at Washington. He clerked in a railroad office, studied law and was active in labor organizations. Then he became associated with St. Louis and Kansas City newspapers. Thomas was an ardent Democrat and was active in his support of Democratic National tickets in every Democratic campaign, commencing with that of 1896, in which he actively supported William J. Bryan for president. At the Democratic Convention in Kansas City in 1908, as an alternate from the Seventh Missouri District, he seconded Bryan's nomination. He made his debut as a playwright in 1887 by dramatizing as a one-act curtain-raiser a story by Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnett and acted in it on its production by Charles Frohman in 1889 in New York. Its favorable reception led him to settle in New York in 1890 to write plays. After his trio of early successes he achieved distinction in 1907 with his "Witching Hour" one of a series of plays dealing with telepathy, which was recast in novel form in 1908. From then until 1921 a heavy stream of plays flowed from his pen, including an adaptation of "The Copperhead." Retiring to Washington County after 1927, he remained in seclusion, coming into the city only occasionally to act as toastmaster at banquets. Thomas died in New York on August 12, 1934, survived by his widow, one son and a daughter, Mrs. William Elliott, Jr.

BERRY G. THURMAN: Born in Miller County, Missouri, June 25, 1851; died in Nevada, Missouri, December 29, 1930. He was admitted to the bar in Benton County in 1873. He was elected prosecuting attorney of Dade County, and was reelected in 1878. He was a member of the revision session of the Legislature in 1889 in the Senate. He was elected in 1906 circuit judge of the 26th judicial circuit and served until 1928, when he resigned.

NICHOLAS DAVISON THURMOND: Born in Pike County, Missouri, October 30, 1843; died at Fulton, Missouri, April 2, 1927. In 1862 he enlisted in the Confederate Army under Colonel Porter. This command was disbanded and in 1864 he rejoined the Confederate Army under General Price, when he was wounded and discharged. He was admitted to the bar in 1876, and in 1880 was a presidential elector. In 1892 he was a delegate to the state Democratic Convention. In 1896 he was appointed the first judge of the circuit composed of Boone and Callaway counties. He was prosecuting attorney of Callaway County for three terms, and represented the county in the General Assembly in 1885 and 1889.

WILLIAM ARMISTEAD WALL: Born in Virginia in 1846; died in St. Louis, Mo., December 6, 1933. He was in the Confederate Army, being a member of Mosby's Raiders. After the war he moved to a farm near Clark, Mo. He was formerly state commander of the United Confederate Veterans, and head of St. Louis Camp, 731.

ALEXANDER H. WALLER: Born in Carroll County, Kentucky; died at Moberly, Missouri, March 18, 1925. He located in Randolph County in 1873. He was prosecuting attorney for three terms, and from 1903 to 1917 was circuit judge.

EDWARD CAREY WATERS: Born near Center, Missouri, August 20, 1854; died at Vandalia, August 3, 1924. In 1886 he located at Vandalia, and during the Cleveland administration he served as postmaster. He represented Audrain County two terms in the General Assembly.

MOSES C. WETMORE: No history of Missouri Democracy should fail to honor this man, and perpetuate his memory. He knew no politics outside of that prescribed him by his party.

For many years, Moses Wetmore was engaged in the tobacco business. After disposing of his interest he became connected with many industries in St. Louis. With Sam Kennard and others, he built the new Planters Hotel, after wrecking the old hotel building.

Always interested in the affairs of the Democratic Party, he became one of the most enthusiastic advocates in the West of William Jennings Bryan for President. Wetmore was often mentioned in connection with the governorship, and served once as head of the state committee for a time. He was particularly interested in William Joel Stone, and after Stone retired from the governorship, Wetmore was one of his most devoted admirers, and was helpful in Stone's advancement to the United States Senate in 1903.

In the last days of November, 1910, while crossing the street he was struck by a vehicle and seriously injured. He lingered for some days, and died on November 27, 1910, at his home, 5849 Clemens Avenue, St. Louis.

The funeral ceremonies were conducted at the home, which was attended by a concourse of friends. William Joel Stone pronounced the funeral oration and it is recorded that he was so deeply affected by the death of his friend that his discourse was overcome by his grief.

Joseph Shannon, chairman of the state committee, called the committee to attend, and the following resolution was adopted:

"In the removal of Colonel Wetmore the people of Missouri and the people of the nation have lost a valuable citizen. He was fearless, brave, generous and upright, and stood with the courage of a Jackson for those eternal principles of justice on which our nation is founded.

"The Democratic State Committee today in meeting assembled express to his bereaved relatives its tender sympathy, and join the people of the city, state and nation in mourning his loss."

Wiring from his farm in Texas to the Democratic State Committee, William Jennings Bryan said: "Please represent me and convey our sympathy to the relatives. We share their sorrow. His death is a personal bereavement to us and a loss to his party and the country."

ROBERT M. WHITE: Born in Southampton, Long Island, in 1855, died at Mexico, Missouri, June 26, 1934. He moved to Mexico, Missouri, with his parents in 1866. Educated at Westminster College at Fulton; in 1876, he purchased the *Mexico Ledger*; served for thirty-three years as chairman of the Finance Committee of the State Historical Society of Missouri; president of the Missouri Press Association in 1885; for twenty-eight years he served as a member of the Board of Managers of the State's eleemosynary institution.

JOSIAH WHITESIDE: Born in Lincoln County, Missouri, May 25, 1853; died in Hannibal, Missouri, May 15, 1933. He served as representative of Lincoln County in the 48th and 49th General Assemblies during 1914-18.

JOHN W. WILKERSON: Born in 1866; died in Excelsior Springs, Missouri, December 24, 1930. For a time he published a newspaper at Smithville, and later became prominent in Democratic state politics. He was a past grand master and former secretary of the I. O. O. F. Grand Lodge of Missouri.

JUDGE JOHN I. WILLIAMSON: Born in Carroll County, March 16, 1867; died in Kansas City, Missouri, November 19, 1933. His paternal grandfather, John Williamson, was a soldier in the War of 1812. Finishing high school at Carrollton, Judge Williamson attended the University of Kentucky at Lexington, and in 1893 was admitted to the bar at Chillicothe, Mo. He practiced at Carlisle, Ky., for ten

years, and in 1903 came to Kansas City, where for thirty years he was a leading member of the bar. When in 1919 Judge Charles B. Faris resigned from the State Supreme Court to become a federal District Judge at St. Louis, Judge Williamson was appointed to the vacancy by Gov. Frederick D. Gardner. He held office from November 3, 1919, to January 1, 1921. He was a Democratic candidate to succeed himself, but went down in the Harding landslide.

PORTER E. WILLIAMS: Died in Kansas City, November 18, 1932. During 1905-09 and 1917-21 he was superintendent of the state hospital at St. Joseph. In 1922 he became the head of the state hospital at Nevada, served two years and returned to the institution at St. Joseph. In 1926 he was superintendent of the General Hospital at Kansas City.

LEE T. WITTY: Born in Newmansville, Cass County, Illinois, May 20, 1859; died in Jefferson City, May 8, 1931. In 1891 he moved to Memphis, where he was active in many civic matters. He was elected to the General Assembly from Scotland County and served five terms.

ROBERT H. WOMACK: Born in 1853; died in St. Louis, August 15, 1930. He was for a time editor of the *Hannibal Journal*, and was also connected with papers at different times in Independence, Lexington, Richmond, New London and Kansas City.

LEIGH BOWLIN WOODSIDE: Born in Thomasville, Missouri, February 2, 1848; died in Salem, July 12, 1925. In 1876 he was elected to the Legislature, and in 1897 was appointed judge of the circuit court by Gov. William Joel Stone, holding the office until 1922.

A. G. YOUNG: Born in Mercer County, Pennsylvania, January 19, 1861; died in Webb City, Missouri, January 12, 1934. He taught school in Kansas and in Webb City, then practiced law in Carthage during 1904-06. He continued his practice in Webb City thereafter. He served in the 57th General Assembly and during part of the special session of 1934.

DEMOCRATIC COUNTY HISTORIES

By Counties, Alphabetically

ADAIR COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson,* St. Louis

Adair County was organized January 9, 1841, and was named for Adair County, Kentucky, whence some of the first settlers came; Kirksville, the county seat, was named for John Kirk, who settled the town-site.

James Lusk was the first member of the General Assembly in 1842-44; James C. Goode in 1846-48; Joseph Ringo in 1850; John T. Smith in 1852; William H. Parcells in 1854-56-60; William M. Gates in 1858; John Ransom in 1862; J. W. Lee in 1864; A. H. Linden in 1867; A. L. Gibbs in 1869; D. S. Hooper in 1871-73; James Marquess in 1875; Samuel M. Pickler in 1877; Francis M. Harrington in 1879-81-83-85; Josiah W. Davis in 1887-89; John T. Reynolds in 1891; Perry D. Grubb in 1893-95; Samuel M. Pickler in 1897-99-1911; A. G. Hildreth in 1901-03; Francis M. Harrington in 1905; Frank P. Young in 1907; John W. Tinsman in 1909; John C. Fugate in 1913; C. M. C. Wilcox in 1915-17; Oscar H. Webber in 1919-21; Eugene Fair in 1923; D. V. McClelland in 1925; C. M. Hughes in 1927; Phillip J. Fowler in 1929-31; C. E. Still in 1933.

While Adair County is credited with being a Republican county, it is generally one of the best organized counties in the state, and the Democratic Party has frequently split the county ticket by the aggressive work of its county committee.

There are many Democrats of the county who should be mentioned in the history of the Missouri Democracy; these should include: R. N. Howell, J. W. McGuire, Dale Davidson, C. B. McClanahan, Ethel Connor, W. T. Stephenson, W. S. Roach, Samuel C. Willis, Aaron P. Hopson, Raphael M. Miller, Thomas E. Graves, H. B. Purl, John M. Campbell, John C. Mills, Jr., Roy Douglas, John W. Kimberly, A. G. Willis, James Nicholas, Ed. J. Reiger, C. E. Murrell, Wash M. White, J. T. Fugate, R. M. Johnson, Grove Lorange.

In 1920, when women were given the franchise to vote, the Adair County women responded with a thorough organization, as follows: Mrs. J. F. O. Howell, chairman; Mrs. Lee Wolf, secretary; Mrs. A. P. Settle, treasurer; Mrs. A. C. McClelland, Mrs. Lula C. Davis, Mrs. Dave Neale, Mrs. Ben Taylor, Miss Gates, Mrs. Mattie Pilkins, Mrs. Carl Buchman,

Mrs. Mary Burchett, Mrs. J. S. Simlar, Mrs. V. P. Sewell, Mrs. George Osborne, Mrs. W. J. Banning, Mrs. Manta Stuckey, Mrs. Mary Wolfe, and Mrs. J. W. Davidson.

In 1932 the "Forgotten Man" must have gone to the polls, for Franklin D. Roosevelt and Bennett Champ Clark carried the county by over sixteen hundred majority.

This wonderful reaction in the political thought of the people is worth stating in detail, when giving credit to the Democratic County Committee. In 1928 Hoover carried Adair County by about 2,700. In 1932 Roosevelt carried the county over Hoover by 1,632, and Bennett Champ Clark beat Kiel by 1,866 votes.

The Democratic County Committee for the election of 1932, was as follows: W. F. Murrell, chairman; Mrs. Thelma R. Campbell, vice chairman, Mrs. Ida Nicholas, secretary; Jim Nicholas, treasurer, and Charles R. Hicks, Mrs. Mary Dye, Glenn Daniels, Mrs. Beulah Daniels, J. M. Campbell, Mrs. Rose Campbell, T. H. Hill, Mrs. Grace Simmons, B. K. Dickerson, Will S. Leavitt, Mrs. Ethel Barclay, Ross Laird, Mrs. Flossie Laird, Ray Bennett, Mrs. Carrie Bennett, John Kimberly, Mrs. Agnes Morelock.

James Ellison of Adair County was appointed in 1884 as a Judge of the Kansas City Court of Appeals, with John F. Phillips of Boone County and Willard P. Hall of Buchanan. This court was created by the General Assembly of 1883. He continued in this position until his death in 1922.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

ANDREW COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Andrew County was organized January 29, 1841, and was named in honor of Andrew Jackson Davis, a prominent lawyer of St. Louis. The county seat of Andrew County was first named Union and afterwards changed to Savannah.

Theodore D. Wheaton was the first member of the General Assembly in 1842; William A. Miller in 1844; Peter P. Fulkerson in 1846; Isaac N. Jones in 1848; Ephraim Meyers and Benj. H. Riddle in 1850; E. A. Donegan and William Burnett in 1854; Wm. L. Butts and Milton R. Singleton in 1856; Prince L. Hudgins in 1858; Janes W. Breck in 1860; William R. Trapp in 1862; A. J. Harlan in 1864; not represented in 1867; J. J. Davis in 1871; Napoleon B. Brown in 1873; Nicholas Ford in 1875; Abram Dobbs in 1877; David Bonham in 1879-81-83-85; William D. Hoar in 1887-89; William H. Bulla in 1891-93; Peter C. Breit in 1895-97; George W. Praisewater in 1899-1901; Peter Moser in 1903-05; William Dale in 1907; Clarence E. Stevenson in 1909; J. P. Cooper in 1911-13-15-17; W. K. James in 1919; Lyman Holcomb in 1921; Edward F. Smith in 1923-25; Thomas

F. Montgomery in 1927-29; Edward E. Miller in 1931; Peter C. Breit in 1933.

While Andrew County has been regarded as a dependable Republican county, the Democrats have been always active and aggressive. Every national and state election has found Andrew County thoroughly organized, and at times the Democrats have succeeded in electing some of the county ticket.

There are many Democrats who deserve mention in a history of the Democratic Party, for their work in getting the party vote to the polls; these should include: Grover C. Sparks, Isaac R. Williams, James Todd, Read Williams, E. D. Buckner, W. B. Wells, W. S. Dray, Owen E. Clark, Frank M. Carter, Claude M. Bowen, J. M. Roberts, C. A. Wright, R. H. McFadden, J. M. Landers, S. A. Sheppard, Jas. M. Rea, R. W. McElroy, W. R. James, O. V. Sells, Walter Hill, E. F. Harrington, John Stanton, J. W. Roberts.

In 1920, when the right of suffrage was extended to the women, Andrew County women responded with one of the most thorough organizations of any county in the state. The following is the list of those who composed the Women's Democratic County Committee: Mrs. J. J. Jenkins, chairman; Marie Tompson, secretary; Mrs. R. L. Limerick, treasurer; Mrs. T. C. Hadley, Mrs. Earl Rucker, Mrs. Sam Crowley, Mrs. H. H. Carpenter, Mrs. John Willoughby, Mrs. C. A. Wright, Miss Martha Stephens, Miss Mary Selecman, Mrs. Vern White, Mrs. W. B. Townsend, Mrs. Ed. Davis, Mrs. W. L. Wood, Mrs. Ed. Ruddell, Mrs. John Martin, Mrs. H. D. Gilbert, Mrs. B. F. Faubin, Mrs. Charles Smith, and Mrs. E. F. Maris.

In 1932, when Franklin D. Roosevelt was calling on the voters of the country for a "New Deal" and Bennett Champ Clark was ably assisting, the Democrats carried the county by 476 votes. In 1928 Patterson, for United States senator, beat Charles M. Hay for United States senator by 1,318 votes. This is such an expression of a change of political sentiment that the Democratic organization which, through an active and aggressive campaign, secured this result, should be named in a history of the party.

The Democratic County Committee of Andrew County in the election of 1932 was as follows: Warner W. Woolverton, chairman, Mrs. E. E. Townsend, vice chairman; J. W. Roberts, secretary; Mrs. Abbie Foster, treasurer; G. C. Sparks, Mrs. Jennie Dysart, C. V. Munden, Mrs. A. J. Lambright, W. W. Frank, Mrs. Ella Simms, John Lewis, Mrs. Iva Courtney, Alfred Lassen, Miss Alice Merritt, Charles M. Smith, Mrs. C. M. Smith, Grover Allen, Mrs. Grover Allen, Ad Smith, Mrs. George Jackson, W. S. Miller, Miss Riva Kent, G. E. Middleton, Miss Bertha Stevens, F. E. Johnson, Mrs. Anna Wood, Ira Ruddell, Mrs. Laurinda Fraser, Grover Crowley, Mrs. A. O. Miller, W. H. Bird, Mrs. Lloyd Todd, Fred Foster, Mrs. Fred Foster, Irvin M. Clardy, Mrs. Albert Zimmerman, I. D. Miller, Mrs. Earl Wise, Reed Crawford, Mrs. Floyd Stubbs, Mrs. Helen McCallon, John F. Wilcox, Mrs. John F. Wilcox, Mrs. A. E. Williams, S. L. Hamilton, C. M. Dailey, and Mrs. C. M. Dailey.

Andrew County had the honor of one of its prominent Democrats serving two terms in Congress. David A. Rea, of Andrew County was elected in 1874, from what was then the Ninth Congressional District and re-elected in 1876.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

ATCHISON COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Atchison County was organized February 14, 1845, and was named in honor of David Rice Atchison, then one of Missouri's United States senators, and the colleague of Thomas H. Benton. The first county seat was named Linden, so called from the number of linn and linden trees in the vicinity. Later the county seat was moved to Rockport, which obtained its name from the rocky character of Tarkio Creek, which was rocky and stony.

F. M. Warmcastle was the first member of the General Assembly in 1846; Thomas M. Aull in 1848; Isaac Wilson in 1850; Bethel Allen in 1852; Solomon Wyatt in 1854; Milton R. Singleton in 1856; Rufus K. Crandall in 1858; William Arnold in 1860; Bennett Pike in 1862; Richard Buckham in 1864-71; A. E. Wyatt in 1867; John W. Enoch in 1869; John P. Lewis in 1873; James M. Templeton in 1875; Charles V. Snow in 1877; A. S. Campbell in 1879; N. O. Hopkins in 1881; John T. Wells in 1883-91; B. F. Dragoo in 1885; Benson Bond in 1887; John A. Postlewait in 1889; John W. Smith in 1893; Jordon J. Denny in 1895; James M. Hopkins in 1897; Silas H. Prother in 1899; Henry M. Willsie in 1901-03; James M. Scammon in 1905; Henry F. Stapel in 1907; James M. Sliger in 1909; John M. Bailey in 1911; D. W. Shepperson in 1913; Clark A. McCall in 1915; F. H. Hopkins in 1917-19-21-23; J. W. Holliday in 1925-27-29-31; Charles W. Sawyer in 1933.

While politically Atchison County has been regarded as a Republican county in national and state elections, the Democratic organization of the county has usually split the county offices with the Republicans. This is due to a spirit of Jeffersonian and Jacksonian Democracy, which was for many years led by that splendid example of these principles, the late Henry F. Stapel, of the Rockport *Mail*. Assisting him were: Alvin A. Clark, Harrison G. Cooper, Temple Hamilton, Bernard Altman, Loraine R. Scott, Charles L. Combs, Henry B. Hunt, Benjamin M. Reynolds, Dean F. James, W. R. Littell, Ray Richards, James M. Sliger, John Richards, Hugh Doyle, James F. Gore, Chas. A. Wells, W. R. Erwin, Wm. Whetmire, A. L. Bristow, Hugh Doyle, Chas. W. Sawyer, Henry B. Hunt, J. O. McClintick, Dolph Bertram, Harmon G. Cooper, Richard Harmes, W. A. Mann, Jas. R. Kelly, Dr. Ray Matkins, R. S. Rhoades, John Wells.

In 1920 the women of Atchison perfected an organization to bring the women to the polls, as the right to vote had at last been given them. The

Democratic Women's County Committee was composed of the following: Mrs. H. W. Hurst, chairman; Mrs. W. R. Erwin, secretary and treasurer; Mrs. Clint Kuepper, Mrs. Charles Ramsey, Mrs. Ray Richards, Mrs. E. C. Utter, Mrs. Ida Frut, Miss Abigail Bertram, Mrs. Clay Kimberlin, Miss Norma Roje, Miss Edith Gibbs, Mrs. E. K. Kimberlin, and Mrs. Claud Gubser.

In the election of 1928 the county was close in the election for United States senator, Roscoe C. Patterson beating Charles M. Hay by 186 votes. In the contest for United States senator in 1932 Bennett Champ Clark beat Henry Kiel by 1,525. The Democratic County Committee that brought about this result should receive the credit it deserves. The County Committee was as follows: Henry Stapel, chairman; Mrs. James Thomson, Vice chairman; Mrs. Minnie Templeton, secretary; John T. Wells, treasurer; John Rosenbohm, Mrs. Anna Cooper, Harmon Harmes, Mrs. Cable Brown, Ben Portis, Mrs. Anna Sheiman, Harry Clement, Mrs. Harry Clement, A. R. Carter, Fred Denkman, Blanche E. Tucker, J. M. Crockett, Mrs. Gertrude Maupin, Dr. Ray Matkins, Mrs. Frances Boettner, W. R. Littell, Mrs. Mollie Curfman, James E. Stevens, and Mrs. Thelma Harmes.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

HISTORY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN AUDRAIN COUNTY

By Alice Moss Ferris,* Laddonia

In the Legislature of 1830, discovering the fact of an unorganized territory since composing Audrain County, two bills were introduced in the House of Representatives constructing that territory into a county. One proposed the name "Ioway" and the other which passed the House gave the name Union County, but upon reaching the Senate, the bill was so amended as to confer upon the proposed organization the name Audrain County, an incident of propitious omen to Democracy, being so called in honor of James H. Audrain, Democrat, Senator from the Eighth District, composed of Lincoln and Saint Charles counties.

The bill was signed by Governor John Miller, a "Jackson man," fourth governor of Missouri and became a law January 12, 1831. Owing to the provisions of the bill an act authorizing the organization of the county was not approved until December 17, 1836, Audrain County being the forty-seventh county of Missouri.

Settled by families from Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee, most of whom had sojourned for a time in Kentucky, these stalwart pioneers brought with them into the new wilderness well defined political faiths and tenets and were fiercely partisan in matters pertaining to state and national elections. Loyalty to party leaders and pride in the achievements of those high in party ranks were then, as now, outstanding characteristics of Audrain County Democrats.

Benjamin Young, first settler, in his rude hut on Young's Creek, often was host to Thomas Hart Benton, who enjoyed not only the venison steak and roast wild turkey washed down with rye coffee and hard cider which were bountifully set forth, but found food for thought in the simple philosophy of the North Carolina woodsman and upon returning to the seat of government sent many public documents to Young, who although unable to read them, nailed them to the walls of his log cabin and pointed with pride to them as evidence of his friendship to the Great Missourian.

During the first decade of Audrain County's history, there was little of party politics in local affairs. However, in state and national politics during this time Democracy had able and fearless leaders in James Jackson, A. B. Tinsley, John Turner, J. C. Canterbury, Richard Lee, Dr. William H. Lee, Caleb Williams, Martin Oslin, John R. Croswhite of the county seat and others of more or less prominence in other parts of the county. Until 1854 the county was about evenly divided between the Democratic and Whig parties. At that time the Native American party effected an organization and from that period the Democratic party gradually became the dominant political organization of the county, which position it has continued to hold.

At the election of 1860 only one vote for Lincoln was cast in Audrain County.

During the Civil war period there was the usual disruption of party politics which comes from cross voting within party bounds. Slavery, anti-slavery, secession and unionism together with the distaste of the average citizen to military rule extended to civil affairs, created an abnormal condition in Audrain County politics.

BLOOD OF THE SOUTHLAND

Many men in Audrain County in whose veins coursed the ancestral blood of the southland responded to its call and rallied under the flag of the Confederacy. The number has been estimated at between three hundred and five hundred. It has been impossible to supply the names. A list published in an old county history contains the following: George Bruce, Everett Bruce, Charles Bruce, James Bruce, Edward Bruce, William Bruce (killed at the battle of Corinth), William Eller, Clifton Black (wounded at Baker's Creek), Frank Gildee (killed at Pea Ridge), Richard Lee (killed at mouth of Big Creek), Nick English, S. E. Kendall, Ezekiah Reagan (killed at Corinth), Lewis Simpson (killed at Carthage), George Simpson (killed at Murfreesboro, Tenn.), Hiram Ricketts, Thomas Williams, Young Purcell, Abraham Eller, William McDonald, Thomas Jackson (died a prisoner of war at Point Lookout, Md.), Rufus Jackson (died a prisoner of war in Gratiot Street Prison at St. Louis), J. B. Jackson, Albert G. Turner, A. J. Turner, William Shearer, Benjamin Johnson, James A. Elzea, John T. Elzea, William Brown, John Davis, Thomas Harrison, Daniel H. McIntyre, William H. McIntyre, Thomas McIntyre, Edward Halley, Delaney Willingham, John Harrison, Abner Harrison, Charles Lander (killed at Franklin, Tenn.), Charles Grant, J. C. V. Baskin, M.

McIlhany (member of Confederate Congress), Silas L. Hickerson, Benjamin F. Dobyns, John F. Botts, Thomas A. Botts, J. A. Cartmell, Douglas Murray, J. A. Henderson, James La Rue, Stanton Taylor, Thomas Copher, James Woods (killed at Corinth), S. O. Wright, C. A. Wright, Thomas Maffutt (killed at Pea Ridge), M. C. Flint, George Williams, Thomas Wisdom, Fielding Wisdom, J. R. Campbell, Nathan Williams, Alexander Day, Ad. Smith, John A. McGee, John Stowers, James Frazier, Thomas Hendrix, E. L. Grigsby, William Norris, J. W. Reed, Washington Scaggs, John Fields, James Garrett, James Master, Pole Cornett, Valentine Clark, J. N. Cartmell, J. W. Luckie, B. P. Gentry, Isaac Forrest, Joseph Schooler, Irvine Gentry, Andrew Gentry, George Littrell, Joseph Littrell, Talbott Littrell, J. T. Croswhite, William Croswhite, Thomas Hart, Alexander Hart, Warren Botts, William Botts, Thomas Hubbard, Frank Wilfrey, Ambrose Dudley (killed at Lexington), Elisha Wells, John Wells, George Edmondson, Booker Franklin, William Haskett, Nicholas Cartmell, Alpheus Payne, Dillard Fike, I. N. Maran, James W. Pollard.

PRECLUDED BETTER ELEMENT

In 1866, while all ex-Confederates and southern sympathizers were precluded from voting, Union Democrats were successful in electing county officials.

In 1870, while for the first time since the war, all of the people had a voice in the election, an echo of previous restraint still lingered and again only Union men were on the Democratic ticket which again was successful. Daniel H. McIntyre, elected prosecuting attorney in 1872, was the first ex-Confederate chosen for a county office after the Civil war. From then on many men who had ventured their respective lives and fortunes for the "Lost Cause" received county and state offices at the hands of the voters.

Down through the years the Democratic party has been in full control of county politics and has filled all county offices, save occasionally where a vacancy was filled by an appointee of a Republican governor.

Among those who have been prominent in the Audrain County Democratic organization may be named the following: A. J. Winscott, J. E. Sims, John M. Daniel, M. R. K. Biggs, E. S. Cave, A. J. Douglass, Judge Cook Groves, Judge J. A. Guthrie, John T. Ricketts, Dr. J. O. Terrill, John J. Steele, J. H. Sallee, W. W. Botts, J. N. Stephens, W. W. Harper, B. F. Dobyns, Charles G. Daniels, Sr., T. J. Williams, C. T. Jesse, D. M. Sloaner, Lute Diggs, F. H. Canada, Col. Green Clay, E. J. Shobe, F. B. Detienne, Dr. E. D. Vandeventer, C. T. Peyton, Williard Potts, John W. Beagles, John D. Orear, C. E. Mayhall, C. M. Clay, Fred A. Morris, Dr. R. W. Berrey, Frank Hollingsworth, J. W. Mason, Dr. P. E. Coil, A. H. Whitney, W. W. Vivion, Orlando Worrell, Edwin C. Waters, W. H. Logan, Tom Rainey, Dr. W. E. Cornett, Quincy James, J. D. Sutton, G. B. Moore, C. B. Ellis, Dr. R. L. Alford, Martin Barrow, C. C. Bybee, O. G. Smith, Dr. W. K. McCall, Hume Long, John Fennewald. This list does not include the members of the present organization of whom mention will be made.

Through the splendid leadership and efficient work of these men and those whose coöperation they were able to enlist, Audrain County has furnished to state and nation at every election a substantial majority, being one of the few counties in Missouri to successfully withstand the Hoover landslide of 1928.

The strength and importance of the Audrain County Democratic vote is evidenced by the fact that several times the county has been chosen for the opening of campaigns that were colorful and of greatest importance. Within my memory are two such occasions. The beloved Champ Clark, whose name was to become a household word, uttered in admiration and respect throughout the old Ninth District and who rose to heights wherein the doors of the White House almost swung open to his entrance, opened his campaign for Congress in Laddonia, making his speech from the gallery of the old Laddonia Hotel, opposite the Chicago and Alton depot.

In 1922, the Democratic State Campaign Committee selected Mexico for the opening of the campaign which in the November election returned to the United States Congress one of the greatest American statesmen, Senator James A. Reed.

Audrain County Democracy has had frequent occasions to rejoice at the bestowal of high political honors upon its individual members. Among present and former resident Democrats who achieved distinction within their native state or the respective states of their adoption, as designated, may be mentioned C. Mortimer McIlhany, Representative of Missouri at the Confederate Congress; Charles H. Hardin, Governor of Missouri; J. E. Hutton, Aylett H. Buckner, Congressmen; George B. McFarlane, Ernest S. Gantt, Judges of Supreme Court of Missouri; D. H. McIntyre, Attorney General; J. McD. Trimble, "Gold Bug" candidate for Governor in 1896; Sam B. Cook, Secretary of State; Ove Pindall, Acting Governor of Arkansas; X. P. Wilfley, United States Senator; Howard A. Gass, State Superintendent of Schools; Amos A. Betts, Chairman Arizona Corporation Commission; John D. Orear, Consul to Bolivia; Howard Bickley, Judge Supreme Court of New Mexico; Alex Carter, delegate to Constitutional Convention, 1920; former State Senator Frank Hollingsworth, Chairman Democratic Campaign Speakers Bureau 1924 and 1928; Col. Fred A. Morris, member of Governor Frederick D. Gardner's staff; W. Rufus Jackson, present Postmaster of St. Louis.

WOMEN GET VOTE RIGHT

The Fiftieth General Assembly of Missouri gave women the vote for President and Vice President of the United States. A call was made for an organization of women to be perfected in each of the counties of the state. Pursuant to the call the Audrain County Women's Democratic Central Committee organized as follows:

Chairman	Alice Moss Ferris, Laddonia.
Secretary-Treasurer	Mrs. Velma Fry, Mexico.

Mexico:

Ward 1—Mrs. J. F. Llewellyn.

Ward 2—Mrs. Lucy Vandeventer.

Ward 3—Mrs. Velma Fry.

Ward 4—Miss Carrie Kennan.

North Salt River Township—Mrs. Flint, Molino.

South Salt River Township—Mrs. Frank Waters, Mexico.

Loutre Township—Mrs. C. C. Thompson, Benton City.

Linn Township—Mrs. J. C. Diggs, Laddonia.

Cuivre Township—Mrs. Will Gray, Farber.

Wilson Township—Mrs. Leone Berry, Thompson.

Saling Township—Mrs. J. B. Robinson, Clark.

At the congressional district meeting Mrs. Alice Moss Ferris, Laddonia, was elected one of the members from the Ninth District to the Women's Democratic State Committee.

It was with reluctance and timidity that the majority of Democratic women entered upon their political duties, but here and there were found a few valiant leaders, natural born crusaders who took upon their shoulders the work of polling women voters, beating down resistance to equal suffrage and holding Democratic party lines taut against the terrific onslaught of appeals to women voters as a class, which were instigated not only by the organization of the opposition but by various so called non-partisan groups.

Thus through the determined effort of a group of women, well-read in party principles, devotedly loyal to party ideals, Audrain County Democratic women emerged from a position of distrust and uncertainty into which they first were relegated by the male voters, into a place of acceptance to full fellowship in party councils. With the sentiment and the loyalty which are innate in woman there will eventually develop partisanship stronger than man has known.

The Democrats who were so fortunate as to have a part in directing the campaign which contributed to a glorious victory were those chosen in the party primary of 1932 as members of the Audrain County Democratic Central Committee, organized as follows:

Chairman	Stewart L. Garner.
Vice Chairman	Mrs. W. C. Stewart.
Secretary	W. A. Debo.
Treasurer	Miss Mabel Grafford.

Cuivre Township—

Vandalia, 1st Ward	Frazier Rose.
	(Mrs. M. D. Merrell.

Vandalia, 2nd Ward	J. L. Moss.
	(Mrs. Bertha White

Crowe Precinct	Blythe Jerman.
	(Mrs. Edw. Wright.

Black Precinct	Duke Stuart. Mrs. Carver Brown.
Farber	Garth Chase. Mrs. Edna McCann.
Loutre Township— Martinsburg	Ralph W. Taylor. Mrs. Anna Hilkemeyer.
Benton City	W. H. Hutcherson. Mrs. Joe Carter.
Linn Township— Rush Hill	J. B. Stuart. Mrs. J. C. Diggs.
Edwards Precinct	James Montague. Mrs. T. A. Brown.
Prairie Township— Laddonia	Stewart L. Garner. Mrs. Alice Moss Ferris.
Beagles Precinct	Riley Wilkerson. Miss Mary Botts.
Salt River Township— Liberty Precinct	Charles Shoup. Mrs. Lela Gillaspie.
Union Precinct	L. E. Crews. Mrs. Jack Crum.
Moline	F. J. Weaver. Mrs. Ben Wynn.
Mexico, 1st Ward	W. A. Debo. Mrs. Opal Smith.
Mexico, 2nd Ward	Dr. J. F. Jolley. Mrs. W. S. Eller.
Mexico, 3rd Ward	J. C. Davis. Mrs. Bessie Crawford.
Mexico, 4th Ward	Frank Hollingsworth. Mrs. W. C. Stewart.
North Wilson Township—	Harry Callison. W. H. Pulis. John O'Brien. Mrs. Joe Duncan. Mrs. Orma Mackey. Mrs. Zella Spurling.
South Wilson Township—	R. S. Burke. Ralph Wilmot. Mrs. Blessing Brown.

Saling Township—

Mrs. Jennie Mildred.
Hume Long.
Charles Stowers.
Mrs. Ray Brown.
Mrs. W. B. Graves.

A complete poll of the county was made and organizations were effected in each school district. In each voting precinct an automobile corps was formed to afford transportation to voters. School district meetings were held under the auspices of a local speakers bureau and numerous clubs were formed by young Democrats. As a result of the splendid work directed by Chairman Stewart L. Garner and Mrs. W. C. Stewart, Vice-Chairman, Audrain County gave to Franklin D. Roosevelt a majority of 5,264.

The Democratic Party has been fortunate to have the support of a strong Democratic press, which has contributed largely to the success of the organization both within the county and out state. Democratic newspapers and editors are as follows: *Ladsonia Herald*, Alice Moss Ferris; *Mexico Ledger*, R. M. White and Son; *Mexico Intelligencer*, Gale F. Johnston; *Vandalia Leader*, F. B. Detienne; *Vandalia Mail*, William H. McIntire.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

* BARRY COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Barry County was organized January 6, 1835, and was named in honor of Commodore Barry of the American Navy. Cassville, the county seat, was named in honor of Lewis Cass of Michigan, who was secretary of state in 1857 and 1860, under President James Buchanan. He resigned the office in 1860 because the President refused to reinforce the garrison of Fort Sumter. He was an unsuccessful candidate for President a number of times.

Littlebury Mason was the first member of the General Assembly in 1838-40; Campbell G. Cowan in 1842-44; Alfred S. Harbin in 1846-48-52-56; Thomas Ruble in 1850; Henry McCary in 1854; George W. Hampton in 1858; Wm. S. McConnell in 1860; J. W. Boon in 1862-66; William Ray in 1864-71-73; John M. Quigley in 1869; Charles S. Bryan in 1875-79; George R. King in 1877; Isaac Stapleton in 1881-83; William A. Fly in 1885-87; Roger B. Gladden in 1889; James M. Adams in 1891; William J. Brock in 1893-95; Prichard B. Hood in 1897; William A. Hubbard in 1899; Joseph E. Marbut in 1901; Oliver D. Davis in 1903; Christopher G. Kelly in 1905; John W. Gilbert in 1907; William A. Wear in 1909; J. F. Mermoud in 1911; W. R. Scott in 1913; J. F. Chastain in 1915; C. W.

Carney in 1917; U. R. Williams in 1919; A. F. Hilker in 1921; G. G. Cottrell in 1923; R. A. Ellis in 1925; J. S. McQueen in 1927-29; F. P. Sizer, Jr. in 1931-33.

Of the Democrats who have been prominent in the organization of the county for many years, are: Henry Pepper, Thomas D. Steele, Charles D. Manley, R. G. Salyer, J. W. LeCompte, Dr. R. M. Sparkman, Chas. S. Bryan, Charles M. Landis, William Houston, James Marriott, R. B. Gladden, J. E. Marbut, William A. Wear, Newton Hailey, J. F. Mermoud, P. B. O'Dwyer, William R. Hale, Ora H. Hudson, G. M. Brixey, Wm. F. Mardlow, Arthur Honbest, S. P. Roseberry, O. P. Murphy, Elmer Brattin, Pat Brown, Wm. Hailey, P. J. Martin, D. S. Mayhew, Dr. B. B. Kelley, J. M. Mitchell, J. M. Bayless, R. H. Elam, E. C. Frost, Jas. C. Baker, A. L. Galloway, John F. Burgess, J. S. Davis, W. H. Davidson, J. A. Arnold, Homer Thomas, Guy McCluer, Clinton Marbut, O. P. Brite, W. J. Fleming, Cass Jeffries, S. A. Newman, W. T. Sallee, Hugh Bassett, and R. D. McIntosh.

Barry County has always possessed many active and aggressive Democrats, and while it is claimed by the Republicans there have been very few elections in which the Democratic organization has not managed to split the county offices with the opposition.

In the election of 1932 the county gave Franklin D. Roosevelt for President, and Bennett Champ Clark for United States senator, nearly 1,500 majority.

Walter B. Stevens in the "Centennial History of Missouri" (Vol. I, p. 104), gives some interesting facts regarding the history of Barry County, as follows: "Henry McCary, writing in 1876 of pioneer days in Barry County told how names were bestowed in the early days: 'Washburn prairie was settled first by a Mr. Washburn, in 1828, and Stone's prairie by a James Stone, and King's prairie by George W. King; Starkey's prairie by John W. Starkey; Hickam's prairie by Jacob Hickam; Jenkins' Creek by a man by the name of Jenkins, who died in his little cabin, in the dead of winter, no one but his wife and little children there. She had to travel all the way to Sudeth Meek's, a short distance south of Washburn prairie, to get help to bury him, and no road from the mouth of Jenkins' Creek to the John Lock place, eight or ten miles; nothing but a deer or wolf trail to guide her.'"

The first member of the General Assembly from Barry County was Littlebury Mason in 1838-40; Campbell G. Gowan in 1842-44; Alfred S. Harbin in 1846-48-52; Thomas Ruble in 1850; Henry McCary in 1854; A. S. Harbin in 1856; George W. Hampton in 1858; William S. McConnell in 1860.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

BARTON COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Barton County was organized December 12, 1855, and was named for Honorable David Barton, who, with Thomas H. Benton, were the first United States senators from Missouri.

James McFarland was the first member of the General Assembly in 1865. The county was associated with Jasper County until this time; R. T. Cartmell in 1867; G. H. Walser in 1869; Michael Girdner in 1871; Charles H. Morgan in 1873; Charles H. Brown in 1875-81-83; Edward Buler in 1877; George Andrews in 1879; Jeremiah Poore in 1885; Harry C. Timmonds in 1887; John B. Cole in 1889; J. C. A. Hiller in 1891-93; W. W. Kline in 1895; Thomas W. Martin in 1897; Walter B. Calvert in 1899-1901; A. J. Wray in 1903; W. R. Crowther in 1905; H. C. Chancellor, Jr., in 1907-17-19-31; Edwin L. Moore in 1909-13; Thomas H. Duckett in 1911; E. M. Connor in 1915; J. P. McMillan in 1921; Edward Thiebaud in 1923-25; J. Fred Cline in 1927; John B. Moss in 1929; T. Fred Cline in 1933.

Some of those who were prominent in the Democratic organization of Barton County are the following: Charles R. Glenn, E. N. Earp, Dr. A. B. Stone, Henry W. Timmonds, Thomas W. Martin, W. H. Thompson, Cedar C. Coates, Asa W. Mills, Elias L. Kazee, H. C. Chancellor, H. G. Mallett, Smith Long, A. D. Morgan, E. L. Moore, E. M. Connor, Lou Casement, John M. Harlow, Walter Evans, Charles B. Edwards, Martin Moore, C. O. Marshall, Leroy Todd, George R. Dickenson, Geo. Webb, Lelan L. Selroy, Andy Epperson, F. M. Taylor, G. A. Isenhower, Ralph M. Martin, Lou Purdy, Paul McLaughlin, J. L. Garrett, G. Bicknell, T. Fred Cline, Charles B. Perry, Edwin L. Moore, Dr. T. N. Dickett.

Back in 1918 Barton County was ranked as a reliable Democratic county. It has had many Democrats who have been prominent in the affairs of the party since the Civil war. In 1874 Charles H. Morgan, of Barton County, was elected to Congress from what was then the Sixth District. In 1876 he was again elected. In 1878 James R. Waddill, of Greene County, was elected in his stead. In 1883 the new districts threw Barton County into the Twelfth District, and Charles H. Morgan was elected. In 1884 William Joel Stone, of Vernon County, was elected, and reelected in 1886 and 1888. In 1893 the districts were changed and Barton County was placed in the Fifteenth District, and Charles H. Morgan was again elected to Congress. There were several changes in the Fifteenth District until 1908, when Charles N. Morgan was again elected, but this time as a Republican.

Walter B. Stevens in the "Centennial History of Missouri," (Vol. 2, p. 209) gives a history of this interesting man. "At an early period Charles H. Morgan was sent to Congress as a Democrat to represent the lead and zinc district of Southwest Missouri. Years afterwards he came back as a Republican from the same district, elected on a protection platform. Mr. Morgan was a very mild-mannered man, but had a record for personal

bravery. He was a Union soldier from Wisconsin and fought in many of the greatest battles of the Civil war. He was repeatedly captured and made his escape from Confederate prisons five times. One of his escapes was extremely novel. He and other prisoners were locked up in a box car, to be shipped back into the interior of Virginia for confinement in one of the southern prison camps, of which he had experienced a foretaste on a previous occasion. A Confederate guard was in the same car with the prisoners, to prevent their escape, and strict vigilance was kept upon every movement. Morgan and a friend, nevertheless, managed to regain their liberty under the very eyes of the sentinel. While lying on their blankets they cut a hole through the floor of the car with a knife, concealing the aperture with their blankets until they had produced an opening large enough to allow their bodies to pass through. So quietly was the work done that neither the guard nor their fellow-prisoners surmised the truth. As soon as an opportunity presented itself, and the car was dark enough to conceal their movements, they opened the aperture and dropped through to the roadbed. They gained the adjoining woods and were furnished with provisions by an old negro couple. In the course of a few days they were again in the camp of a Union army."

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

BATES COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Bates County was organized January 27, 1841, and was named for Edward Bates of St. Louis, who succeeded John Scott in Congress, the second man to represent Missouri in that body. The Bates family stands out large in the history of the Democratic Party. Frederick Bates was the second governor of the state, following Alexander McNair in that office. His untimely death on August 4, 1825, deprived the state and the Democratic Party of one of its strongest characters.

In the General Assembly Bates County was represented by John McHenry, 1842-1844; in 1846 by John N. Raqua; in 1848 John McHenry came back; in 1850 Russell H. Fisher was the representative; in 1852 A. G. Hale; in 1854 John E. Morgan; in 1856 Joseph Clymer; in 1858 James Edgar; John E. Morgan in 1860; Thomas H. Starne in 1862; John A. Devinney in 1864; A. L. Bets in 1867; T. S. Benefile in 1869; John R. Walker in 1871; James N. Bradley in 1873-75; John H. Sullens in 1877; Levi Moler in 1879-83; Jasper N. Ballard in 1881; A. Henry in 1885; John H. Hinton in 1887; John B. Newberry in 1889; T. J. Hendrickson in 1891; John W. Choate in 1893-95; George B. Ellis in 1897-99; Thos. L. Harper in 1901-03; George Church in 1905; Lawrence M. Griffith in 1907-09; John Wallace Lewis in 1911; L. B. Baskerville in 1913; James N. Sharp in 1915-17; H. O. Maxey in 1919-23-31; G. F. Sunderworth in 1921; Carl C. Henry in 1925-27; C. E. Morris in 1929; H. O. Maxey in 1933.

Bates County has been classed for years as a dependable Democratic

county, and there are many Democrats who deserve mention in the history of the party: Waller W. Graves, who served on the Supreme Bench from 1908 to his death, June 17, 1928; David A. DeArmand, who served ten terms in Congress, and until his death November 23, 1909; John A. Silvers, John A. Patterson, Andrew W. Ludwick, S. W. Dooley, S. F. Warnock, C. J. Moore, John S. Francesco, J. W. Jamison, DeWitt W. Chastain, F. W. Woods, J. E. Williams, W. G. Dillon, Frank Holland, Herman O. Maxey, C. A. Lusk, A. B. Edrington, H. E. Sheppard, W. B. Dawson, Dr. A. C. Lusk, W. G. Dillon, Guy E. Silvers, N. J. Adams.

In 1920 when the Woman Suffrage Amendment became the law the Democratic women organized a strong county committee, the members of which were as follows: Mrs. I. M. Kretzinger, chairman; Mrs. Walter Taylor, secretary, Mrs. Ray Sturgeon, treasurer, Miss Ada Laney, Mrs. A. B. Thurman, Mrs. U. D. Clouse, Mrs. R. N. Goodrum, Mrs. John Stephens, Mrs. John Rice, Mrs. A. C. Bail, Mrs. Roy Hamilton, Mrs. J. H. Henville, Mrs. W. G. Harper, and Mrs. Will Baker.

Bates County sent to the National Congress not only one of its most distinguished citizens, but one of the most eminent men of the state. David A. DeArmond succeeded that peerless leader William Joel Stone in 1890, in what was then the Twelfth Congressional District. In 1903 the Congressional Districts were changed. DeArmond served until 1908, when he perished in a fire, and Clement C. Dickinson of Henry County, was elected to succeed him.

Missionaries sent out by the American Board of Foreign and Domestic Missions first settled in Bates County. They were welcomed by the Osages. A council was called. It was attended by 8,500 Indians. The meeting place was on the banks of the Marias des Cygnes. The Indians gave the missionaries a tract of land ten miles square and invited them to make a home there. This was in 1818. The Missionaries accepted the land and called the place Harmony Mission. A school for Indian children was established. Three years later a treaty with the Osages was made at St. Louis. By the terms of it the title to two sections of land, about thirteen hundred acres, was conveyed to Harmony Mission. A large orchard was one of the improvements. The Osages became much attached to the missionaries. When they were moved to a reservation in the Indian Territory, the Mission was also moved there. It was maintained until 1837.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

BENTON COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Benton County was organized on January 3, 1835, and was named in honor of Thomas Hart Benton, "Missouri's Great Senator." At the time the prestige and influence of Senator Benton in the affairs of the nation and state were perhaps greater than that of any other man.

Zachariah Fewell was the first member of the General Assembly in 1836; not represented in 1838; Samuel H. Whipple in 1840-42; D. C. Ballou in 1844-46-48-60; Burr H. Emerson in 1850; James Atkisson in 1852; Albert G. Blakey in 1854-56; Samuel Parks in 1858; Richard H. Melton in 1862-64; John Cosgrove in 1867; John H. Bohn in 1869-71; K. D. Heimsoth in 1873; James H. Lay in 1875-83; Thomas C. Chapman in 1877; John R. Freed in 1879; S. K. Crawford in 1881-87-89; Geo. W. Campbell in 1885; Charles Dundas in 1891; John A. Sartin in 1893-95-1903-07; George A. Hart in 1897; George A. Greeson in 1899; Monroe Stevens in 1901; Jonathan Authrieth in 1905-09; Wm. A. Dollarhide in 1911; John E. Morgan in 1913; Robert W. Hedrick in 1915-17; C. H. Miles in 1919; James Z. Lopp in 1921; John W. Stanton in 1923; Carl A. Baldwin in 1925; Fred L. Hunt in 1927; James A. Logan in 1929-31; Henry P. Lay in 1933.

In the history of the Democratic Party in Benton County there are some Democrats who have served without hope of reward, and they ought to be mentioned. They have done their best to give the state and national tickets all the strength the party possesses in the county. The following should be named: J. H. Savage, Thomas W. Alton, E. W. Fristoe, A. P. Reid, G. W. Drake, W. L. Morgan, John E. Morgan, E. M. White, W. N. Brady, L. T. Kinder, V. H. Gregory, D. P. Martin, Morgan Armstrong, Jas. A. Lay, L. R. Smith, W. E. Stevens, Samuel H. Maxwell, T. J. Feaster, E. H. Gregory, Jas. R. Boring, Clarence Short, W. A. Taylor.

The Democratic women of Benton County formed a good organization in 1920, when the right to vote was given them. The following composed the committee: Mrs. E. M. White, chairman; Mrs. J. W. Finley, secretary and treasurer, Mrs. E. T. Spangenberg, Mrs. S. O. Brill, Mrs. A. J. Grace, Mrs. L. R. Aldredge, Mrs. Pink Short, Mrs. F. E. Hughes, Mrs. F. Y. Jones, Miss Mary Gregory, Mrs. George Keifer, Mrs. Van Allen, Mrs. D. F. Peal, Mrs. Mat Alexander, Mrs. W. E. Taylor and Mrs. Snavelly.

With all the discouragements in former years to dishearten the Democrats of Benton County, it is a great satisfaction to know that the county in 1932 came around handsomely for Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, by a majority of 558 over Hoover.

For United States senator in 1928 Patterson beat Hay in Benton County by 1,664. In 1932 Bennett Champ Clark beat Henry Kiel by nearly 400.

Walter B. Stevens, in his "Centennial History of Missouri," (Vol. I, p. 104), says: "Some Missouri communities had their beginnings without preliminary planning. Hosea Powers, a man of more than ordinary education, a licensed lawyer and possessed of some means, came with his caravan, moving westward through the state about 1839. It was his custom to walk in advance of the wagons, carrying his rifle on his shoulder. He stopped at a spring in what is now Benton County, stooped and drank. He liked the water, looked around him and concluded that was for him the ideal spot. As the wagons came up he rounded them, ordered the teams unhitched and told the family he had found the place to settle. There

wasn't another house near. Being a surveyor, Hosea Powers ran the lines and staked his claim. Such was the beginning of Cole Camp. The name came from the Cole family, of Cooper County, who had been in the habit of camping on the creek when on their hunting expeditions."

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

BOLLINGER COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Bollinger County was organized March 1, 1851. The county was named in honor of Major George F. Bollinger, one of the first settlers and a prominent member of the Territorial Legislature. The county seat, Marble Hill, was named for the alleged natural character of the site, and it was first called Dallas.

The first county court was organized at the storehouse of John C. Whybark, on March 24, 1851, by Reuben Smith, John Stevens and Drury Massey, justices. Oliver E. Snider qualified as clerk, and William C. Grimsley as sheriff. The records of the courts were burned on March 2, 1866, therefore no account of their transactions prior to that time can be obtained.

Soon after the organization of the county a brick courthouse about thirty feet square and two stories high was erected. It was destroyed by fire, and a similar building was completed the same year, partly by private subscription and partly by appropriation. In March, 1884, it was also destroyed by fire, but it had previously been condemned as unsafe, and had been abandoned by all the officers except the circuit clerk. At the general election in the following November a vote was taken upon the proposition to remove the county seat to Lutesville, but the corporation of Marble Hill voted \$1,000, and the citizens raised subscriptions to the amount of \$1,620, for the rebuilding of the courthouse in that town, and the proposition to remove it was defeated by a vote of 1,266 to 750. The county court, appropriated \$7,000, and the present courthouse was completed the following year under the supervision of J. J. Conrad.

Since the Test Oath was declared unconstitutional, and the strife occasioned by the Civil war subsided, Bollinger County Democrats have been about as aggressive as could be expected in a county conceded to the Republicans. In nearly every election since 1878, when Robert Drum was elected to the General Assembly, the Democrats have succeeded in splitting the county ticket.

Reuben Smith was the first Representative in the General Assembly from this county in the sessions of 1850 and 1854. Aaron Snyder represented the county in 1857 and James H. Hunter in 1859. M. H. Abernathy represented the county in 1861, at the breaking out of the Civil war. Reuben Smith in 1864-67; John H. Dolle in 1869-71; William Berry in 1873-75-77-85; Robert Drum in 1879-81; Moses Whybark in 1883;

John I. Ellis in 1887; J. M. Zimmerman in 1889-91; Oliver J. Snider in 1893; J. A. McPherson in 1895; George B. Myers in 1897-99; J. M. Welker in 1901; J. W. Caldwell in 1903; T. W. Cooper in 1905-07; Henry M. Smith in 1909-21-29; T. A. Caldwell in 1911; C. J. Sharrock in 1913-15; Dr. A. J. Speer in 1917-19; W. M. Green in 1923; Homer F. Williams in 1925; L. T. Kinder in 1927-31; Fred E. Klein in 1933.

Among the old-time Democrats that fought the battles of the Party since the Civil war can be mentioned the following:

Robert Drum, Sam J. McMinn, Jacob A. Taylor, W. B. Yount, W. A. Dunn, T. M. Wells, Felix G. Lambert, William D. Limbaugh, William L. Dunn, Dr. C. E. Pressnell, Sterling P. Pressnell, H. Alva Jameson, Thomas A. Caldwell, Cassius M. Witmer, Wm. C. Cole, L. T. Kinder, Wm. W. Walker, J. W. Chandler.

In the election of 1912 President Wilson carried the county by this vote—Wilson, 1,512; Taft, 1,100; Roosevelt, 348; and in every election the splendid work done by the leaders in the county has made the opposition work for everything it got. Since the election of 1920 the Party organization has been active and aggressive.

The Constitutional provision giving the women the right to vote, in 1920, and the women of Bollinger County responded with an organization to get the women to the polls. The Women's Democratic Committee of the county was as follows: Mrs. Jacob Barry, chairman; Mrs. Oscar Yount, secretary; Mrs. John H. Zimmerman, treasurer; Miss Fay Cole, and Mrs. Sam J. McMinn.

In 1932, George B. Meyers was chairman of the county committee, and Mrs. Grace Statler was secretary.

Bennett Champ Clark carried the county in 1932 by the following vote: Clark, 2,971; Kiel, 2,443; majority for Clark, 528.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

BOONE COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By E. M. Watson,* Columbia

Boone County was a Whig county from its organization in 1820 till 1860, but the majorities were so small that occasionally a popular Democrat was elected to office. Major John Slack and Austin A. King were elected to the legislature; Priestly H. McBride was elected presiding judge of the county court; Col. Richard Gentry was elected state senator, and Abram J. Williams was president pro tem of the senate and acting governor. During the time of Whig control, Priestly H. McBride was elected secretary of state, Wm. A. Robards was adjutant general and attorney general, and Major John Slack held the office of state tobacco inspector; all three of whom were Democrats. While the Whigs were in power in this county, Dr. Wm. H. Duncan, of Columbia, was chairman of the Boone County Central Committee, and Dr. Charles Q. Chandler, of Rocheport,

was always elected chairman of County Democratic conventions. In 1860, many of the Whigs, under the leadership of Jas. L. Stephens, Alexander Persinger, Wm. F. Switzler, Judge Warren Woodson, Archibald W. Turner and John M. Samuel, became Democrats, and in a few years Boone County had a Democratic majority, which she has consistently maintained. In the 'seventies and 'eighties, George C. Pratt was state railroad commissioner, Jas. L. Stephens, Jas. M. Proctor and Ben M. Anderson were state senators, and they and Wm. F. Switzler, E. W. Stephens, Dr. W. Pope Yeaman, Col. E. C. More and Jas. C. Gillespy were leaders in Missouri Democracy. Henry L. Gray, of Sturgeon, was building and loan supervisor; Jno. T. Mitchell, of Centralia, bank commissioner; Omar D. Gray, of Sturgeon, oil inspector; E. W. Stephens was chairman of the commission that built Missouri's present state capitol; and J. Kelly Pool was its secretary.

It is worthy of note that Boone County Democrats moved to other counties of the state and become governors of Missouri; Austin A. King, Charles H. Hardin and Wm. J. Stone. King and Stone were also elected to congress and later Stone went to the United States Senate. Col. W. D. Vandiver, another Boone County boy, was elected to Congress from southern Missouri, served as state insurance superintendent and sub-treasurer of St. Louis. John J. Jacob moved to West Virginia and become governor; Benjamin J. Franklin became Arizona's governor, and Joseph H. Maupin and Henry B. Babb became respectively attorney general and assistant attorney general of Colorado; all got their Democratic training in Boone County. Thomas A. Russell, Charles H. Mayer, Shannon C. Douglass, John G. Slate and John A. Rich became Missouri circuit judges, Jno. F. Phillips became United States district judge, Henry F. Garey became a Maryland judge, and Robert B. Todd became a Louisiana judge.

Boone County, up to 1850, was always safely a Whig political division of the state and a majority of its citizenry ardent followers of Henry Clay, "the millboy of the Slashes." Columbia was all through the thirty years incumbency of Thos. Hart Benton as United States senator preponderantly a Whig stronghold. So much so, that the town was anathema to "Old Bullion" during his long and distinguished career. Never did he accept the hospitality of its people nor solicit their suffrage. Never did he spend a night within its corporate limits. The late Major James S. Rollins, representative in congress from the district in which Columbia was located during Benton's long political career, was a personal friend of this famous Missouri senator whose impress upon the middle west and west is a part of its political history. In his many campaigns through the state it was necessary that he pass through Columbia to reach other towns and counties. Upon these occasions he always called upon his friend, Major Rollins, at his hospitable home in the then outskirts of Columbia. The big majority of the town's prominent citizens, because of their whig proclivities, were persona non grata with the mighty Benton. He deigned no intimacy with Whigs nor tolerated the tenets of Whigdom. His visits to Major Rollins concluded, Benton, journeyed five miles further west if riding in that direction and accepted formal

entertainment at Van Horn's tavern, a famous hostelry of those days. If traveling east, or any other direction, he found lodging in an atmosphere personally and politically more congenial than that afforded at Columbia.

After the Drake constitution was annulled and the right to the ballot restored to the many citizens of Boone County who were sympathizers or supporters of the Southern Confederacy and were disfranchised for that reason, the Whigs, of whom many were slave owners and suffered along with others, identified themselves with the Democratic party, and their progeny followed in the footsteps of their forbears. Since then the Democratic majority has always been preponderant, so much so that no Republican county ticket has ever been nominated with any hope of political success. Only to maintain organization is a G. O. P. county ticket named, and that merely for the leaders to control the appointment of postmasters and such other limited Federal patronage as might fall their way.

Nomination on the Democratic ticket of Boone County is equivalent to election by an overwhelming majority, and has been for three generations. Majorities for Democratic state officers during this period were around 5,000 in national elections. Off years it would fall off probably a thousand unless some issue arose in which the people were particularly interested.

These majorities obtained before women gained the ballot. Equal suffrage increased the majority, accordingly as the women were interested or exercised their new right. The Democratic majority in the national election of 1932 was between 8,500 and 9,000.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

BUCHANAN COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By Hon. A. B. Duncan,* St. Joseph

Buchanan County has been a Democratic stronghold in Missouri since its lines were carved out of the Platte Purchase in 1838.

The members of the first county court and the officials were Democrats and the line of government continued until the Civil war and after the reconstruction period. Buchanan County has given the state three governors, Robert M. Stewart, Willard P. Hall and Silas Woodson, all Democrats. Stewart, brilliant and picturesque, was here almost at the beginning and he was a member of the State Constitutional Convention in 1845, served in the State Senate for ten years, was elected governor in 1857, and was a member of the historic convention in 1861.

Willard P. Hall, the second governor, was a contemporary of Stewart. In 1844 he was presidential elector, in 1846 he was elected to Congress, and in 1864 he succeeded to the governorship upon the death of Hamilton R. Gamble.

Silas Woodson came in 1854, was a judge before the war and was elected governor as a democrat in 1872. All of these men opposed the secession of Missouri.

Buchanan County's contribution to the State Supreme Court began with Henry M. Vories, who served from 1872 to 1876, and Archelaus M. Woodson, who served twenty years. Both were Democrats.

Of Democratic Congressmen there have been many from Buchanan County, beginning with Gen. Willard P. Hall, who was elected in 1846 while he was serving under Gen. Alexander Doniphan in New Mexico. Mordecai Oliver of Richmond, succeeded General Hall, and subsequently served as secretary of state and in later years as Police Judge in St. Joseph. Gen. James Craig of St. Joseph was in Congress from 1857 to 1861. The district was represented by Republicans during and after the Civil war until David Rea of Savannah, Andrew County, four miles north of St. Joseph, and a friendly neighbor gained the place and served two terms, 1879-83. By that time there had come into the field James Nelson Burnes, a powerful figure and masterful mind. Colonel Burnes was first elected in 1882 and served until January, 1889, when death overtook him in Washington.

The next St. Joseph Democrat to serve was Daniel D. Burnes, son of James N. Burnes, elected for one term in 1892. Then came another stalwart and powerful figure in the Democracy, Charles Fremont Cochran, elected in 1896 and serving until 1904. The Buchanan County Democracy was out of the congressional picture from Cochran's time until 1928, when the present incumbent, Richard M. Duncan, was elected.

The nearest Buchanan County Democrats ever came to the United States Senate was when acting Governor Hall, in 1863, appointed Gen. Robert Wilson to the vacancy caused by the resignation of Waldo P. Johnson. General Wilson lived a few miles north of St. Joseph just across the Andrew County line and really belonged to St. Joseph, for his business interests and his daily activities were in the city.

In the State Senate, Buchanan County has made a number of distinctive scores in the high brackets. Starting with "Bob" Stewart in 1846, there have been such notables as Randolph T. Davis, Waller Young, Michael G. Moran, Charles F. Cochran, William H. Haynes, Lawrence A. Vories, Charles H. Mayer, James A. Campbell, Thomas J. Lysaght, Ernest James and Emmett J. Crouse.

The rolls of the State House of Representatives shows such steadfast Democrats as W. S. Wells, Dr. E. A. Donelan, Wm. H. Haynes, Waller Young, Abraham David, Benjamin J. Woodson, Granville G. Adkins, M. G. Moran, Albert B. Duncan, Joseph A. Piner, John G. Parkinson, W. S. Connor, W. H. Sherman, V. A. Crandell, H. C. Yates, John E. Webster, Jacob L. Bretz, Frank Staedtler, E. L. Peterson, Philip McCullom, Jack D. Robinson.

COURTS GENERALLY RIGHT

With rare exceptions the circuit courts have been manned by Democrats. So likewise the office of prosecuting attorney.

The county courts have been under Democratic control for ages, anyway, since the Civil war reconstruction period. Occasionally a Republican member has strayed in and once a Republican was elected presiding judge but he died six months after taking office.

The same may be said of the offices of public prosecutor, collector, sheriff, coroner, treasurer, recorder, assessor, probate court, auditor, circuit and county clerk. In fact, all down the line where offices were to be filled there were Democrats to fill them. Barring the common accidents of occasionally, but not often, electing the wrong man the county affairs have been well managed. Taxes have been held at the lowest possible point and public improvement and public welfare have been kept in pace with modern progress. This community has always had faith in the Democratic party when it came to the management of the county's affairs, and still retains this attitude. The few Republicans who have strayed in rarely got past first base.

In city affairs the Republicans have had larger room and larger success, but it is true nevertheless, that the most enduring progress has been both initiated and completed under Democratic administrations, and always there have been a sufficient number of Democrats on guard to keep up the necessary momentum of progress. St. Joseph has been well named the "city of permanent progress." This applies in equal measure to the county and from the political point of view the Democrats are justly entitled to the largest share of credit.

The metropolitan police department has been mostly Democratic since its creation in 1887, under Governor Marmaduke. It strayed into the Republican corridor during the gubernatorial terms of Hadley, Hyde, Baker and Caulfield, but is again flourishing since the restoration.

The Buchanan County Democracy has given to state and nation a number of brilliant and substantial men who left their impress upon affairs and who wrought well; Willard P. Hall, Robert M. Stewart, Silas Woodson, Mordecai Oliver, James Craig, Dr. C. R. Woodson, James N. Burnes, C. F. Cochran, Elijah Gates, Sam B. Green, Dr. Thomas H. Doyle, Joseph A. Piner, Frank Freytag, Waller Young, M. G. Moran, Oliver M. Spencer, John Broder, Eugene Spratt, A. P. Clayton, Thomas F. Ryan.

Among the veteran Democrats who are still carrying on, many of them for more than forty years are: Ben J. Woodson, G. W. Akers, John J. Downey, now police commissioner, T. J. Lysaght, ex-senator, and now deputy city clerk, W. E. Spratt, ex-mayor, R. E. Culver, ex-judge, and member of the last constitutional convention; A. E. (Jim) Nash, now county treasurer, James W. Mytton, and G. D. Berry, state committeeman; A. B. Duncan, probate judge, who since 1891 has held office twenty-seven years. L. A. Vories, circuit judge and ex-senator. Ben L. Helseley, ex-county collector, Ross C. Cox, ex-circuit clerk; Chas. H. Mayer, ex-circuit judge and state senator; Hugh McCauley, ex-county recorder; Wm. A. Piner and Joel E. Gates.

This history would hardly be complete without mentioning some of the younger men who are now doing battle in the Democratic Party.

Among them David Curtin, Stephen K. Owen, former prosecuting attorney; Fred C. Roach, circuit clerk; Orestes Mitchell, police commissioner; Louis V. Stigall, ex-mayor, now attorney for the State Highway Department; James Hull, attorney, now with the State Insurance Department; Jeb Stuart Lucas, now steward of Hospital No. 2; Jim Wells, county collector; J. G. Utz, county recorder; Oscar Lollis, county clerk; Samuel Wilcox and Verne J. Gaddy, circuit judges; Frank L. Kirtley, prosecuting attorney; DuVal Smith, ex-prosecuting attorney; Marvin Casteel, superintendent of State Highway Patrol; Ray Brantley, deputy county auditor; W. Jess Sherwood, assistant prosecuting attorney; J. E. Tetherow and Roy James, now members of the Legislature; Emmett J. Crouse, present senator; John G. Parkinson, Jr., C. F. Strop, Jr.; also W. F. Enright, Thomas O'Mara, Fritz Mittlebach, Harry Seaman, Maurice Hoffman, editor of the *St. Joseph Union-Observer*; Phil Welch, city collector; George Dodd, and Gus Holkenbrink, city councilmen; Charles Enos, now chief of police; Congressman Richard M. Duncan and Joseph Healey, his secretary; Louis Kranitz, Fred M. Wanger, for a number of years clerk of the probate court, and his brother Byron, now probate court clerk.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

BUTLER COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Butler County was organized February 27, 1849. The county was named for General William O. Butler of Kentucky, a prominent American officer in the Mexican war. He was a candidate for vice president in 1848.

The first county court met at the house of Thomas Scott on June 18, 1849. It was composed of John Stevenson, Solomon Kittrell and Jonathan R. Sandlin, of whom the first named was chosen president. Jacob C. Blount received the appointment of clerk and qualified. After appointing various township officers, and granting a license to Gabriel Davis to keep a ferry across Black River, the court adjourned to meet at the house of Daniel Epps. The first court held in Poplar Bluff was in November, 1850. It is said to have met in a log house on the bank of Black River, at the foot of Vine Street. About two years later a small frame courthouse was erected on the southeast corner of the public square. In 1859 the contract for a new courthouse was let to D. B. Miller and S. G. Kitchen, who employed William N. Ringer to erect the building. This house was occupied until December 14, 1886, when it was entirely destroyed by fire. The present building was erected the following year, and is one of the best courthouses in Southeast Missouri.

Until the Civil war Butler County was coupled with Wayne County. J. W. Baldwin was the member of the General Assembly in 1867; James

T. Adams in 1869-71-73; Frank M. Lawson in 1875-77; John D. Ham in 1879; Robert P. Liles in 1881-89-91; James F. Tubb in 1883; Daniel Morris in 1885; DeWitt F. Eskew in 1887; Thomas D. Ferguson in 1893; Joseph T. Davison in 1895-1903; B. C. Jones in 1897-99; James L. Dalton in 1901; David W. Hill in 1905-07; James M. Irby in 1909; W. H. Kittridge in 1911-25; W. B. Hays in 1913; Almon Ing in 1915; Francis M. Kinder in 1917; G. W. Babcock in 1919; H. O. Harrowood in 1921; L. E. Tedrick in 1923; E. L. McGhee in 1927-29; W. H. Meredith in 1931-33.

Before and since the Civil war there have been many upstanding Democrats in Butler County. Among them George C. Orchard, Edward L. Abington, Ernest Bacon, R. H. Stanley, Joe Hines, Carl C. Abington, R. J. Davis, Leslie C. Green, L. W. Chapman, M. C. Caldwell, Jeff Langley, Henry C. Macon, Edwin D. Shackelford, R. V. Cooper, Dan Cochran, Ernest A. Green, M. W. Owen, J. S. O'Neal, Thomas H. Henson, Dr. Z. Lee Stokely, Fred Macon, E. C. Davis, M. W. Owen, Sam M. Phillips, W. A. Walker, Robert I. Cape, Willis H. Meredith, and others.

When woman suffrage carried in 1920, the women of Butler County responded by a thorough organization, as follows: Emma Burklow, chairman; Mrs. C. H. Dicus, secretary; Mrs. Harrison, treasurer; Miss Nell Rouse, Miss Anna L. Bradsley, Mrs. A. M. Miller, Mrs. J. W. Penington, Mrs. J. M. Miller, Mrs. A. W. Tyner, Mrs. W. C. Jefford, Mrs. T. C. Chapline, and Mamie McKain.

In the election of 1932 Bennett Champ Clark carried the county by the following vote: Clark, 6,068; Kiel, 4,080; majority for Clark, 1,988.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

CALDWELL COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Caldwell County was organized December 26, 1836. It was named after the organizing act by Gen. Alexander W. Doniphan, for Col. John Caldwell of Kentucky. The first county seat was Far West, but on the destruction and abandonment of that place during the Mormon war, it was removed to Kingston, named for Austin A. King, of Ray County, who became Governor of Missouri in 1848.

The early members of the General Assembly from Caldwell County were: John Correll, in 1838; J. M. Ramsay, in 1840; John S. Kidmore, in 1842; Chas. J. Hughes, in 1844, 1846 and 1856; Thomas W. Higgins, in 1848; Lemuel Dunn, in 1850; George Smith, in 1852; John S. Houghton, in 1854; William S. Pollard, in 1858 and 1860; George Smith in 1862; Daniel Proctor in 1864-77; J. M. Haskinson in 1867; R. F. Johnson in 1869; S. F. Martin in 1871; D. P. Stubblefield in 1873; Ezra Munson in 1875; B. M. Dilley in 1879; Joseph W. Harper in 1881; Jefferson Van Note in 1883; Frank H. Braden in 1885; David R. B. Harlan in 1887-89; James Cowgill in 1891; Elijah S. Gurney in 1893-95; George B. Cowley in 1897;

Seth M. Young in 1899; Willard F. Blair in 1901-05; Sidney D. Frost in 1903-11; H. B. Meffert in 1907; Dorman E. Adams in 1909; Ben C. Jones in 1913; J. A. Waterman in 1915; Millard F. McCray in 1917-19; Albert Howard in 1921-23-25; H. M. Toland in 1927-29; E. E. Divinia in 1931; Ben C. Kincaid in 1933.

While this county is credited with being reliably Republican, the Democrats have managed from time to time to split the county ticket. There are many Democrats who have been responsible for these results and among those who deserve to be mentioned in party history are: J. R. Cheshier, Lewis W. Reed, Linus Hopson, W. S. Shouse, Loudon Brown, Walter O. Hart, Sid F. Thompson, A. D. Crockett, John T. Foley, G. W. Saunders, W. M. Hunt, C. M. Hale, Roy Morris, G. G. Jones, B. F. Kincaid, Judson C. Arnote, Q. T. Jones, C. F. Redings, W. R. Spicer, O. J. Adams, C. E. Huntington, N. E. Reynolds, Judge B. F. Pierce, Clayton Sprague.

In 1920, when women were given the right to vote, the women of Caldwell County formed an effective organization—a county committee, which was as follows: Miss Catherine L. Fields, chairman; Mrs. Laura Logan, secretary and treasurer; Mrs. Harvey Knosh, Mrs. J. T. Wykoff, Mrs. Henry Gee, Miss Myrtle B. Shields, Mrs. Lula Ryall, Mrs. Ed. Matchett, Mrs. Dick Riddle, Mrs. Mary Minghine, Mrs. J. T. Moore, Miss Ethel Hendren and Mrs. O. W. Coffman.

In 1932 there was a thorough organization of the county by the Democratic County Committee, which resulted in Roosevelt and Clark carrying the county by majorities of nearly 300.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

CALLAWAY COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Callaway County was organized November 25, 1820, one of the first to organize after Missouri was admitted into the Union. It was named in honor of Captain James Callaway, a grandson of Daniel Boone, who was killed by Indians in what is now Montgomery County, in 1815. Fulton, the county seat, was named in honor of Robert Fulton, the Father of River navigation.

Jonathan Ramsey was the first member of the General Assembly in 1822; Israel B. Grant in 1824-26; John Jameson in 1834; Wm. Wilkerson in 1836; John A. Burt and Isaac Curd in 1838; Wm. Russell and Henry Tutt in 1840; James K. Theely and Jas. C. Anderson in 1842; Geo. Maupin and J. T. Bryan in 1844; Thomas A. Longley in 1846; William H. Bailey in 1848-50; J. D. McGarey in 1850; Charles H. Hardin (afterwards Governor of Missouri) and G. E. O. Hockaday in 1852; Charles H. Hardin in 1854; Jefferson F. Jones and Washington R. Kidwell in 1856; Charles H. Hardin and I. W. Boulware in 1858; C. R. Scholl and Charles A. Bailey in 1860; W. J. Jackson and M. W. Robinson in 1862; Isaac D. Snedecor (vice

John Sampson, expelled) and Chas. A. Bailey in 1864; in 1866 not represented; Andrew F. Brown in 1869; Charles M. Samuel in 1871; Robert McPheeters, Jr., in 1873; Jeff F. Jones in 1875; William Harrison in 1877; Henry Larimore, in 1879; D. P. Bailey in 1881; Isaac N. Sitton in 1883; Nicholas D. Thurmond in 1885-89; Thomas W. Bashaw in 1887; Charles H. Hardin in 1891; J. Milton Tate in 1893-95; Edmund W. Martin in 1897-99; Frank T. Baker in 1901-03; Robert S. Lamar in 1905; David A. Hughes in 1907; M. B. Murry in 1909; N. W. Bedsworth in 1911; Charles M. Hay, now City Counselor of St. Louis, in 1913; H. S. Houf in 1915-17; Nick T. Cave in 1917-19; Emmet J. Grant in 1921-23-25; Oscar Smith in 1927-29; R. Earl Hodges in 1931-33.

In 1835 Peter G. Glover, of Callaway County, was appointed state auditor by Governor Dunklin, and in 1837 he was appointed secretary of state by Governor Boggs. In 1839 he was elected by the General Assembly the first superintendent of public schools.

In 1874 John A. Hockaday, of Callaway County, was elected attorney general. He died at Fulton in 1903.

In 1835 Albert G. Harrison was elected to Congress, and in 1837 he was reelected. Harrison County was named in his honor.

In 1839 John Jameson, of Callaway County, was elected to Congress, and reelected in 1843.

During the administration of Governor John S. Phelps there were a number of bright and congenial characters gathered at Jefferson City, and Col. Joseph K. Rickey of Callaway County, was one of the leading spirits. That was a time when the lights of the Old Madison Hotel bar rooms were never dimmed—not for intoxication or drunkenness, but for a "Feast of reason and a flow of soul."

LOW SALARY PARTY

In 1878 the "Low Salary Party" was organized in Callaway County, and nominations for county offices were made of men who agreed to perform the duties of the respective offices at a smaller compensation than that fixed by the law. Colonel Rickey was vice president of the "Low Salary Party" that carried Callaway County that year. He characterized it as "One of the greatest movements of the age," and predicted it would go "from the lakes to the gulf, from the rockbound shores of Maine to the golden sands of California, and dash its waves against the White House." In 1879 the General Assembly passed an act making it a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine and imprisonment, to offer or promise to discharge the duties of the office for less salary or fees than that fixed by the laws of the state. However, in 1879 the Supreme Court ruled that "It is unlawful for a candidate for public office to make offers to the voters to perform the duties of the office, if elected, at less than the legal fees. An election secured by such offers is void."

This, of course, spelled the doom of Colonel Rickey's new party.

After an extensive career at Jefferson City Colonel Rickey became one of the widest-known characters at the National Capital, and his fame and notoriety, perhaps, rests on his record as being the discoverer and pro-

moter of the "Gin Rickey," that exhilarating potion that enlivens but does not intoxicate—since known the world over.

Morris Frederick Bell, adjutant general during the administration of Governor Lon V. Stephens, was a prominent figure of that time. He was a man of engaging personality, and very popular. Bell was a veritable encyclopedia of important incidents in the history of Callaway County.

In the "Centennial History of Missouri" (Vol. I, p. 75), Walter B. Stevens says:

"'Kingdom of Callaway' gained this distinction from the course pursued during the Civil war period. The people were strongly in sympathy with the South. The legislature which assembled and sat under the Gamble provisional state government was Union. Callaway people were quite generally disfranchised because of their states' rights position. Nevertheless they voted and sent across the river to the state capital representative after representative of their own political faith. These men were rejected as often as they presented their certificates. But Callaway continued to send southern sympathizers and went unrepresented in the Legislature. The Union men in Jefferson City bestowed upon the county, in recognition of this persistence, the name of 'Kingdom of Callaway.'"

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

CAMDEN COUNTY'S BRAND OF DEMOCRACY

By D. Boone Osborn*

Camden County started out right politically and was Democratic from her first election in 1842, until the Civil war, but fell from grace in 1862 and groped blindly in a political wilderness—as far as state and nation are concerned—until November, 1932. Among the first Democrats to hold office and start the county off were Zepheniah Warren, H. J. Frost, M. C. Hawkins, Sidney R. Roberts, Valentine Moulder, George M. Swink, Laban Ivey, David Fulbright, Miles Vernon, Joseph J. Thrailkill, Henry Bollinger, William C. Hart, James N. B. Dodson, G. S. McNabb, James B. Aikman, Judson Clark, B. F. Robertson, and Mark L. Means.

Among the more recent outstanding Democratic county officials down to 1920, were: Haziah George, Ed Carter, Ivon Lodge, T. J. Feaster, W. F. Claiborne, Harry Windes, John Cyrus, Green Thornton, Jim Brown, Henry Laswell, George Robinson, W. H. Stanton, Marvin Calkin, Willie Campbell, Josiah Traw, I. H. George. Mr. Feaster is the only Democrat ever sent to the state senate from the county. The above men were all popular and gave outstanding service in the several offices to which they were elected—in the then strong Republican county. The four best campaigners of these years were possibly Haziah George, John Cyrus, Billy Claiborne and Harry Windes.

The more recent outstanding Democrats of the county have been and are—George M. Moore (deceased) former presidential elector; Barney

Reed, former state committeeman; W. B. Allison, county superintendent of schools; W. M. Thompkins (deceased), chairman congressional and county committee; Jim Bunch, ex-treasurer and present presiding judge; Morgan Moulder, prosecuting attorney; G. T. Myers, representative; Ralph Eidson, sheriff; R. G. Scott, a civil war colonel who has held several offices and positions of trust—and others, including a host of young Democratic leaders both men and women.

Any mention of Camden County Democrats would be incomplete without the central committee of 1932—composed of Cav Armstrong, Mattie Perkins, Henry Vogle, Eula White, Dock George, Ivy Purvis, Ora Purvis, Clare Bunch, Margaret Moulder, Frances Eidson, Homer Claiborne and Marjorie Green. This committee organized and had team work—consequently carried the county for the national and state tickets for the first time in seventy years. They received no financial help from any outside committee and for the first time in the history of the county raised and sent contributions to the national and state committees and Camden was the first county in the state raising and sending in their quota—(nearly two and one-half times over) for the National Democratic Committee deficit.

The record of our party—officers and leaders—has been one to which we can point with pride. They have advocated and practiced strict economy in public affairs, and the lowest possible tax rate that would keep absolute public needs at par with those of other counties of similar interests and population. They have been progressive but they have kept their feet on the ground, and as a consequence our county is not staggering under any bonded debts. Pioneers in the forward moving era of better schools and good roads, they did not let their enthusiasm warp their judgment, and a safe and sane program in all matters affecting public interest and public expenditures has been theirs through the years.

*Author's Note. Mr. Osborn, the author of this sketch of Camden County History is the editor of the *Central Missouri Leader* at Macks Creek, Missouri. This publication is one of the good Democratic weekly papers of Missouri and has been fighting the party's battles for thirty years. Mr. Osborn in his early manhood taught school, manifesting an interest in public affairs. He soon became actively identified with the Democratic organization of Camden County and was elected a member of the Democratic Central Committee in 1932. He served for several years as secretary and is, at the present time, chairman of the county committee, and a member of the Democratic Congressional Committee of the new Second District. He was supervisor of Census of the Eighth Congressional District in 1920 and was offered the state factory inspectorship by Governor Major in 1913, but declined for the reason that the position would necessitate his discontinuance of the active control of his newspaper.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

Mr. Osborn is very generally and favorably known throughout Missouri as one of the state's most active, influential Democratic workers.

CAPE GIRARDEAU COUNTY DEMOCRATS

Mr. Robert Burett Oliver,* of Cape Girardeau, contributes to the "History of Missouri Democracy" some very interesting notes. He has occupied a prominent position in the legal, official and political life of this county and Southern Missouri for many years. He writes:

In naming these gentlemen as I dictate this letter, I do not want to be understood as intimating that they were the only ones in Southeast Missouri who are entitled to recognition in any history that is written of our Party, or of this section of our commonwealth. I knew most of these men personally, and there isn't one whose name I have mentioned that I have not either met or else come in contact with their direct descendants, save and except that of Senator Buckner, who died childless. No man can in truth write aught against any of these gentlemen. Their official and political records are clean; they scorned the grafter; and at all times stood up as towering examples of individual integrity and official uprightness; and it is and has been and always will be with me a matter of pride that I had an intimate and personal acquaintance with many of them.

Hon. Willard D. Vandiver was one time congressman from this congressional district, one time assistant United States treasurer at St. Louis, under President Wilson, and one time president of the Cape Girardeau Normal School (now known as the Southeast Missouri Teachers College). It was my pleasure to nominate Mr. Vandiver for congressman at the congressional convention which first nominated him. At the time of his nomination he was president of the Southeast Missouri Normal School, but resigned as president of the school soon after his election as congressman. His services in this congressional district were of great importance to our people and to this entire section of the state. Without disparaging the services of any other congressman, I give it as my opinion that his accomplishments were greater and of more enduring character than those of any other congressman ever elected from this district, not excepting the services of my warm personal friend, the late Hon. Joseph J. Russell.

It was Mr. Vandiver's activity and insistence upon the protection of the river bank at New Madrid and at Caruthersville that culminated in the revetment of the banks of those cities and saved further erosion at both places. It was through his activity that the Federal post office building of this place was erected, and it was due to his services that the United States Court for the Southeastern Judicial District was authorized. These official acts entitle him to recognition in any work that pretends to review the accomplishments of public men from this section of the state.

William Hunter of Benton, Scott County, Missouri, was a graduate of Harvard, an able lawyer, and one of the most lovable characters in all the land. At the time of his death he was without doubt the largest individual landowner in the State of Missouri. I enjoyed his confidence and friendship, was associated with him in the State Senate, and in after years when the Summons was sounded in 1885, he called on me to write his will for him and to prepare a corporation for the handling of his vast landed estate

to the end that it might be preserved for the use and benefit of his children, to whom he was devotedly attached.

I have told you what I knew of Governor Dunklin socially, and of Judge Holladay, and of my knowing both these gentlemen. You, of course, know that Dunklin County was named after Governor Dunklin. You also are familiar with the fact that he is regarded as the father of the public schools of our state. True, the law was primitive, but it was a start, and he is entitled to the credit for the start.

Speaking of Auditor Holladay, I think it historically important that you should not overlook his predecessor in office as he was the first Confederate soldier elected to state office after the close of the Civil war. His immediate predecessor as auditor was Maj. George B. Clark, of Washington County, at that time. Major Clark was nominated and elected at the same time that Silas Woodson was made governor.

Incidentally, it may be well to state that Judge Holladay's chief clerk at that time was James N. Edwards of Jackson, Missouri. Mr. Edwards was a son-in-law of Gen. Thomas B. English—one time contestant for United States senatorial honors with Thomas Hart Benton. General English was elected judge of this judicial circuit at the beginning of the Civil war, but was never permitted to hold the courts of this judicial circuit on account of the radical regime then in full force throughout Missouri. One of General English's sons, Henry R. English, was clerk of the circuit court of Cape Girardeau County for a number of years. He was elected in November, 1878, and continued in office for sixteen years. Another one of his sons attended the State University with me in 1873-4.

MISSOURI CASH BOOK

Speaking of newspaper men makes me think of Frank A. McGuire, for some thirty years or more editor of the *Missouri Cash Book* at Jackson. This man was one of the most genial, brave, upright and honorable men I have ever known in public or private life. His father before him was a brave Confederate soldier. McGuire was a strong advocate and admirer of Gov. Joseph W. Folk. It is no exaggeration, in my opinion, to say that his paper exerted a wider influence in the Democratic Party in Southeast Missouri than any other newspaper published within our bounds.

Yes, here comes another name that you will want to mention and that is none other than Capt. Albert O. Allen of New Madrid County, one time chief clerk in Judge Holladay's office when auditor, afterwards chief clerk in Seibert's office for three successive terms, and then auditor himself. He was a Confederate soldier and immediately upon the close of the Civil war established a newspaper at New Madrid known as *The Weekly Record*. His son, a respectable gentleman, and one on whose shoulders the mantle of the father rests easily, is owner and publisher.

One other name you mention and that is my warm personal friend, the Hon. James Monroe Seibert, now of St. Louis, one time a citizen of Jackson. I was active in his campaign for the nomination of state treasurer

and went with him about the state after his election securing prominent men as his bondsmen. At that time there were no corporations authorized to secure bonds and the bond of the state treasurer had to be signed by individuals. It was my good pleasure to accompany him to Clinton, Henry County, where he secured the signatures of Col. William McLean and ex-Treasurer Harvey Salmon, who was then in the heyday of political influence, power and prestige in Missouri. Seibert and I both lived in Jackson. We were close personal friends politically and socially, and both had much to do in rescuing the county from Republican management and placing it firmly in the Democratic column where it remained until he entered state politics and I moved to this place, after which I became interested chiefly in helping my friends and the party in securing wholesome, clean and faithful Democratic nominees and officials.

Garnet S. Cannon, a great-grandson of Governor Dunklin and a grandson of Doctor Cannon, now lives in and was recently named postmaster at Fornfelt, in Scott County, Missouri. He is, as was his father, J. W. Cannon, a physician and withal is a very excellent gentleman and a good Democrat.

Going back now to an earlier period, I find that John Dillard Cook, one of the members of the first Constitutional Convention of the state, in 1825, was, after the state was organized, appointed one of the three Supreme Judges. He served for a while on the Supreme bench, then resigned to accept the Circuit Judgeship of this, his home judicial circuit. While still a circuit judge he was appointed by the President United States district attorney for the Eastern Judicial District of Missouri. This position he soon resigned and again became judge of this judicial circuit, and remained such until his death in 1852. His remains rest in the beautiful cemetery at Cape Girardeau, overlooking the mighty Mississippi as it moves southward on its course, and a well-preserved marble shaft marks the grave.

General Nathaniel Watkins, a half-brother of the illustrious Henry Clay, moved from Kentucky into this county at an early date. His home, until it was burned during the Civil war, was at Jackson. After that he moved to one of his many farms, where he established a new home near Benton in Scott County, and where he afterward died. He was the vice president of the Constitutional Convention that convened in 1875, the greater part of the work of which is still our constitutional law. Houck says of General Hawkins that for half a century he was engaged in all the civil and criminal cases in Southeast Missouri. He practiced in all the southeastern counties, traveling on horseback, usually in company with George W. Davis and the circuit judge. He possessed great oratorical powers, was very sarcastic, vehement or denunciatory as the occasion might require. In appearance he greatly resembled his illustrious half-brother.

George B. Clark was nominated and elected auditor on the ticket with Gov. Silas B. Woodson. Major Clark married one of Governor Dunklin's kinswomen, I do not know whether she was a daughter or granddaughter, but I know she was a lovely woman, and was a frequent visitor at my home after the Major became a citizen of Cape Girardeau County,

and that she was a descendant of Governor Dunklin. Major Clark was an efficient, capable and honest officer, and a delightful gentleman, socially and intellectually. At one time he was connected with Gov. John S. Marmaduke, Oscar Kochtitzky and John W. Parrimore of St. Louis in the building and construction of a narrow gauge railroad from the city of New Madrid across the swamps to the highlands at Malden in Dunklin County. After severing his interest with the railroad enterprise, Major Clark moved to Cape Girardeau and founded and edited a Democratic newspaper at this place, and continued to operate his newspaper until appointed to a position in the Revenue Department of the United States Government under the administration of President Cleveland. He was assigned by the Revenue Department to a position in North Carolina. He sold out his newspaper interest and later his beautiful home here.

Mr. John T. Clark of Jefferson City was, as I remember it, the chief clerk in the auditor's office during Major Clark's term and later became the chief clerk under Auditor Walker who succeeded, as I remember, Holladay, in that office. He died in Washington, D. C.

PROSECUTED BUEHRMAN

Yes, I personally knew Judge Thomas Holladay, state auditor in 1872. He resided at the time of his election at Fredericktown, Madison County, Missouri. He was a personal friend of mine and on one occasion went with me to call on the attorney-general, Jack L. Smith, and Gov. John S. Phelps, with reference to the prosecution of a brutal murder that occurred in this county the latter part of 1878. I was elected prosecuting attorney of this county in November and took office on January 1, 1879. The murder was committed between the November election and the convening of the Circuit Court on January 1, 1879. The first indictment, therefore, that I ever drew was an indictment against Otto Buehrman who shot down Judge James McWilliams, one time judge of the Court of Common Pleas of this place, and one time District State's Attorney for this judicial district. Buehrman was a man of large means and influence at the time of this murder. Former Lieut.-Gov. Charles P. Johnson of St. Louis headed the list of attorneys defending him. Almost every lawyer at this bar with the exception of my predecessor in office and Louis Houck was employed by him to assist in the defense. Public sentiment was running high, and as a young prosecuting attorney I was as active as I could be in collecting evidence and keeping public sentiment aright. I demanded a trial at the first term of the court at which the defendant was indicted. To meet that demand Governor Johnson presented and secured a change of venue on behalf of defendant from this county, to New Madrid County. At that time there was no statute requiring the prosecuting attorney of the county in which a crime had been committed to follow the criminal and prosecute him in the jurisdiction to which the venue had been changed. After this change of venue had been taken, I proceeded to Jefferson City, called on Judge Holladay and his chief clerk, James N. Edwards (whose home was in Jackson in this county), with the hope of getting their

coöperation in having the Governor to direct the then attorney general to prosecute this case in New Madrid County as I had no right to appear as prosecutor in that jurisdiction. Judge Holladay went with and presented me to Gov. John S. Phelps. I explained the local situation in this county and the probable condition that would be found in New Madrid County. The Governor seemed intensely interested, and called General Smith to his office for a conference. The attorney general's duties prevented him from going to New Madrid County, and at that time there were no assistant attorney generals in Missouri. The attorney general had what was called a clerk, not an assistant. After a conference of some time, Governor Phelps appointed me as a special representative of the attorney general to follow and prosecute that case to the end. The Governor called in Michael K. McGrath, then secretary of state, who prepared and delivered to me the commission signed by Governor Phelps. This kindness of Judge Holladay has always been a cherished recollection, and the appointment as a special attorney general for the state in the prosecution of that case I have always regarded as a distinct honor.

It seemed logical that in telling you of Judge Holladay (who was seriously afflicted physically, being crippled in both legs) I should also mention his chief clerk and his predecessor in office as they are co-related. Judge Holladay returned to Fredericktown, resumed the practice of law in a quiet way, and later died a citizen of Madison County, July 31, 1904.

Wilson Brown was one of the most potential and powerful politicians in the state during his lifetime; was much beloved by his friends and highly respected by his political opponents. He was native of Maryland and a physician by profession. He married a Miss Gibony, a member of an early and respected pioneer family in this county. Three daughters survived his death—one, the widow of Samuel L. Sloan, of Cape Girardeau, was the mother of Col. Albert Brevard Sloan of the United States Army, who died in San Diego, California, some years ago. Another daughter, Amanda, married Dr. Samuel S. Harris, a much loved Confederate soldier of this place. Dr. Harris and his wife are both dead. They left one daughter who afterwards married Edward Blomermeyer, now of San Antonio, Texas. Mrs. Blomermeyer died in January, 1933. The youngest daughter married Capt. James B. Nesmith. They left one son, Malcolm Nesmith, who is a resident of Michigan. Lieutenant-Governor Brown's grave is on a hill situated in Scott County, overlooking his early plantation and home. The grave is marked by a handsome monument erected by the State of Missouri, probably the first monument erected by the state over one of its dead officials. It is a modest stone, costing, as the record shows, the sum of \$500. The same General Assembly, and in the same resolution, appropriated the sum of \$250 to erect a monument over the remains of the then late Attorney-General William A. Robards of Boone County. The Act authorizing these appropriations can be found in the Laws of 1855, page 364.

After the formation of St. Francois County a part of Madison County's territory was taken from it to form the new county, and it was found that Col. Nathaniel Cook's plantation and country homestead was in St.

Francois County at a point called Liberty. Here he was buried and his grave is without a stone or marker to indicate the place.

I made a pilgrimage there several years ago with my grandson. We found that an old German now owns the plantation, and after he had finished his noon nap he was good enough to go out with me into a meadow and pointed out to me the identical spot where he said the old general was buried. A part of this meadow embraced the whole of the private burial ground of General Cook where his wife and a number of his children were buried and where many of his slaves lie asleep. At one time cobblestones from a nearby branch were taken from the bed of the creek and placed at the head and foot of the several graves as they were made. But the present owner told me that they were in the way of his mowing sickle and that he had removed the last stone that had been placed about the graves to a stone fence near by. It was a sad thought to the writer that this old warrior, statesman and jurist had nothing over or about his grave to indicate its whereabouts, and the difference in the verdure and strength of the timothy and bluegrass that was growing over it would in a few years leave nothing to tell the coming generation, or an inquiring admirer of his record where his remains were finally laid. It is not your place nor mine perhaps to criticise either the Bar of St. Francois or Madison County for their oversight and neglect in not placing an appropriate monument over this grave.

Gen. Nathaniel Cook was, as you know, one of three brothers whose names ought to illumine our early history. All three brothers were Kentuckians. Two came to Southeast Missouri and the third went to the northern limits of Illinois where he was elected Congressman from that district. Cook County, the seat of Chicago, is named for him.

Franklin Cannon, Cape Girardeau County, elected lieutenant-governor in 1836 on the ticket with Gov. Lilburn W. Boggs, came from the western part of North Carolina from where many of the early settlers of the county came. He was a successful physician and his practice extended many miles away from Jackson. He left two sons, surviving him. One, Dr. J. W. Cannon, was the father of Dr. Garnet H. Cannon, who, as I have previously stated, resides in Fornfelt, Scott County. The second son, named after his father, was a planter, but died many years ago. The old doctor, Franklin Cannon, died June 13, 1863, and was buried in the cemetery at Jackson.

MARSHALL ARNOLD

I think you will want to have something to say about the Hon. Marshall Arnold of Benton, Scott County. In my opinion he was the most forceful, able and convincing nominating orator that ever attended a Democratic State Convention. He nominated James M. Seibert for treasurer and later for auditor each term he sought that place. He nominated Judge James Fox of Madison County for the Supreme Bench. He was a member of Congress for one term from 1891-1893. He never sought re-election. He had an extended practice of the law and was employed in nearly all the important criminal cases that originated in this section of the state

during his time. He was withal one of the most powerful jury lawyers I ever heard, and was at all times able, honorable and honest. He died June 22, 1913, and is buried at Benton, Scott County.

His son, James M. Arnold, was appointed by Judge Charles B. Faris, deputy clerk of the Southeast Division of the Eastern Judicial District of Missouri at this place.

Now, Mr. Jackson, I have not attempted to write biographical sketches of either of the gentlemen named. I have only mentioned their names, their places of residence, and some of the official positions they occupied. I have mentioned no living man, save that of my friend James M. Seibert, so there is none to question what I have said about them if they were disposed to. My mentioning of them is that they, their many traits of Party fealty and of Party service, may not be overlooked, for let it be known that at one time these men were leaders in the Democratic Party in the State. When we had nominating conventions for the selection of candidates they were nearly always at the conventions, active in securing the very best type of Party men who were offering their services at the time. I know these men whose names I have mentioned, for through the kindness of friends and without any merit on my part, I was made a delegate when almost a beardless boy to the convention that nominated Silas Woodson for governor of this state, and from that time until the close of state nominating conventions, with rare exception, I was "Johnny-on-the-spot."

It is a long time in years when I reflect about what has been accomplished within that time. It is marvelous to think of what political, scientific, educational and social revolutions have taken place within these sixty years or more. No other period is so full of interesting historical characters and events. As a boy I know personally of the ravages of Civil war and the bitter sectional feeling that existed between friends and neighbors and sometimes members of the same family in the 'sixties. I know of the depression that followed that terrible war and the suffering that it produced with thousands of our people. I was a part of it and know the facts from first hand.

Up to this time I have refrained from saying anything about my little contribution to the Party or State. You perhaps can get that from another pen less prejudiced than mine may be, but if you care to have me make a brief statement of it, I will try to do it for you. I have trained and taught in my office a number of young men as lawyers for whom I have high admiration and respect. Some of them have been judges; some of them have been at the head as legal advisers of large business concerns; some of them rank among the best of our State Bar and of the Bars of Texas and Oklahoma. I have a special pride in the accomplishments of these students and their standing and influence with the courts of our land. There is not one that I am ashamed of.

My connection with the University of our state is fairly well known to the president of that institution, and my service to the cause of education to the Normal School system of this state is better known by Dr. W. S. Dearmont, now of Lafayette, Louisiana, than any other living man.

My legislative career can be traced through the passage of a number of our present statutes and the current comments of the reporters during the sessions of the Assembly at which I served.

The Honorable John A. Hope of St. Louis, had no other legal training than what he received in my law office, and I dare to say that few men in the City of St. Louis have a higher or a clearer conception of the science of law, its purpose and effect on civilization, than has he.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

HISTORY OF DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN CARROLL COUNTY

By Hon. Scott R. Timmons,* Carrollton

The history of the Democratic party in Carroll County has been a duplication of its history in the nation in that the Democratic party has maintained its identity as such throughout the one hundred years of Carroll County history. The Democratic party in Carroll County has seen the Whigs, Greenback party, the Know-nothings and fusions between Republicans and others after the Civil war, but it has always maintained its separate identity, always maintaining its own ticket and for the first three quarters of the county's history was most always successful in the election of its candidates.

Carroll County was settled, as was most of this territory, by people from Kentucky and Virginia who were for the most part men who believed in the principles of the Democratic party as announced by Thomas Jefferson.

I am indebted to the compilers of the history of Carroll County published in 1912 by Hon. S. K. Turner and Hon. S. A. Clark, of Carrollton, for the following interesting political facts with reference to the history of Carroll County from its beginning to the year 1912:

The first Presidential campaign of which the county has a record was that of 1840 when the Whig candidate for President was William Henry Harrison and the Democratic candidate was Martin Van Buren. In the same year John B. Clark of Howard County was the Whig candidate for governor and Thomas Reynolds, also of Howard County, was the Democratic candidate. Mr. Reynolds incidentally was the great-grandfather of the author of this article. The campaign in Carroll County was a very exciting one. Meetings were held over the county and a total of 294 votes were cast, the Democratic majority being 70.

In 1842 an exciting contest was held for member of the State Legislature. Robert D. Ray, afterwards a Democratic member of the state Supreme Court, was the Whig candidate, and Col. William W. Compton, the Democratic nominee. The county had a good Democratic majority, but the popularity of young "Bob" Ray cut it down. Compton, however, was elected.

The presidential campaign of 1844 founded Henry Clay, the candidate of the Whigs for President, and James K. Polk, the Democratic nominee.

There was a great flood in Carroll County during this year which destroyed much property and the voters seemed more interested in repairing the ravages of the flood than in voting. Of a total of 553 votes cast in the county, the Democratic candidate for President polled 311.

In the presidential election of 1848, Gen. Zachary Taylor was the Whig candidate for President, and the Democrats nominated Gen. Lewis Cass of Michigan. The election in Carroll County aroused very little interest, the Democrats carrying the county by a reduced majority. General Taylor's connection with the Mexican war just ended, caused many Democratic votes to be cast for him.

The election of 1850 marked the defeat of Col. Thomas H. Benton in his desire to return to the United States Senate. Colonel Benton in carrying his cause to the people made a speech at Carrollton which was long remembered in the county. However, the anti-Benton Democrats in this county were in the majority, and in 1850 an anti-Benton Democrat was chosen to the Legislature.

The Presidential election of 1852 found the Democratic and Whig parties again contesting. Gen. Winfield Scott was the nominee of the Whigs and Gen. Franklin Pierce the Democratic nominee. This campaign was a very strenuous one and was the last one in which the old Whig party, as such, presented a presidential candidate. The Democrats carried Carroll County. Soon after this election the Whig party fell to pieces and many of its members joined what became known as the American or "Know-nothing" party.

In the presidential election of 1856 James Buchanan was the Democratic candidate for President and Millard Fillmore was the nominee of the Know-nothing party. Carroll County went Democratic as usual but by an increased majority. When the Whig party disintegrated, many of its members joined the Democratic party rather than join the Know-nothings, whose main principles were opposition to the holding of office by foreigners and Roman Catholics.

The presidential election of 1860 created a great excitement over the county. It marked the first appearance of the Republican party as a national party. The Democratic party nationally was split, the convention, known as the "regulars" nominated Stephen A. Douglas for President, and the state's rights wing nominated John C. Breckenridge. The party known as the "constitutional union," made up of old Whigs, Know-nothings and some conservative men of all parties, nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, for President. The Republican party nominated Abraham Lincoln. There was unusual activity in Carroll County. Unusual as it may seem, the Presidential election was largely lost sight of in a contest for representative to the state Legislature. James A. Pritchard, an old Whig, had been elected to the Legislature, notwithstanding the county was strongly Democratic. In this year he was the nominee of the Bell ticket. The Democrats nominated William N. Eads, a young lawyer, recently from Kentucky. These two candidates held joint meetings throughout the county and the records reveal that they spoke thirty-seven different times. While the Democrats of the nation split, both

divisions supported Eads in Carroll County and he was easily elected to the Legislature. Jackson, the Democratic nominee for governor, carried the county by nearly 400 votes, while Douglas received 200 more votes than Bell, who in turn received approximately 300 more votes than Breckenridge. The remarkable thing about the election in Carroll County was that Lincoln received only three votes, these being cast in one township, the other eight townships then in the county failing to record a single vote for him.

Eighteen hundred sixty-four marked a period of controversy between two wings of the Union party—the conservatives or Democrats and the radicals or Republicans. In 1868, under the test oath, the Democrats carried the county for the national and state tickets by 161. In 1872 the entire Greeley ticket was elected in Carroll County with the single exception of probate judge. In 1874, an independent ticket supported by the Republicans was put in the field against the Democrats. However, the Democratic nominees were elected by a majority ranging from 600 to 1,500. The presidential election of 1876 was an exciting one over the entire county. Tilden, the Democratic nominee, carried the county by approximately 450.

REPUBLICANS AND GREENBACKS

In the 1878 election, the Republicans combined with the Independents and Greenbacks. The Democratic ticket was again successful with very few exceptions.

In the 1880 election, the Republicans again combined with the Greenbacks, each nominating half the county ticket, and again the Democrats were overwhelmingly successful. The county went for the Democratic nominee for President by over 400 and gave the same majority to Crittenden for governor. Also Hon. R. D. Ray, a Democrat of Carroll County, was elected a member of the state Supreme Court where he served with distinction for a term of ten years.

In 1882 a fusion or farmers ticket was nominated in opposition to the Democratic ticket. Again the entire Democratic ticket was successful with one exception.

The campaign of 1884 was one of the hardest fought and most enthusiastic of any in the history of the county. Blaine and Cleveland clubs were formed in every township in the county and torchlight processions were nightly occurrences. Each party closed the campaign with monster demonstrations at Carrollton. Cleveland carried the county by 120 and the entire Democratic ticket was elected with one exception.

The campaign of 1886 was a memorable one in Carroll County largely due to the campaign of Col. John B. Hale for Congress. Colonel Hale had been elected on the Democratic ticket, and Charles H. Mansur, of Livingston County, made a thorough canvass of the district while Colonel Hale was serving in Congress. Mansur defeated Colonel Hale for the nomination in 1886. Colonel Hale then declined to support the Democratic nominee and was prevailed upon to run on an independent ticket

with the endorsement of the Republicans. Colonel Hale carried Carroll County by a large majority, although he was defeated in the district. After the election Colonel Hale became a Republican, and many of the old settlers in the county who had been lifelong Democrats went over to the Republican party with him and have stayed over ever since. The deflection of this group from the Democratic party marked the beginning of the reduction of its theretofore large majorities in the county. The immediate effect of the deflection was shown in the campaign of 1888 for practically the entire Republican county ticket was elected.

The Presidential election of 1892 was again a very interesting one in the county, which again saw the Democrats rallying to Cleveland and which saw the entire Democratic county ticket elected with the exception of treasurer and surveyor, and in 1894 the entire Democratic county ticket was again elected with the exception of judge of the eastern district.

The campaign of 1896 marked to a great extent a division of party lines. It marked the second great deflection in this county from the Democratic ticket. Although Bryan carried the county by 190, many Democrats voted the Republican ticket and have done so ever since. In fact many of the present leaders of the Republican party in Carroll County are descendants of Democrats who bolted in 1896. In 1898 the county was practically evenly divided politically, both the Democratic and Republican parties electing about half the county ticket. In 1900, however, there was a swing back to the Democratic party, the county going Democratic from the President on down. The same is true in the election of 1902, the Republicans in that year getting only three county offices.

In 1904 the county went Republican, the Democrats gaining only four county offices, and in 1906 the Democrats came back gaining all but five county offices.

The election of 1908 was interesting from the standpoint of Carroll County because one of its citizens, William R. Painter, was the Democratic candidate for lieutenant-governor. On the face of the returns he was elected, but the Legislature seated his Republican opponent. Again in 1912 Mr. Painter was a candidate and was elected along with the entire Democratic state ticket and served his state with distinction in this office for four years.

WRONG SINCE 1910

From the records in Carroll County it is shown that up to the year 1910 the Democrats were successful in electing 147 county officials while the opposing party of the Whigs, Greenbacks, fusion tickets and Republicans during the same period were successful in electing 92 county officials. Since 1910, however, the majority of county officials have been Republicans.

Since 1910 Carroll County has given majorities to the Republican nominees for President and governor with two exceptions. In 1912 Woodrow Wilson carried the county by a good majority and Franklin D. Roosevelt carried the county by the largest majority ever given a Democratic

candidate for President, his majority being approximately 1,300 votes. While President Wilson carried the state by about 40,000 in 1916, he lost this county by a small majority to Hughes. In 1920 the Republican leaders stirred up all the racial and other animosities engendered by the World war and carried the county by a large majority. In 1924 Coolidge and the Republican ticket carried the county by greatly reduced majorities and practically the entire Democratic county ticket was elected. In 1928 a campaign without precedent in national political history was carried on. The Ku Klux Klan was adroitly used against Governor Smith and the anti-saloon league was at the height of its political power. This county being typically rural, this campaign of anti-Catholicism and anti-saloon leagueism resulted in Hoover and the Republican ticket carrying the county by an unprecedented majority. Of course, the story of the 1932 campaign is very recent history. People, being led on by false promises of an even greater false prosperity, were completely disillusioned and voted overwhelmingly for Roosevelt and the entire Democratic ticket. A large number of former Republicans, finding that the Republican party was laying false claims of being the only party that could bring prosperity to the people, left that party and voted the straight Democratic ticket.

This in short is the history of the Democratic party in Carroll County. It has tried to hold true to the great American ideal of the general good for the ordinary citizen. It has always kept intact its organization, and although often meeting defeat, it has risen again to see the triumph of its principles. During the past decade of its history, it has attempted in this county a closely knit organization running into every township. The County Central Committee functions well and is ably aided by the Carroll County Jefferson Club and by the organization of younger Democrats. The women in recent years have played an important and active part in the local affairs of the party, and the only woman to hold a county office has been a Democrat.

Being in a close county politically, the Democrats of this county know what it means to organize and fight. Our greatest vote is polled in the general election and not at the primary as is so often true in the large Democratic counties. We confidently expect that a large group of those Republicans who believe that the Republican party as such has become too closely allied with the industrial and financial interests of the country until it has almost completely made bankrupt the farmer, small business man and laborer, will be permanent assets of the Democratic party under the liberal leadership of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The Democratic party must always remain the instrument for the realization of the American ideal so eloquently pictured by James Thuslow Adams in his great recent work "The Epic of America"—the ideal of America being the land of the greatest opportunity for the ordinary citizen, where the ordinary citizen will not be compelled to pay tribute to privileged classes, but will have a fuller measure of "abundant life" so eloquently pictured by President Roosevelt in a recent radio address. The Democratic party of Carroll County will always be found on the firing line fighting for these principles.

SOME ABLE LEADERS

The Democrats of Carroll County have given to the state and nation many able leaders. Col. John B. Hale served with distinction in Congress for one term and was a member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1875. Judge Robert D. Ray served with distinction as a member of the Supreme Court for ten years. William R. Painter served as lieutenant-governor for four years and as a member of the State Senate for several terms, during which time he was president pro tem of that body. William G. Busby, as state senator, was co-author of the State Public Service Commission Act and later served as chief counsel and chairman of the commission. Morton Jourdan, late of St. Louis, was practicing law in this county when he was made first assistant attorney-general of this state in the early 'nineties. Arnold Shanklin served for many years in the foreign diplomatic and consular service of the government. Our present congressman, Hon. Ralph F. Lozier, one of the leaders of the House of Representatives in Washington, has been a fighting Democrat in this county all of his adult life and has served ably his people since being first elected to Congress in 1922.

It would be difficult to name the men and women in the county who have labored in season and out of season for the triumph of the Democratic principles. In attempting to name some, we might omit many who worked equally hard. Suffice it to say, that those who worked and labored through the years have done so largely because of their belief in the principles for which they fought and not because of any desire of public recognition. This is always the type of people the Democratic party will have to rely upon and will continue to rely upon in the future. They have written a glorious history for the Democratic party in this county in the past and will continue to do so in the future. As evidence of this devotion to Democratic principles, it is worthy of note that our present county chairman of the Democratic committee, S. W. Vaughn, has been a member of that committee for more than forty years. His work is typical of that of a host of others who sincerely believe that upon the triumph of the principles of the Democratic party rests the welfare of the great mass of the common people.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

HISTORY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN CARTER COUNTY

By J. J. Chilton,* Van Buren

The pioneer settlers of what is now Carter County came originally from South Carolina and Tennessee, and were mostly Democrats, and consequently when the county was organized on March 10, 1859, it was Democratic.

An election was held in November, 1860, in which Henry Hardin was elected to the General Assembly, but I notice in the Official Manual of

Missouri that he failed to serve; at least there is no mention of his having served. Edward Tucker was elected county and circuit clerk, also recorder. One person could hold all these offices at that time. Thomas Gardner was elected sheriff and collector. John Chilton and James Chilton were elected judges of the county court, William Coleman, county treasurer and James Hill prosecuting attorney.

The county organization functioned only a short time before the Civil war broke out. All was chaos for four years. No elections were held until 1866. In November of that year, owing to the many Democrats, who had been rebels, refusing to subscribe to the "Test Oath," they were disfranchised, and the Republicans, though in the minority, took the county offices. William Lawson was elected representative; C. S. P. Holland, sheriff and collector; Daniel W. Hoskins, county and circuit clerk and recorder of deeds; John C. Hoskins, assessor; and Thomas Mabray served both Ripley and Carter counties as prosecuting attorney. I don't remember who the county judges were, but all were Republicans.

In 1870 the Democrats won most of the offices: F. M. Coleman was elected representative; Alexander Carter, county and circuit clerk and recorder; James Chilton, sheriff and collector; A. A. Parsons and James Swieter, judges of the county court,—all Democrats.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

CASS COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Cass County was organized September 14, 1835. It was first called Van Buren, in honor of President Martin Van Buren, whom it is said, Missourians delighted to honor in that day. But in 1849, after Van Buren had been the unsuccessful presidential candidate of the Free Soil Party, the name was changed to Cass by the General Assembly, in honor of Lewis Cass, of Michigan, the Democratic candidate for President in 1848, who had been defeated by General Taylor. The county seat, Harrisonville, was named for Hon. A. G. Harrison of Callaway County, who represented Missouri in the National Congress in 1835 and 1837, and for whom Harrison County is named.

The first member of the General Assembly from Cass County was Charles Sims in 1850-52; H. B. Standiford in 1854; W. H. H. Cundiff in 1856-64-69; Wm. M. Briscoe in 1858-60; H. D. O'Bannon in 1862; R. G. Leaming in 1867; Curtis Worden in 1871; Benjamin Stephens in 1873; A. C. Bryant in 1875; J. F. Brookhart in 1877; G. S. Spring in 1879; Douglas Dale in 1881; John T. Rawlins in 1883; James K. Lacy in 1885-87; I. M. Abraham in 1889-91; E. T. Lane in 1893-95; J. H. Dorsett in 1897; J. R. Nicholson in 1899-1901; R. H. Brown in 1903; W. P. Houston in 1905-07; Thomas Coulter in 1909; David W. Stark in 1911-13; Charles S. Nelson in 1915-17-19; A. W. Wilhite in 1921-23-25; A. H. Baldwin in 1927-29-31; Charles S. Nelson in 1933.

Cass County has had many Democrats prominent in the political affairs of the Party, who deserve to be named: Charles S. Hockaday, Leslie M. Crouch, John T. Boswell, Dewitt C. Barnett, Duncan Russell, Thomas N. Haynes, Chas. A. Reed, William S. Byram, Henry V. Hurst, John Lamar, Edgar R. Idol, G. B. Anderson, Homer J. Clark, John R. Nicholson, Chas. S. West, Chas. F. Mayor, William Gilleland, Lee Spicer, W. J. Laffoon, Pat Malone, John T. Moberly, Jas. R. Connelly, Dr. T. W. Adair, T. J. Armstrong, Frank Armstrong, Dick Miller, T. A. Callaway, Geo. C. Colburn, G. R. Chamberlain, W. S. James, R. J. Malone, Lon B. Pulliam, James G. Smith.

Walter B. Stevens, in the "Centennial History of Missouri," (Vol. I, p. 82), says:

"The courthouse of Cass County served three generations. Architecturally it was good for a century. But the county outgrew the accommodations which were ample in 1837. Like other Missouri pioneers the county judges of Cass insisted on substantial results. They drew their own specifications which included walls two feet thick, as follows:

"One room 18 foot square, the other room 14 foot by 18, with one partition ran, to be made of good timber, well hued down to 6 in. thick and to face one foot across the center of each log. Wall to be completely raised 1 story and half high. Corners to be sawed down a good plank or puncheon Floor in each room well laid so that it will not rock or shake nor rattle. A good chimney in each end completely Run out with Stick and good lime Mortar well put in and the fier places well and complete fixed with Stoan or Brick so as to secure the safety of fier. The roof put on with good 3 foot boards, well shaved lapt and nailed on ends well weather-boarded up—the wall well filled in the cracks with good lime mortar well put in. 1 outside door in each room. Also 1 entry door completely faced and cased with good materials. Shutters to be hung with good Hinges, latches, etc., with good locks and kees To each door; also 1 window in each room containing of 12 lights each well faced and cased—and fild with the largest caind of glass—each to have a good outside shutter with good boalts and bars to each window. Each room to have a plank or clapboard loft closely laid and all the work done on said building to be done in a good and workmanlike manner and out of good materials.'"

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

CEDAR COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Cedar County was organized February 14, 1845, and was named for its principal water stream. The original county seat was Lancaster. In 1847 the name of the town was changed to Fremont, in honor of the "Pathfinder," John C. Fremont, who was also the son-in-law of Senator Thomas H. Benton. In 1856 General Fremont became the Republican candidate for President. At the meeting of the General Assembly the

name was changed to Stockton, in honor of Commodore Richard Stockton of the U. S. Navy, who had arrested Fremont during the Mexican war, and sought to have him disgraced.

John G. Pearson was the first member of the General Assembly from Cedar County, in 1846; Robert H. Jordan, in 1848; Joseph M. Frazier, in 1850-52; Charles C. Bullock, in 1854; Benjamin H. Cravens, in 1856; Benjamin F. Walker, in 1858 and 1860; Obediah Smith in 1862; Thomas H. Hackleman in 1864-67; Samuel L. Smith in 1869-79-81; Reginald F. Buller in 1871; Adam D. Kirkpatrick in 1873; John Dale in 1875; Dennis H. Connaway in 1877; Macon Bradley in 1883; Clement N. Jordan in 1885; W. B. Lewis in 1887-89; Thomas Terry in 1891; John W. Potts in 1893; Charles A. Edgar in 1895; James E. Vandiver in 1897; Frank E. Ransdell in 1899-1901; I. M. Galbraith in 1903-05; J. W. D. Kirkpatrick in 1907; W. E. Killion in 1909; Will Ed. Phipps in 1911; S. M. Snodgrass in 1913; James N. Jeffries in 1915; John W. Campbell in 1917-19-23-25-29; W. A. LaRue in 1921; L. O. Holman in 1927-31; J. S. Roe in 1933.

Politically the county has frequently had a mixed government, the Democrats always contesting on the election of county officers, until later years when the Republicans have had the advantage.

There have been some stalwart Democrats in this county, many of whom can be named: Benjamin F. Clark, Geo. W. Arnold, Geo. W. Ells-ton, S. M. Snodgrass, Lee Cruce, who became Governor of Oklahoma; Geo. H. Huff, G. L. Walker, William R. Hawkins, Wm. H. Collins, W. H. Nevins, F. L. Church, J. I. Evans, F. R. Kerr, Geo. W. Ward, John A. McNeill, T. M. Craig, John Metcalf, Geo. W. Wood, A. J. Swingle, O. B. Williams, H. J. Wolf, F. E. Wren, H. H. Hurt, A. W. Porter, C. P. Ryan.

In 1920, when women were allowed to vote, a strong Women's Democratic County Committee was organized in the county, composed of the following: Miss Anna Bayless, chairman; Mrs. S. E. Osborn, secretary; Miss Anna Peters, treasurer; Miss Ettie Noffsinger, Mrs. Bid-die Porter, Mrs. S. E. Jackson, Mrs. Mary White, Mrs. Lue Worley, Mrs. Willie Kirkpatrick, Mrs. Lue Harris, Mrs. J. H. Breeze, Mrs. J. W. Martin, Mrs. John Medcalf, and Mrs. C. P. Ryan.

In 1932 the county fell in line for the New Deal, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Bennett Champ Clark, the Democratic ticket carrying the county by over three hundred majority.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

CHARITON COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Chariton County was organized on November 16, 1820. Named for the town of Chariton, which was laid out in 1818, and formerly stood near the mouth of the river of that name. Lewis and Clark were of the opinion that the original name of the Chariton was "Theriaton," but others as-

served that the word is old French, and signifies a chariot or little wagon, a corruption of *charrette*, probably. The first county seat was Chariton, sometimes called Old Chariton, long extinct. The present capital, Keytesville, was laid out in 1832, and named by its founder, James Keyte, for himself.

In his "Centennial History of Missouri," (Vol. I, pp. 83-84) Walter B. Stevens records some interesting history of Chariton County as follows: "In an address by Charles J. Cabell at an old settlers' reunion on the fairgrounds at Keytesville in 1877, this was told of one of the earliest and most promising communities, which has since disappeared.

"The town of Chariton was once a rival of St. Louis, and was nearly, if not quite, as large. This opinion was so strong that many persons flocked to Chariton, believing it would become the largest city in the territory. Uncle Billy Cabeen exchanged lots in St. Louis for lots in Chariton, foot for foot. He improved the lots in Chariton, lived many years on them, and died on them, respected by a large circle of friends and by all who knew him. Chariton occupied a level of ground half a mile north and south, lying between large hills on the east and Chariton River on the west—or something less than half a mile in width. In some portions of the town the houses were very close together, and were built of brick. It was supposed to contain several thousand inhabitants. If Yankee Doodle was to pass through the place now he could not see the houses for the town—the reverse of which was the case with him on a former occasion. The town of Chariton could boast of as good society as any city in America, having men of great literary attainments, of skill in their profession, and of great social endowments, representing almost all the noted institutions of learning in this country; even Edinburgh, Scotland, was represented."

"In old Chariton, during those palmy days, lived James Semple, who operated a tannery, afterwards moved to Illinois and became a United States senator; Dr. Ben Edwards, a brother of Governor Ninian Edwards of Illinois; Joseph J. Monroe, brother of President Monroe; two of the Sublettes who became historic figures in the fur trade; the Burlesons who went to Texas, where Ned Burleson became vice president of the Texas Republic. His son, Albert Sidney Burleson, was elected to Congress in 1899, and served in seven succeeding Congresses, from 1899 to 1913; he was postmaster-general under President Woodrow Wilson from March 5, 1913, to March 5, 1921.

"When Chariton County was organized Edward B. Cabell was made clerk of the county court, clerk of the circuit court, county treasurer, notary public and postmaster. He was of an old Virginia family. His son, Charles J. Cabell said: 'I am satisfied that for several years he could carry the majority of the papers of both courts in his hat. The first deed book was made by my mother, by sewing quires of foolscap together. Pardon me for saying that to him more than to any other man that ever lived in Chariton are its citizens indebted for perfection of the titles of their lands. For we occupy the central part of the military land district, and nine-tenths of our lands are military. For years he gave advice to all who called on him for his opinions, never charging one dollar for it.'"

There were many Democrats of prominence who made their homes in Chariton County and rose to prominent places in the service of the state and nation.

The first name to appear in the records of the National Congress was that of Sterling Price, who was elected in 1845, and resigned his seat to go to the Mexican war. He was elected governor in 1852 and in the Civil war became a major general in the Confederate Army. William W. Rucker, of Chariton County, served in Congress for twenty-two years. Benjamin F. Stringfellow was appointed attorney-general in 1845, by Governor Edwards.

George Burckhardt was the first member of the General Assembly in 1822-24-26; Martin Palmer was a member of the State Senate in 1824; Daniel Ashby in 1828-30-32; Sterling Price in 1836-40-42; Thomas Watson in 1838; Benjamin F. Stringfellow in 1844; Joseph Combs in 1846; Daniel G. Saunders in 1848; William Heryford in 1854; Robert Moore in 1850-58; Lucius Salisbury in 1862; Albert Griffin in 1864-66; Lucius Salisbury in 1868; Peter R. Doleman in 1871; Stephen E. Lay in 1873; William G. Bowman in 1875; Charles Hammond in 1877; David H. Hammons in 1879; William Heryford in 1881; Lewis D. Isbell in 1883; Lucius Salisbury in 1885-87; William Heryford in 1889; William E. Perkinson in 1891; Milton R. Williams in 1893; Thomas P. Schooler in 1895; James W. Davis in 1897; Thomas H. Carskadon in 1899; Jasper N. Gibson in 1901-03; Alexander W. Johnson in 1905-07; John D. Taylor in 1909-11; R. T. Morehead in 1913-15; Clarence O. Houston in 1917-19-21-23; James M. Ramsey in 1925-27-29-31; John G. Alsbaugh in 1933.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

CHRISTIAN COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Christian County was organized on March 8, 1860, and is said to have been named for a county in Kentucky. Soon after its settlement the Civil war broke out, and for many years this part of the state was rent by strife.

The first member of the General Assembly from Christian County was H. T. Green in 1860; W. A. Lawing in 1862; Thomas W. Allred in 1864-69; John Hornbeck in 1867-81; J. J. C. Breazeale in 1871-89; William Gardner in 1873-75-77; David M. Cowan in 1879; James J. Gideon in 1883; D. W. Pope in 1885; B. F. Plummer in 1887; John B. McHenry in 1891; James J. Bruton in 1893; G. A. Watson in 1895; G. Purd Hays in 1897; W. P. Sullivan in 1899; M. R. Pitts in 1901; D. E. Maples in 1903-05-09; Dal. Swiers in 1907-13-23; C. E. Farrar in 1911; W. T. Holbert in 1915-19; C. S. Nelson in 1917; W. L. Vandeventer in 1921; G. J. Massey in 1925; Roy E. Holt in 1927; T. C. Crain in 1929-31; D. E. Maples in 1933.

While it has always been considered a Republican county, the Democrats have always organized a county committee. Among those who have kept up the organization for each state and presidential election were

the following: J. A. Robertson, James A. Hill, Charles E. Reed, O. J. Vaughan, B. S. Hill, A. M. Page, L. R. Duncan, Charles Schollenberger, Fred Merritt, J. W. Rozell, and N. M. Chafin.

In 1920 the women of the county formed a strong committee, to bring the women to the polls, composed of the following: Mrs. Nellie Heaton, chairman; Mrs. Ellen A. Harrington, secretary; Mrs. Genevieve Wells, Mrs. S. A. Deeds, Mrs. Anna Welch, Mrs. Kate Freeman, Mrs. Barbara Thompson, Mrs. Floy Bodenhammer, Mrs. Robinson.

In the election of 1928, for United States senator, Roscoe Patterson, the Republican candidate, beat Chas. M. Hay in the county by 2,286. However, in 1932 Bennett Champ Clark, the Democratic candidate, carried the county over Henry Kiel by 118 votes.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

DEMOCRACY OF CLARK COUNTY

By Herbert C. Jenkins,* Kahoka

Clark County lies in the extreme northeast corner of the state. Being surrounded by Lewis, Knox, and Scotland counties, all claiming to have a democratic majority, it might seem that Clark County should be democratic, but this county is about equally divided.

The first general election held for state and county offices was held in August, 1838. An account of this election is not available, but in the national election of 1840, there were 446 votes cast, 240 whig votes and 206 democratic. In the national election of 1932 there were 2,274 republican and 3,053 democratic, a total of 5,327 votes.

In the presidential election in 1868, Clark County cast the majority for a democratic president for the first time. Our county again went democratic in 1876, 1880, 1888, 1892, 1900, 1912, 1920 and 1932. The state representatives elected from Clark County are about equally divided.

There are a number of enthusiastic democratic families in our county, who have been residents for a number of years. The Wayland family is one of the oldest in the county. They secured government titles for their land in 1820 and built the first two-story house in the county. This family has a number of descendants residing here. Other families long resident here are: Biggs, Boulware, Calvert, Dawson, Fore, Gregory, Henshaw, Lapsley, Llewellyn, Montgomery, Martin, McDermott, McKee, Rebo, Riley, Rutherford, Turner and Wilsey.

The only state office ever held by a resident of this county was held by John M. Wood, who was elected attorney-general in 1898, and served with honor for four years. He did not seek reelection. Mr. Wood served two terms as representative in 1883 and acted as Speaker of the House during his second term in 1885.

The first state senator elected from this county was George K. Biggs. Mr. Biggs was a very prominent democrat for a number of years. He also served in the Legislature in 1872-73.

Clark County furnished another senator, Charles F. Carter, who served two terms as state representative, 1907-09. In the senate, 1913.

John M. Dawson was admitted to the bar in 1895. He was prominent in affairs of the democratic party, having served as assistant attorney-general during Elliott W. Major's term of office in 1909-13. During the World war, he was commissioned by the government as organizer and speaker in Liberty Loan and Red Cross work.

In Judge Ben E. Turner, we have another very popular and able lawyer. He was elected prosecuting attorney in 1874, and reelected in 1876, and 1878, thus serving three terms. While serving as prosecuting attorney this last term, he was nominated for judge of the Fourth Judicial Circuit and was elected at the general election by a large majority. He was reelected in 1886 and again in 1892, holding this position at the time of his death. When elected, he was the youngest circuit judge in the state.

Another one of our good prosecuting attorneys was T. L. Rutherford, who later served as assistant attorney-general, under John T. Barker.

Mr. and Mrs. B. L. Gridley have been active democrats for a number of years, Mr. Gridley having served as prosecuting attorney and Mrs. Gridley being on the county and state committee for years.

Another active democratic lawyer was Charles T. Llewellyn, who served as prosecuting attorney. He was well posted on election affairs, interested in history, and kept a detailed political and biographical record of Clark County.

Among the fighting democrats who witnessed many elections was N. T. Cherry. He was once county representative and was twice elected circuit clerk.

Marion L. Clay is a man of true democratic ideas. He is always interested in the welfare of a democrat. Judge Clay served twelve years as probate judge and four years as prosecuting attorney. The second time he voted he had the privilege of voting for himself. This campaign was made on horseback and proved to be a success.

Another popular democrat we have is P. I. Wilsey, who has made a splendid record in Clark County as collector and in Kahoka as mayor.

R. C. Murphy, present mayor of Kahoka, the county seat of Clark County, is chairman of the Re-employment and Relief Committee; he is also quite active in NRA work. Mr. Murphy has been successful in getting the citizens of Kahoka to improve the living conditions in the city. Kahoka is to spend \$25,000 on improving the present water system, and put in a sewerage system which is to cost about \$50,000.

Hon. J. D. Reho is another one of our older democrats. He has served twice as county representative.

GAZETTE HERALD EDITOR

Too much cannot be said in behalf of our good friend, Mr. S. S. Ball, who is the editor of the *Gazette Herald*, our only democratic newspaper. Every issue carries some political news of interest. Mr. Ball has served

as county representative in 1901; as county clerk, and was postmaster of Kahoka for eight years, under the Wilson administrations. He is, as well as many of the above mentioned, one of the older democrats who used to make addresses throughout the school districts prior to an election, in the days of the old horse and buggy.

Our present prosecuting attorney, J. Lester Gutting, is serving his fourth term. The number of times he has been reelected speaks for itself.

Miss Ethel C. Tull was elected recorder in 1930. It is a credit to the party to have such a capable recorder.

Circuit Clerk Harry H. Lewis was elected in November, 1922, again in 1926, and also in 1930, thus he is now serving this third term.

Our efficient county clerk, Charles A. Weaver, is serving his second term.

Walter Martin, a very popular democrat, is serving his second term as collector. He served for several years as deputy.

Probate Judge Grover C. Kirchner is serving his first term. Both he and Mrs. Kirchner have served on the county committee.

Carl E. Calvert was elected county representative in November, 1932. He served as deputy county clerk for two years. Mr. Calvert's popularity is shown by the fact that he received a larger number of votes than any other candidate having opposition.

We have two very able democrats serving on the county court, Presiding Judge Henry Danker, and Thomas Rutherford.

Dr. M. O. Raine, a former resident of Clark County, received one of the major state appointments, as he is serving as pure food and drug commissioner.

In our county we have three active democratic organizations: The County Committee, the Women's Jefferson Club, and the Men's Jeffersonian Club.

The chairman of Clark County Democratic Committee is Harvy B. Montgomery. Mrs. Edgar Smith is secretary and treasurer. Both have been active in this work for a number of years.

The Women's Jefferson Club was organized in March, 1932, and joined the Missouri State Federation of Women's Democratic Clubs in May, 1932. The officers are: Mrs. Horace T. Dawson, president; Mrs. Emerson Goulty, first vice president; Miss Olive Montgomery, second vice president; Mrs. Vickers, secretary. The club has thirty-two active members. At the annual meeting of the state federation, Mrs. Dawson was elected auditor.

The Men's Jeffersonian Club, organized in January, 1931, at the present time has 137 members. Enthusiasm is increased by organizations of this kind. The officers are: Clifford L. Fish, president; Russell Brammer, vice president; Herbert C. Jenkins, secretary and treasurer.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

HISTORY OF DEMOCRACY IN CLAY COUNTY

By Bart King,* Liberty

The information for this chapter on Clay County was selected from the files of the *Liberty Tribune*, "The History of Clay County," by W. H. Woodson (1920); "The History of Platte and Clay Counties" (1885), and conversation with leading Democrats in the county today.

Democracy in Clay County might easily be traced back to the year the London Company, in Colonial Virginia, permitted the addition of a general assembly, composed of burgesses elected by the people of each settlement, and thus brought into existence the foundation for a Democratic government in America.

Because from Virginia came a large proportion of the people who first migrated into Kentucky and later came to Missouri, where many settled in Clay County, practically all of the first permanent settlers of Clay County came from these two states, although a few came from the Carolinas and Tennessee. The same trend held true in later years when more immigrants flocked into the county, mostly from Kentucky. From the best of such timbers Clay County is built, for "the cowards never started, and the weak died on the way."

No authentic information seems available to warrant a belief there were any permanent settlements made in what is now Clay County prior to 1819, although its borders were crossed by Major John Dougherty, and Lewis and Clark on their famous trips westward much earlier in the century. Major Dougherty later returned to Clay County where his son, Captain L. B. Dougherty, Sr., grandson, J. L. Dougherty and great-grandson, L. B. Dougherty, Jr., who now lives in Liberty, followed in his political faith, the doctrine of states rights.

Clay County was formed from a part of Ray County on January 2, 1822, in the "era of good feeling" terms of James Monroe, himself a native Virginian.

"Like father, like son," has held true since that date. One would naturally expect these fine, honest, manly citizens, hospitable to a fault, possessing all the virtues of their mother-state and few of the vices of some of the frontiersmen, to believe none other than the doctrine of Jeffersonian Democracy or states rights. It was bred in them.

From the very beginning, Clay County prided itself in always rolling up a large vote for the Democratic party. Only once, and that in the Hoover landslide of 1928, when religion and prohibition united to blast the solid front that held fast without a quiver, campaign after campaign, since the Civil war, have the results in the county been in doubt. Never before except one year of the life of the Whig party, did Clay County fail to produce its big Democratic majority. The vote of 1928 generally is recognized more as a protest vote against the presidential nominee than a vote against Democratic principles. The state and the county ticket that year remained overwhelmingly in the Democratic column, and two years

later in an off-year election the same old Democratic majority was registered all along the line.

During these years Clay County has asked for few political favors in the way of offices. Its leaders always have been content to devote their time to organization work rather than state and national leadership.

Elisha Cameron was one of the first judges of the county court, called justices in those days. For several years during the childhood of the county he was one of its most colorful leaders. He filled the office of county judge at different times over a period of twenty-five years. For natural ability, it is said, he never had a superior in the county, although he was deprived of the education offered in schools. Col. Shubael Allen was clerk of the first court session. He was sheriff from 1826 to 1830, and a justice of the county court, from 1831 to 1835. He died in 1840 but his sons, particularly Dr. J. M. Allen, D. C. Allen and Trigg T. Allen, carried the Democratic banner into the twentieth century.

In 1830 Colonel Allen erected a warehouse and started a ferry on his farm at South Liberty. Allen's Landing was widely known. A few hundred yards up the river on an adjoining farm was Baxter's Landing. It was on this farm Mrs. Maggie E. Baxter Park, mother of Gov. Guy B. Park, was born in 1849.

John Thornton was another member of the first county court. He was elected to represent Clay County in the state legislature six times and twice was chosen speaker of the lower house.

The first election held in Liberty was on first Monday in August, 1822. A fallen tree just east of where the courthouse now stands served as a voting place. The county had a population of 1,200. As the white men gathered to cast their votes, a number of Indians perched themselves in the branches of the fallen tree and watched the new and to them queer proceedings.

SIMON COCKRELL

Simon Cockrell, great-grandfather of former United States Sen. Francis M. Cockrell, who for thirty years represented Missouri in the Senate in Washington, was the first man elected to the state legislature from Clay County. He made the trip from Liberty to St. Charles on a borrowed horse. Every garment he wore was home spun from hemp and straw raised by this Democratic pioneer on his own clearing, and was made by his wife, one of the pioneer mothers.

Returns from the elections of 1826 and 1832 are not available, but as Clay County had many citizens who were strong Jackson men at that time, it is taken for granted that the county was overwhelmingly in his favor.

A pioneer, writing under the title of "Old Settler," in the *Liberty Tribune* in 1846, the year this strong Democratic newspaper was founded, recalled that seventeen years before that date, in 1830, "an election for senator, representative and sheriff took place. I attended a muster at Judge Cameron's and heard the candidates speak. Jacksonianism at that time was in its zenith, and rode overwhelmingly over everything else.

A candidate had but little to say besides declaring himself a 'Jackson man.' That was enough to defeat the best man opposed to Jackson. . . .," he said.

In 1836 Clay County gave Jackson's personal choice for the presidency, Martin Van Buren, 341 votes to Harrison's 282. While Van Buren's policies during the next four years, may have been doubted by many of his friends and his views in regard to banks and currency, credited with causing the Democratic party to lose the power it held for so many years, Clay County remained faithful and practically doubled its vote in 1840, by giving Van Buren 649 votes and Harrison 459.

The new Whig party commanded a good vote in the county in that election, due largely to the popularity of Alexander William Doniphan, a hero of the Mexican war, who came to Clay County in 1833. During the life of the Whig party, Doniphan, because of his desire to preserve the union, was an ardent and conscientious member of it, but after its dissolution and the Civil war, he joined the ranks of the Democratic party. With Doniphan as leader of the Whigs in the county in 1840 were Maj. John Dougherty and Judge William T. Woods, both states rights men wishing to preserve the union.

Gen. David R. Atchison, Col. John Thornton and Capt. George Wallis led the Democratic cause at that time. General Atchison lived in Clay County from 1830 to 1841, when he moved to Platte County after his election as judge of the circuit court. He represented Clay County in the state legislature in 1834-36 and was a member of the United States Senate from 1843 until 1855, and was also President of the United States for a day. It so happened that March 4, 1849, fell on Sunday. The term of President Polk, according to law and tradition, expired at noon that day. General Zachary Taylor, because of prevailing religious scruples, decided to defer his inauguration until Monday. This left a gap of twenty-four hours, as the term of the Vice President ended the same time as that of the President. According to the constitutional provision then in force, the mantle of authority fell upon the President pro tem of the Senate, who was Senator Atchison. Atchison later said that he slept through the greater part of his term. He was a classmate of Jefferson Davis at Centre College in Danville, Ky.

By 1844 the Whigs had grown much stronger in Clay County, and rallied to the support of Henry Clay, the favorite son of their favorite state, and naturally carried the county with a vote of 765 for the so-called "advocate of the American system," and the man from whom Clay County got its name. James K. Polk received 552 votes.

SLAVERY QUESTION

Political conditions in Missouri, as well as in all of the union, by 1850 were unsettled over the question of slavery, the match that was used to touch off the Civil war. Clay County while remaining a strong advocate of states rights was intensely loyal to the Union, and deprecated the dissolution of those states. This love for the Union caused many to join the Whigs in an effort to preserve it, but the greater part of them returned

to the Democratic party when matters came to a show-down regarding the rights of the states.

Because of this unionism, the Whigs carried the county in 1848, giving Zachary Taylor, a Louisiana sugar planter and owner of several hundred slaves, 626 votes to 418 for Lewis Cass, Democratic nominee, a northern man opposed to the Wilmot Proviso, drawn up against the annexation of any more slave territory.

From 1849 to 1855 Clay County sent scores of men and women to California in answer to the challenge from the gold fields. It was from this group that Emerson Hough selected some of the characters for his book, "The Covered Wagon." This movement caused Clay County to become interested personally in the California question.

Early in the spring of 1850 "the friends of the Union without regard to party, held a meeting in Liberty to congratulate Messrs Clay, Webster, Cass and other friends of the Union in congress for the 'noble stand' they took against the spirit of the secession and disunion. Both Democrats and Whigs participated in the deliberations," the *Liberty Tribune* reported.

The result of the August election in 1850 was as follows: Congressman—Charles E. Bowman, Whig, 584; Willard P. Hall, anti-Benton Democrat, 445; J. B. Gardenhire, Benton Democrat, 54; Samuel Hadley, a Democrat, was elected sheriff.

Although both Henry Clay and Daniel Webster died before the 1852 campaign, Clay County gave Winfield Scott, the Whig candidate, 626 votes compared to 406 for Gen. Franklin Pierce, Democratic nominee.

Colonel Doniphan was nominated by the Whigs for governor in 1852 but declined the nomination. This recognized leader was born in Mason County, Ky., July 9, 1808. He came to Missouri in 1830 and settled in Liberty in 1833, where he resided for thirty years. He was elected to the state legislature in 1836, 1840 and 1854, and to the constitutional convention in 1861. He was also a member from Missouri at the "Peace Conference" which assembled in Washington in 1861. In the convention he maintained a position of a conservative union man, and refused to let the demands of the moment betray him into losing sight of the rights of the states. Colonel Doniphan moved to St. Louis in 1863 and later returned to Richmond, Mo., where he died in 1887. He is buried in Liberty.

In 1856 the "Know Nothing" party carried Clay County for Millard Fillmore over James Buchanan by a vote of 756 to 675. The organization of the "Know Nothing" party was begun in Clay County in the fall of 1855. On January 1, 1856, a meeting was held in Liberty at which time the national and state platform of the new party was endorsed and the following resolution added:

"That the Union of these states is the paramount object of patriotic desire. That we re-affirm and most cordially and unchangeably indorse the declaration of the lamented sage, and statesman, Andrew Jackson, that the Union must be preserved. That, with equal ardor and affection we re-affirm and indorse the answer of that great national statesman and patriot, Henry Clay, who when asked when he would be ready for the dissolution of this union said, 'Never, Never, Never.'"

From the beginning to the end of the trouble in the territory of Kansas, the result of an attempt at a decision of whether or not slavery should exist in the state upon its admission into the Union, the people of Clay County took a conspicuous part upon the pro-slave side. In a speech at Liberty a few days before the Kansas election, Sen. David R. Atchison repeated what he said on the previous day in Platte City, "when you reside in one day's journey of the territory you can without exertion, send five hundred of your young men who will vote in favor of your institutions."

A handbill also was circulated saying, "Let every friend of the South and her institutions attend." Many did. Throughout the controversy in Kansas during the year 1855, Clay County furnished men and means to aid the pro-slavery cause whenever called upon.

A meeting held in Liberty the same year endorsed the action of a Platte County delegation in destroying *The Industrial Luminary*, a newspaper at Parkville, Mo., with decided Free Soil tendencies.

In June, 1856, an organization called the Pro-Slavery Aid Association was formed in Liberty with Michael Arthur, president; David Roberts, secretary-treasurer, and A. W. Doniphan, T. C. Gordon, D. J. Adkins, J. T. V. Thompson and others as directors.

The Clay County courthouse was built in 1859 and for sixty years has had only one Republican in its office, and he, Robert T. Stephens, a prosecuting attorney in 1926 appointed under a Republican governor. In 1931 when Edgar Main, county surveyor, died a Republican governor through necessity was forced to appoint a Democrat to fill the unexpired term, since there were no Republicans who qualified for the office.

CAMPAIGN OF 1860

In very many respects the presidential campaign of 1860 was the most remarkable in Clay County, as well as in the United States. The new Republican party, organized in 1856, and with Abraham Lincoln at the head of the ticket in 1860 did not have a vote recorded in the election that fall, although the Democratic party was split in its views. John Bell, the Constitutional Union party candidate, carried Clay County with 1,036 votes. Douglas, Regular Democrat, received 524 and Breckenridge, States Rights Democrat, received 304 votes. Bell's gubernatorial running mate carried Clay County. David R. Atchison spoke at several meetings for Breckenridge.

With the election of Lincoln in 1860 came many changes in the stand that Clay County leaders had maintained for ten years. Union men one week became secessionists the next and vice versa. The news of the election was received generally with considerable disfavor.

A majority of the people of the county believed that the interests of Missouri were identical with those of the other slave-holding states, and wanted to wait for the development on the policies of the new administration before taking any steps to the withdrawal of the state from the Federal Union. A respectable majority were in favor of immediate secession, and so declared themselves, publicly. Among these men were H. L.

Routt, probate judge 1859-60 and later a captain in the Confederate Army, and the Hon. J. T. V. Thompson, state senator 1834-42 and 1858-62, always a prominent Clay County politician.

The Thirteenth senatorial district, Clay and Platte counties, sent A. W. Doniphan and James Moss of Liberty, and E. H. Norton of Platte City, all Unionists, to the state convention, with large majorities at the polls. At later sessions attended by Doniphan and Moss, both voted against the test oath.

Secession flags were flung to the breeze in Liberty and Smithville when the news of the firing of Sumter reached Clay County. Lincoln's proclamation caused a great storm of indignation to sweep over the county and bore down all but the strongest union men. Many who had opposed secession all along now denounced the administration and declared themselves on the side of state rights.

Clay County sent men to both armies, during the Civil war, the greater number of course to the Southern forces. Colonel Doniphan would take no part in the war saying he would not fight against the flag under which he fought and conquered in the Mexican war, and he would not draw a sword against his neighbors, his kinsmen and his friends in the South.

Amid the turmoil of the war, Gen. George B. McClellan carried Clay County in the election of 1864 with 777 votes to 206 for Lincoln. Hon. Luke W. Burris of this county was a candidate for lieutenant-governor.

About three-fourths of the men of Clay County were disfranchised in 1868 under the Drake constitution of 1865. Among these men, many of whom were the better class of citizenry, were five well-known attorneys who for a number of years served as the Democratic central committee in the county, namely, D. C. Allen, Thomas McCarty, Henry L. Routt, James E. Lincoln and William H. Woodson. Despite this handicap the county gave Horatio Seymour, the Democratic candidate, 313 votes to 291 for Ulysses S. Grant, who was elected. Clay County in 1870 had a colored population of 1,846.

In 1872 without registration, the vote in the county was, Horace Greeley, Democrat, 2,207 and Grant 528. From that time until 1896 the same large majorities held. They remained below par in 1904 and 1908 and returned in part to normalcy in 1912, although never regaining the great 4-and-5 to 1 margin known in the years following the Civil war.

During the thirty years following the war, politics seemed rather quiet in Clay County. The nominal issues were those of the reconstruction era. Democrats here insisted on economy and conservation and denounced the carpetbag regime in the South. Local interest centered chiefly in the primaries which came to be known as "Clay County elections," so sure were the candidates elected at that time of being elected in the general election. It was unusual for the Republican party to bring out many candidates let alone fill the ticket.

Samuel J. Tilden for President, carried the county in the election of 1876, receiving 2,844 votes to 509 for Rutherford B. Hayes. After the panic of 1873, the reconstruction issues, although nominally dominant in

politics, were really subordinate in the minds of the people to the newer economic and social problems. In 1880 Clay County gave Gen. Winfield S. Hancock, the Democratic nominee, 2,967 votes and James A. Garfield 589.

GROVER CLEVELAND

Grover Cleveland was Clay County's president as well as the people's president. When he made his first race in 1884, he was given 3,179 votes in Clay County while James G. Blaine received 919.

When the returns of the election were received in Liberty, telling of the first Democratic victory since the campaign of 1856, a great celebration was spontaneous. As Cleveland's totals were posted on bulletin boards, a large fighting cock flapped its wings and crowed from its cage, hurrying to the top of the highest building in Liberty.

Four years later, Clay County stayed with Cleveland and gave him 3,632 votes, 553 more than in 1884. Benjamin Harrison, Republican candidate, secured a total of 1,108.

When Cleveland regained his seat in the White House, in 1892, Clay County assisted with 3,120 votes compared to 724 for Harrison. The People's party, a new organization, polled 517 votes for James B. Weaver, in 1894. These votes came from the ranks of both the Democratic and Republican parties, mostly as a result of both old parties losing a part of their magic to hold their full forces in line following the gold shortage of 1892.

During these thirty years, Clay County knew some great leaders who were not office seekers but party organizers. Perhaps the best known, Trigg T. Allen, son of Shubael Allen, mentioned earlier in this chapter. Trigg T. Allen was a power behind the throne for several years. He wielded a great influence among his fellowmen and served the county as sheriff, 1854-56, and treasurer, 1868-74. He continued to be a bulwark of strength in the party until his death in the early 1900s. He was the father-in-law of Dr. F. H. Matthews, who for the last thirty years has been an important cog in the Democratic organization, not only in Clay County but in the state as well.

D. C. Allen, another son of Shubael Allen, was elected in November, 1860, circuit attorney of the fifth judicial circuit of Missouri, composed of Clay, Ray, Clinton, Caldwell and Carroll counties. On December 17, 1861, under the operation of the infamous "Gamble Oath," testing loyalty of officers, his office became vacant because of his refusal to take the oath. In January, 1875, he was elected without opposition to represent, along with E. H. Norton, of Platte City, the third senatorial district of Missouri in the constitutional convention called to assist in forming the organic laws of the state.

Another son of Schubael Allen, Dr. John Marshall Allen, became aroused when Lincoln fulminated his first proclamation against the South in 1861, and although doing graduate work in St. Louis, returned home and entered the Confederate Army, and served throughout the war as a captain. He represented Clay County in the state legislature in 1884-85.

Thos. McCarty was clerk of the county court from 1853 to 1859. He was elected to the Missouri senate from the third district in 1872, defeating W. H. Woodson in a hotly contested race after bolting the convention at Plattsburg when Mr. Woodson was nominated. At the Clay County meeting preliminary to the district convention, Henry L. Routt was the chairman and James M. Sandusky, for the last fifty years a leader in the Democratic party in Clay County, was the secretary.

From that meeting to the present time Judge Sandusky has been one of the moving lights in the program of Democracy in Clay County. He came to Clay County from Kentucky in 1855, when seven years old. While never an office seeker he served as city attorney from 1872 to 1875 and as county attorney from 1880 to 1884. He was elected judge of the Fifth Judicial district, Clay, Platte, Ray and Clinton counties in 1886 and declined to run again in 1892.

William H. Woodson, a colonel in the Confederate Army, practiced law in Liberty for over fifty years. He served the city as attorney, before branching out into a political field that carried him to within a few votes of being nominated as Democratic candidate for congressman. He was prosecuting attorney of Clay County, 1876-80, 1894-98 and 1908-10. He was judge of the probate court, 1884-86, being appointed by the governor to fill the unexpired term of James E. Lincoln, and was reelected in 1886 to serve to 1890.

FREE COINAGE QUESTION

The question of free coinage of silver, although playing an important part in the preliminaries of the campaign of 1896 and threatening to cause dissention in Clay County, failed to gain enough strength to cause the county to come any ways near deserting the Democratic candidate for the presidency. When the final vote was tabulated there were a few who were surprised when the results showed that William Jennings Bryan compiled 3,915 votes in Clay County while William McKinley was able to muster only 921. Four years later Bryan lost several votes, polling only 3,589, but McKinley gained only two votes over 1896 to make 923 in 1900. Alton B. Parker, the Democratic candidate, lost about the same number of votes again in 1904 and Theodore Roosevelt was able to collect several of the dissatisfied ones to compile a total of 1,077 against Parker's 2,834. And again, in 1908, Bryan, as the Democratic standard-bearer, suffered another loss, the final vote being 2,504 for him and 1,165 for William H. Taft.

The late Oliver P. Gentry was actively interested in politics about this time and was a leader for several years. In 1888 he espoused the cause of David R. Francis, candidate for governor, and was a Francis delegate to the state convention. He was a strong supporter of A. M. Dockery while he was congressman from the third district and when Dockery was elected governor in 1904, Mr. Gentry was made his personal secretary. In 1912 Mr. Gentry was elected a delegate from the third district of Missouri to the Democratic National convention at Baltimore and

ardently supported Champ Clark in that convention at which Missouri's great statesman was denied the honor and Woodrow Wilson was nominated for the Presidency of the United States.

Early in the twentieth century Dr. F. H. Matthews made his first bid for leadership in the Democratic party. It was in the campaign of the state election of 1904 that he did his first active work, supporting David Ball for the gubernatorial candidate. Dr. Matthews came to Clay County from Pike County in 1893. In Pike County, Dr. Matthews lived near to and became a great admirer of the late Champ Clark and naturally supported the son of this great man, Bennett Champ Clark when he made the race in 1932 for United States Senator. In the primary of 1904 Ball carried Clay County although defeated by Dockery in the state. Again in 1912 Dr. Matthews went to the support of an old Pike Countian and helped carry Clay County for Elliott W. Major for governor. Four years later he supported Frederick D. Gardner, another successful candidate for governor. In 1932 Dr. Matthews was a member of the state committee that named Guy B. Park as the Democratic candidate for governor after the death of Francis Wilson. He also was Bennett Champ Clark's campaign manager in Clay County and succeeded in carrying Liberty for the victorious candidate although the county was slightly against him in the primary. Dr. Matthews is one of the colonels on Governor Park's staff, sharing the honors with A. M. Thompson as being one of the two chosen from Clay County.

Clay County has furnished other Democratic senators to the state for the district of which it is a member, besides the ones mentioned heretofore. On this list are Martin Falmer, 1826-28; Richard Linvill, 1830-34; John G. Price, 1846-50; John R. Keller, 1873-76; H. F. Simrall, Sr., 1884-88; Theodore K. Gash, 1892-96; Thomas J. Wornall, 1904-08; and Baylis Thornton Gordon, 1920 to the present time.

Senator Wornall was another Clay Countian who was not especially interested in politics except to help his friends. In 1903 he was the unanimous choice for senator and made the race from the fifth district without opposition. His ability as an organizer in the county was carried out in the senate chamber. After his term expired he refused to be considered as a candidate for reelection.

Senator Simrall, the father of James S. Simrall, who is quite active in the party at the present time, was until his death in 1911 active in Clay County politics serving on both the county and state central committees. He was county attorney 1874-76; James S. Simrall last fall refused an appointment to the Public Service Commission offered in person by Governor Park. In 1928 Mr. Simrall was a delegate from the third district to the Democratic National Convention at Houston, Texas. He served as secretary of the Clay County Democratic Central Committee a number of years, resigning when he ran for the office of prosecuting attorney in 1910. He served as prosecutor two terms, 1911-12, and 1913-14. His mother, Mrs. H. F. Simrall, who still lives in Liberty, was a schoolmate of Mrs. Maggie Baxter Park, mother of Governor Park, when the two were in old Liberty Ladies College. Mrs. Julia Hurt, 713 Troost Avenue,

Kansas City, well known in Democratic circles, also was a member of the same class.

Senator Gordon served Clay County in the legislature from 1912 to 1916 before becoming senator in 1920.

The men who have served Clay County in the legislature since 1864 are:

Oliver P. Moss, 1864-66; Robert McMillen, 1866-68; Robert G. Garth, 1868-70; Henry Smith, 1870-72; John T. Chandler, 1872-74; James M. Bohart, 1874-76; James E. Lincoln, 1876-78; W. W. Dougherty, 1878-80; C. M. Sweatman, 1882-84; Dr. J. M. Allen, 1884-86; John H. Dunn, 1886-88; Theodore K. Gash, 1888-90; John M. Harrel, 1890-94 and 1896-98; John B. Gill, 1894-96; I. B. Thompson, 1898-1900; John Williams, 1900-02; Elmer L. Riley, 1902-04; Frank H. Trimble, 1904-06; Theodore Emerson, 1906-10; D. A. Sharp, 1910-12; B. T. Gordon, 1912-16; Willard P. Hall, Jr., 1918-1920; Garnett Peters (still living in Liberty and active in Democratic politics), 1920-24; W. C. Rice (present representative who lives near Smithville), 1924-28, and 1932 to the present time; and R. L. Bates (Excelsior Springs), 1928-32.

LONG SERVICE

The Democratic central committee has had three organizers as chairmen who served the party for long terms. Frank D. Hamilton has been at the head of this important body since 1919 and has filled the position with loyalty and capability. He succeeded the late J. J. Stogdale who served in the same capacity for several years. John M. Newlee, for the last fifty years one of the most active men in Liberty and Clay County politics, preceded Mr. Stogdale. Mr. Newlee has at his finger tips the information from which much of this resume was compiled. He served the county central committee for years as its chairman. C. E. Yancey has been a man whose judgment has held many a vote close to the ticket. He was a prospective candidate for congressman at one time and served as chairman of the state central committee from 1916 to 1920.

Judge Francis H. Trimble, member of the Kansas City court of appeals, whose home is in Liberty, has been active in politics for many years. He was county attorney from 1898 to 1902 and practiced law in Liberty with Senator Simrall for several years. In 1907 he was appointed by Governor Folk to succeed Joshua W. Alexander, who went to congress, as judge of the seventh judicial district. He served until 1912, when he was elected to the appellate court. In 1924 he was reelected, and continues to hold this honor position.

Excelsior Springs has played an important part in the vote of Clay County. Harris L. Moore, son of the founder of the *Kansas City Times*, rates high with citizens in Missouri's haven of health. Andy Craven is another dyed in the wool organizer who has devoted a long part of his life to the welfare of the party. He was the delegate to the convention at Chicago that nominated Franklin D. Roosevelt. The late John H. Watkins and Dr. C. H. Suddarth are others who have helped hold the citizens of Excelsior Springs in line when issues are at stake. Dr. Neal Wil-

liams, who has gained national recognition along with his war record, has a large following in the county. C. S. Murray, mayor of Liberty, 1906-12 and 1931 until the present time, and his brother, John Murray, published the *Liberty Advance*, a Democratic paper for nearly fifty years. The paper was sold to Irving Gilmer, who published the *Liberty Tribune* for about the same number of years, in 1919. A. L. Preston bought both papers in 1929 and continues their Democratic policies. Gilmer did not support Smith. Preston ran a Democratic paper in Marshall, Mo., for twenty-one years before coming here. He died in 1931 and Mrs. Preston now pursues his policies in her paper.

Judge Ralph Hughes, who succeeded Judge Frank P. Divelbiss in 1919 as judge of the circuit court by appointment, continues to sit on the bench in the circuit that comprises Clay, Ray and Carroll counties. His decisions have been recognized by authorities and law schools.

The split in the Republican party of 1912 sent the drifters from the Democratic ranks of the last few campaigns, hurrying back to their original beliefs. While Roosevelt and Taft split the opposing vote, Woodrow Wilson registered 3,421 votes to Roosevelt's 671 and Taft's 593.

The slogan, "He kept us out of war," and his Democratic policies during his first term, caused Clay County to add to its total of votes for Woodrow Wilson in 1916 by giving him 3,876 to Hughes' 1,306.

Woman suffrage had little bearing on the percentages of votes cast in Clay County. It merely served to increase the totals for the same averages held true in 1920 with Clay County casting a vote of 6,261 for James M. Cox, or in support of the covenant of the League of Nations, as compared to 2,788 for Warren G. Harding.

In 1924 John W. Davis lost about 200 votes over the total cast for Governor Cox and polled 6,036, while Calvin Coolidge picked up a few of the votes, the greater number of them went to LaFollette, who collected 253 votes. Coolidge received a total of 2,991.

Then came 1928, when all Missouri was shocked to learn that staid and true old Clay County had deserted the Democratic column. As mentioned elsewhere, it was more a protest vote against Alfred E. Smith than a vote against Democratic principles.

One thing noticeable in that election was the large vote polled by the Republican party in the new industrial part of the county around North Kansas City. After a bitter fight, Smith carried Liberty by two votes. He also carried Excelsior Springs, Smithville, Kearney and Missouri City with fair margins, but was snowed under by a large vote at North Kansas City and Winnwood where Hoover received nearly 500 more votes than Smith. State and county tickets remained in Democratic possession despite this upheaval.

Franklin D. Roosevelt polled the largest vote ever recorded in Clay County in any presidential campaign. His total in 1932 was 9,401 while Hoover succeeded in holding only 3,099 of the 5,582 he received in his first campaign. Since the "New Deal" Clay County feels proud of its record vote of 1932 that helped send Franklin D. Roosevelt to the White House.

THE CLAY COUNTY CENTRAL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE IN 1933 WAS:

Liberty Township—Frank D. Hamilton, chairman, Liberty, and Mrs. Harrison Gentry, Jefferson City. Mr. Gentry is the son of the late Oliver P. Gentry mentioned earlier in this chapter, and now has an appointment under the new state administration.

Fishing River Township—Mrs. Martha A. Divers, vice chairman, and W. T. McRorey, both of Excelsior Springs.

Platte Township—Mrs. Frank Rollins, secretary, and F. K. Justus, both of Smithville.

Kearney Township—W. R. Scudder, treasurer, and Mrs. Lulu Henderson, both of Kearney.

Gallatin Township—Mrs. Levia Tillery, North Kansas City, and J. B. McFarland, Winnwood.

Washington Township—Lewis Gow and Mrs. R. E. Porter, both of Kearney.

CLAY COUNTY OFFICERS, 1933—ALL DEMOCRATS

Robert Don Carlos, circuit clerk since 1914.

James S. Rooney, prosecuting attorney since 1930, succeeded Fred Z. Courtney.

L. D. Pence, sheriff since 1932, succeeding John Hicklin, who succeeded John Clark.

A. Lee Kelsey, presiding judge of the county court since 1926, judge from First District, 1922-26.

Judge First District (county court), C. D. Sparks, since 1932, Liberty, succeeding F. E. Sodeman.

Judge Second District (county court), O. G. Ballard, Excelsior Springs, since 1928, succeeding E. E. Enlow.

Clerk of the County Court—Boude L. Crossett, since 1926, succeeding Walter Manley. Manley also was assessor of Clay County, 1912 to 1920, and was one of Senator Russell Dearmont's campaign managers in Clay County in 1932.

Collector of the Revenue, George W. Petty (Liberty), since 1932, succeeding Russell Golden of Smithville.

County Treasurer, Mrs. Elizabeth Gregg, Liberty, since 1928, succeeding Miss Laura Campbell.

Recorder of Deeds, Nicholas Mosby, of Liberty, since 1914.

Assessor—Paul Hay, Excelsior Springs, appointed to fill unexpired term of his father W. W. Hay of Excelsior Springs, who died in 1933, after serving one term.

County Surveyor—A. J. Thompson appointed to fill unexpired term of Edgar Main and reelected in 1932. One of few Democrats to receive an appointment under a Republican governor as explained earlier in this chapter. Mr. Main also served as county surveyor from 1900 to 1908, and 1924 to 1931 and county engineer 1908-10.

Public Administrator—Soper J. Taul, Liberty, since 1922. Also collector from 1910 to 1918.

Judge of the Probate Court—E. E. Kirkland, Liberty, since 1922, succeeding Ben A. Reed, who served 1914-22. Also elected public administrator in 1920, and mayor of city of Liberty, 1917 to 1921.

County Coroner—Mrs. Catherine Wysong since 1932, succeeding her husband, Dr. W. L. Wysong, who was coroner 1918-24 and 1928-32.

County Superintendent of Schools—E. L. Black, Liberty, since 1913.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

CLINTON COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Clinton County was organized January 15, 1833. It was reduced to its present limits in 1841. It was named in honor of George Clinton, of New York, vice president under President Madison, 1809 to 1813. The county seat was first named Concord, then changed to Springfield, and then to Plattsburg, for the residence of George Clinton in New York.

Thompson Smith was the first member of the General Assembly, and he represented the county from 1836 to 1844; Littlebury S. Roberts in 1846; Thomas E. Birch in 1848, George W. Culver in 1850; Joseph Baxter in 1852; John T. Hughes in 1854; Thomas E. Turney in 1856; Winslow Turner in 1858; John Steele in 1860; J. W. Moreland in 1862-64; Jacob Estep in 1867; John M. McMichael in 1869; Edward W. Turner in 1871-87-89-91; James E. Hughes in 1873; George W. Davis in 1875-77; Alexander C. Cook in 1879; James E. Jones in 1881-83; William F. Davis in 1885; William S. Marsh in 1893-95; J. Ed. Bohart in 1897-99; Robert L. McKee in 1901-03; Pross T. Cross in 1905-07-09; Harry T. Herndon in 1911; T. L. Wiley in 1913-15-17; E. L. Shoemaker in 1919-21-23. Hugh M. Marsh in 1925-27-29-31; T. L. Wiley in 1933.

Among the Democrats who were prominent in the campaigns of the past were the following: William L. Culver, Shelby F. Thurman, Edmond McWilliams, Chas. A. Bryan, Chas. W. Rice, Jas. H. Walker, F. M. Riley, R. L. McKee, John L. Bennett, Floyd Cook, Ben A. Atchison, E. W. Snyder, Geo. N. Budlong, Alonzo E. Stone, C. E. Hubbard, Henry E. Perkins, Tom V. Morrow, H. C. Walker, Morgan J. Trimble, John C. Hopkins, Clarence E. David, T. L. Wiley, Geo. C. Bryan, H. C. Randall, H. M. Marsh, John Bennett, W. E. Pickett, John Brawnor, E. L. Shoemaker, J. B. Ellis, Frank A. Armstrong, J. L. Thompson, E. A. Gow, M. L. Dunn, Frank L. Pulley, J. V. Walker, R. J. Stipe, J. B. Scott, J. M. Teony, Clarence E. Brummell, A. R. Alexander, G. Ward Commack, and M. J. Woodward.

In 1849 Governor Austin King appointed John H. Burch, of Clinton County, to a position on the Supreme Bench.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

COLE COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Cole County was organized November 16, 1820. It was named in honor of Stephen Cole, a noted pioneer of Missouri, who built Cole's Fort on the present site of Boonville. It is said that Cole died on the plains in the early 'thirties.

Walter B. Stevens in the "Centennial History of Missouri," (Vol. I., p. 74), gives the following interesting facts about Cole County:

"A colony of eleven stalwart, prolific families from Campbell County in East Tennessee began the settlement of Cole County in 1818. They located on Moniteau Creek near what is now the town of Marion. They were John English and four sons, James Miller and five sons, Henry McKenney and three sons, James Fulkerson and three sons, David Yount and three sons, David Chambers and three sons, John Mackey and two sons, John Harmon and one son, William Gouge and four sons, Martin Gouge and two sons, Joshua Chambers and two sons. In these eleven families were more than sixty persons. A court was organized in 1821. It met in the house of John English. Hamilton R. Gamble was circuit attorney. David Todd was judge. The first judgment rendered was a fine of one dollar against John Shore for contemptuous behavior to the court, the defendant to be imprisoned until the fine was paid. The next case was the emancipation of Joseph, the slave of Abraham Collett."

The first member of the General Assembly from Cole County was John English in 1822-24-28; Drewry Davis in 1826; Stephen C. Doris in 1830; George W. Miller in 1832; John English and George W. Miller in 1834; John C. Edwards and John G. Williams in 1836; A. M. Elston and James Enloe in 1838; Henry Bartlett and Green White in 1840; George W. Hough and William G. Minor in 1842; R. W. Gray and J. P. Martin in 1844; E. L. Edwards in 1846; John S. Enloe in 1848; Abraham Fulkerson in 1850; M. L. Jefferson in 1852; G. C. Medley in 1854; M. M. Parsons in 1856; Enos B. Cordell in 1858; Thomas L. Price in 1860; Wm. A. Curry in 1862; Edward L. King in 1864; Frank White in 1867; J. F. McKernan in 1869; John F. Wielandy in 1871; James McWorkman in 1873; St. Clair K. Miller in 1875; Ashley W. Ewing in 1877; J. Ed. Belch in 1879; J. Clay Ewing in 1881; L. C. Krauthoff in 1883; Sylvester W. Cox in 1885; Daniel H. McIntyre in 1887-91; Edwin Silver in 1889-1905; Joseph R. Edwards in 1893; John T. Short in 1895; Winfield S. Pope in 1897-99; Joseph P. Porth in 1901-07-09; G. J. Stampfli in 1903; W. C. Irwin in 1911; A. T. Dumm 1913-15-17; William Turbett in 1919-21; C. B. Corwin in 1923; David W. Peters in 1925; Henry C. Asel in 1927; James T. Blair, Jr. in 1929-31; H. P. Lauf in 1933.

Cole County has furnished more Democrats in the state offices than any county in the state. John C. Edwards was appointed secretary of state in 1830 by Governor John Miller. He resigned and in 1837 he was again appointed to that office by Governor Boggs, and in June of the same

year was appointed to the Supreme Bench; in 1841 he was elected to Congress on the ticket with John Miller; in 1844 he was elected governor, succeeding Meredith M. Marmaduke.

Thomas L. Price was elected lieutenant-governor in 1848 on the ticket with Governor King.

Peter G. Glover held several state offices by appointment, and in 1839 was elected superintendent of schools by the General Assembly.

John Walker was state treasurer in 1833, appointed by Governor Dunklin. He died in 1838.

John Walker (not the same) was elected state auditor in 1880, and reelected in 1884.

Phil Chappel was elected state treasurer in 1880.

Howard Gass was elected superintendent of schools in 1906.

Hiram B. Baber was appointed state auditor in 1837 by Governor Boggs.

George M. Miller was appointed state auditor in 1848 by Governor Edwards.

Abraham Fulkerson was appointed state auditor in 1852 by Governor King.

William H. Buffington, in 1852, was the first state auditor to be elected.

S. Mansfield Bay was appointed attorney general in 1839 by Governor Boggs.

William Scott was appointed to the Supreme Bench in 1841 by Governor Reynolds. He was elected in 1851, and reelected in 1857, when he was ousted, refusing to take the Test Oath.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

HISTORY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN COOPER COUNTY

By Roy D. Williams,* Boonville

The Democratic Party in Cooper County grew into power after the Civil war, as in most Central Missouri communities. Claiborne F. Jackson lived in Arrow Rock, and having been the head of the anti-Benton movement, his strength was very marked in the county.

After the Democrats came back into power, George Graham Vest lived in Cooper County and of course, all were his worshippers. James W. Draffen, a lawyer, was a partner of Senator Vest and never let a time go by when he could speak for the Democratic Party. He was the father of W. V. Draffen, who lately passed away.

The names of Stephens, Walker, Jeffress, Williams have always been identified with the party's progress. Lon V. Stephens was elected Governor. William Muir Williams was on the Supreme Bench and these

men were the leaders in Cooper County and their influence extended to the adjoining counties.

The German immigration after the Civil war was very marked in this county, and from time to time after 1894, the Republicans carried the county.

The normal majority up to the last election in Cooper County was probably 700 Republican, but the Democrats, by reason of organization and nomination of a strong ticket, were able to elect most of the ticket.

There has never been a time in the history of the party in Cooper County that was so promising as now. One of the best Young Democratic organizations in the state is located here.

William Muir Williams served on the State Tax Commission under Governor Dockery. E. C. Crow, Payton Parks and Isadore Loeb composed the commission; the commission advocated the separation of state and county revenue and digested all the decisions of Missouri on the tax question. W. M. Williams was the chairman of the Commission and did the greatest part of the work. Governor Gardner appointed his son, Roy D. Williams, as chairman of the State Tax Commission. Roy D. Williams was first commissioner of the Kansas City Court of Appeals.

John Cosgrove came from New York. In 1881-2 he was a member of Congress. John Cosgrove walked into Boonville. He was of the most striking personal appearance. He espoused the cause of Democracy immediately when coming here and was elected for one term to Congress. He retired after one term.

J. Add Walker lived near Pilot Grove. He was an enemy of Senator Vest, and while a prominent worker, he was never able to accomplish much in the primaries.

More recently, the Jeffress family, consisting of four brothers, have been active in Democratic politics. They have not sought office, but in every instance have been found supporting the Democratic ticket.

C. D. Corum was born in this county and served two terms as prosecuting attorney. He was a member of the State Committee. He was one of the most vigorous trial lawyers who ever located in Central Missouri. He was a Democrat of the first water, working in the ranks, rather than asking preferment.

James W. Draffen, the father of Whitlow Vest Draffen, was an early settler in Cooper County. He came from Albemarle County, Virginia. He was named for the Duke of Wellington. He never ran for office but took up the cudgel for Democracy upon every occasion.

Porter E. Williams was born in Versailles, Missouri. He later moved to Bunceton and became the leading doctor in that vicinity. His father had been a surgeon in the Confederate Army. Porter Williams espoused the Democratic cause at an early age. Governor Folk appointed him as Superintendent of the State Hospital at Fulton. His work was so outstanding that he had charge of the State Hospital at Fulton, the State Hospital at Nevada, the State Hospital at St. Joseph, twice, and for the last eight years had charge of the General Hospital in Kansas City, Missouri.

William Muir Williams was named after William D. Muir. He was the pioneer lawyer of this community. He never ran for office but had the widest acquaintance and practice probably of anyone in Central Missouri. Clients from the great cities of the state and other states came to consult him. He was appointed on the Supreme Court Bench by Governor Stephens; he served a year and resigned. He was appointed on the board of managers of the Missouri Training School for Boys by Governor Francis and served as president of the board until the time of his death. He was a devoted Mason, serving as grand master of Masons of Missouri. His youngest brother, Walter Williams, is president of the Missouri University. Before he was president of the university, he lived in the home of W. M. Williams, and was reared by his older brother. W. M. Williams was born February 4, 1850; died September 16, 1916.

Mr. Williams left five daughters and one son. The oldest daughter, Elizabeth, married J. W. Cosgrove, a son of John Cosgrove. The second daughter, Mary, married H. Monroe Taliaferro, president of the American Seating Company at Grand Rapids, Michigan. The third daughter, Edna, married Smith Simrall, of the Simrall family of Kentucky, distant relatives of Sen. Harry B. Hawes. The fourth daughter, Jessie, married A. R. Troxell of Columbia. The youngest daughter, Sue, married Scott Wilson, who is now chairman of the State Highway Commission. Roy, the only son, married Adda Williams, the daughter of Dr. Porter E. Williams.

By association or design, the husbands of all the girls are active and militant Democrats and the wife of Roy D. Williams is the daughter of Porter E. Williams, whose wife was Gussie Stevens, thus showing that the traditions of the Democratic Party are being kept alive in this family.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

NEWSPAPER HISTORY OF COOPER COUNTY

From: History of Howard and Cooper Counties, Missouri (St. Louis, National Historical Company, 1883), p. 730

By Miss Jean McCluer Watson**

The first Democratic newspaper published in western Missouri was established mainly to aid in the campaign of 1840. This was the *Missouri Register*, published by William T. Yeoman. The first number of it appeared in July, 1839. On the 22d day of April, 1841, Yeoman sold one-half interest in the paper to Edgar A. Robinson, and the paper continued to be published by Yeoman and Robinson, until the 9th day of August, 1843, when Ira Van Nortwick purchased it from them. It was afterwards successively owned by Quisenberry, Price, Ward & Chilton, the last named of whom continued to publish it until the great temperance excitement broke out in 1853. The paper had previous to this time been taken up almost exclusively by political discussions, but it was then purchased by a

man named Benjamin F. Buie, who filled its columns exclusively with discussions in regard to the great question of temperance, which was then agitating the public mind. Buie soon sold out the paper to Allen Hammond, and soon after this the paper ceased publication for want of patronage.

During the heat of the campaign of 1840, the editors of the *Missouri Register*, Messrs. Ward & Chilton, started a weekly campaign sheet, which advocated the claims of Van Buren for president; as soon as the campaign was over, and Van Buren defeated, the paper ceased publication. The name of this paper was the *Boonville Argus*.

**EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

CRAWFORD COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By O. J. Stewart,* Steelville

Crawford County was organized in 1829.

Its early inhabitants were from Tennessee, Kentucky, North and South Carolina, therefore, bringing into its boundaries a true type of the Southern Democracy.

From its organization until about 1886, Crawford County was Democratic. In the election of 1886 came the first break in the long chain of Democratic success. At this election the Republicans elected a circuit clerk and recorder of deeds. From this date the Democrats gradually lost control of the county. However, very few elections passed but what one or two Democrats were elected to some office. About 1890 the Republican majority had reached or increased to approximately one hundred and fifty. About 1920 this majority had increased to seven or eight hundred. This majority continued until the election of 1932 when the Democrats carried the county by majorities ranging from 400 to 1,100.

After the Republicans began to gain control of the county, the leaders of the Democratic party pursued the policy of what they called a "still hunt," thereby electing only a few of the strongest and most favorable candidates.

In the election of 1932, the Democratic party put on an open campaign. Speaking dates were arranged in all parts of the county and the Central Committee secured the services of O. J. Stewart as the local speaker. Mr. Stewart had served the county two terms as prosecuting attorney and was then serving the county as superintendent of public schools, and in addition to this local speaker, the committee secured a few dates from a few of the state and national candidates. The service of all these speakers as well as the local speaker was given free of any charges to the party or committee.

Due to the fact that all party workers cannot be named in this brief history of the county, we feel it advisable to mention only a few.

From the early history until about 1860, such men as Andrew Craig, Addison Adams, Isaac M. Blevins, L. E. Harris, George W. Sanders, Harrison H. Webb and Marvin W. Trask were the outstanding leaders of the Democratic party. From 1860 to 1890 such men as John A. Crains, John P. Farrow, James A. Green, Preston Halbert and George W. Matlock. From 1890 to 1915, such men as Frank H. Farris, A. U. Farrow, H. P. Farrow, James E. Hollow and Frank Askins. From 1915 until present such men as E. E. Roberts, Claud Bass, Henry Essman, A. J. Slack, Harve Taff, M. E. Beers, O. J. Stewart and George E. Summers have been leaders.

During the campaign of 1932, Harve Taff was elected as the chairman of the Democratic Central Committee. During all the history of the party in the county, no chairman worked harder to perfect a strong organization than did Mr. Taff, and through his leadership the open campaign was put on, through which the party was restored to control.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

DADE COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Dade County was organized January 29, 1841. It was named for Major Dade of Seminole massacre fame.

Jonathan Parris was the first member of the General Assembly, in 1842; Aaron Finch, in 1844; Benjamin F. Walker, in 1846; John C. Price, in 1848; John S. Pemberton, in 1850; Jonathan Parris, in 1852; James J. Tucker, in 1854; Jacob Lower, in 1856; John T. Coffee, in 1858; Wm. K. Lathim, in 1860; William Denby in 1862; Jesse Jones in 1864; W. K. Pile in 1867-69-73; Robert A. Clark in 1871; Charles G. Snyder in 1875; J. A. Henderson in 1877; William J. Morrison in 1879; W. H. Pidcock in 1881-83; J. W. Newell in 1885-87; Wm. H. Watson in 1889; C. D. Boisseau in 1891-93; William R. Russell in 1895-97; Howard Ragsdale in 1899; Joseph B. Lindsey in 1901; William S. Pelts in 1903-17-19-21-23; James S. Shaw in 1905; Everett Frieze in 1907; Wm. B. Cochran in 1909; R. P. Underwood in 1911; S. D. McMillen in 1913; J. W. Hankins in 1915; Fred Frye in 1925; David F. Allison in 1927; Tom Proctor in 1929-31; Frank Grider in 1933.

While Dade County has been classed as a Republican county, it has had for many years an aggressive and active Democratic organization. In many elections the Democrats have split the county ticket and brought out the Democratic vote for the state and national ticket. Two men stand out prominently in the history of the county in activity for the Party, Ben M. Neale, who was chairman of the State Committee in 1918, and Charles F. Newman. Other active Democrats who can be mentioned are: H. G. Hartfeld, W. E. Goodnight, H. T. Finke, S. D. McMillan, G. D. King, A. C. Blackmore, I. A. Young, G. W. Trimble, A. H. Scott, Geo. T. Barker,

J. A. Robertson, G. W. Mallory, Edward Harrison, W. R. Bowles, Daniel C. Rook, Bailey McLemore, H. H. Finley, Lewis W. Wetzel, Ira A. Hall, Thos. J. McConnell, Fred Frye, William D. Brown, Jesse C. Webb, Harry Finley, John E. Adamson, Phil Holcomb, Geo. W. Jones, Dr. R. A. Frye, Wm. Hodde, G. D. King, A. C. Blackmore, Wm. Garlock, C. D. White, A. W. Head, R. L. Meyers, Ray King, W. S. Wilson, F. G. Van Osdell, H. D. Sloan, and W. H. Rice.

In 1920 the women were given the right to vote. Dade County women formed a complete and aggressive organization, as follows:

Mrs. Fred Eastin, chairman; Mrs. A. A. Baker, vice chairman; Miss Mabel Edwards, secretary; Mrs. E. R. Hightower, treasurer; Mrs. F. F. Conn, Mrs. Jack Carlock, Mrs. Jopes Shelton, Mrs. Parker Bowman, Miss Sylvia Hughes, Mrs. Will Burton, Mrs. Wm. Preston, Miss Clara Bishop, and Mrs. E. A. Wray.

While Dade County had been found regularly in the Republican column in the election of United States senators for many years, in 1932 Bennett Champ Clark for United States senator, carried the county by a majority of 423; Franklin D. Roosevelt for President, carried the county by a majority of 493.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

DALLAS COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Dallas County was organized in 1842, and was at first called Niangua. It was changed by the General Assembly to Dallas, December 10, 1844, in honor of George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania, who was vice president under President Polk in 1844. Buffalo, the county seat, was named for Buffalo, New York, by Joe Miles, an Irishman, who first located the site. There was much historical sentiment in the formation of the county, as indicated by the names selected for the different subdivisions, or townships, which were named Benton, Jackson, Sheridan, Washington, Wilson, Grant, Lincoln, Sherman and Miller.

The first members of the General Assembly from the county were G. W. Henson, in 1846-48; B. J. Jones, in 1850; Lemuel Jones in 1852-54; William R. Edwards, in 1856-58; Wm. F. McBride, in 1860; James Southard in 1862-64-69-77; E. D. Brown in 1867; Geo. W. O'Bannon in 1871; William K. Pile in 1873; John Hatfield in 1875; Mark L. Reynolds in 1879; W. L. Morrow in 1881; N. J. Wollard in 1883-85; Amos S. Smith in 1887; William P. Porter in 1889; John C. Bennett in 1891-95; William R. Self in 1893; J. L. Hendrickson in 1897; William H. Booth in 1899-1903-19; H. Edmondson in 1901; Irvin Phillips in 1905-07; Benj. F. Johnson in 1909; Dwight W. Darby in 1911-13; John H. McArron in 1915; J. R. Cox in 1917; I. W. Wingo in 1921-27-29; E. T. Stevens in 1923; R. O. Hardy in 1925; Lawrence H. Presley in 1931-33.

Notwithstanding that Dallas County has been almost consistently in the Republican column, the Democrats of the county have regularly organized and made a contest to bring out the Democratic vote.

Among the Democrats that can be named for their activity in making a fight for the principles of Jefferson from year to year can be named the following: Harvey Morrow, G. A. Meyers, H. H. Arbury, John N. Davidson, M. E. Reynolds, O. F. Alford, D. D. Furth, J. E. Cox, W. B. Alexander, J. C. Butler, Milan Bledsoe, A. W. Taylor, G. W. Miller, Hunter Griffith, J. W. Miller, John Hill, and Frank Johnson.

When the women were given the right to vote there was formed a strong women's organization—a county committee, composed of the following: Mrs. Nellie Hudson, chairman; Mrs. J. R. Cox, secretary; Mrs. G. A. Meyers, treasurer; and Mrs. J. S. Haymes, Mrs. J. E. Ballard, Mrs. I. F. Line, Mrs. Ella Burd, Mrs. Alma Rea, Mrs. W. M. White, Mrs. O. L. Davis, Mrs. Bessie Warner, Mrs. Simeon Garrison, Mrs. E. A. Young.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

DAVIESS COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Daviess County was organized December 29, 1836. It was named in honor of Col. Joseph H. Daviess, of Kentucky, who was killed in the Battle of Tippecanoe, a river in Indiana, which is famous for the battle fought near its mouth, November 7, 1811, in which the Indians were defeated by Gen. William Henry Harrison, afterwards president from March 4, 1841, to April 4, 1841, when he died. Gallatin, the county seat, was laid out in 1837, and was named for Albert Gallatin, who was secretary of the treasury from 1801 to 1809, under Thomas Jefferson.

The county seat was laid out in 1837, during the second term of Andrew Jackson, and when the career of Thomas H. Benton was at its height. The naming of the townships in the county are impressive of public thought of the time. They are Washington, Jefferson, Benton, Monroe, Jackson, Harrison, Liberty, Union, Colfax, Sheridan, Marion and Lincoln.

The first member of the General Assembly from Daviess County was John D. Williams in 1838; Benedict Weldon in 1840; John A. Williams in 1842; Benjamin Salmon in 1844; Wiley Pool in 1846; George W. Poage in 1848; John D. Williams in 1850-54; John J. Ford in 1852; James McFerron in 1856; Thomas S. McGaugh in 1858; Robert E. Williams in 1860; W. H. Folmsbee in 1862; Thomas Sims in 1864; J. A. Brown in 1867; James L. Powell in 1867-69; David L. Kost in 1871; Ebenezer West in 1873; W. B. Smith in 1875; E. W. Payne in 1877; Elijah Hubbard in 1879; A. L. Buzzard in 1881; Joshua W. Alexander in 1883-85-87; W. H. Hickman in 1889-91; W. E. Black in 1893; P. R. DeFord in 1895; Joseph Wood in 1897; W. D. Hamilton in 1899-1901; J. L. Davisson in 1903; W. E. Land in 1905; S. W. Brandom in 1907; H. L. Johnson in 1909; Floyd S.

Tuggle in 1911-13-15-17; Fred Dunlap in 1919-21; W. M. Pritchard in 1923; Dr. J. D. Dunham in 1925; J. Foley in 1927-31; U. E. Salmon in 1929; Earl Doll in 1933.

There have been many active Democrats in the county deserving of mention. These include: Floyd S. Tuggle, John W. Thompson, Frank P. Kepler, Elias Langford, P. P. Dock, Geo. B. Padget, W. D. McDonald, D. E. Cope, H. B. Evans, E. D. Mann, Wes. L. Robertson, Nat G. Cruzen, Robert J. Bace, Thos. H. Hecklin, D. O. Richardson, W. R. Handy, A. B. Evans, J. G. Towson, C. E. West, W. E. Taylor, Dall Harmon, Chas. Lockridge, C. H. Brown, M. F. Wood, R. E. Maupin, John O. Ellis, Bert H. Tarwater, Dean H. Leonard, A. O. Goding, L. P. Doll, Joe Lawson, Moran N. Knight, Mont Smith, C. R. Yarbrough, S. L. McClure, J. E. Caldwell, E. G. Knight, Clyde R. Osborn, Orville Caraway, John H. Brown and George Bartlett.

Politically Daviess County has gained much prominence in the history of the National Congress. In 1883 Alexander Monroe Dockery was elected to Congress from the Third District and continued to represent the district until 1898, when John Dougherty of Clay County succeeded him, and Dockery became a candidate for governor. He was elected to that office in 1900.

In 1904 the Third District was lost to the Democrats. However, Daviess County came back in 1906, when Joshua W. Alexander was elected, redeeming the district for the Democrats. Alexander served in Congress from 1906 to 1918. During his last term in Congress President Wilson appointed him secretary of commerce. He was succeeded in Congress by Jacob L. Milligan of Ray County.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

DEKALB COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

DeKalb County was organized on February 25, 1845. The county was named in honor of Baron John DeKalb, an officer in the French Army, who came to America with Lafayette in 1877; was appointed a major-general by Congress, and served with Washington. In 1780 he was second in command under General Gates, and was killed in the battle of Camden. He called himself a baron, but was really a peasant's son, says "Winston's Encyclopedia."

The first member of the General Assembly was Thompson Smith, in 1846-48-52; John F. Doherty, in 1850; John N. Shambaugh, in 1854-60; John Johnson in 1856; Littleton S. Roberts in 1858; Elias Parrott in 1862; G. B. Atterberry in 1864-77; W. W. Riggs in 1867; Newton P. Horn in 1869; Joshua Dean in 1871; O. G. McDonald in 1873; G. E. Shultz in 1875; W. L. Haynes in 1879; Joseph Truex in 1881; John F. Clark in 1883; L. T. Moulton in 1885-87; E. J. Smith in 1889; B. F. Hughes in

1891; Thos. D. Williams in 1893; Newcomb Dyer in 1895; Ford N. Dyer in 1897; James T. Blair in 1899-1901; G. B. Pence in 1903; J. Frank Moberly in 1905; J. H. Kimmet in 1907-11; F. H. DeVol in 1909; E. F. Cornelius in 1913-15; C. A. Warrick in 1917; George Moyes in 1919; C. E. Shelman in 1921-23; A. W. Ebersold in 1925-27-29; W. A. Whitsell in 1931-33.

For many years the Democrats of DeKalb County, by thorough organization, managed to split the county offices with the Republicans, and have always managed to bring out the full strength of the Party on national issues. Some of them are as follows: Chas. A. Campbell, Joe Cook, J. G. Rice, Edwin Boyd, J. F. Barry, J. B. Warren, John P. Dean, Albert D. Hewitt, W. H. Harrison, E. G. Robinson, B. F. Channell, H. W. Saunders, George Berry, Elmer Mann, J. B. Winter, Newby H. Owen, Jas. Mallon, L. E. Saunders, Chas. B. Johnson, Corell R. Hewitt, Thos. H. Hobbs, Treat Payne, Oscar Ellis, B. L. Folk, F. R. Dill, Earl Smith, Albert Eversold, Chas. Stewart, S. Earl Kibbey, George Moyes, Bert H. Phelps, J. R. Elliott, C. D. McCray, Harry Mitchell, Edward F. Cornelius, James Shevard, John W. Gottbey, Isaac M. Randolph, Geo. W. Moser, Samuel J. Hyer, Geo. D. Moser, J. R. Hill, W. F. Coffey, John Barry, A. B. Cook, John Dunham, Chas. B. Johnson, J. Clay Morrman, Alfred Kelley, Dr. H. P. Yeater, A. E. Harper, Geo. W. McCrea, and John Dunham.

In 1920 the women of DeKalb County organized a full county campaign committee, as follows: Miss Marjorie Weldon, chairman; Mrs. Stella Buck, secretary and treasurer; Mrs. Lula DeHart, Mrs. Leah Johnson, Mrs. Adam Thompson, Mrs. Emma Daffron, Miss Minnie Gibson, Mrs. S. F. Wright, Seralda Morgan, Mrs. Georgia Hall, and Mrs. Julia Litzenberger.

In 1928, Roscoe Patterson beat Chas. M. Hay for United States senator in DeKalb County by 571 votes. In 1932 Bennett Champ Clark beat Henry Kiel by 772 votes, and Franklin D. Roosevelt carried the county by the same majority.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

DENT COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Dent County was organized February 10, 1851. It was named for Lewis Dent, who came from Tennessee in 1835 and settled in the county. Salem, the county seat, was located in 1852.

In 1856 Dent County was associated with Crawford County in the General Assembly, and Lyle Singleton was the representative. Lewis Dent, for whom the county was named, was the member of the General Assembly in 1858; Samuel Hyer, Jr., in 1860; J. E. Callehan in 1862; Joseph Gill in 1864; W. P. Williams in 1867; Marion Sides in 1869-71; S. H. Sherlock in 1873; John E. Organ in 1875-79-85-97-99-1901-07; Leigh B.

Woodside in 1877; Louis F. Hyer in 1881; E. T. Wingo in 1883; Francis M. Lenox in 1887; Edward A. Seay in 1889; Geo. R. Kenamore in 1891; Maston Cape in 1893-95; William P. Elmer in 1903-21-29-31; W. R. Peck in 1905-11-23-25; Alex. C. Donnan in 1909; J. W. Hunt in 1913; John H. Welch in 1915-17; E. H. Foster in 1919; G. D. Addison in 1927; E. W. Bennett in 1933.

Dent County has always been depended on to help elect the Democratic State tickets, and has seldom failed. Many of those who contributed to the success of the Party should be named; among them are: Henry A. Bennett, Thomas K. Smith, John W. Godbey, Isaac M. Randolph, Geo. W. Moses, Samuel J. Hyer, L. T. Pemberton, Earl A. Seay, Erasmus H. Smith, Jesse E. Smith, George A. Smalley, L. Frank McDonald, L. T. McGee, G. W. Gibbs, John C. Boyd, G. D. Addison, W. J. Jones, W. R. Judson, Will J. Jones, J. P. Blackwell, Sam Vaughn, John G. Carly, Stephen R. Miner, Albert R. Stephens, John N. Hagler, John H. Welch, Allen M. Cage, Jas. H. McDonald, G. H. Smalley, Buford Young, W. R. Judson, Sam Headrick, B. V. Gregory, Frank Finlay, E. T. Butler, E. H. Foster, and W. B. Simmons.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

DOUGLAS COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Douglas County was organized on October 17, 1857. The county was named in honor of the great Illinois Democrat, Stephen A. Douglas, always popular with a number of Democrats in Missouri. The county seat alternated between Ava and Vera Cruz, and was finally located at the former place.

In 1858 and 1860 Douglas County was associated with Ozark County in the General Assembly. The naming of the townships in the county, many of them selected before the outbreak of the Civil war, and some of them at a later period, is worthy of comment. There is Washington, named for "The Father of His Country;" Boone, for the immortal Daniel; Benton, for the great Union Democrat, whose life was approaching its end; Jackson, for his unparalleled career as a Democrat and soldier; Clay, the great Whig, who was so popular with that element in Missouri; Buchanan, who was President at the time, from 1857 to 1861; Cass, candidate for President several times, secretary of state in 1857; Clinton, vice president under James Madison, 1809 to 1813; Lincoln, the emancipator; Miller, for John Miller, the third governor of Missouri, and the only man who succeeded himself in that office; McKinley, who was President from 1897 to 1901, and was the victim of an assassin's bullet, which shocked the nation.

The first member of the General Assembly from Douglas County was A. M. Ellison in 1867-69; W. M. Miller in 1871; John M. Lewis in 1875-

85-87; Abner Garrison in 1877; Frank Kendall in 1879; W. W. Bryant in 1881; Gilbert Jenkins in 1883; J. E. Smith in 1889; W. H. Thomas in 1891-97; T. N. Smallwood in 1893; William Spencer in 1895; John W. Souder in 1899; A. J. Hamby in 1901; John C. Byrd in 1903; W. J. Fulton in 1905; George T. Graham in 1907; John H. Martin in 1909; H. S. Wilson in 1911; R. F. Haskins in 1913; I. T. Curry in 1915; C. H. Boehm in 1917; J. H. Nevils in 1919; V. R. Wilson in 1921; Isaac Kester in 1923; R. W. McClendon in 1925; G. H. Hagee in 1927; D. B. West in 1929; J. W. Silvey in 1931; R. P. Weeks in 1933.

While Douglas County has been found regularly in the Republican column, there are some courageous and fighting Democrats there, who have gloriously contended for the principles of Jefferson. This is one of the few Republican counties that gave Mr. Hoover a majority in 1932.

Some of the Democrats that have served the Party in the past are as follows: Dr. C. W. Meeker, W. F. Reynolds, Paul Colman, J. H. Orr, C. H. Burdett, W. B. Mathews, Ed. Dunaway, J. T. Gott, M. S. Pride, W. S. Wallace, C. W. Wood, T. G. Harrison, John Buchanan, Noah Davidson, John Gross, G. W. Johnson, Oscar Rankin, Dan Wood, J. R. Nicholson, George W. Rogers, S. W. Pope, J. L. Creech, W. N. Ware, W. K. Dyer, A. E. Glass, C. G. Blair, V. R. Abel, J. G. Pugh, Ray Bishop, C. F. Homan, Wm. Rogers, W. T. Cardwell, J. W. Reed, W. T. Mills, and R. W. Amos.

Men and Women who are active at the present time: C. H. Burdett, C. S. Nieman, (Central Committeeman); Mrs. Maud Davis, (County Secretary to Dem. Organization); Mrs. Dora Bowman, Bob Henderson, Mrs. Bob Henderson, Burrel Davis, (Deputy Game and Fish Warden); Tave Haley, Roy Swearingin, Oscar Rankin, Floyd Swearingin, John Gross, George Gross, E. R. Roy, Leonard Roy, Henry Burk, A. J. Blankenship, Ernie Gentry, (present Sheriff); Mrs. Kitty Kyle, Bob Ellis, (Postmaster, Ava, Missouri); Rondo Burdett, Bryan McRight, Ed Linder, J. L. Jefferson, John Henry Wood, D. F. Wood, Ben Aikens, Jack Rankins, R. P. Weeks, (Representative Douglas County now); Dave Lofton, T. A. Kay, Doctor Ferguson, William Cardin, John Coble, Homer Roy, Ezra Roy.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

DUNKLIN COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By Hon. Thos. R. R. Ely,* Kennett

Dunklin County, Missouri, was organized February 14th, 1845. It was named in honor of Governor Daniel Dunklin, who was elected Governor of Missouri in 1832 and died in 1844. He had the distinction of being called the "Father of Missouri's Public School System" by reason of his strong advocacy of state aid in the support of public schools.

Dunklin and Pemiscot counties and a small portion of New Madrid County extend south of the Mason and Dixon Line. About three-fourths of Dunklin County is south of the Mason and Dixon Line and all of Pemi-

scott County. The credit and distinction for this territory being a part of Missouri belongs to Colonel Walker of Pemiscot County, who was a large property owner and a man of large interests, as well as a very capable and highly respected citizen, and when the line between Arkansas and Missouri was being established he went to Congress and induced Congress, when the line reached the St. Francis River, to go down the river to a point that is now the southern boundary line of Dunklin and Pemiscot counties and include that portion of territory that is now called "the Heel of Missouri" embracing 700,000 acres instead of attaching it to the State of Arkansas. Arkansas was admitted to the Union sixteen years later. The reason of that was that Colonel Walker and the citizens of Pemiscot County had their business connections with the cities north of them, there being no towns of any considerable size west of the Mississippi River at that time. Their trading and business of all kinds was done with New Madrid, Cape Girardeau, Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis and they did not want to be put in a different territory. The Mason and Dixon Line runs down the center of the main street in the city of Campbell, Missouri, and runs straight on east to the Mississippi River.

In 1845 this territory south of the Mason and Dixon Line was inhabited by the pioneers that came principally from the old "Volunteer State of Tennessee." They had followed Andrew "Hickory" Jackson to New Orleans and defeated the British at that point in 1815. There were Kentuckians and pioneers from the state of Alabama, but the Tennesseans largely predominated. At that time there was no protection for these two counties and adjacent territory from the overflows of the Mississippi River, and no drainage districts were organized until some forty years afterwards. The most progressive farmer in Dunklin County at that time was the Indian chief, Chilletecaux, who lived at the village of Kennett, then called Chilletecaux. He had quite a nice improvement consisting of corn land and a peach orchard and a log cabin. This territory has been reclaimed from overflows and floods by the organization and building of drainage districts and levees to protect it. In Dunklin County alone there are forty-one drainage and levy districts built at an expense of several million dollars and the territory now embraced in "The Heel of Missouri," is among the most fertile in the state, and is not excelled by any territory within the United States.

Between Crowley's Ridge and the Mississippi River there are in Missouri and Arkansas eighteen counties that are as level as a floor and as fertile as the Valley of the Nile. Seven of them are in Missouri and the remainder in the state of Arkansas, and this territory extends from Cape Girardeau County in a semi-circle to the city of Helena, Arkansas.

This territory has been Democratic since the organization of Dunklin County down to the present time.

Speaking of Dunklin County, will say that there has never been but one Republican legally elected to office since its organization. It is true that Republicans have occupied some of the offices under the Drake Constitution when our legally elected and installed officers were kicked out under the constitution of 1865 and their places supplanted by, (shall I

call them carpet-baggers?) from the county of Schuyler. At the election of 1865, for county officers, including representatives, there were but sixteen votes cast in the county and a Republican candidate received all of the sixteen votes because the Southern man was disfranchised and could not vote. At the next election the same Republican candidate received seventeen votes and no Democrat received a vote. It is true that there was a candidate against him, a very excellent man who afterwards acquired some distinction in this territory. His name was Judge James M. Waltrip. Instead of receiving votes for representative he was elected constable of the township in which he lived. The Republican candidate elected at those two elections was H. A. Applegate and he was the only Republican except one, that was ever elected to any office in Dunklin County.

PRIEST SUED FOR RIGHT TO VOTE

After the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the suffrage clause of the Drake Constitution of 1865, the people of this territory elected their own officers. That suit was brought by a Catholic priest in the northern territory of Missouri, who claimed the right to vote, to preach, to hold office and to marry people, without taking the oath set out in the Drake Constitution. That was about the year 1868. During that time from 1868 to the date the Supreme Court of the United States declared that part of the constitution of 1865 void, the Republicans had stolen about everything there was in the territory not "too hot to hold or too heavy to carry," including a large portion of the land. The county court gave one Elon G. Rathburn, who was brought down here from Schuyler County and made sheriff and collector of the county by appointment of the governor, a commission to sell all the swamp and overflowed land east of Lake Nicormy—which was the border of the highland on the east side of Dunklin County. Rathburn went to New York City with his commission and contract and erased the word "east" and sold *all* of the swamp land in Dunklin County to Otis N. Cutler. Litigation, of course, followed that conveyance and, after being in court for a long time, it was set aside but it disturbed the trading and improvement of land in this territory for many years, and in all the abstracts that are now made to property that conveyance appears in the abstracts along with the record of the litigation that was connected with it and has been a great expense to the citizens of Dunklin.

Senator Vest described the situation in Missouri as follows: "Under the leadership of Charles D. Drake, the Constitution of 1865 had been enacted,—the most drastic, the most cruel, the most outrageous enactment ever known in a civilized country. No man could practice law, teach school, preach the gospel, act as trustee, hold any office of honor, trust, or profit, or vote at any election, unless he swore he had never sympathized with the cause of the Confederacy or any person fighting for it. The father who had given a drink of water or a crust of bread to his son who had belonged to the Confederate forces was ostracised and put under the ban of the law. Francis P. Blair went to the polls, dressed in his

major-general's uniform, and demanded the right to vote without taking the oath. It was denied and he immediately commenced suit against the election officials." Pending the suit, a Catholic priest named Cummings, who had instituted a similar proceeding, had his case adjudicated by the Supreme Court, and it was decided that the Drake Constitution violated the United States Constitution and was a bill of attainder and an *ex post facto* law. General Blair, not satisfied, attacked the Drake party throughout the commonwealth, and canvassed the state from one end to the other, denouncing the persons who were perpetrating these iniquities upon the people. See case of State vs. Cummings, in 36 Mo., page 264; Blair v. Ridgely, 41 Mo., page 64. See Rose's Notes on U. S. Reports, volume 6, page 277, and cases cited.

After the repeal of the suffrage part of the Drake Constitution it was, of course, evident to the Republican appointees in this county, that they could no longer have control of the offices and that their rascality would be discovered when the citizens of the county took charge of the offices, and to prevent the disclosure and exposure of their rascality they set fire to and destroyed the courthouse at Kennett and all the records of the county on April 9, 1872.

REMEMBER PERSECUTION

It is not to be wondered at that the people of Dunklin County still remember and resent the persecution that was inflicted upon them by the Republicans of that era.

So deep was their indignation that during the Civil war a convention was called for the southern men to meet at the little village of Clarkton and discuss the situation. They did meet and held a meeting which lasted for three days under the oak trees, and finally adopted a resolution that Dunklin County would secede from the Union because they were not satisfied that the state had not seceded and joined the Confederacy as a state in the beginning of the war. It has ever since that time been called the "Independent State of Dunklin," and there are those of us who believe that it will always be called the "Independent State of Dunklin" and always be Democratic.

Politically, the county is proud of its record. Originally no nominations were made for office and all the candidates ran through the general election until the passing of the primary law. The Democratic vote has increased at each election and in the election of 1932 the Democratic majority in this county was 7,100, an increase of 3,500 votes in the four years preceding it. They do not vote in this county expecting any patronage from those they elect to office. During the primary elections in August we are ardently courted but we have never exacted any promises or pledges of favor from those who have the power to appoint to good positions. They vote because they believe in the doctrines of the Democratic Party. Of course, we have had applicants for appointments of importance and have received a few minor appointments from some of the departments, but whether successful or not, we are never dissatisfied and go to the polls the next time whistling the same old tune, singing the same old

song, and voting the Democratic ticket. We sometimes think that we are forgotten and are in the same category with President Roosevelt's "forgotten man,"—that we are the forgotten county.

We are justly proud of the state's record in the high offices of this country. There are Benton, Cockrell, Vest, Stone, and the two Clarks, the honorable Champ Clark, the idol of Missouri Democracy, and his worthy son, Bennett Champ Clark, of whom we are especially proud, and the history of these men in which we claim a part cannot be taken from us.

As the history of the Alamo is the common property of every Texan, so is the history of these illustrious men the common property of every Missourian.

To name the prominent party workers who are most responsible for the large majorities polled at each succeeding election would be to lengthen this article to no purpose. Party workers are legion. We are always organized.

Of course, we all know that on the secretary of the county committee rests the responsibility of the details of the campaigns and we cannot do less than say that O. S. Harrison for twenty-five years has given his time, energy, and work without compensation to the campaigns for the Democratic Party.

We do not say present day Republicans are chargeable for the wrongs of the Republican Party, perpetrated upon the people when prejudice ran so high and strong as to destroy reason and fairness, but its record built a hazard it can never pass in this county.

No fair or just man can justify the cruel wrongs that impoverished the hardy and brave pioneers who came to a wilderness to build, own and live in their own homes.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

FRANKLIN COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Franklin County was organized November 25, 1818. It was named for Benjamin Franklin, who was born in Boston in 1706 and died in Philadelphia in 1790. In giving a history of this wonderful man "Winston's Encyclopedia" concludes with this statement: "With Washington he ranks as one of the two greatest and ablest men the United States has yet produced."

While Franklin County has been classed as a reliable Republican county it has contained many men of prominence in the Democratic Party: J. H. Dickbrader, James Booth, John W. Booth, F. W. Hawley, J. R. Galle-more, John T. Williams, J. G. Moutier, S. A. Hall, Web Duckworth, Chas. Bagby, Louis Botte, M. B. Lane, G. T. Murphy, E. B. Ming, J. M. Davis, J. R. Ferrell, D. I. Brennan, Geo. Reed, F. A. Murphy, John I. Meyer, T. P. Diggs, Geo. B. Hull, Geo. Brinkler, Dr. A. H. Jones, Oscar Holt-

meyer, Wm. H. Strothman, John Farrell, M. T. Connally, J. P. Short, J. M. Davis, E. B. Halligan, John B. Busch, J. P. Short and W. J. Reynolds.

Robert Brock was the first member of the General Assembly in 1828; Elijah McLean in 1830; David Sterigere in 1832; William Brown and Mathew Caldwell in 1834; Samuel Mansfield Bay and George T. Barnes in 1836; F. R. Chiles and William Brown in 1838; F. R. Chiles and W. D. Hunt in 1840; Wm. V. N. Bay and William Brown in 1842; Wm. V. N. Bay and Franklin P. Chiles in 1844; Wm. V. N. Bay in 1846; Clayton B. Hinton in 1848; J. D. Stevenson and T. R. Lewis in 1850; F. J. North and J. D. Stevenson in 1852; E. B. Jeffress and G. B. Green in 1854; Edward W. Murphy and Charles Jones in 1856; James W. Owens and Robert A. King in 1858; W. J. Brown and James W. Owens in 1860; E. W. Murphy and Girt Goebel in 1862; Thomas Crow and John Dugge in 1864; Reuben H. Farrar and J. W. Owens in 1867; James M. Ming and R. B. Denny in 1869; Joseph M. Ming and Allen P. Richardson in 1871; F. J. North and Joseph Burger in 1873; John R. Martin and F. W. Pehle in 1875; G. O. Hardeman and F. W. Pehle in 1877; John W. Booth and F. W. Pehle in 1879; Joseph C. Davis and Homer Calkins in 1881; Elijah W. Murphy in 1883; James M. Ming in 1885; John W. Booth in 1887; James W. Martin in 1889-93-95; John T. Crowe in 1891; William M. Meyersieck in 1897; James C. Kiskaddon in 1899; Richard Smith in 1901-03-05-11; Alfred A. Vitt in 1907-09-13; Fred H. Kasmann in 1915-17-19; Clark Brown in 1921; William L. Steiner in 1923-25-27-29; George B. Calvin in 1931; Joseph C. Finney in 1933.

In 1928 the vote for United States senator in Franklin County was Roscoe Patterson, 7,818; Chas. M. Hay, 5,471; a majority for Patterson of 2,347. In 1932 the vote of Franklin County on the same office was Ben-Champ Clark, 8,351; Henry Kiel, 5,511, a majority for Clark of 2,840.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

GASCONADE COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Gasconade County was organized November 25, 1820. It was named for the Gasconade River. Hermann was laid out in 1837 and became the county seat in 1845.

Gasconade County has always been reliably Republican. However, it has some enthusiastic Democrats who have been active for the Party for years, which includes John Tappmeyer, E. T. Williams, Conrad Klinge, F. G. Gaebler, Dr. F. H. Caughell, C. E. Stone, Lawrence Warren, George Petrus, John J. Jackson, Henry Mertens, George Schneider and W. E. Lacy.

In 1932 the county had perhaps the most active organization of the Democratic County Committee it has ever had, and under the management of John Tappmeyer made a strong contest for the New Deal.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

GENTRY COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Gentry County was organized February 12, 1841. The county was named in honor of Colonel Richard Gentry of Boone County, who was killed at the head of a Missouri regiment in a battle with the Seminole Indians, led by their great chief, Osceola, at Okeechobee, Florida, on Christmas day, 1837. Albany, the county seat, was first called Athens.

The first member in the General Assembly was W. G. Williams in 1846; Richard Roberts in 1848; Daniel Conway in 1850; Jacob Neal in 1852; N. Mothershead in 1854; William M. Albin in 1856; James R. Conway in 1858; Ruben Shultz in 1860; James R. Conway in 1862; David Cranor in 1864; H. W. Rice in 1867; C. C. Byrne in 1869; Phil M. Adams in 1871; Enoch Liggett in 1873; J. L. McCullough in 1875; David Gannaway in 1877; T. A. McKinney in 1879; A. B. Ross in 1881; A. C. Smith in 1883; Frank A. Weimer in 1885-87; John T. Liggett in 1889; O. P. Russ in 1891; Edwin E. Ennis in 1893; James W. Sullinger in 1895; D. F. Fitzgerald in 1897-99; H. P. Tandy in 1901; S. T. Earixson in 1903-05; John A. Dale in 1907-09; John H. Burgin in 1911; J. W. McKnight in 1913-15; Frank Jones in 1917-19; W. S. Hardin in 1921; Thomas N. Rigney in 1923; George W. Reed in 1925; George W. Hunter in 1927; John Rainey in 1929; T. D. Hudson in 1931-33.

Gentry County has always had one of the most thoroughly organized Democratic committees in the state and among those who should be credited with this are the following: D. L. Bratcher, Ed. E. Birge, C. H. Mothershead, J. H. Ross, Famous E. Blue, Eli Robertson, Thos. T. Pratt, Chas. E. Gibbany, Richard L. Smith, John T. Brooks, Dr. L. E. Miller, H. L. Yates, R. A. Crockett, Harve Powers, Dr. J. A. Crockett, John Grace, Dr. Hugh Patton, Orville Parman, Robert M. McCammon, Charles N. DeWitt, I. G. Patton, Thomas N. Rigney, J. S. Williams, Geo. W. Rose, Frank J. McCaslin, Dale S. Flowers, H. M. Wayman, J. F. Baker, S. L. Gall, William James, and J. W. Hinotes.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

HISTORY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GREENE COUNTY

By E. C. McAfee,* Springfield

I am fortunate enough to have an intimate knowledge of Democratic history in Greene County, and its vicinity, from the end of the Civil war to the close of the nineteenth century. True, I was not born before that war ended, but my earliest recollections are of men who discussed every feature of that history.

I was born of Democratic ancestry. My father was a Democrat and knew the reasons why. His law partner was John S. Phelps, most aptly

termed "the noblest Roman of them all." Their law office was headquarters for Democrats. From all parts of the state they gathered there to plan their righteous deeds. Many successful campaigns had birth within its walls. With such surroundings my childhood was spent, and that is why my Democracy reached the saturation point early in my life.

In Springfield it took more courage to be a Democrat than anywhere else during the dark days following the Civil war. When I say Springfield, I include the vicinity comprising its district of influence. I was born 'midst the throes of the Drake constitution. No Democrat, and but few "select" Republicans could hold office, vote, preach, teach school, practice law or do much of anything else without taking the oath. Although the war was over the taint of "rebel comfort or sympathy" was almost a bar to living. It ousted men from office and denied citizenship. Both John S. Phelps and my father were deemed "rebel sympathizers." Both had been Union officers, but were later lawyers seeking to right the wrongs of war-time rebels. The only man to rise above the taint and fully qualify under the Drake constitution was Wild Bill Hickok, a border ruffian, whose promiscuous shooting of ex-rebels would have rendered him eligible to high office had he possessed any other virtue.

In such an atmosphere no timid man dare assert his Democracy. John S. Waddill was ousted from the office to which he had been elected, and so were others. Both Phelps and McAfee were denied the privilege of voting until they appeared before the proper officials and had their rights restored at the point of two six-shooters. This incident is not recorded in history, but it occurred nevertheless and the truth of it was so well known at the time that it had a very weakening effect on the rigors of that regime.

I had grown to be a sizeable lad before I ever heard the name "Republican." The Republicans were called "radicals" because the radical wing predominated. For ten years after the close of the war the Democrats were a tottering outfit. Their candidates had no hope of election, yet cheerfully made the race to maintain the organization, and usually against threats of bodily harm. In 1868 my father made the race for Congress in the face of all sorts of threats. In some localities he was warned not to speak, but he spoke there. I have, among other old relics, the six-shooter he always carried, and on some occasions had to lay before him while he made his speech. It took courage of the highest type to run for office with no hope of election, but only that Democratic principles might endure. Alas! these pioneers are gone, but their principles endure and will always endure until freedom is at an end.

As to my father, Charles B. McAfee, he was the Democratic nominee for Congress in 1868, and again in 1872, but was defeated both times. In 1875 he was a member of the Constitutional Convention, and was the head of the faction opposing the St. Louis delegation headed by Joseph Pulitzer, later the publisher of the New York World and allied newspapers. The forensic repartees in the course of that strife were the press sensations of the time. In 1896 he was elected Criminal Judge of Greene County. His four-year term of office was distinguished by his steady refusal to parole a single criminal. His attitude in that regard has been fully vin-

licated, I think, by the developments of later years. After his retirement from that office he was honored by successive governors by appointments on various boards until his death in 1916 at the age of eighty-seven.

There were many others who contributed their services to Democracy with equal fervor. That old law office was a sort of Mecca to which came pilgrims from every part of Missouri. With straining ears and mouth agape I was an admiring youngster and often an auditor to these powwows. Some of these were State Senator Armstrong, United States Senators Cockrell and Vest, Governors Crittenden, Marmaduke and David R. Francis, and in later days Governors Dockery and Folk. Pulitzer came, Champ Clark, Charley Morgan, Dick Bland, and later Bill Phelps, W. J. Stone and J. West Goodwin with that famous white plug hat, and others, too, whose names now escape my memory. As to policies these men often differed, but as to principles never. All were Democrats to the core.

EDITOR OF LEADER

Of our local men, many of whom joined in these conferences, were Daniel C. Kennedy, who came here in 1865, established a newspaper, and wielded a powerful influence in this section. He was editor of the *Springfield Leader*, and nobody was uncertain about how he stood on any issue. He relinquished journalism to become consul to Malta, appointed by President Cleveland during his second term. He died many years ago.

A power in these councils was Thomas A. Sherwood, who from 1872 to 1902 was a member of the Missouri Supreme Court. He was a profound jurist, and nationally known for his dissenting opinion in the Maxwell case. After leaving the supreme bench Judge Sherwood lived in California until his death some few years ago. Then there was John O'Day who came here in 1865. For a time his influence was local, but later he became the general attorney for the Frisco Railroad, was a member of the State Democratic Committee, and was a great power in the Democratic campaigns in the 'eighties.

Always present was Benjamin U. Massey. Massey was a clerk in the office of McAfee & Phelps, studied law there, and became a member of the firm. He was the private secretary of Governor Phelps, and was active in Democratic politics until his death in 1907.

Still living, and still Democratic, is John G. Newbill, the Nestor of Democratic editors. Until recently his gospel was preached through his weekly newspaper which circulated outside the city, and was a power for good.

Back in the 'seventies Martin J. Hubble was an ardent worker in the Democratic cause. He once made the race for congress. J. C. Cravens and his law partner, Nathan Bray, were notable Democrats, as was also Henry C. Young. L. A. D. Crenshaw and L. H. Murray, both wealthy men, contributed of their efforts and means to party success. In the 'eighties Thomas J. Delaney was an active and efficient aid in both county and state politics, and so continued to the end of his life.

In the 'nineties came into prominence Hunter Wear, Harry McGregor, Thos. B. Love, C. W. and Oscar Hamlin. Harry McGregor held the office

of prosecuting attorney, and Love the office of city attorney. Both went to Texas later. Love to Dallas, where he now lives. He became a great Democratic leader in that state, but recently is charged with leading the Democrats into the wilderness, and not out of it, in Texas. Harry McGregor went to Austin where he now lives, and is close to the present administration in Texas. Hunter Wear was prosecuting attorney in Greene County, and C. W. Hamlin served several terms in congress from this district. Hunter Wear is no more. C. W. Hamlin is practicing law in Springfield, as is also his brother Oscar Hamlin.

Richard L. Goode was a graduate of Drury College in Springfield. After teaching school, and upon the death of Nathan Bray, he became the law partner of J. C. Cravens. He was elected to a judgeship of the St. Louis Court of Appeals and later became a member of the Missouri Supreme Court. At the end of his term there he became the attorney for various St. Louis financial institutions. He was an ardent Democrat. He was a bi-metalist, and while attorney for a railroad here defied all sorts of coercive tricks from that source and voted for Bryan. Not long before he died Judge Goode told me he owed his election to the Court of Appeals judgeship to Emmett Newton, another Democrat to whom I will later make reference.

John T. White is a graduate of Drury College, and for many years was a partner of Thrasher and McCammon. These two gentlemen are now dead and were high grade men, but Republicans. Heedless of that, White remained a steadfast Democrat and in the course of time became a member of the Supreme Court.

At present Springfield and Greene County have many active and prominent Democrats. They are still living and can speak for themselves. As I have already declared my efforts are directed mostly to those who have passed on. In the course of sixty years covered by these chronicles lived a class of Democrats who neither held office nor sought it. That class included many wealthy and influential men—ever ready to contribute of their means and their counsels to the cause. During the dark days of strife there was no sulking in tents nor lofty aloofness from the voting place. They could not find it in their hearts to be neutral on any issue. They realized, as we should now realize, that neutrality is a species of cowardice repugnant to Democratic ideals. If their sentiments prevailed to this day, how different would be our plight. Today, neutrality is our greatest curse.

FOUNDERS OF SPRINGFIELD

With but few exceptions the chief founders of this fair city of Springfield were Democrats. The Hollands; the Keetses; the Robbersons; the Rountrees; the Sheppards; the McDaniels; the McGregors; the McAdams; the Waddills; the Hubbles; the Dades; the Fulbrights; the Owens; the Kirbys,—they and their descendants built for the future of this city. Of these men, their works and their Democracy, volumes could be written.

As I come to a close I feel my task incomplete without mention of one most faithful and unselfish and still carrying on. I refer to Emmett New-

ton, now living in Brooklyn, New York, but whom we claim as our own. What Democrat in this county fails to remember him? How many successful candidates in by-gone days hold him in grateful memory? He spurned office. He did not yearn for its glories or emoluments. He lived, and lives today only to serve others in any capacity he can, no matter how humble. His resourcefulness was amazing, his results remarkable.

During the Spanish-American war Newton was the quartermaster-sergeant to the company of which I was the captain. In the early period of our enlistment, with men to equip, to uniform and to feed, Newton was indeed a busy man. In addition to our other worries came sickness to combat. Newton did not falter. He did not sleep; day or night found him at the bedside of the suffering. He knew no rest. Such devotion and assiduity did not escape notice, and both the brigade and division headquarters sought to steal him from me. He would not leave his comrades. A commission was offered him, but he turned it down, although I urged him to take it. He said "I could never command anybody, I can only try to help people." Later, after Governor Folk appointed him "Inspector General" (whence came the title "General Newton") and after he resigned, Newton said to me "Captain, I always told you I couldn't be an officer, I can only help people." That is the story. I have not seen Emmett in many years, but I know that at this minute, whether in Brooklyn or elsewhere, he is "helping" somebody. He lives for no other purpose.

*EDITOR'S NOTE:

GREENE COUNTY DEMOCRACY

Additional Date Supplied

By Justus R. Moll*

Greene County was organized in 1833 and comprised all the southwestern part of Missouri, from the Gasconade River to the line which is now the Oklahoma border, and from the Osage River to the Arkansas boundary. Greene County in 1833 covered territory now embraced in some twenty-two counties.

It was purely Democratic in political complexion. In its first presidential election in 1836, there was not a single Whig vote cast. Hugh L. White of Tennessee, for whom White County, Missouri, was named and later changed to Douglas and Ozark, was running as an independent, and Van Buren was the regular Democratic candidate. White got a few votes, and Van Buren carried southwestern Missouri by 12 to 1. Not one Whig vote was cast. The pioneers were all from the deep south of North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky.

A few years later, the trend of immigration began from Indiana, Ohio and Illinois, and then for the first time were Whig votes recorded. By this time Greene County had been reduced to small size.

In 1840 Van Buren received 432, and Harrison, Whig, 171. The prominent Democrats of 1840 in southwest Missouri were John S. Phelps, Gen.

Nicholas R. Smith, Alexander Younger, William Garoutte, Judge Chas. S. Yancy, R. J. McElhany, John Polk Campbell and Sidney S. Ingram. On the Whig side were: Dr. Thos. J. Bailey, Gray Wills, William McAdams, Samuel Martin, B. T. Nowlin, William B. Farmer, Daniel D. Berry, John S. Waddill, Littleberry Hendrick, and Marcus Boyd, father of Col. Sephronius H. "Pony" Boyd, of civil war renown.

In Greene County in 1844, Polk, a Democrat, received 817 votes, Clay, a Whig, 351. Chas. H. "Hoss" Allen was candidate for governor in this campaign; he was a former circuit judge and citizen of Springfield, later of Palmyra, Missouri.

In 1845 came the incident when Greene County was to have two congressmen at the same time—repeated in 1932 election. It seems that D. C. M. Parsons of Pike County, a "hard" Benton Democrat, died a few days before the election. News travelled slowly in those pre-telegraph days, when once-a-week mail was considered service. The "hard" central committee put John G. Jameson on the ticket in place of the deceased.

John S. Phelps, later governor of Missouri, was nominated for Congress as a "hard" and Leonard H. Sims as a "soft," both of Greene County. In the election many voted for Jameson, but many others, not knowing of Parsons' death, voted for the deceased. As a result, Sims got more votes than Jameson, and was elected. Sims spent his last days in Jacksonport, Arkansas. During his term in Congress, he made a famous "54-40 or fight"¹ speech.

In 1848, August election, the Whigs of Greene County were defeated by a two to one majority, which indicated that the vast Democratic majority was being lessened. For Governor, King, Democrat, 1,040; Rollins, Whig, 511.

The first Whig newspaper of southwestern Missouri was started at Springfield, September 10, 1848, called *The Springfield Whig*, edited by Littleberry Hendrick; it suspended the following year and moved its office to Osceola. The "hard" faction of the Democratic Party had a paper, *The Southwestern Flag*, edited by John W. Richardson, later secretary of state. The "soft" faction had *The Advertiser*, edited by W. H. Graves. The "hards" prevailed in southwestern Missouri, but the vote for state senator in Greene County was evenly split, 792 "hard," 792 "soft."

The bitterness between these two Democratic factions was on the increase, and as always is the case, it was hurting the party in elections. Finally, October 4, 1851, a "hard" and "soft" reunion was held at the old courthouse in Springfield to unite the party. The truce was made and lasted about two years.

After the Republican Party was organized, it was decidedly unpopular in Greene County. The Democrats were split into factions as usual. In 1860 the state vote was:

¹ "Why! Mr. Speaker, the ox-drivers of Missouri, armed only with their cattle whips can thrash all the British troops in that quarter, and make the British lion scamper off with his tail between his legs, and take refuge in the far-off forests of the North and mingle his doleful whine with the wolf's long howl from Onalaska's shore,"

	<i>State</i>	<i>Greene County</i>
Claiborne F. Jackson, Democrat	74,446	502
Sample Orr, ² Bell & Everett	64,583	1,337
Hancock Jackson, Breckinridge	11,415	119
Gardenhire, Republican	6,135	One vote in Greene County

² Sample Orr was a Springfield man. Born in Maury County, Tennessee, he came to Springfield in the '50s, bought a farm and started to practice law. He was elected probate judge in 1857—Orr 726, Brown 592, Jarrett 273. He was registrar of lands in Jefferson City 1861-65, and died in Blackfoot, Idaho, in the '90s. His large vote for Governor was due partly to his active campaigning and public speaking. He was alleged to be a son of Andrew Jackson, and the likeness was remarkable.

GRUNDY COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By Platt Hubbell,* Trenton

The strength and vigor of the Democracy of Grundy County is built around the character of the late John H. Shanklin.

He was born in Monroe County, Virginia, in 1824. His early life had somewhat the characteristics of the early life of Abraham Lincoln. He arrived in Missouri in 1846. Taught school—studied law—enlisted as a private for "during the war with Mexico." He was promoted from the ranks to the position of colonel. Returning from the war, he was appointed judge of the Probate Court. In the war between the States, he was in the army on the side of the Union. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1875, in which body he rendered splendid service.

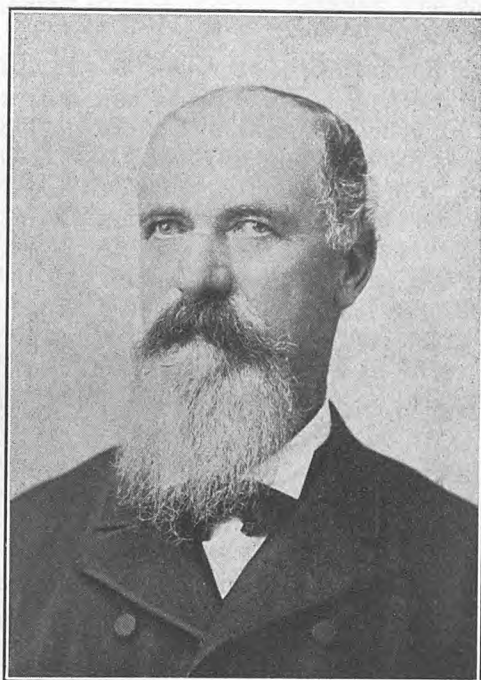
In politics, he was a disciple of Thomas Jefferson. He was a learned lawyer, a profound scholar, a brave soldier, and above all, a good man.

He summoned the youth of Grundy County to the battle cry of Jefferson, "Equal and exact justice to all, special privileges to none." By precept and example, John H. Shanklin taught the people of Grundy County to love right for right's sake—to do good merely for the personal consciousness of so doing.

There have been other trustworthy Democrats in Grundy County—yet all of them point to John H. Shanklin as their ideal Democrat.

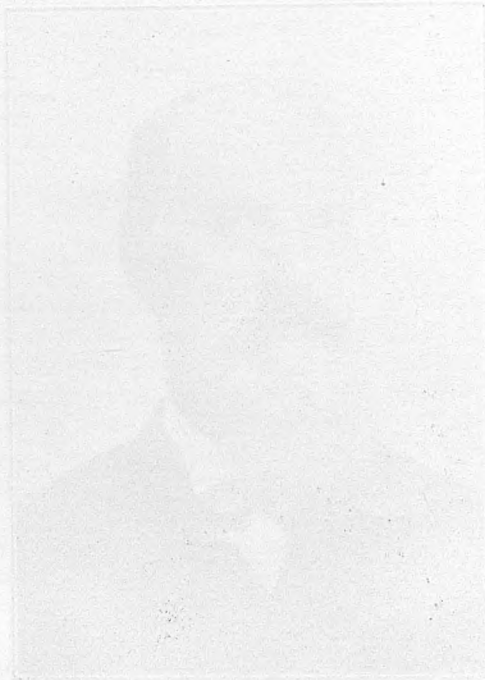
Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, the Democrats of Grundy County are determined to use their best efforts to maintain the highest standards of the founders of the Democratic Party. Individuals are nothing. Principles are everything. To mention individuals in this connection, would be a waste of words. To proclaim the devotion to principle ever uppermost in the minds of the Democrats of Grundy County, may be an inspiration to others.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.



COLONEL JOHN H. SHANKLIN

Born in Monroe County, West Virginia,
November 2, 1824. Died at Trenton, Mis-
souri, June 14, 1904.



THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK
FROM 1609 TO 1898
BY JOHN EDGAR SWANwick
PUBLISHED BY THE
NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS
1898

HARRISON COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Harrison County was organized February 14, 1845. The county was named in honor of Albert G. Harrison of Callaway County, who was elected to Congress in 1835 as a Democrat, with William H. Ashley, a Whig, when the state was entitled to two congressmen. Harrison was again elected to Congress in 1837 on the ticket with John Miller, who had been governor of Missouri from 1825 to 1828, the only governor to ever have been elected twice to that office. Bethany, the county seat, was laid out in 1845.

The first member of the General Assembly from Harrison County was L. D. Thompson in 1846 and 1848; Stephen C. Allen in 1850; E. Hubbard in 1852; H. O. Nevill in 1854; Stephen C. Allen in 1856; James M. Nevill in 1858; Stephen C. Allen in 1860; Samuel Downey in 1862-64-66; Thomas D. Neal in 1869-71; William H. Hillman in 1873; James B. Brower in 1875-77; Charles D. Knight in 1879; James M. Neville in 1881; George Burris in 1883; Abel W. Allen in 1885; Nelson Church in 1887-89; Samuel P. Davisson in 1891-93; John W. Leazenby in 1895; Jesse H. Taylor in 1897; Rufus Hopkins in 1899; Joseph D. Officer in 1901-03; John R. Williamson in 1905; Freeman J. Hesseltine in 1907-09-11; J. W. Leazenby in 1913; W. E. Land in 1915-17; T. A. Brown in 1919; F. J. Hesseltine in 1921; Alex Reid in 1923-25-27; Frank Sobotka in 1929-31; L. Y. Spragg in 1933.

Harrison County for many years has been a Republican county, and it has been seldom that a Democrat has been elected on the county ticket. Notwithstanding this discouragement the Democrats of the county have invariably formed an aggressive organization of the Democratic County Committee. Those who have managed this are included in the following: J. F. McDaniel, Wesley Bowman, Henry N. Burgin, W. W. Toggart, S. B. Strock, Lewis Herndon, C. M. Hurst, Lee Sarver, C. A. Hagan, C. M. Toggart, J. W. Craig, R. B. Tedlock, C. M. Reed, F. M. Spragg, H. R. Tull, M. L. Thomas, G. W. Holloway, J. A. Cruzen, O. H. Hegas, W. E. Parker, W. A. Baldwin, Joseph Newland, James Utterback, A. J. Depriest, D. H. McClain, V. B. Brandon, J. D. McDaniel, W. L. Cooper, Chris Vanhoozer, R. L. Higdon, S. M. Hillyard, Jesse Maddon, A. W. Wayman, W. K. Nelson, W. Claude Brown, J. O. Milligan, J. W. Walton, C. T. Blankenship, Robert Frame, J. E. Scott, Elmer Scott and W. O. Dotson.

In 1932 Harrison County responded to the call for a New Deal. The blight of the former administrations had been cast on the county, as it had been on other sections of the country. The county gave Franklin D. Roosevelt, for President, and Bennett Champ Clark, for United States Senator, 900 majority.

On the county ticket the following Democrats were elected: J. F. Hefnor and Robert F. Easton, judges of the county court; W. O. Dotson, county clerk; Dockery Wilson, prosecuting attorney; W. H. Webb, sheriff;

Walter Bartlett, treasurer; James P. Regan, coroner; H. Grover Depriest, highway commissioner; Lloyd Y. Spragg, member of the General Assembly.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

HENRY COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Henry County was organized December 13, 1834. It was originally called Rives County, in honor of William C. Rives of Virginia, a Democrat of national reputation and United States senator from Virginia. In 1840 Senator Rives became a Whig, and in 1841 the General Assembly changed the name to Henry, in honor of Patrick Henry. Clinton, the county seat, was laid out in 1836, and named in honor of George Clinton of New York, who was Vice President under President Madison, 1809-1813.

Samuel Landes was the first member of the General Assembly in 1842; Peyton A. Parks, in 1844; A. C. Marvin, in 1846; John W. Fitzhugh, in 1848; William Steele, in 1850; A. C. Marvin, in 1852; J. W. Williams, in 1854; Robert Allen, in 1856; DeWitt C. Stone, in 1858; Jas. S. Tutt, in 1860; L. C. Marvin in 1862; Augustus Dana in 1864; William Shafer in 1867; Wm. H. McLane in 1869; Geo. W. Squires in 1871; J. G. Dorman in 1873; Banton G. Boone in 1875; Wm. T. Thornton, Jr., in 1877; William H. Cock in 1879-87-97; George M. Shelton in 1881; Wm. L. Shankland in 1883; Frederick E. Savage in 1885; Joseph Noble in 1889; Wm. H. Davis in 1891-93; Hannibal H. Armstrong in 1895; Theodore J. Bolton in 1899; Clement C. Dickinson in 1901; Lewis P. Beaty in 1903; George H. Hackney in 1905; Mack V. Thralls in 1907; James D. Lindsay in 1909; A. L. Armstrong in 1911-13; Ross E. Feaster in 1915-17; James H. Wilson in 1919; Thos. B. Littlejohn in 1921; A. J. Van Cleave in 1923; Dr. David A. Pollard in 1925-27; Lewis B. McKean in 1929; S. T. Neill in 1931-33.

Henry County has furnished some outstanding Democrats in the history of the Party since the Civil war. Clement C. Dickinson, of Henry County, succeeded David A. DeArmond in 1908, and served nine terms in Congress until 1932, when he was elected at large with the Roosevelt-Clark ticket.

Harvey W. Salmon was elected state treasurer in 1872, on the coalition ticket with Governor Silas Woodson. Salmon was long a prominent and valuable counselor in the affairs of the Democratic Party, and was chairman of the State Committee in the hectic campaign of 1896, with William Jennings Bryan heading the ticket for President.

Peyton A. Parks was for many years a leader in the campaigns of the Party, and was a wise and valuable member of the state organization.

Among the Democrats that can be recalled who were active in the organization of the Democratic Party since the Civil war are the following: Harvey Salmon, Peyton A. Parks, Tom Lingle, Geo. H. Hackney,

Jos. F. Boyd, Jas. D. Lindsey, John J. Hinkle, E. M. Goodwin, Mann Talbott, Jas. A. McCarty, John F. Boyd, Chas. T. Wilson, Jas. B. Redford, M. R. Amick, R. H. Garrett, Ross A. Feaster, S. W. Robison, Thos. B. Parks, A. F. Nowell, M. V. Thralls, L. D. Powers, Geo. Shelton, W. W. Hughes, W. A. Stansberry, Claude Dean, F. C. Parker, T. B. R. Hackney, H. P. Morgan, R. D. Meng, John M. Smith, A. L. Duff, J. B. Redford, Thornton T. Jennings, W. R. McCown, C. G. Davis, W. T. Runner, Frank Ragland, R. H. Maddox, Thos. H. Raney, W. C. Drake, and T. B. Littlejohn.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

HICKORY COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By C. R. Hardy,* Weaubleau

When the boundary lines of Hickory County were established in 1845 it is said there were only seven Democratic families in the county. Among them were the Hickman, Boone and Brookshire families.

Although the Democrats have been numerically in the minority they have never been lacking in party spirit and loyalty. They have always adhered to the Jeffersonian principles upon which the party was founded and there are now many dependable, influential and loyal supporters of the party.

Since it is not possible to mention all who have had a part in raising the number from a very few to several hundred, mention is made of a few families now considered as pioneers, such as the Brookshire, Hickman, Robertson, Largent, Lozier, Brent, Wilson, Hargiss, Powell, Amrine, Montgomery, Wheeler, Stiltz, Selvidge, Williams, Stevens, Pruett, Knight, Hardy, Hunt, Camey and Watkins families. Some of these have held important offices in the county and all have been loyal supporters.

Hickory County is one of ten counties in the state that increased its Democratic vote 200 per cent in the 1932 election, which is evidence of increased Party strength.

There is now a well organized committee in the county with C. C. Brookshire, of Weaubleau, as its chairman, and while all members are active and alert, special mention should be given the chairman who has served for twenty years as such. Mr. Brookshire has been an untiring and outstanding worker for his party, attended all meetings of importance in the county and state, served as congressional state secretary, and vigorously fought for the Party's County and State tickets, many times at considerable personal expense.

Under present National and State leadership Democrats of Hickory County look optimistically to the future.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

HOLT COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

In 1839 the territory in the Platte Purchase north of Buchanan County was organized into the "Territory" of "Ne-at-a-wah," and attached to Buchanan County. It included the present counties of Andrew, Holt, Atchison and Nodaway. In 1841 this territory was subdivided and the county of Nodaway organized. A few weeks later the General Assembly changed the name to Holt, in honor of Honorable David Rice Holt, the representative from Platte County, who had died during the session, and who was buried at Jefferson City. Oregon, the county seat, was laid out in 1841, and at first called Finley.

The early members of the General Assembly from Holt County were Richard L. Barkhurst in 1842; Stephen Cooper in 1844; James Craig in 1846; James Foster in 1848; John W. Kelly in 1850-54; Samuel Watson in 1856; Samuel R. Young in 1858; Galin Crow in 1860; A. G. Hollister in 1862-64; Ira C. Buzick in 1867; John H. Glenn in 1869; H. K. S. Robinson in 1871-73; John Scrantz in 1875; Richard Markland in 1877; Bryant C. Cowan in 1879; James Limbird in 1881; Jonas Whitmer in 1883; Edgar J. Kellogg in 1885; Luke R. Knowles in 1887; Henry T. Alkire in 1889; W. A. Gwinn in 1891; N. F. Murray in 1893-95; Sam F. O'Fallon in 1897-99-1903-19-21; George W. Hibbard in 1901; Frank K. Allen in 1905; George W. Glick in 1907; H. B. Lawrence in 1909-11; Wm. R. Swope in 1913-15; John H. Kunkel in 1917; Lester Hodgins in 1923; Fred Lawrence in 1925-27-29; George R. Murray in 1931-33.

The Democrats of Holt County deserve great credit for keeping up an aggressive organization, and among those who have contributed to this are the following: W. E. Stubbs, Dr. J. L. Minton, David D. Stallard, Martin L. Norman, C. M. Childers, Robert Minton, Cave Hunt, R. E. Terhune, Lori Thompson, J. W. McClanahan, A. G. Young, Len Walters, H. C. Cook, Van Taylor, W. J. Randall, Thomas Hines, Alen G. Stanley, G. W. Poynter, Dr. E. M. Miller, L. P. Watson, Jess Cain, Chas. Bunker, Lem Walter, Hugh Brohan, Carlyle Randall, Robert Ruley, Geo. W. Rhoades, Charles Graves, Carl Harrison, Joseph Garrett, John Coughlin, R. W. Falks and Claud Dearthmont.

For many years there have been very few Democrats elected to office in Holt County. In 1928 the vote for United States Senator in the county was Patterson, 3,647; Hay, 2,172, a majority for Patterson of 1,475. In 1932 the vote for the same office was Bennett Champ Clark, 3,127; Henry Kiel, 2,235, a majority for Clark of 892.

L. R. Bagby, editor of the *Craig Leader*, deserves special mention for his intensive work for the Party in Holt County and Northwest Missouri.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

HOWARD COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Howard County was organized January 23, 1816, and is classed as one of the oldest counties in the state. It was named in honor of Benjamin Howard, Governor of the Territory of Louisiana, succeeding Meriwether Lewis.

Howard County has furnished a lot of Missouri history, and has been the home of many illustrious Democrats, and some illustrious Whigs, also.

John J. Lowry, Charles Canole and Joel Prewitt were the first members of the General Assembly in 1826; David R. Drake, Charles Canole and John L. Lowry in 1828; Benj. Cooper, Charles Canole and Wade M. Jackson in 1830; Thomas Reynolds, John P. Morris and Nathaniel Ford in 1832; Owen Rawlins, Charles Canole, Abiel Leonard and John Harvey in 1834; E. Q. Simmons, John P. Morris, Charles Canole and Joshua W. Redman in 1836; Thomas Jackson, Charles Canole and John P. Morris in 1838; James E. Bouldin, W. M. Jackson, David Peeler and Joshua W. Redman in 1840; Charles R. Scott, Claiborne F. Jackson and John C. Williams in 1842; Claiborne F. Jackson, Joseph Davis and Adam C. Woods in 1844; Claiborne F. Jackson in 1846; Henry W. Smith in 1848; John P. Sebree and John B. Clark in 1850; Claiborne F. Jackson and N. G. Elliot in 1852; Seaton E. Graves and Joseph Davis in 1854; S. E. Graves and Byrd Deatherage in 1856; Byrd Deatherage in 1858; Linton E. Graves in 1860; Joseph Davis in 1862; Clark H. Greene in 1864; H. Clay Cockerill in 1867; Luman A. Brown in 1869-71; John Walker in 1873; Garret W. Morehead in 1875; James W. A. Patterson in 1877; Joseph H. Finks in 1879; Samuel C. Major in 1881; Harry W. Cockerill in 1883; Stephen Cooper in 1885; Frank Dodd in 1887; John H. Estill in 1889; Charles A. Dougherty in 1891-93-97; Stonewall Pritchett in 1895; Albert L. Kirby in 1899-1901; John A. Woods in 1903-05-07; R. S. Walton in 1909-11-13-15; J. D. Tolson, Jr., in 1917-19; David Bagby, Jr., in 1921; I. T. St. Clair in 1923-25; Thomas P. Bedford in 1927-29; Tyre W. Burton in 1931-33.

Walter B. Stevens in the "Centennial History of Missouri," (Vol. I, p. 76), gives the following interesting facts about Howard County:

"Settlement of Howard County began in 1807. Three years later Cooper's Bottom was quite a little community. Benjamin Cooper and his five sons from Madison County, Kentucky, were pioneers in Howard. William Thorp, a Baptist minister, came in 1810. Out of the original Howard County were created about forty other counties. When Howard County was organized the county seat was Old Franklin, on the Missouri River. Removal to Fayette, named in honor of General Lafayette, took place in 1823. Howard was given the name of 'the mother of counties.' Colonel Switzler once described Howard at a Missouri pioneers' gathering at Huntsville:

"Take a position on the Missouri River at the mouth of the Kaw, now Kansas City, proceed north to the southern boundary line of Iowa,

in truth several miles beyond that line, into the territory of Iowa, then due east to the high ridge of ground, known as the headwaters of Cedar Creek, now forming the border line between Boone and Callaway, and descend the Cedar to its confluence with the Missouri, at Jefferson City, thence down the Missouri to the mouth of the Osage, thence up that crooked stream to a point near Schell City in Vernon County, then due west to the Kansas line, thence north along that line to the place of beginning; this was Howard County, now comprising thirty-six counties of the state—twenty-two and a part of three others south of the Missouri River and fourteen and a part of five others north of it,—an era of 22,000 square miles—larger than ancient Greece, larger than Saxony and Switzerland combined; larger than Vermont, Massachusetts, Delaware and Rhode Island united.'"

Among the prominent and distinguished citizens that have served the state and nation in high places may be named the following: David Barton, the first United States senator from the state, and the colleague of Thomas H. Benton, in 1820; George Tomkins on the supreme bench in 1824; Benjamin H. Reeves, lieutenant-governor in 1824; John Miller, governor in 1825 to 1832, and in Congress in 1837 for three terms; John Bull in Congress in 1833; William B. Napton, on the supreme bench in 1836; Thomas Reynolds, governor in 1840; William Scott on the supreme bench in 1851; Abiel Leonard, supreme bench, 1855; Claiborne F. Jackson, governor 1861; Hamilton R. Gamble, governor by appointment, 1861; John B. Clark in Congress for three terms until expelled in 1861; Alfred Morrison, state treasurer in 1851, and until the office was vacated by ordinance in 1861; R. P. Williams, state treasurer in 1900.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

HOWELL COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Howell County was organized March 2, 1857, and was named for James Howell, who settled in what was known as Howell's Valley in 1832.

The early members of the General Assembly from Howell County were: William Monks in 1864-67; Benjamin Alsup in 1869; M. S. Alsup in 1871; E. F. Hines in 1873-79-91; Nathaniel Barnett in 1875; A. H. Livingston in 1877; William Howard in 1881-83-1901; Andrew Van Wormer in 1885; C. L. White in 1887-89; V. L. Penland in 1893; George H. Smith in 1895-1911; J. N. Burroughs in 1897; Walter Jones in 1899; Oscar L. Haydon in 1903; Frank R. Cook in 1905; T. D. Raymond in 1907-09; Marion B. Peters in 1913; Joseph A. Meyers in 1915; John C. Dyott in 1917-19-21; S. J. Galloway in 1923-25-27; James C. Putnam in 1929-31; William C. McMillin in 1933.

While Howell County is usually found in the Republican column, there has always been a fighting and contesting Democracy there, led by some

men who have been prominent in the affairs of the state: Will H. Zorn, R. S. Hogan, G. H. Cobb, Ira Carter, J. C. B. Davis, V. P. Ronfro, Ed. McKelvey, Geo. C. Lee, C. D. Reynolds, E. L. Cox, H. A. Thompson, H. E. Bean, F. J. Hopkins, C. Rufus Spradlin, J. H. Foley, J. B. Hanna, Pearl Cork, S. P. Couch, T. J. Hopkins, C. H. Burchard, S. R. Hogan, Walter Farmer, Dr. E. H. Mitchell, W. N. Evans, T. J. Whitmire, N. F. McCallon, C. W. Winningham and Joel D. Johnson.

In 1920 the women of Howell County formed a complete organization to bring the women to the polls, as follows: Mrs. Adah Smith, chairman; Mrs. Clyde Walker, secretary; Mrs. E. F. Johnson, treasurer; Mrs. P. W. Lynch, Mrs. W. D. Scruggs, Mrs. J. R. Sullinger, Mrs. W. H. Huse, Mrs. John Henry, Mrs. T. A. Barker, J. H. Duffy and Mrs. Elvin Roush.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

IRON COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

The county of Iron was erected from portions of the counties of St. Francois, Madison, Washington, Dent, Reynolds and Wayne, by an act of the Legislature approved February 17, 1857. Maj. John Polk, representative of Madison County (but a resident of the proposed new county), Conrad C. Ziegler, of Ste. Genevieve, member of the State Senate, and James Lindsay, enrolling clerk of the Senate, were instrumental in securing the passage of the act. Great difficulty was experienced in securing sufficient territory without reducing other counties below their constitutional limits, hence the peculiar shape of the county. At a special election ordered to be held on the first Monday in June, 1857, J. V. Logan, John W. Miller and Moses Edwards were chosen members of the county court; John F. T. Edwards, clerk of the courts, and John Cole, sheriff. The county court held its first meeting in Arcadia, on August 4, 1857, when the county was divided into seven municipal townships, Dent, Kaolin, Iron, Pilot Knob, Arcadia, Liberty and Union, and the necessary officers appointed for each. At the same term Theodore F. Long was elected school commissioner, A. C. Farnham, treasurer, and Allen W. Hollaman, county surveyor.

The first settlers within the limits of what is now Iron County were, doubtless, in the Bellview Valley. The first person to take up his home in the Arcadia Valley was Ephraim Stout, a Tennessean, who, in 1805, built a little log-house not far from where the Arcadia Hotel now stands, and near the stream which still bears his name. He went to Illinois in 1826, having sold his land to Josiah Berryman. A short time after Stout made his settlement, Looney Sharp and his sons, Ellison and John, and James Brown, came into the valley. Looney Sharp located on the farm now occupied by Judge Russell. Ellison Sharp lived where the village of Pilot Knob now is, and James Brown on the spot now occupied by the

residence of Judge Emerson. The valley was settled very slowly up to 1838, when Col. Cyrus Russell and family came from New England and purchased a large amount of land. He was an enterprising man, and did much to develop the county. After the organization of Arcadia Academy and the opening of the iron mines at Pilot Knob there was a large influx of population.

Following were the first representatives from Iron County to the General Assembly: John Polk, 1858-60; Jeff C. Russell, 1860-62; David Carson, 1862-64; John V. Logan, 1864-66; P. H. Jaquith, 1866-68; C. R. Peck, 1870-72; Charles Van Roden, 1872-74; John F. T. Edwards, 1874-76; A. W. Holloman, 1876-78; John Berryman, 1878-82; Thomas Foley, 1882-86; W. T. Crocker, 1886; Mann Ringo in 1889-91; Joel P. Holloman in 1893; William T. Gay in 1895; George W. Farrar in 1897-99; J. C. Horn in 1901-03-05; C. H. Polk in 1907-09; J. H. Martin in 1911-13; C. P. Damron in 1915; Dr. Napoleon Farr in 1917; John H. Keith in 1919; Redmond Black in 1921-23-25-29; Edward L. Barnhouse in 1927; J. Arthur Francis in 1931; Wm. Siebert in 1933.

In 1867 James R. McCormick, of Iron County, was elected to the Fortieth Congress to succeed Thomas E. Noell, of St. Francois County, who resigned.

In 1920 the women were allowed to vote under the Woman Suffrage Amendment, and they formed an active organization, which was as follows: Mrs. Frank P. Ake, chairman; Mrs. G. W. Hansen, secretary; Mrs. J. M. Hawkins, treasurer; Mrs. R. H. Stevenson.

In the contest for Jeffersonian principles, Iron County has had many Democrats that are deserving of mention. Among them are: George Edgar, Mann Ringo, William A. Townsend, M. D. Yount, Dr. Edward L. Barnhouse, Ed. P. Ake, F. N. Marr, J. M. Hawkins, George W. Farrar, E. M. Logan, Arthur Huff, and B. S. Gregory.

Iron County has always been one of the dependable Democratic counties of the state. In 1932, the vote for United States senator was Bennett Champ Clark, 2,687; Kiel, 1,419; majority for Clark, 1,268.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

JACKSON COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By John D. Wendorff,* Kansas City

Jackson County was organized December 15, 1826. The county was named in honor of the great Democrat and the hero of the "Battle of New Orleans." Andrew Jackson was defeated in 1824 by John Quincy Adams for the presidency when the election was thrown into the House, there being no choice in the Electoral College. This had a peculiar bearing on the political affairs of Missouri, as the vote of John Scott, the one member of Congress from Missouri, was cast for Adams when the Democracy of the state was overwhelmingly for Andrew Jackson. This action caused the

elimination of John Scott for any further political preferment in the future, and caused a rift in the friendship of Scott and Senator Thomas H. Benton.

An interesting incident of the political complexion of Jackson County was afforded in the returns at the presidential election November 4, 1828, when Blue Township gave President Andrew Jackson 161 votes, and 3 for his opponent, John Quincy Adams; Fort Osage gave President Jackson 49 votes, and not one for Adams; and at the presidential election in 1932, Jackson County gave President Roosevelt 171,818 votes and Mr. Hoover 83,275; Senator Bennett Champ Clark, 174,965, and Henry Kiel, 80,744 votes, giving the Democratic candidate for president a majority of 88,543 votes, and the Democratic candidate for Senator a majority of 94,221.

Col. Daniel Morgan Boone, the third son of Daniel Boone of Kentucky, is reputed to be the first white person to visit the territory now comprising Jackson County, which was about 1787, which visit was commercial rather than political. He was a trapper and interested in the fur trade. He later settled at what later became Westport, now a part of Kansas City, where he died about 1832. From the date of its organization there have been and now are descendants of the Boone family living in Jackson County—among whom are Frank P. Sebree, J. P. Ryland—all of whom, so far as I know have always been and still are stanch Democrats and have taken an active interest in Democratic politics.

The first white settlement of any consequence or prominence was at Fort Osage in 1825, about 27 miles east of Kansas City and where the present town of Sibley is located. This town was named for George C. Sibley, at that time one of the Government agents, and many of his relatives ever since have lived and still live in Jackson County and have assisted in shaping the political history of the County.

In 1821, Francois Chouteau (a member of the famous Chouteau family of St. Louis) established the first trading post on the south bluffs of the Missouri River, opposite Randolph Bluffs, and some three miles below the present site of Kansas City, and soon thereafter built a warehouse on the present site of Kansas City, near where the Kaw River empties into the Missouri River. Thereafter, for many years the Chouteau family and their descendants played a very important part in the business and political history of Kansas City. To Francois Chouteau is often given the title of "Father of Kansas City."

The next settlement was at Blue Mills, eight or ten miles northeast of Independence, on the road to Sibley, and was known as the "Hudspeth Settlement." William Hudspeth, Wm. Franklin, Christopher Childs, Joel Childs, Richard Childs, Thomas Potts, David Bittle, Lynchburg Adams, Louis Franklin, James Morrow, John Hanbright and Michael Rice, were among the early settlers, and many of their descendants have lived and still live in Jackson County and continue an active interest in political, religious and civic affairs of Jackson County.

Settlements followed rapidly at Independence (1827), Westport (1833), Kansas City and New Santa Fe, Hickman's Mills, Stony Point,

Wayne City, Oak Grove, Pink Hill, Greenwood, Lees Summit, Raytown and Buckner.

Jackson County at first included the Counties of Cass and Bates, and was organized by act of the Legislature, approved February 16, 1825, but was left for all political and military purposes a part of Lafayette County, until the act of the Legislature, approved on December 25, 1826, gave the county a distinctive standing. David Ward, Julius Emerson, of Lafayette County, John Bartleson of Clay County, were appointed commissioners to select the county seat of the new county, and they selected Independence.

THREE EPISODES

There are three episodes in the history of Jackson County, Missouri, worthy of mention: (1) The uprising against, and the expulsion of the Mormons in 1831-3, which was a religious rather than political strife; (2) the restoration of the right to vote to many Democrats after the Civil war, who had been disfranchised by the Republican "Carpet Baggers." Such was accomplished by the Democratic Party largely through secret societies formed for the purpose of agitating and forming plans to restore the right of franchise to all who had been disfranchised by the "Drake Constitution;" (3) local dissension in the Democratic Party in 1900, which originated in the city campaign in Kansas City in 1894, and extended into the county until 1900, when the Republican party gained control of Jackson County. While this discord was purely local and factional, yet the State Central Committee attempted to adjust the differences between the factions with but little success. The leaders, however, saw the folly of their conduct and reconciled their differences and the Democratic party was again successful in the city election of 1900, when it elected that distinguished Democrat, James A. Reed, mayor. The A. P. A. agitation was beneficial to the Republican party in 1896 and 1898.

By the Act of January 27, 1827, the Legislature appointed Abraham McClelland, Richard Fristoe and Henry Burris, judges of the first County Court, and Lilburn W. Boggs (afterwards Governor of Missouri) was appointed the first clerk of the County Court.

March 29, 1827, the Commissioners reported to the County Court their selection of Independence as the county seat. This action seemed not to have been in strict compliance with authority delegated to the Commissioners, which requested the selection of a county seat within three miles of the center of the county, which at that time included all of the territory now embraced in the three counties of Jackson, Bates and Cass. However, the site was approved and the County Court made an order directing Samuel Newton, Commissioner of Justice, to have the county seat surveyed and the land laid off in lots and a plat of the town site to be prepared. The plat was finally approved in June, 1827, and at the August term of the County Court, Commissioner Newton presented the same with a very interesting bill for platting the town of Independence and advertising a sale of the lots.

The first order of the County Court was to divide the county into three townships: Fort Osage on the East, Kaw on the West, and Blue Township in the center.

At the June session the Court appointed the following Justices of the Peace: William J. Baugh, Jesse Lewis, Joel P. Walker, for Fort Osage; William Yates, Lewis Jones, James Chambers and William Silver for Blue Township; Samuel Johnson and Andrew P. Patterson, for Kaw Township.

The first session of the Circuit Court was held in Independence, March 29, 1827, by Judge David Todd, of Howard County; the first clerk of the Circuit Court was succeeded by Samuel C. Owens, who filled that position and that of ex-officio recorder until 1842.

Jackson County from its inception until the present time, save a short time immediately after the Civil war when the Democrats were disfranchised, and at short intervals when the party has been divided by factional strife, has been Democratic.

SOME DISTINGUISHED DEMOCRATS

Jackson County has furnished some distinguished Democrats for the different offices of the state.

Lilburn W. Boggs was elected Lieutenant-Governor in 1832 on the ticket with Governor Daniel Dunklin. In 1832 he succeeded Dunklin as Governor. Warwick Hough was elected supreme judge in 1874. James E. McHenry was elected register of lands in 1884. Jos. W. Mercer was elected state treasurer in 1874. Turner A. Gill was elected to the Kansas City Court of Appeals in 1888. James Cowgill was elected state treasurer in 1908. In 1918 he was elected mayor of Kansas City, and became prominent in the business life of that city. He was chairman of the state committee in 1916 when the campaign speeches of that year were made in large circus tents, and when James A. Reed was elected United States senator and Frederick D. Gardner, governor. He was largely interested in the stock business, and at one place in Western Kansas he had "cattle on a thousand hills." W. S. Cowherd made the race for governor on the democratic ticket in 1908, but was defeated by Herbert S. Hadley in the Republican landslide of that year.

Honorable Francis M. Wilson, originally of Platte County, Missouri, and later of Jackson County, was denied the honor of being governor of Missouri by his untimely death, October 12, 1932; Judge Clarence A. Burney and Judge E. M. Tipton of Jackson County were elected in 1932 to the Missouri Supreme Court.

The Crittenden family was very prominent in the political affairs of Jackson County. After Thomas T. Crittenden's term of office as governor expired, he moved to Kansas City and became influential in Jackson County political affairs. Thomas T. Crittenden, Jr., and Houston Crittenden, his sons, continued active and influential, as their father had been.

James A. Reed obtained a great reputation as a trial lawyer in the prosecution of Dr. B. Clark Hyde, who was charged with the murder of Col. Thomas H. Swope. Colonel Swope was a bachelor and one of Kan-

sas City's wealthiest citizens, being reputed to be worth three and a half million dollars. Dr. Hyde's first trial commenced April 11 and ended May 16, 1910, and resulted in a verdict of life imprisonment, but the Supreme Court of Missouri reversed and remanded the case, which is reported in 136 S. W. Rep., page 316. The record in this case consisted of more than 4,000 pages. Dr. Hyde's second trial began January 13, 1913, and ended March 17, 1913, which resulted in a hung jury, owing to the fact that after several days of deliberation one of the jurors jumped out of the window of the jury room and disappeared and was not discovered for several days, during which time the court discharged the jury. The third trial was never held.

The defense in this famous case was conducted by the firm of Walsh, Aylward and Lee, composed of three prominent Democrats, Frank P. Walsh, James P. Aylward and Ilus M. Lee. Frank P. Walsh is now a resident of New York, while James P. Aylward and Ilus M. Lee are still prominent in the legal fraternity of Kansas City.

Jackson County has sent many prominent Democrats to the National Congress, James A. Reed to the Senate, and those who were elected to the House include: Samuel H. Woodson in 1857 and reelected in 1859; John W. Reid in 1861 but was expelled for alleged disloyalty; A. Comingo in 1871 and reelected in 1873; Benjamin J. Franklin in 1875 and reelected in 1877; Samuel L. Sawyer in 1879; John C. Tarsney, elected in 1889, served until 1897, when he was succeeded by William S. Cowherd, who served until 1905; William P. Borland elected in 1909, and served until 1917; William T. Bland elected in 1919; Henry L. Jost elected in 1923; George H. Combs was elected to Congress from the Fifth District in 1926. Soon after his term in Congress expired he removed to New York.

In 1930 Joseph B. Shannon was elected to Congress, and in 1932, when the congressional delegation of thirteen was elected at large, he was again elected. Shannon has long been prominent and forceful in the Democratic Party of Jackson County. In the old days when there were "Rabbit" and "Goat" factions in the Party, Shannon was the head and dominating force of the "Rabbit" faction. He was chairman of the State Committee in 1910, when the prohibition question was voted on at the general election, and defeated by a large majority. Having always been a Jeffersonian Democrat, he has been active in late years in expounding the principles of the great Jefferson as a Democrat and statesman.

Frank P. Walsh was born at St. Louis, July 20, 1864. He was graduated from Christian Brothers College. In 1869 he located in Kansas City, when he was admitted to the bar. He became prominent as a trial lawyer and established a branch office in New York City. He defended Jesse James, Jr., son of the famous guerilla, Jesse James, who was charged with train robbery, and secured his acquittal in March, 1899. He and his son, Jerome Walsh became prominent in the legal profession of Jackson County. Mr. Walsh now resides in New York City, where he is prominent politically. Jerome Walsh continues to reside in Kansas City, where he is prominent in the practice of law.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Jackson County has had many distinguished men in the General Assembly of the state, which include the following: Lilburn W. Boggs, elected in 1826; Smallwood V. Noland in 1828-32-34-36; Robert Johnson in 1830; J. Chiles and Thomas Jeffries in 1838; Coleman C. D. Kavanaugh and John King in 1840; George W. Tate and Robert G. Smart in 1842; Joseph H. Reynolds and William Patterson in 1844; Franklin Smith in 1846-48; Benjamin F. Thomas and Jacob Gregg in 1850; Samuel H. Woodson and J. H. Reynolds in 1852; E. C. McCarty and John W. Reed in 1854-56; George W. Tate and James B. Yeager in 1858; N. C. Claiborne and James Porter in 1860; M. J. Payne and E. Milton McGee in 1862; M. J. Payne and A. J. Lloyd in 1864; J. P. Alexander and Charles Long in 1866; J. S. Boreman and Sidney S. Nealy in 1868; G. W. Gates and H. J. Latshaw in 1871; Stephen P. Twiss, James McDaniels and James K. Sheeley in 1873; A. B. Spruill, Stephen P. Twiss and A. H. Powell in 1875; Benjamin F. Wallace, Geo. N. Noland, S. P. Twiss and Henry H. Craig in 1877; William C. Adams, Nathaniel M. L. Gwynne, Stephen C. Ragan and Peter H. Tiernan in 1879; Arthur M. Allen, Harmon Bell, David P. Bigger and A. W. Randall in 1881; Henry A. Porter, S. C. Ragan, John C. Gage and W. J. Ferry in 1883; J. W. Adams, G. H. Noel, Henry Smith and N. B. Childs in 1885; George H. Noel, M. R. Brown, Henry Smith and W. H. Miller in 1887; W. L. Webb, Edward P. Garnett, James G. Smith and Thomas F. Clohesy in 1889; William L. Webb, James Patrick, Henry S. Julian and Arthur S. Lyman in 1891; John D. Strother, Jas. C. Patrick, Chas. A. Millman, Hugh C. Ward, John S. Rust and David O. Smart in 1893; John T. Crisp, Ira A. Hammond, Henry H. Hinde, Henry S. Julian, Elmer E. Phipps and Harvey W. Jones in 1895; John T. Crisp, John W. Sweaney, Charles W. Clark, Thomas M. Spofford, Harry R. Walmsley and Thos. H. Ijams in 1897; George H. Noell, Homer B. Mann, Jos. H. Hawthorne, John M. Clary, Frank Phillips and Wm. O. Cardwell in 1899; Frank L. Kennedy, Jas. A. McLane, Jos. H. Hawthorne, Edward McKenny, Marcus E. Getchell and Maurice L. Sullivan in 1901; John T. Crisp, Howard Lindsay, Michael E. Casey, Arthur Chapman, Cornelius D. Dolan in 1903; Littleton T. Dryden, James H. Richardson, C. E. Moss, Michael E. Casey, Harry R. Walmsley and Leslie J. Lyons in 1905; Numa R. Holcomb, Martin E. Ditzler, William A. Shope, Michael E. Casey, William M. Groff and Everett L. Noyes in 1907; N. R. Holcomb, W. F. Coakley, Wm. Hicks, Chas. H. Clark, Claud S. Gossett and Geo. L. Walls in 1909; Numa R. Holcomb, O. H. Swearingen, William Hicks, David F. Martin, Claud S. Gossett and John M. Kennedy in 1911; John F. Thice, O. H. Swearingen, William Hicks, E. F. Sullivan, John H. Taylor and John M. Kennedy in 1913; Thomas H. Knight, Frank C. Wilkinson, William Hicks, Eugene F. Sullivan, John H. Taylor and D. M. Keenan in 1915; J. Allen Prewitt, Frank C. Wilkerson, William Hicks, Thomas F. Shepard, John H. Taylor and D. M. Keenan in 1917-19; J. Allen Prewitt, M. O. O'Donnell, William Hicks, J. G. Joyce, John H. Taylor and Samuel E. Chaney in 1921; Thomas F. Shepard, Miles Bulger, Max Asotsky, R. W. Smith, E. G. Bush, Sarah

Lucille Turner, Clinton A. Winfrey, G. M. Wagner, Michael A. O'Donnell and Jas. S. Summer in 1923; Alfred N. Gossett, Wm. H. Lafferty, Max Asotsky, Richard Ray, William Hicks, Eli H. Wherry, H. C. Cave, Henry M. Griffith, Harry L. Ruby and Manvel H. Davis in 1925; John B. Haskell, Wm. H. Lafferty, Max Asotsky, Richard Ray, William Hicks, C. P. Lemire, Numa R. Holcomb, Jerome Walsh and Wm. J. Leahy in 1927; John B. Haskell, Wm. H. Lafferty, Max Asotsky, L. A. Knox, William Hicks, E. H. Wherry, E. C. Harrington, Geo. W. Meyer, Carl P. Werner and E. R. Moyer in 1929; John B. Haskell, Max Asotsky, Gil P. Bourk, William Hicks, E. J. Keating, T. W. Kirby, Carroll W. Berry, E. J. Damon and Jerome M. Joffee in 1931; John B. Haskell, Wm. H. Lafferty, Max Asotsky, Gil P. Bourk, William Hicks, E. J. Keating, C. D. Capelle, C. W. Berry, E. J. Damon, and F. Richard Weber in 1933.

In the State Senate the county has been represented by a number of distinguished members, including: Jesse L. Jewell from 1901 to 1903; Solon T. Gilmore from 1905 to 1907; Michael E. Casey from 1909 to 1933; Wallace Greene from 1909 to 1919; Jerome M. Joffee in 1933.

SOME PROMINENT CHARACTERS

No history of Jackson County would be complete if it did not contain an extended mention of a number of distinguished Democrats. Such a list should include James A. Reed, William S. Cowherd, John T. Crisp, Morrison Munford, John McDowell Trimble, Lilburn W. Boggs, Judge W. H. Wallace, William P. Borland, Henry L. Jost, former mayor and congressman, and George H. Combs.

James Pendergast, Thomas J. Pendergast, Joseph B. Shannon, Miles Bulger, Casimer Welch and Peter Kelly have had prominent parts as faction leaders. Some years ago these factions operated independently in many of the municipal and state elections. One faction operated and is now controlled by Thomas J. Pendergast. Then there was the Joseph B. Shannon faction, the Miles Bulger faction the Casimer Welch faction and the Peter Kelly faction. Finally there was an amalgamation of the political divisions, which brought about a formidable voting strength.

William S. Cowherd was born September 1, 1860, on his grandfather's farm near Lees Summit, Missouri, the son of a pioneer family of the West, who came to Jackson County from Virginia. Soon after his birth General Ewing issued the famous Order No. 11, sending the family scurrying to Independence and Kansas City. The farm has since been in the family's possession.

Cowherd had little education as a boy, an occasional term in the country school; but by constant reading he was able to prepare himself for the University of Missouri at the age of seventeen. He graduated from there and came to Kansas City to practice law, entering the office of Tichener, Warner and Dean.

United States Senator Warner was the Warner of this firm. Young Cowherd, though but a year past the voting age, soon proved his worth. Imbued with a spirit of independence and not lacking in the ambition of youth, the young lawyer remained but a year as an assistant to the older

advocates. In 1883 he hung out his own shingle, determined his own merits should bring his success or failure.

Like most young attorneys of that day he soon became interested in politics and in 1884 was appointed to his first public office, that of assistant prosecuting attorney, which he held four years.

In 1890 the young lawyer again entered public life, this time as associate city counselor of Kansas City. He was beginning to attract attention and two years later was selected by the party to make the race for mayor, though then but thirty-two years of age. He was elected.

After two years as mayor, Cowherd sought higher honors from his party and that his confidence was not misplaced was indicated by his election to Congress from the 5th District, then Jackson and Lafayette counties. For three terms he served in the National House of Representatives and was sent back the fourth time from Jackson county when the Legislature made that county a congressional district in itself.

In 1908 Cowherd was the Democratic candidate for governor. He made a thorough canvass of the state. He was a brilliant speaker, and a man with a splendid personality. The soul of honor, he would not stoop to detraction or subterfuge to assail anyone or betray a friend. Internecine strife caused his defeat in 1908. In 1912 his health was poor, and he lost the nomination to Elliott W. Major.

Mr. Cowherd married Miss Jessie Kitchen in 1889. Like her husband, she was a native of Jackson County. They had no children. He died June 20, 1915, and was buried at Lees Summitt, his old home.

"John T. Crisp¹ was a unique character," says the *Kansas City Star* of April 21, 1903, "and will be remembered long after men of greater achievements, but more conventional type, have been forgotten. He was a typical Missourian in many respects, being thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Bourbon Democracy. His hobby was politics and political history. His official life was limited, but such experiences as he had only served to quicken his interest in parties and party issues. Although his heart always remained with the Confederate cause, in which he won the rank of Colonel, he was more philosophical on the subject of abolition in his latter years than many of his fellow Confederates. He always maintained the extreme Southern view of the relations of the Negro and the white. His 'Jim Crow' bill, introduced in the 1903 session of Legislature, was but the expression of his deep conviction on the subject of 'niggers' as he invariably called them.

"Colonel Crisp was secretary of the Missouri Senate when the Legislature, at least that branch of it that favored secession, was driven from Jefferson City and was forced to lead a sort of fugitive existence, holding meetings here one day and there the next. After the war he served a number of terms in the Legislature, and was a member of the General Assembly from Jackson County at the time of his death, having received every vote cast in his district. He was also chairman of the Fish Commission under two administrations, and did much to promote pisciculture.

"If the natural powers and acquired ability of Colonel Crisp had been regulated by practical discernment, he might have been a man of national

reputation. He had a good education, completed at the State University. He was a fluent speaker, his voice was big and resonant. His portly physique was calculated to give additional force to his style of oratory. But his manner was flamboyant. He dearly loved to talk and he often talked instructively. He was greatly enamored of his own discourse, and he would become as eloquent in a conversational discussion as he would on the platform.

"Thomas H. Benton was Colonel Crisp's patron saint. He knew his Benton backwards. He regarded the great Missouri statesman as the greatest expansionist after Jefferson, and he became wroth when the Democracy of his state declared itself against the acquisition of the Philippines. He believed that the great trade of the future would be with Asia, and he looked hopefully on the establishment of the American sovereignty in the Philippine group.

"Colonel Crisp's great disappointment was his failure to be elected to Congress. He was chosen for the honor by his party but failed of election."

John McDowell Trimble, son of Rev. William W. and Jane McDowell Trimble, was born on a farm in Rockbridge County, Virginia, February 24, 1851, and came to Missouri in July, 1867. For a little over a year he lived on his father's farm in Monroe County, Missouri, and afterwards on a farm in Callaway County, Missouri. He entered the sophomore class in Westminster College in September, 1868, and was graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in June, 1871. He was in charge of a high school at Memphis, Missouri, the winter of 1871-72; taught country school near Concord, Callaway County, Missouri, 1872-73, and at Concord 1873-74; he read law while teaching school and in the summer on his father's farm. He entered the law office of George B. Macfarlane at Mexico and was elected prosecuting attorney of Audrain County in 1878, serving four years. There were quite a number of homicide cases pending when he became prosecuting attorney. His prosecutions were so vigorous that there was only one acquittal; three defendants were hanged and the rest sent to the penitentiary for varying terms. He would not prosecute unless he believed the defendant guilty and therefore refused to prosecute in many cases where he believed the one accused was innocent or that the charge was made through malice. There were no homicides in Audrain County for a number of years after his term as prosecuting attorney. He removed to Kansas City in December, 1886, and for some years was a member of the firm of Dobson & Trimble and later of the firm of Trimble & Bradley.

Soon after going to Kansas City, he became attorney for the interests headed by the late A. E. Stilwell. He was general counsel during the time of the building of the Suburban Belt Railway at Kansas City and the Kansas City, Pittsburgh & Gulf Railroad, both of which properties now comprise the Kansas City Southern Railway. He was also general counsel for the Stilwell interests in the building of the Kansas City, Mexico & Orient Railway, now a part of the Santa Fe.

He took an active interest in civic matters and for some years was president of the Civic Club of Kansas City which made careful investigations as to character and fitness of candidates for nomination and election to public offices in Jackson County and Kansas City. Before each primary and before each election printed information was given to the voters as to the result of the investigation of the various candidates both as to their character and their mental qualifications for office. Such a strong hold did this club have upon the people that scarcely a candidate was nominated or elected that was not approved by the Civic Club. An Act was passed by the Legislature making the report upon fitness of candidates for office a criminal offense. Mr. Trimble defied the law, made a report and recommendations as before, was arrested and tried, but acquitted, the court holding the law unconstitutional. He was the candidate for Governor of Missouri in 1896 on the Palmer and Buckner ticket, characterized as the "Gold Bug Democratic Ticket," which opposed the election of William Jennings Bryan as President on a platform for the free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1. He died at Kansas City, September 13, 1913.

MORRISON MUNFORD

Morrison Munford and his connection with the *Kansas City Times* form a part of the early history of Jackson County. He was born June 25, 1842, in Covington, Tennessee. He was educated in the LaGrange Synodical College. On leaving school he joined the Confederate Army under General Bragg in 1861. He was severely wounded at the battle of Stone River. After the Civil war he located at Nebraska, Kansas. In 1869 he moved to Kansas City.

The *Kansas City Times* was founded as a Democratic organ by R. B. Drury, the first issue appearing September 8, 1868, and it was an eight column folio. The newspaper did not prosper at first and in December, 1868, it was transferred to the *Kansas City Times Publishing Company*, composed of W. E. Dunscombe, Charles Durfee, J. D. Williams and R. B. Drury. The company was dissolved in February, 1870, and the newspaper was offered for sale, the purchasers being Charles Dougherty of Independence, John C. Moore and John N. Edwards. A new company was formed August 20, 1871, of which Amos Green was president, Thomas H. Mastin, treasurer, Dr. Morrison Munford, secretary and manager. With Dr. Munford came prosperity. He had had but little newspaper experience, but he was a forceful writer, a good judge of news and fearless in his utterances. Under Morrison Munford's management the *Times* became one of the most influential Democratic papers in the West. In his reminiscences he gives this interesting description of his forming the acquaintance of Major John H. Edwards:

"In September, 1868, I came over from Seneca, Kansas, where I had been sojourning on business, for a visit to Kansas City, the then questionable metropolis of the Missouri Valley. I stopped at the Sheridan Hotel, the first-class hostelry of the town. After supper I went by devious ways without sidewalks to the *Times* office. I was in search of Col. John C. Moore, a cousin, and the only man I knew within the city limits. I

found him in his den, the autocratic editor of the *Times*, on the second story of what is now 813 Main Street, opposite the present *Times* office. He welcomed me as one disfranchised Confederate would another in those days, and during the evening introduced me to some of his associates and visitors. Among the latter I recollect Major Wholegan, Colonel Crafton and Colonel Branch. Later on he made me acquainted with a man apparently of about my own age, who came in with some matter which he submitted, and who was mentioned to me as Major Edwards, of Shelby's command, and associate editor of the *Times*. It happened that his work was about over for the night, and an hour's conversation was the result of our introduction. That hour's talk with John Edwards that night made an indelible impression upon my mind. It was in the midst of the Seymour and Blair campaign, and politics was at fever heat. I had come down from intolerant Kansas where an ex-Confederate soldier barely had the right of existence. I wanted consolation and comfort, and I got both from John Edwards that September night in 1868. This was our first acquaintance, which was renewed from time to time, until my removal to Kansas City in May, 1869, soon after which we became room-mates, and so continued until we sought other partners for life. The memory of my bachelor days twenty years ago, with John Edwards as my chum, lingers as a sweet unction."

William H. Wallace was for many years prominent in the affairs of the Democratic Party of Jackson County. He was prosecuting attorney of Jackson County in 1883, and was the head of the prominent lawyers in the prosecution of Frank James, the trial occurring at Gallatin, in Daviess County in 1883. James was on trial for the murder of William Westfall, killed in the train robbery at Winston, Mo. The trial began on August 21 and ended September 6, 1883.

At this trial Wallace, for the prosecution, had to contend with John F. Phillips, Charles P. Johnson and Joshua W. Alexander for the defense of James. In closing for the prosecution Wallace made one of the most extensive and elaborate speeches ever made in a criminal case, and one which received much praise throughout the press of the country.

"GRAND OLD MISSOURI"

The appellation, "Grand Old Missouri," now so often used, is said to have been originated by Mr. Wallace in his apostrophe to Missouri in his published campaign speech in 1892.

"Grand, beautiful, magnificent Missouri! Where rolling prairies, fertile valleys, mighty forests, placid lakes, majestic rivers, enchant the eye and woo the heart; where flowers of every hue and clime freshen in the evening dew till the green ivy of the North and the fragrant magnolia of the South meet each other in a common home, and rebuking sectional hate, entwine their arms in tenderest love; where birds of every note and plumage wend their merry flight, from the humming bird that flutters in the honeysuckle to the eagle that builds his eyrie in the craggy cliff, while the nightingale, the bobolink and the mocking bird wake the forests with ringing melodies sweet as those that rose in paradise; where the perch,

the croppie and the bass leap in the sunbeams and the hunter's horn rouses the fleet-footed fox and the bounding deer.

"Fertile, bounteous, exhaustless Missouri! Where yellow harvests are locked in the golden sunshine rich as those that ripened in the land of Nile; where corn and cotton flourish in a common soil, and the apple and peach grow in luscious beauty side by side; where exhaustless beds of coal, lead and zinc lie sleeping in the earth and mountains of iron await the blazing forge.

"Enterprising, majestic, imperial Missouri! Where more than half a million souls have swelled our numbers during the past decade; where the lights of a genuine Christian civilization, like vestal virgins, hold their vigils unerring and undying as the silvery stars, and where under the soft and hallowed flame Progress, like the Hebrew giant, bursting the withes monopoly is ever tying about his limbs, is leaping forward in the great race for material wealth and glory with bounding strides, unsurpassed in all the sisterhood of States.

"Educated, intelligent, God-fearing Missouri! Where schoolhouses so thickly dot the hills and plains that voice meets voice of merry children romping on the lea till one vast chorus mounts the skies; where from every city, village, hamlet the graceful sands of Christian homes cluster by the rivers and on the hilltops with the open fire and the dancing flames, with the old arm-chair and the well-worn Bible—cherished scenes, where first we learned to lisp the name of father, mother, sister, brother. Sacred, tender, hallowed old Missouri soil! Beloved land of mingled joy and grief! Where all the flowers of youth have bloomed and grown and childhood's merry laughter in gleeful echoes lingers still to cheer and thrill the drooping heart. Where many a hope has perished in an hour and many a falling tear has found a grave; where our mothers first taught us to kneel in prayer, and where under the willows and by the brooks the forms of loved ones gone before us, await our coming to slumber by them till the resurrection morn. Beauteous, glorious, consecrated old Missouri soil! Let others defame thee as they will—thank heaven, in life, in death, you are good enough for me."

William H. Wallace was an unsuccessful candidate for Governor in the primary in 1908, when William S. Cowherd and David A. Ball were candidates. Cowherd was nominated.

PENDERGAST

"In writing the history of Kansas City," says the *Kansas City Journal* of November 12, 1911, "no chronicler would be either honest to himself or true to his responsibilities if he did not devote some space to James Pendergast,² for he was something more than a well-known citizen. He was an actual and active force in the municipal affairs and big-hearted humanitarian. Upon his friends and acquaintances he lavished the innate kindness of a nature big with sympathy and responsive to every worthy demand. For eighteen years he was a member of the lower house of the common council and in all that period of public service there was never a charge of dishonorable conduct. He earned and kept the respect of every-

one who came in contact with him and even his political enemies held him in personal esteem. No other man in Kansas City had so long a period of official public service to his credit and no other man had a cleaner official record.

"Early in his business career James Pendergast proved his loyalty to Kansas City. One of the chapters in his life which will probably never be written had to do with his helping many business men in time of need. Although not a man of great wealth, he always had a supply of ready cash which was at the disposal of any trustworthy man who needed it; and in all of his dealings of this character Mr. Pendergast never took a receipt or kept a written record. His faith in men was as boundless as his own love of humanity, and it is gratifying to know that it is not remembered that his faith was ever betrayed.

"Of his personal benefactions it is only known that they were never counted, for he gave of his bounty with the hand that knew no reckoning. For twenty years the poor of the West Bottoms and the North Side knew that in 'Jim' Pendergast they had a friend who would never refuse help and sympathy. He was always planning how to help somebody. He probably would never have been a political 'boss' but for the fact that it enabled him to give employment to those who needed it. During the flood of 1903 Pendergast exhibited in a striking way his ideas of philanthropy. While others gave generously of money, Pendergast not only gave to the public fund but he got a buggy, donned rubber boots and spent days and nights helping the poor families to save their household goods while his own property was being washed away through his inattention. Modesty, simplicity and rugged honesty, with a heart as big as his own big body, were the characteristics of James Pendergast."

"Alderman Pendergast" says the *Kansas City Times* of November 11, 1912, "had a code of ethics all his own. He never failed to take a political advantage of an opponent. But he regarded a political promise as binding and never broke his word. He hated an ingrate. Ingratitude in his mind was an unforgivable sin. He even took it to himself if a friend were a victim of ingratitude. While he would marshal his votes for the offender for the sake of party regularity when victory for the organization was at stake, his faith and trust did not go with his support. . . .

"The Democracy of Kansas City and Jackson County was split in two in the winter of 1898, during the county campaign of that year. It was then when Alderman Jim Pendergast annexed the title of 'boss.' He gathered around him that year some of the most powerful politicians of the party and waged uncompromisingly his bitter fight to down the faction headed by Joseph B. Shannon.

"Marcy K. Brown, who was for years a Democratic leader, was shorn of his power in that campaign, and the majority of his followers rallied round the Pendergast flag. Before that campaign Pendergast was known as 'King of the First Ward'—after that campaign he was a real 'boss.'

"The Pendergast idea of the way to play the political game was illustrated when W. T. Kemper resigned as police commissioner to become a

candidate on the Democratic ticket for mayor. It was the conscientious scruples of the business man of large affairs—not deeply versed in the politics of the day—that he should resign from the police board before becoming the candidate for the position of chief executive. Much was charged in those days about the influence of police in elections, especially in the North Side wards, where everything was one way and that way was strongly Democratic.

"Mr. Kemper would not have it said that the police department of which he was a commissioner, was used to elect him mayor. 'Now isn't that awful?' Pendergast commented when he heard. 'Now, Mr. Kemper is a fine man, but they've buncoed him. They've made him give up his gun—disarmed him out on the prairie. Now what can he do? What I want to know is, who buncoed Mr. Kemper? That's the man I'm looking for.'

"According to Mr. Pendergast's code there was no impropriety in Mr. Kemper running for mayor first and resigning his place as police commissioner after he was elected mayor."

The best way to meet Thomas J. Pendergast³ is to go to a little two-story brick building at 1908 Main Street, powerhouse of this political force and home of the Jackson County Democratic club. For three days each week he meets all comers, while his nephew, James M., son of Michael Pendergast, deceased, takes over the reins, more as a relief measure. He remains at his headquarters until about noon, when he shuts off the callers, lunches and turns his attention to his business interests, among which is the Ready-mix Concrete Co., with its allied paving and contracting concerns, of which he is the controlling factor. Political callers are barred there.

Probably no man in his sphere, with the possible exception of Vare of Philadelphia, holds such personal and singlehanded control over a political organization as Pendergast wields in this county of more than one-half million people. It is more powerful than Tammany ever was, proportionately speaking. His approval or disapproval has spelled the fate of many ambitions. Above all, Pendergast demands loyalty and likewise returns it. If he promises a thing he delivers. If he turns thumbs down that is final as far as he is concerned. His word is never questioned.

He exacts service from those who owe their jobs to him. To take advantage of or betray him is fatal to his friendship. More than one of his followers has learned that—some in expensive lessons. His memory of people and things is almost uncanny. Attentive public service never harms a political organization and Pendergast realizes that factor. His friends take pride in pointing out that he never breaks his word. He has always thrown his organization support behind bond issues for public improvements.

His hobbies are horseracing and blooded horses, of which he owns a stable. These are expensive luxuries to him. Annually he makes trips to Saratoga Springs, New York, and other eastern racing courses, and the Louisville Derby always finds him an interested spectator.

He is an interesting conversationalist and reflects a wide knowledge of things in general outside the scope of politics. Two trips abroad have added to this store of information.

Pendergast is generally thought of as wealthy. That is very questionable, although he is undoubtedly comfortably fixed financially. He is a generous provider for his family, and many friends of former days who have met with reverses are regular beneficiaries of his pocketbook. Daily he gives to those who go to his headquarters asking assistance, and not infrequently there are hurried trips to the bank to replenish empty pocket-books.

MAYORS OF KANSAS CITY

The mayors of Kansas City from 1853 to 1934, giving their politics and the time served, follows: 1932, Bryce B. Smith, Democrat; 1924-30, Albert I. Beach, Republican; 1922-24, Frank H. Cromwell, Democrat; 1922, Sam B. Strother, two months, Democrat; 1918-1922, James Cowgill, Democrat; 1916-1918, George H. Edwards, Republican; 1912-1916, Henry L. Jost, Democrat; 1910-1912, Darius A. Brown, Republican; 1908-1910, Thos. T. Crittenden, Jr., Democrat; 1906-1908, Henry M. Beardsley, Republican; 1904-1906, Jay. H. Neff, Republican; 1900-1904, Jas. A. Reed, Democrat; 1896-1900, Jas. M. Jones, Republican; 1894-1896, Webster Davis, Republican; 1892-1894, Wm. S. Cowherd, Democrat; 1890-1892, Benjamin Holmes, Democrat; 1889, Joseph J. Davenport, Independent; 1886-1888, Henry C. Kumpf, Republican; 1885, John W. Moore, Democrat; 1884, Leander J. Talbott, Democrat; 1883, James Gibson, Democrat; 1882, Thomas B. Bullene, Republican; 1881, Daniel Frink, Republican; 1880, Chas. A. Chase, Republican; 1878-1879, George M. Shelley, Democrat; 1877, J. W. L. Slavens, Republican; 1875-1876, Turner A. Gill, Democrat; 1874, S. D. Woods, Democrat; 1873, Edward L. Martin, Democrat; 1872, R. L. Hunt, Republican; 1871, Wm. Warner, Republican; 1870, E. M. McGee, Democrat; 1869, F. R. Long, Democrat; 1868, A. L. Harris, Democrat; 1867, Edwin H. Allen, Republican; 1866, A. L. Harris, Democrat; 1864-65, Patrick Shannon, Democrat; 1864, Robert T. Van Horn, resigned, Republican; 1863, Wm. Bonnefield; 1862, Milton J. Payne, Democrat; 1861, Robert T. Van Horn, Republican; 1860, G. M. B. Maughs, Democrat; 1855-1859, Milton J. Payne, Democrat; 1855, (Apr. 9 to May 4) John Johnson, resigned; 1854, Johnston Lykins, Democrat; 1853, Wm. S. Gregory, resigned February 7, 1854.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

FOOT NOTES, JACKSON COUNTY

¹ Colonel Crisp was born on the Crisp farm near Lone Jack. At a county election he received the unanimous vote for representative of the Lone Jack precinct and the incident seemed to have afforded him one of the greatest happinesses of his life. He told it from the stump and it did him more good than his election.

Colonel Crisp fought in the Confederate Army throughout the war and twice held office. He ran for Congress on two occasions but was defeated each time. Colonel R. T. Van Horn was his successful opponent when Colonel Crisp ran on the Democratic ticket. Afterwards Colonel Crisp ran independently, being indorsed by the Republicans, and again was defeated.

By profession he was a lawyer, but never followed the practice of law. At one time he was part owner of the *St. Louis Times*.

For years Colonel Crisp worked quietly for the Younger boys. Another politician will lay claim to securing their pardon, now his way is undisputed, but Cole Younger has told that during all the days of their incarceration he received but one remittance, and that was \$50 which was sent to him and his brother by Colonel Crisp.

John T. Crisp's last public work was his effort to have the negroes separated from the whites on railroad trains, an effort that failed, as did almost everything else the remarkable man undertook. His immediate ambition was to go to Europe to visit and study Waterloo and other famous battle fields with a view to ascending the lecture platform.

² "James Pendergast, first ward councilman and one of the most prominent figures in Kansas City politics, was born in Gallipolis, Ohio, in 1856. His residence in Missouri dates from the two years after that event, when the family moved to St. Joseph, and his record as a Kansas Cityan from the early '70s, when he began life for himself as an employe of the Keystone Iron Works in the West bottoms. The location of the foundry is now the first ward and Mr. Pendergast has lived there ever since.

"It was Mr. Pendergast's work as a 'cupola' man that developed his splendid physique, which was called into play when his political career began, for the first ward was pretty rough in those days, and he is credited with having literally fought his way to the front.

"Mr. Pendergast left the foundry and embarked in the saloon business about 1880. He was married about the same time to Mrs. Dorr, a widow. A year later he opened the place of business at Main and Fifth streets and began to take an active interest in politics. His election to the city council in 1892 was followed by his reelection four times, but his influence in city politics broadened wonderfully since that time.

"Mr. Pendergast's personal bravery and ability were not the only marked characteristics; he was temperate, straightforward and saving. The competence he enjoys was built up by hard work. He has always been a Democrat."—*Kansas City World*, November 16, 1901.

Mr. Pendergast was alderman of the first ward, early nucleus of the Democratic strength in Kansas City from 1892 to 1910. He resigned from the council in that year to be succeeded as alderman from the first ward by his brother, T. J. Pendergast, now the boss of Kansas City Democracy. Jim Pendergast died November 10, 1911. The tribute at his passing was that he was "A man who never broke his word."

³ Thomas J. Pendergast, unchallenged boss of the Democratic Party in Kansas City and Jackson County, was born in St. Joseph, Missouri, about 1874; has lived in Kansas City forty-three years. He attended St. Mary's college in Kansas where he took an active part in athletics and turned down a contract to play professional baseball. He is devout in his attendance at Visitation Catholic church, and except on rare occasions, it is said, has not touched a drop of liquor. Because of his vigor he appears years younger than he is.

His political career as a boss started when he took over the reins of the "Goat" faction following the death of his brother James in 1911. Like his brother he served as alderman of the First Ward. He once was marshal of Jackson County and was superintendent of streets in the administration of Mayor James A. Reed, whom he has supported in his every ambition since.

In politics Pendergast is a hard fighter who asks no quarter and gives none. His political schooling started at the river front where a pair of fists were frequently more persuasive than words. On the other hand he can be gentle and diplomatic. To him a friend is a friend through thick and thin, adversity and success. His home is his sanctuary, his wife and three children are his idols. They come first and his loyalty to them is above all else. It is a safe bet that Pendergast can be found at home six nights a week. It would take unusual nerve of a close friend to call him on the telephone after nine o'clock, for that is his usual bed time.

Pendergast was married January 25, 1911, to Miss Carrie Snyder of Belleville, Ill. They have three children, Mrs. Wm. E. Burnett, Jr., Thomas, Jr., and Marceline. Pendergast's chief diversion at home is a drive two or three times a week into the country around Kansas City.

JASPER COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Jasper County was organized January 29, 1841. The county was named for Sergeant Jasper, a noted soldier of the Revolution. He planted the flag of the Revolution on Fort Moultrie amidst the fire of the British fleet. He was killed in the assault on Savannah in 1779.

The first member of the General Assembly was Samuel Melugan in 1842; John R. Chinault in 1844; J. M. Richardson in 1846; Samuel Melugan in 1848; Samuel B. LaForce in 1850; Thomas Mansfield in 1852; James Cravens in 1854; and in 1856-58, when Benton County was associated with Jasper, William N. Warren and David Norris; J. B. Dale in 1860; R. T. Cartwell in 1862; James McFarland in 1864; E. M. Burch in 1867; J. Morris Young in 1869; W. F. Cloud in 1871; James M. Craven in 1873; William H. Phelps in 1875; Robert A. Cameron in 1877; William J. Pollard in 1879; D. A. Preston in 1881; J. N. Schooler and J. F. Martin in 1883; S. H. Claycomb and R. C. Randall in 1885; C. M. Etter and David Hopkins in 1887; John H. Flannigan and Joseph Fountain in 1889; John M. Weeks and H. B. Fraser in 1891; Robert T. Stickney and H. L. Isherwood in 1893; Robert T. Stickney and William J. Sailor in 1895; Marshall J. Jenkins and J. A. Daugherty in 1897; Marshall J. Jenkins and Alfred G. Carter in 1899; Thomas Hackney and Daniel O. Witmer in 1901; William R. Logan, Charles E. Elliott and Richard N. Graham in 1903; A. Clay Stemmons, Charles E. Elliott and James Roach in 1905; A. Clay Stemmons, Sam F. Clark and James Roach in 1907; Uriah Smith, Robert T. Abernathy and James Roach in 1909; Wm. H. Phelps, Thos. J. Roney and Charles W. Fear in 1911; Wm. H. Phelps, Thos. J. Roney and John J. Wolfe in 1913; H. L. Shannon, Thos. J. Roney and George C. Bond in 1915; Walter E. Bailey, W. R. Shuck and Frank H. Lee in 1917; Walter E. Bailey, Guy H. Waring and Byron H. Coon in 1919; Walter E. Bailey, E. C. Baugher and A. J. P. Barnes in 1921; H. A. Wolcott, Thos. J. Roney and G. E. Ward in 1923; Emma R. Knell, Thos. J. Roney and Charles Warden in 1925; Emma R. Knell, Thos. J. Roney and John T. Evans in 1927; John William Griggs, Arch M. Baird and C. E. Hastings in 1929; Emma R. Knell, Thos. J. Roney and Stanley P. Clay in 1931; A. L. McCawley, A. G. Young and Roscoe Claycomb in 1933.

Politically there has always been room for contention in Jasper County, and frequently the county tickets have been divided between the two dominant parties. No county in the state has ever been more thoroughly and consistently organized than Jasper. There have been some distinguished Democrats and Party workers in this county; among them:

Perl Decker, who was elected to Congress in 1912, 1914 and 1916. He became one of the outstanding orators in that body and a distinguished campaign speaker in the state campaigns.

Stephen H. Claycomb was elected lieutenant-governor on the ticket with Governor David R. Francis in 1888. Claycomb was a highly intellectual man, and his duties as presiding officer of the State Senate were of an exceptional character. He died January 6, 1930.

Cornelius Roach, twice secretary of state, from 1908 to 1916, previously was secretary of the State Senate from 1903 to 1907, and recognized as having a remarkable knowledge of legislative proceedings. For many years he was editor of the *Carthage Democrat*, which is now operated by his brother, E. B. Roach.

William H. Phelps, long was an attorney for the railroads, and afterwards a member of the State Senate. Politically, he was a power in the political affairs of the Democratic Party, and a great advocate of his home county and Southwest Missouri.

J. F. Osborne, mayor of Joplin at one time, and head of the Jasper County Democratic organization.

Arthur Rozelle, long the editor of the *Webb City Register*.

Bernard Finn of Sarcoxie, a Democrat, and one of the state's most famous poets.

Gib Barbee, at one time a capitalist of Jasper County, and always a fighting Democrat.

J. A. Daugherty of Webb City, who succeeded Charles H. Morgan in Congress from the Fifteenth District in 1910. In 1908 Morgan was elected from this district as a tariff Republican.

Judge Hugh Dabb stood high in the Democratic Party, and was a distinguished jurist.

Others deserving mention include the following: Hiram Phelps, Grover James, Clark Craycroft, T. J. Roney, Samuel McReynolds, W. T. Montgomery, Adolph McGee, T. C. Tadlock, Bert Johnson, J. F. Osborne, C. E. Baker, Frank Morrow, Charles H. Phelps, Walter Ragland, J. R. Gibbs, Benjamin F. Massey, S. W. Bates, Frank Furlow, N. H. Kelso, Dan F. Dugan, E. F. Cameron, C. L. Wilson, C. W. Bowman, Scott Arbuckle, Robert Shepherd, Geo. R. Clay, J. P. Leggett, E. E. Hubbard, J. W. Jamison, Allen McReynolds, J. W. Halliburton, A. L. McCawley, A. Benson Clark, and Robert F. Stewart.

The Democratic County Committee has been aided greatly by the organization of the women. Some of the most prominent who have been active in Party work are the following: Emily Newell Blair, member of the National Committee from Missouri in 1924; Mrs. J. A. Daugherty, Miss Marie E. Lambert, Miss S. F. Halliburton, Mrs. Martha Taaffe, Mrs. Bernard Finn, Mrs. H. A. Wolcott, Mrs. John Todd, Mrs. Olga Elliott, Mrs. H. L. Isherwood, Mrs. W. C. Porter, Mrs. M. S. Parsons, and Mrs. R. A. Thornton.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

JEFFERSON COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. W. McMullin,* Hillsboro

The Democratic party in Jefferson County had undisputed sway from admission of Missouri into stateship in the United States of America, as it was almost wholly an agricultural county, with none of its present centers of population and industries, no railroads or improved roads, until after the Civil war, under the tyrannical provisions of the Drake Constitution. Many Democrats were disfranchised, as they had been in sympathy with the Southern Cause.

In the year 1866 the Democrats took the name Conservative and the Republicans were known as the Radical-Union. In that election eight Radical-Union and six Conservatives were elected. So that was the first taste of success. In 1868 the Conservatives carried the county for the whole ticket by over 400. Abner Green, a lawyer of Hillsboro, was the then Chairman of the Democratic County Committee.

The first paper in this county was started at Hillsboro in 1865, and a few years later became a Democratic organ. By that time the Iron Mountain Railroad had been built to DeSoto, and that town got its start. In 1870 the Democratic ticket was elected, but the majorities ranged from 40 for W. R. Donnell to 800 for John L. Thomas, for representative. Abner Green was Chairman of the County Committee. In 1872 the whole ticket was elected, and F. L. Kennett was elected representative. In 1874 the whole ticket was again elected by 700. E. F. Frost was elected representative, and Richard Watson McMullin was chairman of the county committee. In 1876 the first primary election was held, and the Democratic ticket was elected by from 600 to 1,000. Sam Byrns was elected representative. R. W. McMullin was again chairman of the county committee. In 1878 J. F. Green, son of Abner Green, was chairman of the Democratic County Committee, and two Republicans got in. The other Democrats won by 800 to 1,400, and James W. Waggoner was elected representative.

In 1880 the Democratic ticket went in by majorities of 300 to 600. Jas. J. Williams was elected representative and J. F. Green was chairman. In 1882 the whole ticket was elected, and Sam Byrns was chairman, and John J. O'Fallon was elected representative. In 1884 all but one Democrat was elected, and Reed McCormack was elected representative. R. W. McMullin was chairman.

In 1886 C. Mareden was chairman. At the railroad shops at DeSoto the employes had organized under name of Knights of Labor, and went out on a strike early in the year. Henry Hurtgen was sheriff and went to DeSoto to guard the shops, and in the subsequent trouble several hotheads were arrested and placed in jail in Hillsboro. Over this trouble a number of Democrats joined the Republicans and put out a fusion ticket with Joseph J. Williams for circuit judge. This resulted in the election of that ticket. The Democratic state ticket went over as high as 587.

In 1888 the Democrats elected all the officers but one county judge. John N. Conn, Jr., was elected representative. J. F. Green was county

chairman. All Democrats were elected. In 1892 it was the same, and John T. Burgess was elected representative.

LOST THEIR HEADS

In 1894 the Republicans carried the county by 700. In 1896 the ticket was nominated by primary election and Henry Lederer was chairman. The Democrats with one exception were elected by small majorities. Dr. Charles Williams was elected representative. In 1898 R. A. Frazier was chairman, and the Democrats won. In 1900 J. F. Mitchim was chairman; the Democrats lost the prosecuting attorney and county judge. H. H. Weaver was elected representative. In 1902 Sam Byrns was chairman, H. H. Weaver was reelected representative, and the Republicans got four county offices.

In 1904 all the Democrats got was one county judge. W. H. Waggoner was chairman. In 1906 W. H. Hull was chairman. Dr. W. E. Gibson was elected representative, and the Democrats also elected the prosecuting attorney, sheriff and coroner. In 1908 W. R. Donnell, Jr., was chairman, and Democrats elected only the coroner. In 1910 with the same organization, Dr. W. W. Hull was elected representative, and Democrats elected two county judges and probate judge. In 1912 G. H. Hamd was chairman, and the Democrats elected Dr. J. Scott Wolff representative. From 1914 to 1932 the elections went about the same with indifferent success, but in 1932 a new spirit seemed to encourage the Democrats. John J. A. Hilgert was chairman of the committee. Mrs. Monte Craft, vice-chairman; Emma Stone, secretary, and Charles Porter, treasurer. A sense of success was felt by all. The Democratic Committee was active in organizing the county, and at the primary election the Democrats cast 5,150 votes and the Republicans 2,600. This was a promise of the way the election would go all over the United States at the general election. This promise was fulfilled. Dr. J. J. Christy was elected representative; Sam McKay, prosecuting attorney; T. E. Lanham, sheriff; George Moore, assessor; Frank D. Shieble, treasurer; Willard Marbery, surveyor, and Dr. Reich, coroner.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

HISTORY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN JOHNSON COUNTY

By Ewing Cockrell,* Warrensburg

The writer does not know enough of politics to give this history at all well. All he can do is to give some data, known to many.

The regrowth of the Democratic party after the Civil war began at a time when, under Republican state laws, my father, an ex-Confederate soldier (among others) could not lawfully practice law and all court pleadings of his firm, (Crittenden and Cockrell) had to be signed by his part-

ner alone, a former Union soldier. Such laws were soon the undoing of those who made them, and the county, with the rest of the State became normally Democratic. The majority varied usually around about 500.

In the depression of 1894 during Cleveland's term, some Republicans were elected on the county ticket; also many in 1920, a few in 1924 and nearly all in 1928. For a few of these years, the Klan became a factor in a limited way, in politics, besides arousing much bitterness.

The campaign of 1896 was probably the most intense since the Civil war. Bryan brought out voters that apparently had hardly ever been to the polls.

The campaign of 1928 was the most disastrous. Many of our party workers followed the old custom of urging uncertain Democratic voters to "vote straight for fear of losing their votes." And they did—the Republican ticket.

In 1904, a big, more or less independent and dissatisfied vote came out for Folk, who carried the county heavily.

Party workers and leaders were from all groups—farmers, merchants, lawyers, doctors, editors and others. Much fine and unselfish work has been done, little realized by those who look down on "politics," and is being done by these men and women. Some become candidates for office. Many never seek office, and never intend to. Of the "official" party leaders, Dr. James I. Anderson, long a leading physician of the county, has served a conspicuous number of terms as county chairman, often at the request of the candidates, in their desire to be elected. He is one of those who has never sought office. The workers and leaders are so many and good that the writer cannot attempt to name them.

Immediately after the Civil war there was a distinct immigration of people from northern states into the county. With this immigration of native born people, were also two groups of Germans, one Lutheran and Republican, and one Catholic and Democratic, both of high class citizens. Among the newcomers were a number of ex-Union soldiers and strong Democrats. All these helped to give a broad and good basis for the voting population and to discourage sectionalism and prejudice. Nearly all sincerely wanted good government and good candidates.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

KNOX COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By Ivan Davis,* Knox City

The first settlement in Knox County was not made for some time after Missouri's admission into the Union in 1821, although the territory had been visited for many years before by fur traders and explorers. The date of the first settlement is questionable. Stephens Cooper, who settled near the northern limits of the present county, and built a cabin a mile and one-half northeast of Millport, and James Fresh, who en-

tered the first land in the county in October, 1833, a mile west of the present town of Newark, were the first settlers.

The territory from which Knox County was made was first a part of Marion County, but later became attached to Scotland County, where it remained until it was fully organized as a county in 1845. The first step towards organizing the territory as a county of the State was taken at the Twelfth General Assembly which convened in November, 1842. This act was approved January 6, 1843, and called for all of Scotland County south of the township line dividing townships sixty-three and sixty-four to be established as a distinct county, known as Knox. This territory was to remain a part of Scotland County until it could become fully organized, which was accomplished in 1845, with Edina as the county seat. Edina had been a town since 1839 in which year it had been laid out by William J. Smallwood. Knox County was named after General Henry Knox, the Boston bookseller, who was Washington's chief of artillery during the Revolutionary war, and was the first secretary of war of the United States.

The county was settled rapidly and, like most of the other counties of the State, by southerners, chiefly from Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and Maryland. These settlers, as might be expected, were largely Democratic in politics, and since there was much political rivalry during the three decades preceding the Civil war, it is only natural to expect politics to be paramount in the minds of the early settlers. These early settlers brought with them the true Jeffersonian Democracy from the Old South, which, despite many adverse campaigns, is still deeply instilled in the citizens of the county. The Democratic party in the county enjoyed a comfortable majority in most elections up to the Civil war. It encountered no serious opposition except from the Whigs, which party enjoyed its greatest popularity during the "forties" and early "fifties." While Democratic supremacy was not seriously threatened in the county until the Civil war, Knox County, because of her geographical location, was confronted with northern immigration more extensively than her sister counties farther south. This northern immigration was from Illinois and Ohio in particular, and, of course, in most instances was not Democratic in politics. However, that the county remained Democratic can be attributed in a large measure to such zealous Party leaders as Colleen M. Campbell, Joseph Fetters, and Warren Pratt.

The campaign of 1860 was one of the most exciting in the county's history, as well as throughout the nation. A split in the Democratic forces caused their defeat in many places, but Douglas, the regular Democratic candidate, carried the county, and the combined vote of the two Democratic candidates was much larger than that polled by their two opponents. Lincoln received but 161 votes. Incidentally these were the first Republican votes cast in the county, and politicians at the time were surprised at the number being that large. Little did they suspect that this was the party that was to have undisputed control of affairs for the next ten years, and become their most consistent political enemy even to the present day. It was during this decade following the beginning of

the Civil war that the Democratic Party suffered the severest blow in its history. This was exemplified in Knox County as well as elsewhere. Soon after the war started the county was completely under control of northern forces, and politics was unjustly applied to issues of the war. While it is true that there were many Democrats in the northern armies, a larger number joined the Confederate ranks, and of course could not vote. For a number of years following the close of the Civil war the Democratic Party was in the minority in Knox County, due to the adoption of the Drake Constitution, Iron Clad Oath, Registry Acts, and the Ousting Ordinance which disfranchised many voters.

By 1872 the Party had sufficiently recovered from the blows of reconstruction to gain a comfortable majority which it continued to hold in subsequent years, and did not fail to elect a majority of its candidates at each election until 1920. The success during the early years of this Democratic regime may be credited to such ardent county leaders as L. F. Cottey, George R. Balthrope and D. A. Rouner. Prominent party leaders during the closing years of the nineteenth century were P. K. Gibbons, John R. Gibbons, John F. Beal, C. D. Stewart and J. V. McKim.

MIGRATION HURT

The migration of Democrats to Oklahoma, Texas, Colorado and other western states during the first decade of the twentieth century decreased Democratic majorities in the county which was especially noticeable since their places were taken by immigrants from northern states, largely Republican in politics. The German immigrants were a large percentage Republican while the Irish settlers were decidedly Democratic. The Democratic majority in the county from 1872 to 1900 would average more than six hundred. The Party strength during this period gained sufficiently to compensate for the migration of Republicans into the county, although by 1910 this majority was reduced perhaps 100 votes. Party leaders during the early part of the present century were Emmett Bradshaw, Fred Knapp, R. J. Raleigh and F. E. Robinson.

The Progressive ticket in the campaign of 1912 had little effect upon the party strength since Wilson polled more votes than Roosevelt and Taft combined. The Democratic Party found a new champion of Democracy in Woodrow Wilson, probably not equaled since Jackson. After 1917 all forces were united in an effort to win the late war, but with peace concluded two years before the election of 1920, the "drifting" vote was ready for a change in administration. This was an unfortunate year for the Democratic forces in the county, state and nation. It was one of those years when voting "goes wild," and many Democratic candidates were defeated in the county. Party leaders at this time were R. W. Haselwood, W. E. Cottey, W. A. Hendren and C. M. Smith.

Democratic majorities were further reduced by an influx of Iowa and Illinois farmers that came to the county during the land boom of 1919 and 1920. The Democrats regained some of their former strength by the election of 1924, and when John W. Davis carried the county over Cool-

idge by two hundred votes, most of the county officials were elected. However, another unfortunate campaign was encountered in 1928 when Smith lost the county to Hoover, and many county candidates were defeated. A reaction followed which was realized through most of the Nation in the victorious campaign of 1932, and resulted in a victory never before achieved by any political party. The Party strength was so momentous that all county candidates were swept into office, many by more than one thousand majority. Bennett Champ Clark, son of the late Champ Clark, elected United States senator, heading the ticket with a majority of more than sixteen hundred votes over his opponent. This was not a true figure of the Party strength, but may be used as a contrast for the disastrous campaigns of 1920 and 1928. Under normal conditions, the county may be said to be safely Democratic, and a conservative estimate would be a majority of 400.

Knox County has a population of 9,658 and may be classified as distinctly rural. Edina, the county seat, has a population of some fifteen hundred. Smaller incorporated towns are Knox City, Hurdland, Baring, Novelty and Newark. All voting precincts are Democratic with the exception of Knox City and Locust Hill, both of which may be expected to give majorities to Democratic opponents. Since the birth of political parties in our country, the Democratic Party has been a champion of the people outliving all other political parties, standing for social equality and upholding the principles of popular government, both of which appeal to citizens of a democracy.

Present-day party leaders are J. L. Welch, James C. Dorian, Dennis Taylor and W. E. Stewart. The present tendency is towards an increase in Democratic majorities, and in normal times the county can be counted on as being true to its heritage, and being safely within the Democratic fold on election days.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

LACLEDE COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Laclede County was organized February 24, 1849. The county was named for Pierre Laclede Liguist, called Laclede, who was the founder of St. Louis. The county seat was named for Lebanon, Tennessee. It was made famous by being the home of Richard Parks Bland, whose fight for the remonetization of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1, is one of the imperishable campaigns in the political history of the nation. It was also the home of John W. Farris, who served the state in many important capacities, and Thomas L. Rubey, many years a member of Congress.

The first members of the General Assembly from Laclede County were John S. Shields in 1852; Rufus Phillips in 1854; Alfred S. Cherry in 1856; John S. Shields in 1858; Joseph L. Moore in 1860; William Jones

in 1862-64; John S. Shields in 1867; Thomas Hodge Jones in 1869; Oscar Von Kochtilzky in 1871; James Titterington in 1873; James H. McDonald in 1875-77; Daniel Beckner in 1879; Ephraim W. Davis in 1881; B. C. Jarrell in 1883; J. T. Moore in 1885-87-89-93; Thos. L. Rubey in 1891; A. H. Fuson in 1895; John W. Farris in 1897; Charles W. Rubey in 1899; Rufus S. Phillips in 1901; T. A. Vernon in 1903; L. C. Detweiler in 1905; Wm. H. Butts in 1907; J. W. Cole in 1909; D. O. Vernon in 1911; David F. Adams in 1913; Marion D. Allen in 1915-17; I. P. Langley in 1919; S. P. Payne in 1921; Phil M. Donnelly in 1923; Russell Mumford in 1925-27; L. Gus Smith in 1929-31; Wm. H. Butts in 1933.

Politically the tendency of the county judged by a number of elections is Republican, but in many instances the Democrats have secured a part of the county offices. Among those who can be named in securing these results are: Samuel E. Johnson, William H. Percy, F. X. Quinn, John W. Farris, O. L. Weissgerber, Walter Thraillkill, D. D. Cole, J. H. Harrill, G. L. Moffatt, Phil M. Donnelly, W. D. Adkins, W. W. Lambeth, John S. Shields, W. H. Shank, Walter Chandler, Ed. Cook, W. A. Lucas, C. A. Thomas, H. G. Hamilton, Harry S. Brown, George H. Stith, J. E. Russell, H. W. Clark, Ralph McCluer, J. M. Pease, W. E. Rowden, A. E. Oliver, Sam C. Allen, C. D. Edwards, Owen Vernon and Jess Easley.

In 1920 when the women were given the right to vote they responded in Laclede County with a strong organization, as follows: Mrs. J. W. Farris, chairman; Mrs. P. M. Donnelly, secretary; Mrs. John McKinney, treasurer; Mrs. Walter Thraillkill, Mrs. B. B. Cole, Mrs. S. B. Hough, Mrs. Mary Cook, Mrs. W. C. Dougan, Mrs. Josephine Davis, Mrs. J. A. Shadel, Mrs. Bailey Adkins, and Mrs. Jewel Gourley.

* EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN LAFAYETTE COUNTY

By Stephen N. Wilson^a and Henry C. Chiles^b, Lexington

On July fourth, 1876, William H. Chiles, a distinguished democratic lawyer of Lexington, in several campaigns chairman of the Democratic County Committee and who was always active for the party, delivered at the courthouse in Lexington, an historical address upon the occasion of the national celebration of the Centennial of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. This address has been often republished and is known as "Chiles' Centennial History of Lafayette County." It was the first effort to record local history and has been the basis of all histories of the county since, as is evidenced by quotation and reference.

In the year 1910, "Young's History of Lafayette County," edited by Judge William Young, was published in two volumes, with many illustrations. Judge Young was a Confederate soldier and after the war became one of the leading citizens, lawyers, editors and aggressive democrats of the county. "Young's History" is an accurate work and contains

in great detail the annals of Lafayette County as well as biographies of many of the outstanding citizens of the county.

The authors of this chapter have drawn freely from the historical sources just mentioned, as well as from the "County History" published in 1881, in their work of preparing this, the first historical account of their county written from a purely political standpoint.

The settlement of this part of Missouri antedates the admission of Missouri Territory to the Union, for in the year 1815 the first settlers came to what is now Lafayette County. The first name of this county was Lillard and it then extended as far south as the Osage River and as far west as the Kansas line. It had been named in honor of James Lillard, a democrat from Tennessee, who was the first representative of the county in the General Assembly. The name of the county was changed from Lillard to Lafayette at the time of the visit of General Lafayette to Missouri in April, 1825, in honor of that great hero of the Revolution, who was one of the great democrats of all time.

It is said that at the time the name of the county was changed there were only thirteen whigs in it. If this tradition is a fact the democratic majority must have been in the neighborhood of three hundred, for the poll tax records of the county show there were three hundred and fifteen white males therein in 1828. The first newspaper published in the county, and one of the first in Western Missouri, was the *Lexington Express*, a whig journal, the publication of which commenced April 4, 1840. The powerful assistance of this organ coupled with the fact that the county had been heavily settled with Kentuckians, who were naturally sympathetic with their fellow Kentuckian, the great whig, Henry Clay, probably accounts for the fact that William Henry Harrison carried the county by seventy-five in 1840. Henry Clay carried it in 1844 by 480.

The democrats did not have a party organ in the county until 1845, when publication of the *Telegraph* was begun. This paper was not a great success, for it changed hands within six months and the following year its name was changed to the *Lexington Appeal*, and publication ceased in 1850. The local democratic champion and party war-horse was Col. James B. Young, a native of Tennessee, who had come to this county in 1833. Colonel Young was elected Lieutenant-Governor of Missouri on the democratic ticket in 1844. He was the financial backer of the Democratic *Journal* which was founded by Harrison B. Branch at Lexington in 1848 and continued publication until sometime in 1855, its name having been changed in 1850 to the *Western Chronicle*. Mr. Branch was a strong supporter of Sen. Thomas H. Benton, but in 1860 he appeared as a presidential elector on the Lincoln ticket.

ANECDOTE OF THE '40S

Mention of Senator Benton brings to mind an anecdote of the early '40s. The story goes that a stranger in Lafayette County began a political discussion with a local and home-spun democrat by enquiring whom he favored for President. We complete the anecdote by giving the conversation as quoted:

Answer: "Why, I go dead for Democracy."

Question: "Well, which one of the Democracy?"

Answer: "There ain't but one Democracy and that's Benton; he's old Democracy; the rest are humbugs. I tell you, stranger, there ain't but one Democracy and that's the old gold-bug from Missouri; he sings the tune we all understand."

The writers of this chapter are unable to state who carried the county in the presidential election of 1848. "Young's History" (page 76), says that Lewis Cass, democrat, was the people's choice by a majority of 500. The history of 1881 (page 271), quotes Charles Patterson, the founder of the *Lexington Express*, as stating, in the *Waverly Visitor* in 1861, that Taylor and Fillmore, whigs, carried the county by a majority of 500. The writers have not been able to find any record which would settle this disputed point. It is of interest to mention that in the times now discussed, in Missouri the state and county officers were balloted upon in general elections held in August; presidential elections occurred, of course, in November. In 1852, Gen. Winfield Scott, whig, carried the county. In 1856 the county registered its preference for Millard Fillmore, American Party (Know-Nothing). The results of the four-cornered battle of 1860 immediately preceding the Civil war, are most interesting. In that day voting was *viva voce* and not by ballot. John Bell, whig, carried the county and received 1,577 votes. Two democrats were in the field, Douglas receiving 744 and Breckenridge 371. Abraham Lincoln, republican, received 24 votes; of these thirteen were cast by Lexingtonians. The *Express* (whig) denounced these citizens as "abolition negro-thieves" and within two weeks, eleven of them had left the community for safer habitats.

Reference to the election of 1860 brings to mind the name of a distinguished democrat of Lafayette County, Maj. Stephen T. Neill, a native of Virginia, who settled in this county in the year 1837. He was the maternal grandfather of Stephen N. Wilson, a co-author of this chapter, who bears his name. Major Neill was named by the democrats for the office of state treasurer in 1860 and died very suddenly a month before the election. We quote only one sentence from an obituary written by Gen. R. C. Vaughan: "Few men have enjoyed a more enviable reputation for stern and incorruptible integrity; indeed, his straightforward and undeviating course had won for him the nickname (the proudest title which any could bear), of 'Old Honesty'."

In 1864, Gen. George B. McClellan, democrat, received 396 votes to Lincoln's 346, and from that time down to the cataclysm of 1920 the county remained continuously in the democratic column, registering its preference for the democratic national ticket with regularity every four years from 1864 up to and including the race in 1916 between President Woodrow Wilson and Judge Charles Evans Hughes; result, Wilson 4,073, Hughes 4,049. The campaign of 1916 stands in the annals of Lafayette as the hardest fought contest in all its history.

The pendulum swung violently away from democracy in 1920, 1924 and 1928, when the county gave its majority successively to Harding,

Coolidge and Hoover. In 1932, however, stalwart democrats and repentant Hoovercrats fighting side by side under the democratic banner, reinforced by erstwhile republicans, casualties of the economic wars, rolled up a huge majority in old Lafayette for Roosevelt and Garner, 7,920 to 5,673. These figures exceed, by far, those of 1872 when the county gave Greeley 2,984 to Grant's 1,523. In 1865, the county registered 816 against the "Drake Constitution" to 295 for it; while in 1875, the vote for the Constitution then submitted was 1,778 to 287 against it.

NEWSPAPERS

The Lexington *Intelligencer* was established in April, 1871, has been ever since and is now a leading organ of democracy in the county; all of its many editors from the time of its founding to the present have been strong democrats and able writers. In addition to the *Intelligencer*, the party is fortunate in having in Lafayette County the able support of the following splendid democratic organs, viz.: The *Odessa Democrat*, The *Odessa Ledger*, and The *Higginsville Jeffersonian*.

The *Intelligencer* is editor by Major A. W. Allen, the *Odessa Democrat* by A. J. and Y. D. Adair, the *Odessa Ledger* by Mrs. W. E. Ewing, and the *Jeffersonian* by Edward Felgate.

On every important civic or political issue that has arisen, some leading democrats assisted by the democratic newspapers of the county have taken sides and strongly contended for their convictions until a final decision was reached; often members of the party and the party press have fought among themselves over the issues of the day. Always, however, after the contest was over a united front was presented in the next election and there has been coöperation among all. Especially was this true in the great contest of 1896 over the money question; then Lafayette County democrats warmly supported William Jennings Bryan and 16 to 1, which principle was supported by twenty-two of the twenty-four members of the Democratic County Committee.

The delegate from Lafayette County to the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875 was the Hon. Henry C. Wallace, Sr., a democrat. In 1933, a co-author of this chapter, Stephen N. Wilson, was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention to repeal the 18th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution.

In 1932, a co-author of this chapter, Henry C. Chiles, was democratic presidential elector from the Third Missouri District and as such attended the inauguration of Franklin D. Roosevelt as President, and John N. Garner, as Vice President, March 4, 1933. Mrs. Chiles also attended the inauguration as the proxy of Judge John S. Farrington of the Fourteenth District. William Walker was presidential elector in 1928, John L. Berry in 1924, Joseph Kuehls in 1912, H. F. Blackwell in 1908 and Wm. M. Groves in 1896.

In addition to Col. James B. Young, already mentioned, other Lafayette County democrats have been honored with offices of distinction, including Judge John F. Ryland of the Supreme Court, Alexander Graves, member of Congress, Capt. Alex. A. Lesueur, three terms secretary of state, John P.

Gordon, state auditor, and Andy W. Wilcox, now chairman of the State Tax Commission.

The following Lafayette County democrats have served in the Missouri State Senate: Hiram M. Bledsoe, C. H. Vandiver, James P. Chinn and Jack B. Hereford.

Lafayette County has also frequently furnished delegates to the Democratic National Convention, namely, John S. Blackwell in 1892; Joseph D. Shewalter in 1896; Stephen N. Wilson in 1900; J. J. Fulkerson in 1904 and C. L. Ristine in 1928.

Members of the Democratic State Committee from Lafayette County have been William Aull, Sr. (now deceased) and William F. Drummond.

Lafayette County democrats have had much to do with the publication of the "Official Manual of Missouri," generally known as the "Blue Book." The first "Blue Book" was issued by Alexander A. Lesueur while secretary of state and the appropriation therefor was sponsored by Maj. Tom Park, chief clerk in the office, and who was the father of Missouri's present Governor. Prior to the publication of the "Blue Book" there was an unofficial Missouri Manual, generally known as the "McGrath Almanac," published by Secretary of State McGrath and sold for 25c per volume. It contained advertising matter which helped defray the cost of publication. Missouri's "Blue Book" for 1933-34 is now being edited and prepared for publication by one of Lafayette County's most brilliant sons, Warren Douglas Meng, for many years a leading democrat and officer of the county. "Doug's" long experience in the journalistic field and his natural qualifications for the job guarantee that the coming volume of the "Blue Book" will be a great credit to Missouri and the democratic administration.

WOMEN ACTIVE

Another distinction achieved by the party in Lafayette is the active part women democrats have taken from the time the suffrage was first extended to the gentler sex in Missouri. The first woman to cast her vote in the county was a democrat, Miss Fannie Venable, who registered the first vote at the Courthouse Precinct on November 2, 1920, and voted the ticket headed by James M. Cox for President, and Franklin D. Roosevelt for Vice President. Miss Fannie was the daughter of Col. Geo. P. Venable of Lexington. Colonel Venable was born March 18, 1838, and is a life-long democrat. He is still active in his vocation of watchmaker, repairer and jeweler, and is at his place of business every day.

The first woman to be a candidate for public office at a general election in Lafayette County was a democrat, Mrs. A. K. Osborn of Odessa, who was on the ticket in 1924 for the office of public administrator. The second was Mrs. J. Q. Cope of Lexington, the party's nominee for the office of recorder of deeds in 1926. And certainly no account of women's part in democratic politics would be complete without mention of the candidacies of Mrs. J. M. Poage, Mrs. George W. Trail and Mrs. Dewitt Clary in the democratic primary of 1930 for nomination to the office of collector of revenue.

With the extension of the suffrage to women and for the campaign of 1922, a separate Women's Democratic State Committee was formed and Mrs. W. E. Ewing of Odessa, was its chairman. In the following campaign, 1924, the men and women united in one committee and Mrs. Ewing was vice-chairman of the state committee and spent the greater part of her time that fall at Democratic Headquarters in Saint Louis. Mrs. Ewing is editor and publisher of the *Odessa Ledger*, heretofore mentioned.

The Women's Jefferson Democratic Club of Lafayette County was organized October 19, 1931, and was admitted to the state federation a year later. It now has a membership of over 1,400. Mrs. Eugene M. Goodwin was elected president at its organization and in recognition of her splendid abilities as an organizer and party worker has been continued in that office ever since. The club has a vice president from each of the townships in the county and these offices have been held by Mrs. Mary Graves Ramsey of Lexington, daughter of Hon. Alexander Graves, former member of Congress, Mrs. Sue Rose, Mrs. Robert Littlejohn, Mrs. P. H. Beamer, Mrs. Geo. W. Parker, Mrs. F. L. Renick, Mrs. Leon Lewis, Miss Frances M. Groves and Mrs. Frances Frazier, now deceased. Other officers since the organization of the club are Mrs. Geo. P. Blackwell and Mrs. Henry C. Chiles, members of the resolutions committee; Mrs. Leah W. McLain, recording secretary; Miss Irma Brown, corresponding secretary; and Mrs. Frank Lauderdale, treasurer. The club has been a powerful factor in the last two campaigns; it has been highly effective in getting the vote to the polls, particularly that of the women; in polling the county prior to elections, and in inculcating Jeffersonian principles of democracy both in and outside the circle of its membership. The club does not cease its work with the closing of the polls at a general election, but continues to function without cessation; social events are promoted; regular meetings are held, democratic principles and information are disseminated, and the organization is kept at full fighting strength, ready to take the field at any call from the party.

As is well known to those who are experienced in politics, the most difficult and strenuous labors fall upon those party workers who are members of the County Central Committee, and particularly upon those men or women who serve as chairmen and secretaries of these highly important party units of organization. Some of the most prominent citizens of Lafayette County, who have been party leaders, have been called to serve democracy as officers of the Lafayette County Democratic Central Committee. It is with pride that we list the names of those who have served as far back as information is available:

Campaign	Chairman	Secretary
1884	Wm. G. McCausland	Wm. B. Wilson
1886	Jno. S. Blackwell	Xenophon Ryland
1888, 1890, 1892	Jno. S. Blackwell	Stephen N. Wilson
1894, 1896	Stephen N. Wilson	Hiram J. Groves
1898	Stephen N. Wilson	Horace F. Blackwell
1900	Stephen N. Wilson	Sanford B. Thornton

1902	Horace F. Blackwell	Sanford B. Thornton
1904	Horace F. Blackwell	W. Douglas Meng
1906	Jacob J. Fulkerson	Frank Slaughter
1908	Jacob J. Fulkerson	W. Douglas Meng
1910, 1912	Bate C. Drummond	Henry C. Chiles
1914, 1916	Henry C. Chiles	Hugh C. Rogers
1918	Thos. A. Walker	J. W. Sydnor
1920	Andy W. Wilcox	J. W. Sydnor
1922	Mrs. Felix G. Young*	Mrs. W. E. Ewing*
1922	Wm. A. Renick	Y. D. Adair
1924	Henry C. Chiles	Mrs. Henry C. Chiles
1926	Herbert F. Rice	Andy W. Wilcox
1928	Andy W. Wilcox	Wm. F. Drummond
1930	Andy W. Wilcox	Handford Brunk
1932	Andy W. Wilcox**	Elmer Sagehorn
	Stephen N. Wilson**	

* Separate Women's Committee, campaign of 1922.

** Stephen N. Wilson elected to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Andy W. Wilcox, who was appointed Chairman of State Tax Commission and removed to Jefferson City.

The space allowed for this chapter has not permitted mention of others than those active Democrats whose work is a matter of record in this county. Of course, there have been many other Democrats, not mentioned herein, who have helped in various ways to make the history of the Democracy of the county, and who have aided it in its battles and have been faithful in defeat as well as in success.

EDITOR'S NOTE: The last sentence of the last paragraph above applies equally, of course, to each separate county's story.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

LAWRENCE COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

The first organization of a county named Lawrence in 1818 was never perfected, and the present county of Lawrence was organized February 25, 1845, and was named for the famous sea captain, James Lawrence. He entered the navy in 1781 as a midshipman. He rose to the command of the frigate *Chesapeake*. He was lying in Boston harbor, partly equipped, when challenged by the British ship *Shannon*. He put out to sea, and in the battle he was mortally wounded, and won lasting fame by calling out while being carried below "Don't give up the ship." Mt. Vernon, the county seat, was named after the shrine of the immortal Washington.

The first members of the General Assembly from Lawrence County were F. R. McFall in 1846-50-54; Robert B. Taylor in 1848; James M. Moore in 1852; Isaac Jones in 1856; Robert R. Taylor in 1858-60; Samuel

E. Roberts in 1862-69; George W. Rinker in 1864-67-77; Richard S. Wilks in 1871; Green C. Stotts in 1873; S. R. Allen in 1875; J. H. Maynard in 1879; William B. Cochran in 1881; E. P. Linzee in 1883; John T. Teel in 1885; George A. Purdy in 1887; Josiah B. Underwood in 1889; C. P. Cook in 1891; Richard H. Landrum in 1893; Benjamin F. Tartar in 1895; W. J. Rutledge in 1897-99; J. L. Maynard in 1901; I. V. McPherson in 1903; C. E. Silverwood in 1905; John W. Hopper in 1907; Francis P. Leckliter in 1909; W. N. Davis in 1911; Walter Colley in 1913; P. H. Harris in 1915-17; W. A. Hubbard in 1919-21; Oscar P. Moody in 1923-25-27-29-31; M. E. Morris in 1933.

While Lawrence County is listed as a Republican county, there has always been a thoroughly aggressive organization of the Democratic County Committee, which has resulted in the splitting of the county offices. Among those Democrats who have always been active in the campaigns, are the following who deserve mention: Edward J. White, A. R. Wheat, T. A. Miller, T. F. Compton, Robert Lee, John R. Miller, Geo. S. Peck, E. E. Hughes, Chas. W. Lawson, Wyatt Cannady, G. W. Pendleton, Carr McNatt, John McNatt, Ben J. Joeckel, Thomas R. Colley, Eugene J. McNatt, C. E. Harris, C. H. Kennedy, W. A. McNatt, J. W. Brown, J. W. West, R. N. Gass, C. F. Krueger, Henry Burnett, J. K. Saunders, Adolph Fritz, J. E. Cherry, W. A. Southard, W. W. Boucher, Y. E. Costley, J. R. Lee, Chas. J. Cherry, J. L. Swope, H. E. McShane, Henry Stellwagon, W. J. Ham, J. Henry Brown, Ed. Taylor, J. B. Donica, James Foster, A. W. Burchard, and Wm. Leeper.

In 1920 the women of Lawrence County put forward a strong Women's Democratic County Committee, as follows: Mrs. Katherine Halterman, chairman; Janie McDonald Brown, secretary, Mrs. Henry Scott, Mrs. Florence Hughes, Mrs. Ed. Hutchinson, Mrs. Wyatt Cannady, Miss Delia Langston, Mrs. Dr. Mitchell, Miss Jessie Kingsley, Mrs. Walter Pate, Mrs. L. L. Henson, Mrs. Nora Glasscock, Mrs. Clifford Johnson, Mrs. Lena Gorman, Mrs. J. J. Williams, Mrs. Wm. Benbrooks, and Mrs. Ernest Mitchell.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

LEWIS COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Lewis County was organized January 2, 1833. Named for Capt. Meriwether Lewis, of the Lewis and Clark expedition, who was governor of the Territory of Louisiana from 1807 to 1809, and who committed suicide in the latter year in a county in Tennessee, now bearing his name, while on his way to Washington. Monticello ("Little Mountain"), the county seat, was laid out in 1834, and named for the country seat of Thomas Jefferson.

The first members of the General Assembly were James D. Owen in 1834; Thomas Gray in 1836; Addison Reese in 1838; William Ellis in

1840-44; James Ellison in 1842; Chilton B. Tate in 1846; H. M. Woodyard in 1848; Elijah S. Patterson in 1850; Joseph A. Hay in 1852-56; James H. Britton in 1854; Armstead C. Waltman in 1858-60; M. Million in 1862; Charleton H. Howe in 1864-67; F. L. Marchand in 1869; Jesse W. Barrett in 1871; Chilton B. Tate in 1873; Wm. W. Kendrick in 1875; William M. Moore in 1877; John J. Loutham in 1879; Robert M. Wallace in 1881-83; Horace P. Tate in 1885-89; William B. McRoberts in 1891-93-99-1911-13-25-27; William I. Cox in 1895-97; F. G. Risk in 1901-03; Jere T. Muir in 1905-07-09; Noah W. Simpson in 1915; R. B. Caldwell in 1917; O. C. Clay in 1919-21; L. V. Cockrum in 1923; Gray Snyder in 1929-31; W. M. Quinn in 1933.

In the early history of the state there were some peculiar turns in the congressional delegations. In 1847 James S. Green of Lewis County was elected to Congress from the Third District, and reelected in 1849 as a Democrat. In 1851 John G. Miller of Cooper County, a Whig, was elected, defeating Green, and Miller was reelected in 1853. Then in 1855 J. J. Lindley of Lewis County, a Whig, defeated John G. Miller. Then in 1857 John B. Clark of Howard County, redeemed the district for the Democrats. James S. Green was elected to the United States Senate in 1857.

There were many Democrats in Lewis County who should be remembered in the history of the Party, including: John S. McCutchan, Richard B. Noel, Eugene C. Thompson, Jos. A. West, Harry B. Smith, Jerry Jeffries, Walter M. Hilbert, E. B. Burgess, Eugene H. Long, Ernest C. Hilbert, William R. Risk, R. B. Caldwell, Hiram Leach, Arthur Hilbert, Frisby L. Lloyd, William K. Marchand, James H. Wilson, Lane B. Henderson, B. M. Bradshaw, Lee Robinson, H. S. Smith, W. Gray Snyder, Lucian Workman, the Moore brothers, John Johnson, Lloyd Graves and William L. Brown. Hon. James T. Lloyd, long a member of Congress from the First District, resides at Canton.

Lewis County was the home of the Green family. James Stephen Green began his political life there and from a congressional seat became United States senator in 1857, succeeding Henry S. Geyer, a Whig, who succeeded Thomas H. Benton in that body.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

POLITICAL RESUME OF LINCOLN COUNTY

By Miss Elza Harris,* Troy

The history of Lincoln County properly dates from the first year of the nineteenth century when Maj. Christopher Clark erected his cabin and made the first permanent settlement within its present limits. About five years previous a few persons located on Spanish grants, in the eastern part of the county, adjacent to the Mississippi and Cuivre rivers. These were mostly French trappers and hunters, whose residence was only tem-

porary. Hon. Tully R. Cornick, in an address before the first Agricultural and Mechanical Fair ever held in the county, October 4, 1856, estimated that at the commencement of the nineteenth century less than forty acres of land had been put in cultivation in the county. These settlements came to naught and in a very few years every single grant was held by a non-resident owner.

Maj. Christopher Clark was born in Lincoln County, North Carolina, in 1766. His father, James Clark, was a native of Ireland, and his mother, Catherine Horne, of Scotland. They had six sons. He served as a lieutenant in a company of volunteers, guarding the frontiers of Kentucky, and also during a campaign up the Wabash River in 1790. He came to Missouri in 1799, bringing with him his horses and cattle. On this occasion he came on a prospecting tour as far north as the present site of Troy, where was then situated a small Indian village, the wigwams being placed in a kind of circle around the spring, later known as "The Town Spring." He left the state and went back to Kentucky. In April, 1801, he moved into the limits of this county, being the first white man to cross Big Creek with a wagon, and built his cabin within a few feet of the present residence of Frederick Wing, three and a half miles southeast of Troy. This was the first permanent settlement in the state north of the present limits of St. Charles County. At that time the nearest neighbor was Anthony Keller, who lived on the south bank of Big Creek, four miles off; after that the nearest settlement was at Flint Hill.

To the first settler of Lincoln County was reserved the honor of securing its establishment as a separate county, and also of selecting its official title. In the Territorial Legislature which convened at St. Louis in December, 1818, being the fifth session since the creation of the territory, the organization of several new counties was discussed. Major Clark, who was a member, proposed a new county out of the area of St. Charles, of about twenty-four miles square, with the boundaries corresponding very nearly to the present lines. The subject was favorably considered, and the only matter to be decided upon was the name for the proposed county, for which a blank space had been left in the bill. Several names were proposed and discussed.

Major Clark arose to address the assembly, a duty he attempted but seldom in that body. He was not a fluent speaker, and but little given to speaking in public. He was a man of excellent sense and judgment, and possessed clear and vigorous ideas upon every subject that engaged his attention, which he could always express in his plain, homely, yet terse and forceful manner. With the peculiarities of a rude frontier education, that read more of the beauty and grandeur of wild nature than of books, he united all those finer qualities of head and heart that under other circumstances develop into the cultured and polished gentleman. His stern and inflexible principles of personal integrity and honesty, which ever shaped his own rule of conduct, never warped his mind into any Puritanical bias; but charity and forbearance toward every human creature were as natural to him as his own unbounded generosity and hospitality. These qualities made him a quiet, unobtrusive, industrious

and valuable member of the Legislature, and they were as fully recognized and appreciated by his fellow members, as by his fellow citizens at home. His purpose was evident; he gave a personal reason for the motion he was about to offer. He said, "Mr. Speaker, I was the first man to drive a wagon across Big Creek, the boundary of the proposed new county, and the first permanent white settler within its limits. I was born, sir, in 'Link-horn' County, North Carolina. I lived for many years in Link-horn County in Old Kaintuck. I wish to live the remainder of my days and die in Link-horn County, in Missouri, and I move, therefore, that the blank in the bill be filled with the name 'Link-horn.'" The motion was carried unanimously, and the clerk, not adopting the frontier parlance of the Major, wrote "Lincoln" in the blank space of the bill. This was the 14th day of December, 1818. Three days previously Franklin and Wayne had been established; on the 8th Jefferson had been created. In 1816 Howard County had been formed, and in 1813, the County of Washington. Thus Lincoln County was the sixth one organized by the Territorial Legislature, not counting the County of Arkansas, set off during the session of 1813-14, and which has since been erected into an independent State; and in point of order the eleventh since the organization of the territory. There were five original districts, or counties; St. Louis, St. Charles, St. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, and New Madrid.

WOODS' FORT

By virtue of the act creating the county, and of a supplemental act fixing the time and place for holding Superior and Circuit courts, and "for other purposes," passed December 23, 1818, the first court convened at the house of Zadock Woods, in Troy, or as it was more commonly known (if the old records are any indication of the fact) Woods' Fort, on Monday, April 5, 1819. It was a circuit court, but under the provisions of the law, it exercised the functions of a county court, and kept separate and distinct records.

David Todd appeared with a commission from Frederick Bates, secretary of the Territory of Missouri, and "acting with the government thereof," dated at St. Louis the 1st day of January previous, appointing him judge of the Northwestern Circuit, comprising the counties of Cooper, Howard, Montgomery, Lincoln and Pike, which at that time included nearly half the state. Judge Todd was probably a citizen of Howard County, as he was qualified at Franklin, in that county, before Augustus Storrs, a justice of the peace. John Ruland produced a commission from William Clark, governor of the territory, appointing him clerk of the circuit and county courts for this county. He qualified and entered into bond for three thousand dollars, with Samuel Wells and Nathan Heald as securities. David Bailey appeared with a commission from Frederick Bates, secretary and acting governor, naming him sheriff. He entered into bond with Ira Cottle and James White as securities. The commissioners appointed by the Legislature to locate the county seat,—David Bailey, James White, Daniel Draper, Hugh Cummins, and Abraham Kennedy, appeared and filed their bond for fifteen thousand dollars, with

Jonathan Riggs, Hugh Barnett, Zadock Woods, Ira Cottle, and Alembe Williams as securities.

The first grand jury was composed of Joseph Cottle, John Null, Prospect K. Robbins, Samuel H. Lewis, Thacker Vivion, Job Williams, Alembe Williams, Jr., Jeremiah Groshong, John Bell, Jacob Null, Sr., John Hunter, Elijah Collard, William Harrell, Jacob Null, Jr., Isaac Cannon, Hiram Millsaps, Alembe Williams, Sr., and Zacariah Callaway.

On the second day the court proceeded to divide the county into four townships, Monroe in the southeast, Bedford in the southwest, Union in the northwest, and Hurricane in the northeast. So far as records show, Peyton Hayden was the first person in Lincoln County to produce a license to practice law, same being a license from Hon. Alexander Stuart, one of the judges of the superior court.

Joseph Cottle, was the first surveyor of the county.

In compliance with an order passed, the court convened at the new county seat, Monroe, on Monday, April 3, 1820. Afterwards the Legislature appointed Robert Gay of Pike, Francis Howell, Sr., of St. Charles, and William Lamme, of Montgomery, commissioners, and empowered them with full authority to select a suitable site in accordance with the petition. The Legislature also appointed Andrew Miller, Samuel Gibson, and Thompson Blanton, all of Lincoln County, commissioners of the courthouse and jail to be erected. This was approved January 2, 1822. At the February term of the county court, Philip Sitton was appointed commissioner in place of Samuel Gibson, resigned, and William H. Robinson of Bedford township, in lieu of Thompson Blanton, also resigned. The last term held in Monroe was in November, 1822. On the first Monday in February, 1823, the county court convened at Alexandria, the point selected by the commissioners as the new county seat. Court was first held in a dwelling house, the lady of the house surrendering the "best room" for the use of the court, and retiring to the kitchen. Ira Cottle, Benjamin Cottle, and John Geiger were the county justices; Gen. Jonathan Riggs, the sheriff, and Francis Parker, clerk.

On the 5th day of August, 1828, during the sitting of the court, James Duncan and John Lindsey being the justices, Joshua N. Robbins, and Emanuel Block appeared with petition signed by a lawful number of taxable inhabitants of the county, namely, more than three-fifths, as ascertained by the tax list made, praying a removal of the county seat from the town of Alexandria to the town of Troy. The court thereupon appointed Felix Scott, of St. Charles County; Thomas Kerr, of Pike; Richard Wright, Philip Glover and George Clay of Montgomery, commissioners for selecting a seat of justice. They were authorized to meet on Monday, the 15th day of September, 1828, at the house of Andrew Monroe, who kept a hotel and was a Methodist preacher, in the town of Troy, to perform the duties assigned them. The commissioners chose Troy, and the selection having been approved by the circuit court, the county court at its November term ordered an election to be held on Monday, the 8th day of December, to take the sense of the people whether the location should be approved or not. The election was held, and on the

following Thursday, the court, James Duncan, Henry Watts, and Joseph H. Allen, justices, held a special session to examine the poll books and count the votes. It was found that two hundred and eleven votes were for the removal, and two votes against it, and "thereupon the court do consider that the said seat of justice of said County of Lincoln is removed to the place selected as aforesaid in the town of Troy." The last session of the county court held at Alexandria was on Saturday, January 3, 1829, and the first held in Troy was on Monday, February 9, 1829. The present courthouse building was erected in 1870.

THREE STATE OFFICERS

Lincoln County has had three state officers. Nathaniel Simonds, great-grandfather of Frank Simonds, of Troy, was state treasurer, when that office was the franchise of the legislature. He held that position several years, and was in office when the seat of government was removed from St. Charles to Jefferson City.

George W. Huston was elected registrar of lands in 1856, and held that office four years.

George H. Middlekamp, was elected state treasurer in 1916, for a term of four years.

Hon. Richard H. Norton, of Troy, Missouri, was Congressman, elected in 1888, and reelected in 1890. He died in 1912.

Lincoln County is represented in the National Congress in the person of Hon. Clarence A. Cannon, of Elsberry, Missouri, who was elected in 1922, and holds the office to this date. He has made a very able and popular congressman. Before his election to Congress he had held the very important post of parliamentarian to the speaker of the House. He is being returned to Congress by his constituents with increased majorities. He is elected from the Ninth Congressional District.

Hon. Carty Wells, as shown by old records, was circuit judge in the year 1848, and he also was a citizen of Lincoln County.

Hon. Edgar B. Woolfolk, of Troy, Missouri, has been judge of the thirty-fifth judicial circuit of Missouri, composed of Lincoln, St. Charles and Pike counties, for twenty-two years. He has so held the confidence of the people that only once since he entered upon the duties of circuit judge has he been opposed by either Democrat or Republican.

So far as the writer is informed there is only one person, born in Lincoln County, living at this time, past the age of one hundred years, namely W. R. Bowen, now living in San Antonio, Texas, born December 7, 1833, three miles from Troy.

Lincoln County is Democratic in politics, and is constant in her Democracy. During the whole history of the county there has been but one person elected to county office who was not a Democrat, the Hon. John A. Eversmeyer, of Troy, Missouri, a splendid citizen, one of the prominent farmers and stock raisers of the county for many years, now retired, was elected as judge of the county court for the second district of Lincoln County, over his Democratic opponent and served with efficiency and fairness for four successive terms.

The county has been represented in the State Legislature by the following outstanding citizens: Christopher Clark, 1818; Morgan Wright, 1820; Phillip Sutton, 1822; John Ruland, 1824; Phillip Sutton, 1826; Elijah Collard, 1828; Hans Smith, 1830-1832; Henry Watts and John Besser, 1834; Henry Watts and Richard H. Woolfolk, 1836; Geo. Houston and Enoch Emmerson, 1838-1842; Hans Smith and Carty Wells, 1840; James Finley, 1844; David Stewart, 1846; Richard Wommack, 1848, 1864, 1868; Chas. U. Porter and Alexander Reid, 1850; Chas. U. Porter and Tully R. Cormick, 1852; James H. Britton and Increase Adams, 1854; James H. Britton and H. M. McFarland, 1856; Richard Wommack and John Sneathen, 1858-1860; James W. Welch, 1862; Joseph W. Sitton, 1866; Seymour D. Cannon, 1867; Richard Gladney, 1870; Thos. G. Hutt, 1872; E. B. Hull, 1874; Wm. H. Priest, 1876; W. E. Brown, 1878; Alexander Mudd, 1880; Howard S. Parker, 1882-1884; George T. Dunn, 1886-1888; D. T. Killam, 1890-1892; O. H. Avery, 1894-1896; Edgar B. Woolfolk, 1898-1900; Frank L. Dawson, 1902-1904; Jesse J. Duncan, 1906-1908; Wiley Huston, 1910-1912; Johiah Whiteside, 1914-1916; D. E. Killam, 1918-1920; Frank Howell, 1922-1924; Derwood E. Williams, 1926; Dr. W. M. Smith, 1928; A. L. Welborn, 1932.

Roster of senatorial district of which Lincoln County forms a part, showing senators and the date of election of those from Lincoln County: Eighth District, St. Charles and Lincoln, Cary M. Duncan, 1825; Ninth District, Lincoln and Montgomery, Hans Smith, 1832; Second District, Lincoln and Montgomery, Henry Watts, 1836; Second District, Lincoln and Montgomery, James Finley, 1840; First District, St. Charles and Lincoln, Pines H. Shelton, 1844; First District, St. Charles and Lincoln, Richard H. Woolfolk, Wm. M. Allen, 1848; First District, St. Charles and Lincoln, M. H. McFarland, 1856-1858; Second District, Pike, Lincoln and Audrain, Geo. W. Anderson, 1862-1864; Eleventh District, Pike, Lincoln and Montgomery, Dr. Wm. B. Adams, 1866; Eleventh District, Pike, Lincoln and Montgomery, Thos. G. Hutt, 1881-1883; Eleventh District, Audrain, Pike, and Lincoln, O. H. Avery, 1904; Eleventh District, Audrain, Pike and Lincoln, Jesse J. Duncan, 1916; 11th District, Audrain, Pike and Lincoln, Derwood E. Williams, 1928.

Henry F. Childers, owner and editor of the *Troy Free Press* of Troy, Mo., since 1878, and long prominent in politics, died August 16, 1934. Was president of the Missouri Press Association in 1908.—ED.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

LINN COUNTY

By W. B. McGregor*

The political history of Linn County is not an exciting chapter. Since her early days she has been strong in Jeffersonian and Jacksonian Democracy. The Whigs boasted of very little strength in the county and at one time David Mullins was credited with being the only Whig

in the county. Of course local considerations sometimes changed votes and others were elected, but this has been the exception rather than the rule. Judge James A. Clarke, a Democrat, was the first elected member of the Legislature from Linn County. This was in 1838.

In early days, political meetings and conventions were generally held at Linneus, and while the population of the county at that time did not warrant the largest of turnouts at these assemblies, they made up in enthusiasm what they lacked in number. During the campaign of 1844, a big meeting was held at Linneus. The Democrats raised a hickory pole and a banner was given to the breeze upon which was inscribed, "Polk and Dallas." "Texas, Oregon. All or none." "54-40 or fight." This last had reference to the Oregon boundary question in process of settlement between the United States and Great Britain, and meant that the Democracy of our own county favored not only the acquisition of Texas, but the extension of Uncle Sam's dominion far enough to the north to include the greater portion of the Puget Sound country, now belonging to Canada. The Democratic majority in those days in Linn County made it pretty much all one way.

In 1850 Jacob Smith, a Whig, through a disaffection among the Democrats of the county was elected to the Legislature, but in 1852 the Democrats quickly reorganized their forces and elected Wesley Halliburton, who was followed by John Botts in 1854, Beverly Neece in 1856, John Gooch in 1858 and E. H. Richardson in 1860, all Democrats.

In 1862 A. W. Mullins, in 1864, Dr. John F. Powers, in 1866, T. J. Stauber and in 1868 again A. W. Mullins, all Republicans, were elected to the Legislature on account of a great number of Democrats having enlisted in the Southern Confederacy, or who were disfranchised under the Drake Constitution on account of their enlistment or having been sympathizers of the Southern cause and could not or would not take the oath as they were required to do in order to vote. Since 1870, when these Democrats were again given the right of suffrage, the Democrats have sent their representatives to the Legislature and have filled most of the county offices; and at this time every office in Linn County is filled by an efficient Democrat.

In 1861, following a declaration of war between the North and South, a company of seventy-five men was organized in northwest Linn County, answered the call of the Southland, and Dr. P. C. Flournoy of Linneus was put in charge of the battalion which at once took up its line of march for General Price's army. In this company were two young and outstanding Democrats, Edward Barton and J. Polk Bradley, of Linneus. They both followed Price's army through the South, the two young men marching shoulder to shoulder in many conflicts and at Corinth, Mississippi, October 4, 1862, Mr. Barton was wounded with a bullet entering his chest. His buddy, Mr. Bradley, was at his side and thought he was dying. Bradley remarked to Barton: "Eddie, what shall I tell your father?" Barton also thought he was dying and replied: "Tell Daddy that Eddie did not get shot in the back." Later Barton was taken to a hospital near by and was nursed back to health by a beautiful young

Southern lady with whom he fell desperately in love. When he was able to make the trip, he returned to his home in Linn County, not being strong enough for further service, and the bullet which entered his breast was carried to his grave. On reaching home, he was never able to communicate again with the young "belle of the South" and remained a bachelor all of his life. Mr. Barton afterwards served in Linn County as its efficient sheriff for many years and was later elected to represent the county in the Legislature. He was a fine man, a fighting Democrat, but never had much respect for the Yankee soldiers. While he was living in Linneus, he told the writer of his experience while a member of the Legislature. Many years before, a member of the House from Saline County by the name of Sam Davis, had succeeded in getting a bill passed through the Legislature and signed by the governor, permitting county courts to pay a bounty on the scalps of rats when same were presented to the county clerk. According to Davis, this rat bill remained on the statute books for eleven years until "Champ Clark finally got in the Legislature and put my rat bill out of business." One day a farmer friend of Ed Barton's visited the State Capitol and was shown through all of the buildings of interest. Barton took him to the State House, the governor's mansion, the penitentiary and every place he could think of and finally brought him back to the Madison Hotel. The farmer looked unsatisfied. "What's the matter with you?" asked Barton: "Haven't you seen everything you could see?" "No, I ain't!" said the farmer: "The biggest thing you've got here, you haven't shown me yet." "What it is?" "That fellow Davis that put through the rat bill; where's he at?" Linn County has produced many prominent Democrats but no better champion of Democracy ever resided here than Edward Barton. His politics was his religion, and his last conversation was with reference to the welfare of the Democratic Party in Linn County.

ALEXANDER M. DOCKERY

Alexander Monroe Dockery was a resident of Linn County for many years. He resided at North Salem where he had a large practice in his profession of medicine. He rode the country on horseback caring for the sick and preaching Democracy for many years. He was later elected to Congress and after a splendid record in that body was elected governor of Missouri, and never failed to relate his experience as a country doctor, while residing in Linn County. In his election for governor, the vote in Linn County was almost unanimously for him.

Another outstanding Linn County Democrat was Gavon D. Burgess, who was circuit judge of this district from 1874 until 1892 when he was elected as a member of the Supreme Court; later elevated to chief justice, a position he held until his death. History accounts Judge Burgess one of the state's ablest jurists.

Among the notable Democrats that this county has produced was the late Senator E. B. Fields of Browning, who while president *pro tem* of the State Senate acted as lieutenant governor while that officer was out

of the state and before the lieutenant governor could return to the state it was necessary for Governor Folk to leave the state and for three days Senator Fields was state senator, lieutenant governor, president *pro tem* of the senate and governor of Missouri, all at the same time. Senator Fields was the author of the first and present state primary law. Other distinguished senators from Linn County representing the district, were Senator Benjamin L. White of Marceline, now with the State Workmen's Compensation Department at St. Louis, an appointee of Governor Park, and the late Senator Walter Brownlee of Brookfield, who was also representative in the lower house for two terms prior to his election to the senate. Delmar Dail of Linn County, is now representing the district in the senate and D. A. Peery of Linneus, is the county representative. Senator Dail is a lawyer and resides at Marceline, and Mr. Peery held county office for many years prior to his election to the legislature, and also for a number of years was chairman of the Linn County Democratic Committee.

Linn County people for a number of years had been great admirers of the late Francis M. Wilson and after his death this was one of the strongest counties in the state in its support of Guy B. Park for governor. When the state convention was called at Jefferson City for the purpose of nominating a governor following Francis Wilson's death, a large delegation of Linn County citizens, headed by Mrs. Anna M. Watson of Marceline, chairman of the Linn County Democratic Committee, and also a member of the State Committee, was present at the meeting and assisted materially in the nomination of Governor Park. It might be added in passing that Mrs. Watson is the only woman in the State of Missouri holding the position as chairman of a Democratic county committee. As soon as Governor Park was nominated, the delegation brought home the news and spread it to all parts of the county in meetings held for ratification and many speeches were made in their new candidate's behalf.

Linn County which usually can be counted on to roll up a good Democratic majority at any general election reached its zenith on November 8, 1932, when it gave Franklin D. Roosevelt a majority of 2,566 votes over Herbert Hoover; Governor Park 2,378 votes over Edward H. Winter, and Bennett Champ Clark 2,607 votes over Henry Kiel.

On October 6, 1932, this county staged one of the largest Democratic rallies at Brookfield, held during the campaign when more than 15,000 persons were in attendance during the afternoon and night's meeting and a parade several miles long, led by Col. William A. Scanlon riding on a white mule, emblematic of the Democratic Party, with torch lights and floats was one of the main features of the evening meeting. Speakers at this meeting were Col. Bennett Champ Clark, now United States senator; Senator McKellar of Tennessee, and others of prominence.

Sentiment in Linn County for President Roosevelt and his "New Deal" and Governor Park and his state administration at Jefferson City is strong in every portion.

Linn County has three Democratic newspapers—*The Budget-Gazette*, edited by W. B. McGregor, the *Argus*, edited by C. W. Green, at Brookfield, and the *Linneus Bulletin*, edited by H. J. Wigginton, all profound believers in Jeffersonian Democracy and who materially assist in spreading Democratic Gospel to every home in the county.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

LIVINGSTON COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Livingston County was organized January 6, 1837, and was named for Edward Livingston, who was Secretary of State under the administration of Andrew Jackson in 1831. In 1833 he was minister to France, and it is said that in an extended knowledge of law he had probably no superior. Chillicothe, the county seat, is a Shawnee word and means "The Big Town Where We Live."

The first members of the General Assembly from Livingston County were Charles H. Ashby in 1838-40; William Y. Slack in 1842; Novazembla Johnson in 1844; Jasper N. Bell in 1846; Thomas K. Kirk in 1848; William F. Peery in 1850-52; George Monro in 1854-56-58; A. J. Austin in 1860; John T. Gudgel in 1862; J. W. McMillen in 1864; S. D. DeLand in 1867; Robert S. Moore in 1869-71; J. E. Cadle in 1873; H. C. Ireland in 1875-77; Abel S. Cloud in 1879; John W. Donovan in 1881-85; Luther T. Collier in 1883; William P. Munroe in 1887; Wm. E. Gunby in 1889; James F. Anderson in 1891-93; Thomas Griffiths in 1895; Wadsworth D. Leeper in 1897; Fauntain K. Thompson in 1899; Charles A. Adams in 1901; Herman R. Dietrich in 1903; Richard Lee in 1905; James C. Raney in 1907; H. P. Scruby in 1909; E. C. Orr in 1911-13; A. T. Weatherby in 1915; Frank L. Smiley in 1917; A. J. Buster in 1919-21-23; J. G. Littrell in 1925; Z. B. Meyers in 1927; G. F. Ballew in 1929-31; S. A. Browning in 1933.

Livingston County is a close county politically and the Democrats are forced to an effective organization to secure a part of the county tickets. They are of an aggressive character, however, and the county has seldom failed of a good organization of the Democratic Committee. Some of the Democrats that have helped to keep the party organizations in force for many years are the following: J. H. Robinson, William McCarthy, Fred W. Ashby, D. G. Johnson, Luther Williams, James D. Martin, John L. Brooks, G. B. Jones, Fred Hornaker, Chas. Young, W. L. Cox, Ira Donovan, Mathew McBride, John H. Taylor, E. C. Orr, A. M. Shelton, F. K. Thompson, J. E. Pardoner, Harry L. Gilbert, G. A. McBride, John W. Hill, Drew P. Tye, N. Z. Johnson, B. F. Thorpe, J. C. Raney, S. D. Rohrer, Chas. C. Grace, B. B. Alexander, W. V. Littrell, W. L. Cox, Joe Broadus, Dennis Corney, James Trimble, Gill Hudgins, E. D. Wallace, W. A. Bradford, John P. Alexander, Scott Miller, C. C. Currin, J. C. Cox, J. A. Ryan, J. J. May, S. J. Browning, J. J. Brown, and A. F. Smith.

In 1876 Henry M. Pollard of Livingston County, was elected to Congress from the Tenth District, succeeding Rezin A. DeBolt, who was listed as a Liberal-Republican-Democrat.

In 1886 Charles H. Mansur of Livingston County, was elected to Congress from the Second District, succeeding John B. Hale of Carroll County.

In 1932 the county responded to the call of Franklin D. Roosevelt for a New Deal in a substantial manner. The vote for President was Roosevelt 4,742, Hoover 3,659; a majority for Roosevelt of 1,083. In 1928 Roscoe Patterson carried the county over Charles M. Hay for United States senator, by 1,092. In 1932 Bennett Champ Clark defeated Henry Kiel, by 1,183.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

MCDONALD COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

McDonald County was organized March 3, 1849. The first county seat was at Rutledge, and it was subsequently removed to Pineville, originally called Marysville.

McDonald County met with some discouragements in obtaining representation in the General Assembly. Although organized some years previously it elected Burton McGee in 1854, but he was not permitted to take his seat. Thomas Jones from McDonald County later appeared and presented his credentials, and was seated. Afterwards it was declared that he was not entitled to the seat. However, in 1856 Thomas Jones represented the county. William C. Duvall was representative in 1858-60; C. B. Walker in 1862-64-67; James B. Price in 1869; J. C. Lamson in 1871; William C. Price in 1873-75; Joseph J. Brown in 1877; Albert W. Chenoweth in 1879; N. J. Phillips in 1881; Thomas F. Ford in 1883; Thomas Collins in 1885; John J. McNatt in 1887; M. C. Christian in 1889; J. F. Kenney in 1891; Richard J. Balch in 1893; Fred M. Best in 1895-1909; J. F. Tandy in 1897; William E. Smith in 1899; Jacob M. Long in 1901-03-11-23; James M. Paul in 1905-07; Thomas Coulter in 1913; W. O. Dixon in 1915-17-19; J. A. Tatum in 1921; S. D. McDaniel in 1925-27; Dan Sayre in 1929; W. G. Tracy in 1931-33.

Among the Democrats that can now be named who have been active for the Democratic Party for many years are: A. W. Noel, Joseph S. Long, J. H. Patterson, H. O. Beacon, Wm. E. Smith, O. A. Tandy, N. Hickman, Jas. A. Evans, William W. Sullivan, Zim E. Utter, Charles A. Stephens, Oscar R. Puckett, Charles Stephenson, LeRoy Smith, Henry L. Marrs, J. M. Long, A. W. Chenowith, Albert York, J. M. Underwood, William Timberlake, W. C. Boyd, Elmer Tye, S. P. Langley, William L. Martin, Charles R. Burke, Albert York, James M. Carey, Geo. M. Hall, H. D. Mustain, C. O. Brady, E. E. Coffee, Pink Dobbs, Lon Williams,

I. N. Long, Joe Sherman, C. K. Edmonds, Grover C. Hays, L. R. Smith, F. A. Carter, Sam McDaniel and Joe Houseman.

Walter B. Stevens in the "Centennial History of Missouri," (Vol. I, p. 104), relates the following:

"Indian Creek in McDonald County, according to an early writer, was 'so named from the fact that along its banks was the great rendezvous for the Indians who inhabited this country. Among the earliest traditions gathered from the Indians by the white settlers was one of healing fountains which were said to exist in this region, the waters of which healed all diseases; large numbers of Indians came every year. A few daring hunters, by affiliating with the Indians, visited these fountains and told wonderful tales of their location, and so tenaciously did they cling to the surrounding country, that most white men were deterred from settling in this immediate vicinity. The few white settlers who did settle here, however, were not shown these "fountains," but got only their history and description of their location from the red men; but so great were the praises of the Indians, that the whites soon began to search for them. Among the first to make an extended search was a man named Friend, who was also, probably, the first white man to settle on Indian Creek, and a member of whose family was severely afflicted with rheumatism. Guided by the Indian descriptions, he was not a great while in finding the "Four Great Medical Springs." Living but a few miles away, the water was freely used, and a speedy and permanent cure effected.'"

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

HISTORY OF DEMOCRACY IN MACON COUNTY

By Frances W. Belsher,* Macon

The county was named in honor of Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina. His fame had extended all over the United States as one of the most distinguished statesmen of the country. Thomas Jefferson called him "the last of the Romans," and Randolph pronounced him "the wisest man I ever knew."

Macon County is the daughter of Randolph, and the granddaughter of Howard. It was formed from the Territory of Randolph in the year 1837. It is bordered on the east by Shelby, touched on the southeast by Monroe, with Randolph adjacent on the south and Chariton County to the south-west.

Macon County is Democratic by tradition, by inheritance, by environment, growth, and development; and will continue to be so from choice. The fundamental principles were planted in this county more than a hundred years ago and it has now entered the second century of existence. The history of Democracy in the county is really the history

of the county; beginning with the first settlers. The history of one is incomplete without the history of the other; they are inseparable—one was the integral part of the other.

Frederick Rowland was the second settler in the county; he came here in 1829. He was born March 2, 1805, in Chatham County, North Carolina. In 1847 Mr. Rowland was elected justice of the peace. He was one of the county court judges. In 1850 he was elected to the Lower House of the General Assembly, and was re-elected for one or two succeeding terms. In 1854, he was elected to the State Senate, and in 1861, he was elected to the State Convention. He died in Adair County after 1875.

William Morrow was the third settler; he came to the county in 1831. He was a native of Clay County, Kentucky. Major William J. Morrow and Jefferson Morrow, Sr., were his sons. The neighborhood where they first settled was known as the Morrow Settlement.

Then, there was the Blackwell Settlement on Grand Prairie, five miles north of Macon, and composed of William Blackwell, Nathan Richardson and John Walker, a Revolutionary soldier. William Blackwell was a native of Madison County, Kentucky. He came to Macon County in 1831.

The next emigrants to the county came in 1832 and formed the Owenby Settlement. They were Clemons Hutchinson and Joseph Owenby, and settled near where Bloomington was later located. Joseph Owenby was one of the first three county judges.

In 1832, Thomas Winn of Clark County, Kentucky, came to the county. About 1833, William Shain and Isaac Gross settled on the Chariton Divide.

These were followed in rapid succession by other settlers from Boone, Howard and Randolph counties. Many came from Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, and no small number were natives of Virginia. Certain families have been more active than others in the affairs of the county and state.

ACTIVE DEMOCRATS

The following pioneer families and their descendants have been active Democrats since the formation of the county, and all matters of any importance to the people have had the attention and support of some of this group:

Attebury, Austin, Baker, Banning, Barrow, Bean, Bell, Brock, Brown, Butler, Cannon, Catterton, Cherry, Christal, Claybrook, Cochran, Coulter, Crain, Dabney, Dale, Dameron, Davis, Dickerson, Drinkard, Easley, Enyart, Fletcher, Fox, Gee, Glenn, Gilstrap, Goodding, Gorham, Goodson, Graves, Griffin, Gross, Halliburton, Haley, Halley, Holman, Howe, Hubbard, Hurt, James, Johnson, Ketchen, Lamb, Leath, Leathers, Lee, Lister, Love, Magee, McCully, McCall, Miles, Miller, Milam, Morris, Morrow, Moss, Moody, Owenby, Oliver, Posey, Powell, Peyton, Ratliff, Rowland, Richardson, Reynolds, Roebuck, Sears, Summers, Stone, Sharp, Smedley, Smith, Stacy, Switzer, Stokes, Scrutchfield, Terrill, Taylor, Thompson, Vanskike, Wright, Walker, Williams and Winn.

The political tenets of these families account for the consistent vote given the Democratic Party. And from this group and their descendants a very large majority of county officials have been chosen during the century that has elapsed since Democracy was planted here.

Chariton township takes its name from the middle ford of the Chariton River which passes through its western boundary. Chariton township was among the earliest townships settled. It was called the South Carolina of Macon County during the Civil war. Among the early settlers were James Dysart, James Mitchell, Thomas W. McCormick and Thomas L. Gorham.

In the spring of 1853 Col. R. M. J. Sharp, then a young man in search of fortune, established a country store on the divide between East and Middle Fork of the Grand Chariton about a mile north of the Randolph County line. The site selected by the Colonel was convenient to the main traveled road leading from Glasgow towards the Iowa line, through the county seats of Randolph and Macon. In this same year McGee College was opened under the patronage of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

Rev. James Dysart, better known as "Uncle Jimpse," and Rev. James B. Mitchell, were very active in the establishment and promotion of this college. Their ideals of citizenship so impressed the student body that a very positive contribution was made to that generation and the influence continues to the present day. Many of the leading citizens of the county, both in civil and military life, received their inspiration from these fearless, stalwart leaders. After four score years have passed, we find the third and fourth generations still adhere to principles of government and maintain the ideals of citizenship enunciated by these founders and their associates.

Adjoining Chariton township on the east and in the south tier, is Narrows township, bordering on Randolph County. Among the pioneers of this township who were active Democrats we find: Maj. Joseph D. Butler, Maj. John H. Bean, Capt. William C. Smith, A. P. McCall, Isaac Goodding, Starling Coulter, John Coulter, Chesley Brock, John C. Powell, Durrett Peyton, Bennett Wright, Thomas Lamb, John G. Lamb, George P. Halley, Richard Vanskike, Isham Walker, James Lamb, John and Joseph Thompson, William Chandler, Benjamin Stokes, Hugh McCanne, William McCanne, Sr., and Judge Frederick Rowland.

Maj. Joseph D. Butler mentioned above was born in Prince William County, Virginia, in 1792, and moved to Kentucky in 1807. He served in the War of 1812 with the Kentucky troops. He came to Missouri in 1839 and settled on the Grand Divide, near the present site of Excello. In 1851 he was selected as Swamp Land Commissioner for Macon County.

Middle Fork township is so named because the principal stream which runs through it diagonally is the middle fork of Salt River. It is in the southeast corner of the township and has always been a real stronghold of Democracy. It is usually Democratic by about six to one over all opposition. Some of the early settlers were: George Reynolds, Newton Switzer, Wesley Halliburton, Alfred Tobin, Dr. E. E. Hand, William Graves,

Marion Cox and many other families whose descendants still reside there and uphold the political traditions of their forbears.

In Callao township we find among the pioneers such leaders as Peyton Hurt, Claiborne Wright, John Dameron, Samuel Marmaduke, Samuel Humphrey and Samuel Kem. The town of Callao was laid out by Kem and Humphrey in 1858.

Hudson township claims the following pioneer leaders—Benjamin Catterton, Sterling Gee, James T. Haley, Felix Baker, Jesse Hall, William Scrutchfield, Nicholas Goodding and Isaac Goodding.

The men of Round Grove who made their impress on the life of the community were Judge John D. Smith, John P. Walker, John Y. Lister, C. H. Lister, S. S. Winn and Thomas Winn, Sr., Carroll Moss, Thomas Moss and James Moss, James A. Mackey, George B. Larrick, Levi Cox and many others.

In the county seat and near-by Bloomington, might be found A. L. Gilstrap, J. N. Brown, George M. Taylor, Elder William Sears, Elder James Ratliff, Benjamin Sharp and Thomas G. Sharp. Closely following upon the heels of these men came Col. R. J. Johnson of Virginia and Rev. Walter Toole. Others in Liberty township were Joseph Griffin, Welsey Cherry, Solomon Milam and Bues Milam.

In Eagle township some of the leaders were Albert Epperson, William Powell, Urbin East, Sidney F. Blackwell and Nathan Richardson.

The first settler in Ten Mile township was Capt. William Griffin who came to the county in 1838. The first post office was established in his home about 1845 and he was named as the postmaster. Soon after he arrived others came and among them we find, Jesse Richardson, William G. Griffin and James Griffin.

COUNTY OFFICERS OF 1845

The county officers in 1845 were Campbell Hubbard, sheriff; George M. Taylor, circuit and county clerk; William Holman, treasurer; and Col. Roderick L. Shackelford was the representative.

The first circuit judge of the county was Thomas Reynolds, who, in 1840, was elected governor of Missouri.

There was a very important meeting held at Bloomington May 11, 1861. The Macon City delegation was headed by a brass band and a Southern flag of fifteen stars. Capt. William Griffin was chosen chairman and Web M. Rubey was secretary. The chairman appointed the following committee to report resolutions: Thomas G. Sharp, Thomas McCormick, A. J. Marmaduke, J. N. Brown, G. A. Shortridge, W. G. Griffin, James A. Terrell, R. T. Johnson, W. J. Morrow, P. M. Stacy, Jacon Loe, Robert T. Ellis, Benjamin E. Harris, W. W. Moore and Louis Robion. It seems reasonable to assume that this committee represents the most active and influential Democrats of the county at the outbreak of the Civil war. During the next decade party activity was greatly suppressed in the county because of the Drake Constitution.

Macon County was Democratic until 1865 when it became Republican under the Drake Constitution and remained so until 1872 when the disfranchised were allowed to vote.

In the year of 1884 we find the following prominent Democratic leaders as members of the bar of Macon County: J. N. Brown, Abner L. Gilstrap, Webster M. Rubey, Benjamin R. Dysart, Robert Gwyn Mitchell, William H. Sears, Milton C. Tracy, L. A. Thompson, Capt. Ben Eli Guthrie and Col. John F. Williams.

One of the high spots in the history of the Democratic party in Macon County was in the year of 1900, when W. J. Bryan was making his second campaign for president. He spoke in Macon in October of that year, and it was the occasion of a big rally and barbeque. It was held in Stephens Park at Macon, and although the park covers five acres there was hardly room to accommodate the crowd that came; it was variously estimated at from ten to fifteen thousand. Over five thousand were fed at the noon hour. Four governors attended the meeting and for some hours there was a flood of oratory, ending of course, with the speech of Bryan, which was the climax of the occasion.

William H. Sears was a leader, a state senator and a representative of a family that has been in Missouri since 1818 when they first settled on Silver Creek south of Huntsville.

The Goodson name appears four times, followed by those thrice mentioned, which were—Morrow, Goodding, Barrow, Sears, Gross and Powell; and the following have twice served the county: Holman, Smedley, Easley, Sandusky, Moody, Sharp, Gilstrap, Smith, Stacy, Wright and Vancleve.

The latter family deserves more than passing mention. Gen. William M. Vancleve was a young man at the time of his death, yet in that time he had achieved distinction. He was representative from Macon County in 1878, and in 1884 he was in the State Senate. He was also selected as Brigadier-General of the militia of Missouri.

His brother, James G. Vancleve, was mayor of Macon, and William M. Vancleve, son of General Vancleve, was prosecuting attorney of Macon County for two terms.

CAME A BAPTIST PREACHER

In the pioneer days, there came to the county a Baptist preacher, Elder James Moody; he reared his family here and as they grew to manhood they went to other states. One went to Texas, and settled there, and his son was the red-headed governor, Dan Moody, of that state.

The Shortridge family of Bloomington count among their descendants a governor of a western state, and the Toole family who lived there claim the same distinction.

Certain families in the county have been outstanding in their party affiliations and loyalty; they are numerous, and it would be impossible to name all. Only certain ones may be mentioned as being typical of many others, striking examples are the Graves family and Moss family of Middle Fork; the Stokeses and Smiths of Narrows; Wards of Callao—

of whom Tyrene Ward is still prominent—and the Gooddings of Atlanta and La Plata. The fact is that the Goodding family and their descendants and relatives have been a very deciding factor in politics for many years; at least six have been elected to official positions. Roscoe Goodding, of La Plata, may be considered as representing family ideals of this decade.

George Hill of Bevier, a former state mine inspector, and twice chairman of the Democratic County Committee, has contributed to the party success. Another is R. S. Thomas of Macon, but formerly of Bevier, and also state mine inspector some years ago.

Roy H. Cherry, a representative of a pioneer family, has long been active in the interest of the party. His home is at Goldsberry, but he is now residing in Jefferson City, as he has been appointed recently by Governor Park as state oil inspector.

Many young Democrats are showing an active interest in government, and in party management, and this has crystalized by the formation of a Young Democratic Club, which is headed by Dr. C. R. Shale as president, and Verne Baker as secretary. Other active members are William Reichel, Howard Scrutchfield, George A. Williams, R. E. Lauck, Charles B. Williams, Fred Woods, Roy S. Kemper, O. G. Steding, Thomas J. Daugherty, William C. Brown, Robert Brown, Richard Sharp, Bryan Hurst and Charles M. Dorrel, Dr. Thomas F. Turner, Dr. Howard S. Miller and Dr. Lane O. Cross.

Hopkins Shain descends from one of the pioneer families that came here before the county was formed. Mr. Shain is native born and educated, but has achieved fame and honor in the field of law, and as a jurist elsewhere within the state.

Hon. John T. Barker, now of Kansas City, was not a native of the county, but came here when very young, so it was the only home he knew. Here he was educated and practiced law and from this county he went to Jefferson City to assume the duties of attorney general of Missouri, to which office he had been elected by the people of Missouri. After the expiration of his term of office he located in Kansas City, where he is an active party worker and is in the service of the people.

The following men have taken an active interest in the educational field in Macon, serving as members of the school board of Macon: Earl Edwards, Charles H. Weisenborn, R. A. Guthrie, R. E. Sharp, George N. Davis and Charles A. Wardell; the latter was President of the Board when the new high school building was erected in 1930.

Former county officials who are now residing in Macon: Judges of the county court—J. D. Hall and S. P. Phillips; W. P. Graves, former county collector; Nick M. Moody, Charles E. Sears, L. T. Dameron and L. T. Dameron, Jr., clerks of the county court; Harve S. Easley, former circuit clerk, but now engaged in business in Macon; C. L. Stephens, who served two terms as county recorder; Robert W. Barrow, Ed. S. Jones, William Vancleve, John V. Goodson, all of whom have served as prosecuting attorney of the county; Andrew J. Glenn and Morton S. Meisner, former sheriffs; and O. L. Cross, who was county school superintendent.

Residing elsewhere in the county we find Clinton B. Haines, former prosecuting attorney; Ward McDuffee, former county surveyor, and a descendant of George M. Taylor, one of the first county clerks; Al J. Crawford and Clyde Murry, former representatives; John Hollyman, a former county treasurer; W. E. Moss, who served as county school superintendent; and former judges of the county court are: W. E. Bailey, W. H. Johnston and R. V. Miller.

Interest in municipal affairs has received the attention of others. C. O. Powell is now mayor of Macon, with Dr. J. L. Bridgeford and Everett V. Haley serving in the council. The city collector is William D. Coulter; the city attorney is John N. Franklin, son of the late Ben Franklin. The city has a board of public works, and serving on this is R. A. Waller, a former mayor of Macon, and Albert F. Smith.

The Democratic majority in the county was 500 in the year of 1884, and in 1932 it had increased to 3,107.

COUNTY OFFICIALS

The Democratic county officials now serving Macon County are as follows:

W. F. Powers, presiding judge; W. E. Wilkerson, judge, Northern District; Ed. A. Gates, judge, Southern District; W. A. Tibbs, county clerk; Lela Hurst, deputy; William R. Baker, elected, circuit clerk, died December 4, 1932; Frances W. Belcher, deputy; George W. Morgan, deputy at La Plata; Albirtie Wright, probate judge; Lottie Stacy, deputy; Everett Frazee, recorder of deeds; Esther Grimm, deputy; John T. Holman, county collector; Robert Goodson, deputy; James S. Enyart, county treasurer; Charles A. Powell, county superintendent of schools; Famous McNeeley, county assessor; B. R. Williams, sheriff; Ralph L. Talbot, deputy; Dr. W. H. Gooch, coroner; A. J. Glenn, probation officer; John A. Richardson, county surveyor; Chas. W. Heumann, Jr., official court reporter; Glenn D. Evans, representative; Frank P. Briggs, state senator; judge of the Second Judicial Circuit, Vernon L. Drain.

As elected in 1932 the Macon County Democratic Committee is composed as follows:

Middle Fork—Phillip Graves, Mrs. A. L. Eubank; Round Grove—Frank Alvord, Agnes Brown; Ten Mile—William Gates, Mrs. Ethel White; Jackson—Murl Ketcham, Mrs. Alice Waller; Johnston—Fay Thompson, Della Collins; Narrows—Bert Sumpter, Mildred Wisdom; Hudson—Elmer Gaunt, Mrs. Mildred Wisdom; Macon—first ward, O. L. Cross, Opal Brown; Macon—second ward, John N. Franklin, Opal Walker; Macon—third ward, Tom Griffin, Mrs. Albert Downey; Macon—fourth ward, J. D. Hall, Lillian Vestal; Eagle—J. P. Riley, Mrs. W. E. Jones; Lyda—Dr. Paul Conduitt, Mrs. A. C. Dearing; La Plata—F. B. Clements, Mrs. Clark Roan; La Plata—first ward, J. C. Goodding, Mrs. E. R. Adams; La Plata—second ward, R. B. Turner, Lou Belle Haines; East Chariton—Robert E. Powell, Meddie Cox; West Chariton—Frank Cox, Mrs. Rolla W. Dowell; Keota—Bevier—Pearl Miller, Mrs. R. V.

Miller; North Bevier—George Hill, Mrs. Emmett Hall; Bevier—first ward, Thomas Hill, Mrs. Emma Hunter; Bevier—second ward, Edward Simpson, Dorothy Stewart; Liberty—Ordell Gross, Mrs. Bertha Dameron; Independence—North—Elmer Johnson, Mrs. Lou Johnson; Independence—South—Linwood Butler, Mrs. Everett Wiggins; Richland—H. A. Stadley, Mrs. Forest Wright; Morrow—Ollie Burnam, Mrs. Edna Stone; Caliao—H. L. Baker, Ruth Seney; East Valley—Marion Burk, Mrs. E. E. Mott; West Valley, Frank Wood, Mrs. H. D. Brownlee; North Walnut—Clyde I. Murry, Mrs. Pearl Barker; South Walnut—H. C. Young, Bessie Lynch; North Easley—P. E. Jepson, Mary E. Sever; South Easley—Lloyd Baker, Stella Baker; East Lingo—R. L. Goodson, Hannah Baker; West Lingo—T. J. Arbuckle, Mrs. Jim Podzemik; Russell—T. W. Richards, Mrs. G. A. Dowell; White—Roy Cherry, Mrs. J. L. Roan; Drake—H. H. Ratliff, Edna Greenstreet.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

HISTORY OF DEMOCRACY IN MADISON COUNTY

By Melvin Englehart,* Fredericktown

The history of the Democratic Party in Madison County, Missouri, dates back a century. The majority of the early settlers of the county were from the Southern States, including the Carolinas, Tennessee, Kentucky and Virginia. Therefore, it is easily seen that these early settlers carried with them the political faith and teachings of Jefferson and Jackson, and that they early established those principles of political faith in the government of Madison County and handed it down to posterity.

However, it must be said in passing that some of the early settlers were of French nationality and they were Whigs, or later Republicans. The Democratic Party of Madison County wielded its greatest power in the political affairs of the county in that period before the Civil war, because immediately after the great struggle many of them were denied the rights of suffrage and consequently the power passed to the other party.

In the election of 1872, the Democratic Party was showing signs of great strength and from that year until after the administrations of Cleveland, the county government was virtually Democratic. After the Cleveland Administration of 1895, the Democrats began to gain strength, and although there have been spasmodic changes, the party has held control of the county from that time until the present.

Madison County seems to have had few men who were of importance, in the manner of state or national official service, before the Civil war; in fact it was apparently limited to one, Samuel Caruthers, Congressman-at-large in 1853. After the Civil war and at comparatively recent times, we have seen Judge James D. Fox, a Madison County Democrat, ascend to the Supreme Court bench. Many of the strongest leaders of the party in council and organization have been native sons, but are now residents of other counties.

The county now seems to have a fine working organization, and we look to great strength in the future under the leadership of Chairman G. B. Cook. The Young Democrats of the county have organized the N. B. Watts Democratic Club, named in honor of an old reliable and honorable party man, with Melvin Englehart as its president.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

MARIES COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Maries County was organized March 2, 1855. The county took its name from its two streams of water—the Maries and the Little Maries. It is related that Dr. V. G. Latham, who was presiding judge of the county court, had a little daughter, Vie Anna, and her name was chosen for the county seat, but printed Vienna.

William H. Johnston was the first member of the General Assembly in 1856; A. B. Jackson in 1858; T. J. Johnson in 1860; Abraham Johnson in 1862; B. F. Bumpass in 1864; William H. Bowles in 1869; Edmund J. Sorrell in 1871-73; A. P. Rittenhouse in 1875; J. A. Love in 1877-83; Henry V. Warren in 1879-85; C. A. Bennett in 1881; James M. Coppedge in 1887-95; O. A. Glanville in 1889; Gideon P. Skaggs in 1891; George D. Underwood in 1893; John G. Slate in 1897-99; John O. Holmes in 1901; John W. Terrill in 1903; P. F. Letterman in 1905-07; James B. Hayes in 1909-11; F. M. Carrington in 1913-15-17-19; E. W. Allison in 1921-23-25; J. R. Moss in 1927; J. W. Terrill in 1929-31; Andrew Poe in 1933.

The county has been reliably Democratic for many years, and among those Democrats who were active in the organizations of the county were: Geo. W. Pine, Harmon S. Potter, Fred H. Brunk, Eugene W. Nelson, Wade Maxwell, John W. Terrill, J. W. Birmingham, T. F. Branson, William N. Birdsong, James M. Shockley, Leslie B. Hutchison, John T. Davis, Geo. E. Cansler, J. M. Murphy, Sam Travis, Glen Ramsey, Wesley Roberson, C. A. Davis, Clem Graham, Geo. W. Crum, Frank M. Carrington, W. H. Holmes, L. B. Hutchison, J. C. Graham, W. T. John and H. W. Humphrey.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

MARION COUNTY IN DEMOCRATIC HISTORY

By Morris Anderson,* Hannibal

Marion County is a Democratic stronghold. It started on its political career Democratic, fluctuated, as did most of Missouri in those antebellum days, and then, with the overthrow of the Drake Constitution settled down in the Democratic column. A paragraph showing the party's struggles and growth may be of interest to the political student.

In the first election, Andrew Jackson won easily over John Quincy Adams. All records were, however, destroyed by fire. Missouri was at this time entitled to but one representative in Congress. Marion's first recorded vote in 1828 gave Spencer Pettis, Democrat, 344 and David Bates, Federalist, 298. In 1836, Boggs, Democrat, received three more votes for governor than his opponent, but General Harrison, Whig, received five more than Van Buren, Democrat, for President. In the 1840 election the Whig majority was 293.

In 1844, Chas. H. Allen, Independent candidate for governor, lived in Palmyra, and easily carried the county, but was defeated in the state by the Democratic candidate, John C. Edwards. For President, Clay, Whig, received 1,017, and Polk, Democrat, 723. In 1848 the vote for President was Taylor, Whig, 1,048; Cass, Democrat, 795. Because of a party split, the Whigs had sufficient members in the Legislature in 1850 to defeat Colonel Benton for senator, and in 1851 the Democrats in Marion County held a get-together meeting, but notwithstanding this, in 1852, Winston, Whig, defeated Price for governor by 216, and the Whig presidential electors received a majority of 143. In 1856 Fillmore, "Know-nothing" candidate for President, received 1,321, and Buchanan, Democrat, 727. In 1860 the vote for President in the county was Bell, 1,386; Douglas, 1,240; Breckenridge, 432, and Lincoln, 235. In 1864, many citizens could not, or would not, take the oath and the vote stood, Lincoln, Republican, 950, McClellan, Democrat, 428. In 1868, owing to the operation of the Drake Constitution many in the state were disfranchised, and in Marion County 1,818 were registered and 799 rejected. The result was that in 1868 Grant received 973 and Seymour 703. In 1872, the Marion County Democrats supported half-heartedly, Horace Greeley, Liberal Republican, who had been a lifelong enemy of the Democrats, as against General Grant, the regular Republican nominee. The result was Greeley, 2,593, Grant, 1,685; for governor, Woodson, Democrat, 2,635; Henderson, Republican, 1,705. Marion County had now found its place in the Democratic sun and in 1876 gave Tilden 3,099, and Hayes, the Republican candidate for President, but 1,722, and in 1880, Hancock received 3,086 and the ill-fated Garfield, 1,911.

From this time on to the present, with but an exception or two, the county has been overwhelmingly Democratic. In 1928, however, it gave Hoover 7,664 and Smith, 5,679. But to prove that it was still Democratic minded it gave Wilson, Democratic candidate for governor, a majority. As though ashamed of its backsliding, in 1932, it gave Roosevelt 10,203, while Hoover trailed with 4,066.

From 1872, when all were allowed to vote, no Republican has ever held a county office by election, with the exception of two or three county judges from the Eastern District, and J. R. Wisdom, who in 1880 was sent to the Legislature from the Eastern District in the days when the county had two members.

Being a part of the First Congressional District, this county has always been represented in Washington by Democrats, except when two landslides gave single terms to the opponents, after which the district re-

turned to normalcy. Col. William H. Hatch represented this district for seventeen years, from 1878. He lived in this county and his statue stands in the park at Hannibal, erected by friends who admired his services. He was a statesman of great vision, and had served as an officer in the Confederate Army. He is known as the father of the Agricultural Experiment Stations, and his farm just outside of Hannibal, now known as the "Hatch Dairy Experiment Station," is owned and managed by the University of Missouri. He also fathered the first "Oleomargarine Bill," and it was through his efforts that we have a secretary of agriculture in the cabinet. He introduced so many bills in the interest of agriculture, that he was affectionately known as "Farmer Bill."

The long records of his successors have been a credit to the District but they are not of this county. They are, Hon. James T. Lloyd, of Canton, and Hon. M. A. Romjue of Macon, who after many years' service, was one of the fortunate nominees in the state wide primary of 1932.

Marion is part of the Thirteenth Senatorial District, which, likewise has been Democratic since the 'seventies. Geo. D. Clayton, Jr., of Hannibal is now most satisfactorily filling his first term. The late H. Clay Heather, for many years a Democratic leader, was senator from this district, 1900-1904, Shields McClintic, 1882-1900, and R. F. Lakenan, 1876-1880.

Marion is one of the Tenth Judicial Circuit counties which has since the 'seventies been always Democratic. Judge John T. Redd was removed from the bench by the governor because of Southern sympathies, but as soon as all were allowed again to vote in 1872 he was reelected and served until 1880. Judge Thomas H. Bacon served from 1886 to 1892; Judge D. H. Eby from 1898 to 1910; Judge Charles T. Hays, served from 1919 until elected one of the Supreme Court judges, Division No. 1, at the 1932 election. Upon his resignation, Governor Park appointed Hon. Edmund L. Alford, of Ralls County, vice president of the Missouri Bar Association, in his place. Judge Alford has since moved to this county.

ALL DEMOCRATS

Every elective officer in the county in a Democrat. A nomination at the primary being equivalent to an election. The present county officers are presiding judge county court, Henry Riedel, who is also president of Missouri County Judges Association. Judges Oney Bowen and J. T. Crane, district judges; judge of Probate Court, Byrne E. Bigger; clerk of Circuit Court and recorder, Thad R. Smith; clerk Hannibal Court of Common Pleas, Ed. H. Moore; clerk county court, M. K. Byrum; prosecuting attorney, Walter Stillwell; sheriff, Arch Leonard; collector, Ralph J. Smiley; assessor, S. T. McIntyre; treasurer, George O. Dalton; coroner, Roy Schwartz; public administrator, B. F. Brown; surveyor and engineer, Wm. D. Cooper; state representative, Roy Hamlin.

Party lines are not drawn in school elections.

Prosecuting attorneys who have served during the past thirty years are: H. Clay Heather and Lewis O'Connor, deceased; Morris Anderson, Roy Hamlin, Ben Ely and Walter Stillwell.

The following is a list of the members of the Legislature from this county since 1872. All are Democrats. Only one Republican, as before noted, ever being elected. John J. A. Quealy, Frank M. Turner, W. R. Anderson, P. A. Hickman, W. R. Anderson, A. J. Settles, P. A. Ridgley, Robt. F. Lakenan, D. H. Shields, Geo. A. Mahan, W. Shields McClintic, J. F. Davidson, Frank W. Hawkins, Frank Sosey, Madison Schofield, H. Clay Heather, J. W. Head, Madison Nelson, Harry Carstarphen, Eugene Nelson (speaker of the house) and Roy Hamlin.

All county and state campaigns are handled by the Central Committee. The 1932 campaign was most successfully handled by the following members: Ed. M. Plowman, chairman; Mrs. W. B. Fahy, vice chairman; Mrs. Eliza Rouse, treasurer; Wade Gibson, secretary; Herbert O. Ellis, James Shaw, W. J. Mitchell, M. E. Jones, C. E. Cousins, L. E. Frazer, D. H. Sosey, E. F. Fogle, Godfrey Kaden, T. D. Christian, Thomas J. Crane, H. H. Marksbury, E. H. Keller, Mrs. John L. Plowman, Mrs. A. W. Pensoneau, Mrs. Anna O'Donnell, Mrs. Margaret Moore, Mrs. Mary B. Harrison, Miss Sallie O'Connor, Mrs. Madison Nelson, Miss Mary Elizabeth Ross, Mrs. John Kruse, Mrs. Carl McPike, Mrs. Sam Kerrick, Mrs. Sam Gash, and under the supervision of this committee, Marion County was recognized by the Democratic State Committee as the eighth militant Democratic county in Missouri during the 1932 campaign.

During the Primary Campaign of 1932, a Clark-for-Senator Club was organized and did effective work, carrying the county handsomely, and immediately after the Primary, it was merged into a Marion County Democratic Club, part of the Clark Club officers being made officers in the new organization, and all factions united for the campaign. Splendid work was done in conjunction with the Central Committee, and the club is still in existence with permanent headquarters at 223-A Broadway, Hannibal, Missouri. The following were at the helm during the pre-election days; F. J. Walker, president; Mrs. Walter Logan, vice president; R. N. Smashey, treasurer; Miss Elizabeth Kennedy, secretary; Warren Quinlin, sergeant at arms; S. B. Bloom, chairman executive committee. Members of the executive committee; Earl Shackelford, Mrs. Minnie Murphy, Max Bloom, Mrs. Ralph Smiley, Pete Walterscheid, Mrs. W. E. Forrest, James King, Mrs. Bert Hyde, Morris Anderson, Mrs. E. H. Wilson, Earl Cousins, Ben Schaub, Miss Clara Frazer. Finance committee members: Ed. Plowman, chairman; Louis Quirk, F. J. Walker, R. N. Smashey and J. B. Robinson, mayor; C. E. Cousins, Richie Spence, Hal Frazer, R. M. Clayton, Morris Anderson, speakers committee; J. W. Hays (now deceased), chairman; Fred Hulse, John Cable, Harry Carstarphen, Henry Riedel, Morris Anderson.

Hannibal, in its city elections, does not stick absolutely to party lines, but during the past fifteen years Democrats have been consistently elected to the great majority of offices, and since 1921 the Republicans have not been able to register enough strength to get an appointive office. At present every elective officer is a Democrat, as well as all appointive officers where party lines are drawn. The present officers of the city are: Mayor, J. B. Robinson; recorder, Mike Regan; attorney, Fred B.

Hulse; aldermen, Percy Hayden, Chas. R. Knopp, Baxter B. Bond, Louis Taylor, Jas. Shaw, P. M. Walterscheid, Harry Sanders, A. R. Morris, J. C. Lowry, M. E. Jones, D. R. Eckman and W. R. Spence; clerk, R. W. Isbister; collector, J. R. Rice; Wm. J. Schneider, chief of police; engineer, Geo. W. Farrell; street commissioner, John Foley; physician, Dr. John D. Stillwell; overseer of poor, Emmett J. Mahoney; deputy collector, W. Curd Fisher; sanitary officer and electrical inspector, Harry Stickman; assessor, S. T. McIntyre; assistant clerk, Miss Bessie Huston. Other offices are non-political.

MAYORS OF HANNIBAL

The following Democratic mayors have handled the reins of the city since the beginning of the century: Archie C. Robards, T. B. Arnold, J. N. Baskett, F. W. O'Brien, Judge Chas. T. Hays, Morris Anderson and J. B. Robinson.

All campaigns have been conducted by a City Central Committee, whose thorough pre-election day work has had much to do with Democratic success. The present committee is composed of: Elgin T. Fuller, chairman; Walter G. Stillwell, Mrs. E. A. Gwinner, Mrs. Minnie Murphy, L. H. Quirk, R. M. Clayton, Miss Enid Foster, Miss Elizabeth Kennedy, James Shaw, Dan McLaughlin, Mrs. William Forrest, Mrs. Roy Wright, James T. King, J. E. Conboy, Miss Margaret Moore, Mrs. Mabel Vossen, M. E. Jones, Harry Stickman, Mrs. Mary Robinson, Mrs. Mike Brady, Mrs. Mary B. Harrison, Mrs. Frank Kramer, C. E. Cousins and Harry Carstarphen.

For many years the *Hannibal Morning Journal*, edited by the late John A. Knott, former railroad and warehouse commissioner, was a Democratic power in N. E. Missouri. Upon his death the paper was split and consolidated with the *Independent Courier-Post*, and since then Hannibal Democrats have been without a mouthpiece. In Palmyra, however, Sosey Brothers' *Palmyra Spectator*, which has been in one family over one hundred years, is staunchly Democratic and of wide influence.

Frank Sosey was appraiser in the office of the collector of customs, St. Louis, during the Wilson administration. He also served in the Legislature.

The Marion County *Standard*, Carey Brothers, publishers, is a new Democratic paper in Palmyra.

D. Dulany Mahan of Hannibal was recently appointed by Governor Park, a member of the State Highway Commission.

John L. Plowman, United States referee in bankruptcy, is also a resident of Marion County.

S. T. McIntyre, county assessor, the oldest county officer in years of service to the county, is president of the Missouri County Assessors' Association.

William B. Fahy was appointed by President Roosevelt, United States marshal in January, 1934.

J. W. Head of Palmyra is president of the State Fair Board.

The following from Marion County have been delegates to Democratic National Conventions during the past forty years: Henry Riedel, 1928; Ben Hulse, 1924; J. M. Head, 1920; Tom Cousins, 1916; H. Clay Heather, 1912; John A. Knott, 1896.

Admiral Robert E. Coontz, retired, of Hannibal, who has held the two highest offices in the United States Navy, was sent on a speaking trip by the National Committee during the Smith campaign.

It is said that the first woman to vote in the State of Missouri was Mrs. M. K. Byrum, wife of the present county collector. She cast a Democratic vote in a special election in Hannibal.

Hon. Eugene Nelson was speaker of the House during the session of 1931, and has a statewide acquaintance with the Democratic leaders of the state.

Through the passing years many Democrats of Marion County have given of their time, talents and money to the party. They are so numerous that it would be impossible to name them, and to select a few would be unfair. But we desire to say in closing, that when primaries are over, and candidates selected, no county in the state can boast of a more united or militant Democracy than the county of Marion.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

HISTORY OF MERCER COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By Thomas J. Litton*

The history of Mercer County democracy is a record of efforts put forth by a courageous and intelligent group of men whose only hope of reward was the satisfaction of seeing candidates elected to State and Federal offices in whose honesty and ability they confided.

For a quarter of a century or more following the Civil war, it required men of strong convictions, unselfish motives and fearless hearts to support the Democratic ticket in this county.

A more worthy group of men could not be found than those who championed the cause of the Democratic Party in Mercer County, in the sixties and early seventies. They were the fathers and grandfathers of those who are now to be found in the party's most confidential councils. Their voices, silent in death, are no longer heard in the council chamber, but the principles in which they believed and the party which they loved are as boldly proclaimed and proudly supported now as then.

Not one of that generation should be forgotten: Dave Lambert, father of our county chairman, Fred Lambert; Dr. Carlisle, father of Mayor Carlisle, of Princeton; Samuel A. Davenport, grandsire of John L. Davenport, of the State Agricultural Department; Lewis Girdner, grandsire of Arthur Girdner, who has been unanimously endorsed by the county committee for Postmaster at Mercer.

In 1885, when a sixteen-year-old boy, I moved from Kentucky to Mercer County, with my father, the late Alex Litton, and the other members of the family. Father was a strong Democrat and lined up with the minority party of this county. Governor A. M. Dockery was then a young man just in the dawn of his splendid career, and was greatly admired by our family, some of whom had settled in Daviess County.

In a few years I became interested in party affairs and have been trusted with the party's innermost councils for years, and feel because of this intimate association with the leading Democrats of this county, I am prepared to introduce them to the State of Missouri.

Some of those whose names should be remembered, are the following committeemen of many years' service: George Swingle, Frank Gardner, Ross Alexander, J. W. Robinson, Joe George, Charles Saylor, Tobe Vaughn, E. P. Hickman, S. H. Collier, Dr. Perry and John E. Powell.

A few years after the Civil war, Editor Hensley published *The Advance*, a local Democratic paper in Princeton. Mr. Hensley left Princeton a few years later and the late R. W. Steckman and the late Doctor Thompson published the *Princeton Press*, the last Democratic paper of the county. Doctor Thompson was appointed superintendent of Saint Joseph Hospital No. 2. Mr. Steckman published the paper for several years and was the leader of the Democratic Party in this county until a few years preceding his death.

In 1918, the party had been without a local newspaper for ten or fifteen years. The leaders of the party had become old men and the organization was almost inactive. Perhaps no more than four township committees in the county represented the party; and the party was in a pitiable condition.

The Democrats prevailed upon Fred Lambert, a successful real estate salesman in Princeton at the time and a loyal Democrat, to take charge of the party. He was elected chairman of the county committee and has served the party in that capacity ever since.

Because of Chairman Lambert's services, his younger brother, Earl Lambert, was appointed as Congressman Milligan's private secretary. Fred Lambert served four years as chairman of the Third Congressional Committee. He was unanimously endorsed for postmaster at Princeton. Under his leadership the party is in the best condition of its history.

The appointment of John L. Davenport to a state position and of Mrs. Carlisle to a position in the Girl's Industrial School was encouraging to the Democratic Party in Mercer County. Mr. Davenport is known throughout the United States as "the boy who took his house to college with him."

Holland Carlisle is serving his third term as mayor of Princeton. He has a college training, is a good public speaker and has a splendid personality. He was appointed by Chairman Lambert to organize the Young Democratic Club of Mercer County, of which he was elected president. Luther Mabe, a young war veteran, was selected as secretary and Andrew Cotchell as treasurer.

The Democrats of this county have these many years arranged for speaking dates for the state candidates and have distributed the party's campaign literature in all parts of the county, and have contributed money and donated the use of their cars in bringing voters to the polls.

The Democratic vote has gradually been increasing in this county and the Republican plurality is being cut down. We elected Charles Woods to the state legislature, Harve Stanley, sheriff, Clifford George, county treasurer, and carried the county for the state in the last campaign.

NOTE: Mr. Thomas J. Litton wants to submit a proposition to the Democratic leaders of the state, a plan for a Democratic newspaper in Missouri which is proposed by a Democrat, who is held in high esteem in Mercer County; the paper to be owned by the party, controlled by the State Committee, and to be financed by assessing office holders, the stock to be sold to loyal Democrats, and others who are interested in a just and economical administration of governmental powers.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

HISTORY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN MILLER COUNTY

By C. F. Kouns,* Tuscumbia

Miller County lies in south central Missouri, in the northern foothills of the Ozark plateau. Although both areal and quadrilateral centers of the state are located in the northeastern part of the county the distance to the Iowa-Missouri boundary is considerably greater than the distance to the Arkansas-Missouri line. There are about six tiers of counties to the northern boundary of the state, but only five can be counted to the southern boundary. The county seat is Tuscumbia, which is located near the center of the county, is about 160 miles due south of the northern boundary of the state and about 120 miles north of the southern. The distances from Tuscumbia to the eastern and western boundaries of the state are almost the same. Miller County is bounded on the west by Morgan and Camden, on the south by Camden and Pulaski, on the east by Maries, and Osage, and on the north by Cole and Moniteau counties. It contains about 590 square miles of land, being 57th in rank among the 115 counties of the state in regard to area. The extreme length of the county from north to south is approximately 28 miles. A line drawn east and west through the county is 27 miles long.

When the United States Census was taken in 1930, Miller County had a total population of 16,728. Since that time however, a large influx of new citizens have come to us, a great number of which have taken up permanent residence in the Lake of the Ozarks area, due to the construction and development of the Bagnell Dam, located in Miller County near the western border.

Since its organization in 1837, twenty-four presidential elections have been held in Miller County. In these twenty-four contests, the Democratic Party carried the county eight times and the Republican Party sixteen times. The Democratic victories were achieved in 1840, 1844, 1848, 1852,

1856, 1860, 1912, and 1932. In 1864, the Republicans won their first victory in the county. Since then the Republican party has been successful in every victory except two—1912 and 1932.

The people of Miller County for the first time took part in a presidential campaign in 1840. The population at that time was 2,282. In that campaign, the candidates were, Whig—William Henry Harrison, of the famous battle cry of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too!" received but 21 votes as against 317 for Van Buren the Democratic nominee. From the time of its organization until the beginning of the Civil war, the county was predominantly Democratic. After the Civil war the county was ruled by Radical Republicans. On June 6, 1865, 464 votes were cast for and five votes against the new constitution. But the Radicals had allowed only those who took the "Ironclad Oath" to vote on the constitution. The rule of the Radicals was challenged in 1872 by a fusion of the Liberal Republicans and Democrats. The Democratic ranks were also strengthened by the enfranchisement of those who had been in the Confederate Army, or in sympathy with the Confederacy. The Osage River divides the county into two almost equal parts, commonly referred to as "north and south sides." This line separation has been an important factor in the social and political life of the county. The influx of new settlers immediately following the Civil war, mostly were from Pennsylvania, Ohio, and other eastern states, who largely settled on the fertile lands south of the Osage River, making that half of the county predominantly Republican, while the northern half has always leaned slightly Democratic. The largest town in the county is Eldon, on the extreme north, a city of about 3,500 population, and the area around this city, and including the city itself, furnishes a goodly share of the Democratic strength of the county today.

Perhaps the three most noteworthy presidential elections in the history of the county were those of 1860, 1896, and 1912, not to speak of the latest one—1932.

Nearly two and a half times as many men voted in 1860 as in the previous presidential election of 1856. The increase in the number of votes was in part due to the influx of new settlers, but largely due to interest in the election. The Democrats split into two factions, Northern and Southern. John C. Breckinridge the candidate of the extreme pro-slavery men of the South, polled sixty-one per cent of the total vote of the county. Stephen A. Douglas, the Northern Democratic candidate, received 94 votes, Bell, the Union candidate, 193, and Abraham Lincoln, the Republican candidate, but 25.

The campaign of 1896 was one of the most exciting Miller County ever has seen. The chief issue was the free and unlimited coinage of silver, advocated by William J. Bryan, the Democratic standard-bearer. Toward the close of the campaign a "Grand Free Silver Rally" was held at Eldon. It was estimated that 7,000 people were present at the rally. Enthusiastic meetings were held by the Republicans at Iberia and Tusculumbia. The Republican meeting held at Iberia, October 17, was addressed by B. F. Russell, sergeant-at-arms of the National House of Representatives. "Silver Dick" Bland, then a representative in Congress from

this district, added to the color on the Democratic side of the oratorical bombardments. On election day, William McKinley, the Republican candidate, received only thirteen more votes than Bryan, the vote being—McKinley, 1,707, Bryan, 1,694.

WILSON ELECTED

In 1912 the Progressive Party, headed by Theodore Roosevelt, split the Republican strength, and as a result of this schism in the Republicans' ranks, a Democratic candidate for president carried the county the first time since the Civil war. Woodrow Wilson, the Democratic nominee, received 1,257, William Howard Taft, 1,240, and Theodore Roosevelt, 512.

In the election of 1916, when Woodrow Wilson was reelected, the Republican nominee carried the county by about three hundred majority, which was a substantial gain for the Democratic party over their normal strength. This was before the inception of Woman Suffrage.

The Democratic party of Miller County suffered its worst defeat in the year 1920, when Harding swept the nation. The Republican majority that year was about one thousand seven hundred. In 1924, Coolidge's plurality was cut to 1,100; and in the year 1928, when the Hoover-Smith battle was on, old Miller County Democracy held up under the strain much more creditably than did some of our neighboring bailiwicks of Democracy, particularly those lying north of the Missouri River. Hoover carried the county that year by about one thousand four hundred, which for that period was very little more than the normal Republican strength. The off-year following—1930, the county went about seven hundred Republican.

Since the Civil war a Democratic candidate for a county office has been elected only occasionally. It was not until the general election of 1932 that, as a result of the victory of Franklin D. Roosevelt, all Democratic candidates for county offices were elected. A total vote of 6,471 was polled in this election, which was the largest by far ever cast in Miller County. This fact alone stands out as a ghost to the local Republican leaders, and while the party workers for the Democratic party are not unmindful of the fact that a great national trend was the predominant guiding hand in this result, the new voters which have taken up their residence within our borders in the recent two or three years are absolutely unknown to the Republican machine.

The campaign just passed gave the first test of a united Democracy against the supposed impossible barrier, and while the fruits of victory were far sweeter than was anticipated by the most optimistic Democrats, our county, due to its late rapid growth is a "no man's land" politically, for future campaigns, according to the unbiased mind who is willing to give an independent outlook over our situation. A total vote of 6,471 was polled, of which Franklin D. Roosevelt received 3,775, while the leader of the lost cause, Mr. Hoover, received but 2,616. A continuation of an organization similar to the one handling the last campaign, with a like united front which will carry on, having once tasted of sweet victory, is sufficient to cause nightmares in the ranks of our Republican county lead-

ers. It is a safe prediction that Miller County will again be found in the Democratic column, due to many local conditions, other than the 1932 national trend of the political mind.

Since the year 1900, Miller County has been represented by Democrats in the lower branch of the Missouri Assembly, three times. In 1907 Sumpster R. English, of Olean, was the first. In 1913, James R. Proctor, of Olean, also was elected to this post on our ticket. In 1932 Prof. Joe C. Stites, superintendent of the Bagnell high school, was overwhelmingly elected as our state representative.

In 1904, Frank P. Divelbiss, of Spring Garden, was sent to the State Senate, from the 27th Senatorial District. Succeeding him, in 1908, Dr. W. S. Allee, of Olean was elected state senator, and was reelected in 1912. Senator Allee died at the close of his second term.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

MISSISSIPPI COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Mississippi County was formed by an act of the Legislature passed February 14, 1845, from the southern portion of Scott County. The county court was organized in Charleston on April 21, 1845, and was composed of William Sayres, presiding justice, and Absalom McElmurry and James M. Overton, associate justices. George L. Cravens produced his commission as clerk of the court, and was duly qualified. The following constables were then appointed: John A. Gardner, Wolf Island township; Peter W. Mott, James Bayou, and Samuel D. Kennedy, Tywappity township.

For the first five years no effort was made to erect any public buildings, with the exception of a clerk's office, which was completed in the summer of 1846, and is still standing. The county court was held in the storehouse of Henry G. Cummings, and the circuit court, in the Methodist Church. In December, 1837, it was decided to erect a jail on a lot tendered by John Sheppard, but he withdrew his offer, and nothing more was done until 1850, when the contract was awarded to William Sayres. Two years later the present courthouse was erected by James T. Russell.

The circuit court for Mississippi County was organized on September 29, 1845, by John D. Cook.

William Sayers was the first member of the General Assembly from Mississippi County in 1846-1848; Hardin M. Ward in 1850-1852; Benjamin J. Moore in 1854-1856; August Keyser in 1858; Robert White in 1860. In the session of 1877 Henry J. Deal represented the county, after the proscription of the Drake Constitution had disappeared. The county in the General Assembly was always represented by a Democrat, and there were some men of prominence in the number. Henry J. Deal came back, and then Lewis W. Danforth for two terms, followed by Joseph J. Russell,

who became speaker in 1889; Paul B. Moore in 1893-1895; Fred J. Hess for three terms; William G. Lee for two terms, and Edwin P. Deal for three terms prior to his election as state treasurer in 1912. Then A. R. Boone for the session of 1913-15; Robert A. Barry in 1917-19-21; Carl D. Mitchell in 1923; Jos. H. Moore in 1925-27; Robert A. Barry in 1929-31-33.

There were a number of prominent Democrats in Mississippi County who reached distinction, and who were prominent in the councils of the Democratic Party.

Joseph J. Russell began his career as a member of the General Assembly, of which body he became speaker. He represented the Fourteenth District in Congress for four terms; was chairman of the Democratic State Convention in 1910 and 1914. He erected the Russell Hotel in Charleston, which is modern in every way and stands as a monument of interest in his home county.

Paul B. Moore, from a distinguished family of Democrats of that name, served the county in many ways. He was related to the Stephens family, having married the sister of ex-Governor Lon V. Stephens.

Edwin P. Deal, and his family before him, was prominent in the organization of the party and was elected on the Democratic ticket in 1912 as state treasurer. He was at one time one of the most extensive land owners in Southeast Missouri.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

MONITEAU COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Moniteau County was organized February 14, 1845. The county was named for the stream that flows through the western part, and is a corruption of the Indian word *Manitou*, meaning the *Deity*. California, the county seat, was laid out in 1845, and was originally called Boonsboro.

James Enloe was the first member of the General Assembly in 1850; D. E. G. Rollins in 1852; F. W. Hickox in 1854-60; James Inglish in 1856; James Enloe in 1858; J. W. Sappington in 1862-73; J. R. Legg in 1864-67; E. Stinson in 1869; John B. Haas in 1871; H. H. Hudson in 1875; J. P. H. Gray in 1877-81-85; W. C. Alldredge in 1879-97; Boyd Inglish in 1881; D. K. Steele in 1887; Joseph W. Hunter in 1889; J. P. Miller in 1891; George H. Fountain in 1893; David B. Calhoun in 1895; John B. Stewart in 1899; W. H. Sturgis in 1901; G. A. Burkhardt in 1903-05; R. M. Embry in 1907; S. W. Hurst in 1909-11; M. A. Inglish in 1913-23; A. L. Douglas in 1915; W. Joe Allee in 1917-19; F. J. Quigley in 1921; W. H. Schull in 1925; T. E. Clay in 1927; E. R. Lehman in 1929-31; S. C. Mahaney in 1933.

The Democrats in Moniteau County have had to contest for everything they got in many years, and that they secured from time to time a portion of the county ticket is the more creditable to them. Some of

those who were in the organizations of the party, or who contributed to what success was secured were: Will Sarman, R. M. Embry, E. B. Hickcox, Arcus L. Douglas, Bennett Ivy, Dr. H. B. Popejoy, Chas. R. Milburn, Douglas E. Hall, Robert Fulks, Thomas Groves, Everett Pizer, Ripley Alexander, A. N. Harvey, R. A. Wood, E. E. Sturgis, W. T. Hill, D. B. Miller, George Wilson, R. L. Gray, H. G. Howard, J. Robert Elliott, Roland C. Boggs, Jesse Hornbeck, Henry B. Hardy, N. C. Hickcox, J. B. Wolfe, J. B. White, M. A. English, Mat. K. Johnson, David W. Sartain, J. Bernard Gallagher, Thomas M. Hirst, R. L. Gray, Dr. L. M. Gray, John Garnett and J. M. Short.

In 1932 Moniteau County did its part for the New Deal. It gave Franklin D. Roosevelt for President, and Bennett Champ Clark for United States senator, about 1,400 majority.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

MONROE COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Monroe County was organized January 6, 1831. The county was named in honor of James Monroe, the seventh President of the United States, from 1817 to 1825. During his term of office what is known as the "Monroe Doctrine" was enunciated, which Winston's Encyclopedia says: "Was formulated in President Monroe's message of December 2, 1823, in the statement that the United States would consider any attempt to extend the European political system to any portion of America as dangerous to the peace and safety of the American nations. At the same time the American continents were declared to be no longer subjects for colonization by any European power."

Joseph Stevens was the first member of the General Assembly from Monroe County in 1832-34; William N. Penn in 1836; Jonathan Gore and William N. Penn in 1838; Jonathan Gore and Joseph Stevens in 1840; Chas. W. Flanagan and William J. Powell in 1842; John Cessel and Anderson W. Reid in 1844; William Vawter in 1846; Walter Robinson in 1848; William Scott and James F. Botts in 1850; James M. Bean and G. Alexander in 1852; James M. Bean and Samuel Drake in 1854; William M. Sharp and Samuel A. Rawlins in 1856; John N. Parsons in 1858; William B. Giddings in 1860; George W. Moss in 1862; William M. Coulter in 1864; James C. Fox in 1866-69; Milton C. Brown in 1871-73; Patrick H. McLeod in 1875; Marcus D. Blakey in 1877; Thomas P. Bashaw in 1879-81-83; Joseph W. Atterberry in 1885; Robert N. Bodine in 1887-89; Joseph A. Scott in 1891-93; Evan S. Anderson in 1895; James H. Whitecotton in 1897 to 1907; J. Weldon Hardesty in 1909; James P. Boyd in 1911 to 1913; James R. Chowning in 1917; W. E. Whitecotton in 1919 to 1933.

Monroe County has furnished many Democrats who have distinguished themselves in the service of the state and nation.

Robert N. Bodine, who had represented the county in the General Assembly in 1886, was elected to Congress from the Second District in 1896. He was the father of Tom R. Bodine, the present editor of the *Paris Mercury*, whose famous "Scrap Bag" articles are a feature of Missouri journalism. The *Mercury* was established in the early 'fifties by Bean and Mason, and is still one of the strongest papers in the state. Its editorial expressions, under the irrepressible Tom Bodine, are widely copied.

Theodore Brace, who represented the county in the State Senate in 1873 and 1875, was elected supreme judge in 1886 and reelected in 1896. The Brace family was long prominent in the social affairs of the State capital.

William T. Ragland was elected Supreme Judge in 1922, and served with distinction in that body.

Thomas P. Bashaw, member of the General Assembly, and speaker of the house in 1881.

Frank L. Pitts was elected state treasurer in 1896. He was a distinguished officer in the Confederate Army, and lost an arm in the service.

No history of Monroe County would be complete that did not mention H. J. Blanton of the *Monroe County Appeal*. His commentaries under the sobriquet of "Horse Editor" have gained extended repute.

Frank W. McAllister became one of the most distinguished attorney generals of the state following his election in 1916.

Monroe County has always been Democratic, and at one time was the banner Democratic county of the state. Some of the prominent and active Democrats were: Jas. P. Boyd, Robert Bodine, John W. Burton, J. Frank Crow, Thomas F. Hurd, W. T. Ragland, J. W. Atterberry, W. R. Ragland, Robert S. McClintic, Frank W. McAllister, W. M. Farrell, Phil G. Marr, Thos. A. McGee, Ralph W. Nolen, W. M. Meteer, Ezra T. Fuller, Dr. John S. Drake, M. C. Hawkins, W. T. Bell, J. J. Browning, W. T. Blakely, W. O. Hendricks, A. T. Stewart, D. F. Dry, John F. Pike, M. T. Lesley, Penn Brace, T. W. McBride, John T. Glasscock, W. S. Wiley, T. W. McCrary, J. M. Grigsby and Roy B. Meriwether.

The *Paris Mercury* was one of the leading papers, and it graduated many printers who afterwards became prominent editors of the state. Among them may be mentioned the Thompson Brothers—William A., James B. and Richard W.; John W. Jacks, Joe Burnett, John Mounts, and others. Not only were these young men instructed in the art of printing as it was of that day, but both Bean and Mason, the then owners and publishers, were men of the highest type, who inculcated into their subordinates the important attributes of character and manhood.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY, IN THE HEART OF THE
OLD "BLOODY NINTH"

By Hon. James F. Ball,* Montgomery City

This history of the Ninth Congressional District of Missouri is prepared from memory because of the lack of data—which is not at hand. The starting point hereof begins with the year 1860. James O. Broadhead, John B. Henderson, D. P. Dyer, T. J. C. Fagg and Robert A. Campbell, all of Pike County, Missouri, were the representative leaders of the district in politics and at the bar. James O. Broadhead was born on the bank of Big Creek in St. Charles County, near Flint Hill. John B. Henderson was born and reared to young manhood about four miles north of Big Creek, near Troy, Lincoln County. D. P. Dyer was born in Henry County, Virginia, and when about two years of age his father settled near Troy, Lincoln County, in 1838. I don't recall where Judge Fagg was born, but not in Pike County. Robert A. Campbell was the son of a Presbyterian minister and was born in Pike County.

While the above men were leaders of Pike County there came the younger men of prominence who were more or less trained in the legal profession, to-wit: William H. Biggs, Elijah Robinson, David A. Ball and Champ Clark. All of the above named men were prominent as lawyers and the leading politicians of the state.

Of the above number of lawyers, all of them held prominent official positions. John B. Henderson being United States Senator from Missouri, and actively prevented impeachment of Andrew Johnson. James O. Broadhead, while always a Democrat, during the Civil war was a Union man and served as provost marshal of the Eastern District of Missouri. He was made minister to Switzerland under President Cleveland. All of the above named lawyers were Democrats at the beginning of the Civil war. D. P. Dyer was named on the Democratic ticket in 1860 for Circuit Attorney of this district and was elected. After that, however, during the war, being a Union man he became a strong supporter of the policies of Abraham Lincoln. Henderson and Broadhead also supported the administration of Lincoln.

During the reconstruction days of Missouri Dyer was elected to Congress and in the early 'seventies he was appointed by Grant United States attorney for the Eastern District of Missouri. He appointed as his assistant John B. Henderson, and at this time both he and Henderson moved to St. Louis. From that time these two men became the prosecutors of the whiskey ring. It was said because of some remark of Henderson's in the prosecution of the Whiskey Ring, Grant requested Dyer to let him out and thereupon while the prosecution of the Whiskey Ring was still in progress Dyer appointed James O. Broadhead as his assistant. During this time Grant was making the campaign for a third term and both Dyer and Henderson were opposed to his aspirations for the third term. After the conclusion of the prosecution of the Whiskey Ring, Dyer was asked by Grant to vacate the office, which he did, and it is the opinion

of the writer that both Henderson and Dyer were compelled to vacate the office by Grant on account of their opposition to him rather than on account of any remark made by either of these men while conducting these trials.

Of the men above mentioned T. J. C. Fagg was appointed Judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri and also William H. Biggs was elected Judge of the Court of Appeals at St. Louis. R. A. Campbell was elected lieutenant governor of Missouri. Elijah Robinson, born at Millwood, in Lincoln County, held the office of prosecuting attorney of Pike County for two terms and thereafter in 1880 was elected Circuit Judge and in 1884 was one of the prominent candidates for the Democratic nomination for Congress.

David A. Ball was twice elected prosecuting attorney of Pike County and a member of the Senate of Missouri from Audrain, Pike and Lincoln counties. For several elections after he was senator he was a prominent candidate for governor of Missouri. After quitting his aspirations for state preferment he was thrice elected probate judge of Pike County, which office he held at the time of his death. He was born five miles south of Troy, in Lincoln County.

Judge A. H. Buckner was elected to Congress from this District when the Democratic party came into its own after the war, until the election of 1884. In the campaign of 1884 when Buckner declined to be a candidate for reelection the following men from the various counties of the district announced themselves for Congress subject to the Democratic nomination: R. H. Norton, of Lincoln County; Elijah Robinson, of Pike County; John E. Hutton, of Audrain County; Theodrick McDearmond, of St. Charles County, and Judge Crews, of Franklin County. (My recollection is that Crews some time thereafter moved to St. Louis and was elected judge of the probate court of St. Louis).

In the convention which assembled to nominate the congressmen in 1884, because of the great number of candidates and the intensiveness of the campaign this district acquired the name of the Bloody Ninth. After this convention had been in session a number of days in Montgomery City and no nomination made, the convention took a recess to a later date to meet in New London. After being in session there a number of days, J. E. Hutton was nominated, and was elected. When the campaign came on again in 1886 substantially all of the above named men were again candidates, with the addition of Judge C. E. Peers of Warrenton.

The convention in 1886 met at Mexico and after balloting for a long time, John E. Hutton was renominated and was reelected. When the convention met in 1888 at Warrenton, the same men were again candidates for Congress, excepting Crews who had moved to St. Louis. After the convention had balloted for a long while Nat C. Dryden, of Troy, who was leader for Norton, and Sol Hullett, of Wellsville, leader for Robinson, got together and agreed to and did throw a coin heads or tails, as to which, Norton or Robinson, should be nominated. Norton won the nomination and was elected to Congress and served until 1892.

CHAMP CLARK ANNOUNCES

The old feeling which had grown up during these years still existed and in 1890 Champ Clark announced himself for Congress, and it was conceded that Pike and Ralls counties would be for Clark and that Audrain County was doubtful. It was agreed that Clark could not be nominated unless he carried Audrain County, and the fight in that county at the primary named Norton and defeated Clark. Thereupon Clark withdrew further opposition to Norton's nomination.

In the primary of 1892 these two political giants again announced as candidates. Under the call of the Congressional Committee there were sixty-five delegates to be elected from the counties composing this district. David A. Ball, of Pike, was the manager and leader of Clark's campaign, and O. H. (Pat) Avery was the leader and manager of Norton's. These two leaders in their early youth and manhood were school-mates and neighbors. They were both talented, able political strategists and orators. Down in Crawford County Frank H. Farris was the leader for Norton and Tom Woodruff was the leader for Clark. In the convention which was called to meet in Montgomery City in 1892, and did meet, it was found that Clark had carried Pike, Ralls and Audrain counties with thirty delegates, and Norton had carried Lincoln, Montgomery, Warren, St. Charles and Franklin counties with thirty delegates. Crawford County being then entitled to five delegates, had elected two sets of delegates, one for Norton and one for Clark. When this convention assembled in Montgomery City, the convention was never able to elect a chairman. The committee appointed on permanent organization had two reports for chairman, both however, recommended Wick Mason, of Mexico, as secretary, and he was unanimously endorsed by the convention as such. After several days of balloting and fighting over the chairmanship, Henry Clark, a prominent Democrat of Montgomery City, agreed to act as chairman of both sides and not recognize either delegation from Crawford County. This condition continued for several days when finally the Clark supporters made the point of order that the one who had been unanimously elected secretary was the proper chairman of the convention. The chairman promptly declared to the contrary. Whereupon the Clark side of the house, with the secretary in their lead, recognized the Clark delegates from Crawford County, and a gentleman by the name of Davis from Pike County was elected Chairman. Whereupon Clark was by said delegates unanimously named for Congress and thereafter the Norton following nominated Norton and then the convention adjourned, and both factions appealed to the State Committee and the State Committee referred the matter back to a general primary election for delegates in each county of the district. The leaders of the Clark campaign were financially embarrassed and after consultation in secret caucus it was agreed that Clark would not again make a fight for the delegates in Crawford County, but would center the campaign in Montgomery County. As the writer recalls the fact each county selected its delegates as above intimated by primary election all on the same day and the election was called by the State Com-

mittee on the 20th day of August, 1892. The result of this campaign was that Clark carried Pike, Ralls, Audrain and Montgomery, Clark winning in Montgomery County by seven votes. Norton, of course, carried Lincoln, Warren, St. Charles, Franklin and Crawford.

D. P. Dyer was appointed district attorney again for the Eastern District of Missouri, and while serving in that capacity he was appointed to the Federal bench by President Theodore Roosevelt, which office he held to the time of his death.

Montgomery County has furnished some distinguished men, among whom was Thomas Jefferson Jackson See, the leading astronomist of the United States. He was born and reared here, and was educated in the common schools of this county, the University of Missouri and in Berlin. Montgomery County, except for thirteen years has furnished the circuit judges of this district. Judge E. M. Hughes, Judge H. W. Johnson, Judge J. D. Barnett, and at present Judge W. C. Hughes, son of E. M. Hughes, whose term expires in 1934. Judge E. S. Gantt was elected and held the office for 12 years, and Judge Emil Rohrig by appointment held the office for one year.

Nat M. Shelton was born and reared to manhood in Lincoln County in the same community where the other prominent men were born and reared. He was educated in the common schools; reaching his manhood, he studied law, was admitted to the bar and located in Schuyler County, Missouri. In this county he was elected prosecuting attorney, a member of the legislature in both branches, and circuit judge. Thereafter he moved to Macon County where he was again elected circuit judge. He became a prominent factor in Democratic politics in the state and was active in all public affairs.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

MORGAN COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Morgan County was organized January 5, 1833. The county was named for General Daniel Morgan, who commanded the famous regiment of riflemen in the Revolutionary war. The first county seat was Millville, but in 1834 it was removed to Versailles.

William Monroe was the first member of the General Assembly in 1834-36; John B. Fisher in 1838; Hugh W. Miller in 1840; William F. Cole in 1842; John Kelsay in 1844; J. B. McCoy in 1846; William F. Cole in 1848; William Baughman in 1850-52; J. F. Bradford in 1854; Peter R. Burnes in 1856; Shelton S. Abney in 1858; William Baughman in 1860; Henry A. Brierly in 1862; Elisha Taylor in 1864-67; Moses S. Courtright in 1869; John W. Williams in 1871; William Baughman in 1873; Alfred B. Brock in 1875; A. W. Anthony in 1877; David C. Dale in 1879; Daniel E. Wray in 1881; O. A. Williams in 1883; Alfred B. Brock in 1885; Con-

way Jones in 1887; William L. Abney in 1889; John L. C. Woods in 1891; Conway Jones in 1893; Christian Temme in 1895; Cord Bohling in 1897; William B. Hunter in 1899; Henry L. Windler in 1901-03; R. A. Norfleet in 1905-07; I. C. Legere in 1909-11; J. W. Kauffman in 1913-15; H. K. Welpman in 1917; George H. Carpenter in 1919; J. A. Collen in 1921; J. T. Williams in 1923-25-27; R. E. Kirchner in 1929; I. M. Wahlers in 1931; George H. Carpenter in 1933.

William Monroe of Morgan County was appointed state auditor in 1845 by Governor John C. Edwards.

John H. Stover was elected to Congress in 1867.

John A. Hannay was chief clerk of the House in the General Assembly of 1883 and 1885. He was editor of the *Versailles Leader* until 1906, when he removed to California, where he died.

Robert Franklin Walker was elected attorney general in 1892 on the ticket with Governor William J. Stone. Walker was elected Supreme Judge in 1912.

The active Democrats in the organization of the county include John A. Hannay, R. M. Livesay, T. G. Snorgrass, C. W. Kavanaugh, Samuel Daniels, John R. Gunn, Robert Franklin Walker, W. L. Stephens, J. M. Stith, L. S. De Haven, R. L. Hays, John Todd, Lewis Bohling, G. W. King, Richard H. Woods, W. B. Todd, H. M. Marriott, M. S. Wilson, Dr. A. J. Gunn, J. C. Cox, John M. Earp, J. W. Roe, W. S. Parsons, L. M. Reed and Richard H. Woods.

In 1932 the Morgan County Democratic County Committee was organized with John M. Earp as Chairman; Mrs. E. B. Woods, Vice Chairman; R. E. Otton, Secretary, and Mrs. Charles E. Daniels, Treasurer. In the November election Bennett Champ Clark carried the county for U. S. Senator by the following vote: Clark 2,677, Kiel 2,084—a majority for Clark of 593. For President, the vote was: Roosevelt, 2,768; Hoover, 2,000.

* EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

NEW MADRID COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

The courts of New Madrid District were organized in March, 1805, with Richard J. Waters, Elisha Winsor, Henry Masters, John Baptist Olive and Michael Amoreaux on the bench. Joshua Humphreys was the clerk, and George Wilson, sheriff. As the earliest records of the court of quarter-sessions have been lost or destroyed but little is known of its transactions.

By an act of the Territorial Legislature approved December 31, 1813, New Madrid County was established. By an act passed the previous August, Samuel Cooper, Thomas Winsor, Daniel Sparks, John Guething and John Tucker were appointed to locate permanently the seat of justice.

The representatives from New Madrid County to the first Territorial

Assembly in 1813 were John Shrader and Samuel Phillips. This Assembly nominated four men from the county from whom the President chose a member of the Territorial Council. The four nominated were Joseph Hunter, Elisha Winsor, William Gray, and William Winchester. The first named received the appointment. In the Constitutional Convention of 1820 the county was represented by Dr. Robert D. Dawson and Christopher G. Houts.

Joseph Lewis was the first member of the General Assembly from New Madrid County in 1820; Richard H. Waters in 1822-24; John B. Martin in 1826; H. P. Maulsby in 1828-40-42; George G. Alford in 1830; R. D. Dawson in 1832; Thomas Mosely, Jr., in 1834; G. R. Netherton in 1838; F. C. Butler in 1844; John H. Walker in 1846-48; R. A. Hatcher in 1850; Luke Bryan in 1852-56; William Mosely in 1854; Richard Barclay in 1858; R. E. Cloud in 1860; T. J. O. Morrison in 1862-64; John T. Scott in 1867; A. R. Phillips in 1869; F. C. Butler in 1871; Albert O. Allen in 1873; James S. Barnes in 1875; E. L. Newsum in 1877; William Dawson in 1879-81-83; Albert J. Moore in 1885; Abraham R. Hunter in 1887-89; J. W. Jackson in 1891-93-99; D. L. Russell in 1895-97; George W. Steele in 1901-03-05; Matt J. Conran in 1907-09; John N. Mills in 1911-13; O. A. Cook in 1915; R. D. Dawson in 1917-19; C. S. Hale in 1921; Elon Profer in 1923; M. V. Mumma in 1925; T. A. Penman in 1927-31; M. Spitler in 1929; J. S. Wallace in 1933.

During its earlier history the county was quite evenly balanced between the Whig and Democratic parties. For several years the Whig candidate for the State Senate was Robert D. Dawson, and the Democratic candidate Col. Abraham Hunter, and they alternated in holding the office. In 1842 the vote for senator was: George Netherton, Whig, 474; Abraham Hunter, Democrat, 248. For representative, H. P. Maulsby received 343 votes and Joseph Hilterbrand 240.

JOSEPH HUNTER

Joseph Hunter, one of the most distinguished pioneers of Southeast Missouri, came to New Madrid District in 1805, and located on a grant purchased from Joseph La Plante, near New Madrid. Very soon after he removed to Big Prairie, and with his brother-in-law, Samuel Phillips, located near the present town of Sikeston. Joseph Hunter was a son of a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian, who immigrated to America from the North of Ireland prior to the Revolutionary war. During the early settlement of Kentucky the family removed to Louisville. A brother of Joseph, who had been an officer in the Continental Army, received a grant of land on the river above the town in what is still known as "Hunter's Bottom." The mother of Joseph and a sister were killed by the Indians while in a flax-field near their home; a brother, Abraham, also met his death at the hands of savages. Nancy Hunter, another member of the family, is mentioned in connection with the history of Ste. Genevieve.

Upon the organization of Missouri Territory, Joseph Hunter was appointed by President Madison a member of the territorial council. He had a large family, and his descendants are very numerous, embracing

many of the wealthiest and most prominent citizens of that portion of this State. His eldest son, Milford, removed to Grand Gulf, Mississippi. The second son, Abraham, married Sally Ogden, and became the father of three sons and three daughters, viz: Isaac, a judge of the Scott County Court; Joseph, a wealthy citizen of New Madrid, and Benjamin F., living near Sikeston, one of the largest land owners in Southeast Missouri; Catharine, who married first Americus Price, and second Marmaduke Beckwith; Mary, who married Archibald Price, and Amanda. Abraham Hunter in his day was probably the best known politician in Southeast Missouri, and served for twenty years, successively, in one or the other of the branches of the State Legislature. James, another son of Joseph Hunter, married Lucy Beckwith, and had two children: Joseph, killed in the battle of Pilot Knob, and Kate. David, a fourth son, married his cousin Nancy Phillips, by whom he had three children: Samuel, Betty and Jenny. Joseph Hunter, Jr., married Elizabeth Johnson, and was the father of two children: Maria, who married Maj. James Parrott, and Ann, who became the wife of Joseph H. Moore. Thomas, the youngest son of Joseph Hunter, Sr., married Eliza Meyers, and reared two children: Nannie Kate, wife of Col. Thomas Brown, of Columbus, Ky., and Senator William Hunter. Of the daughters of Joseph Hunter, Mary married Andrew Giboney, of Cape Girardeau, whose daughter was the wife of the late Hon. Louis Houck, and Hannah married Mark H. Stallcup, of New Madrid County.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

NEWTON COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By H. S. Sturgis,* Neosho

Newton was a Democratic county before the Civil war, as a majority of the inhabitants were from Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia and other southern states and they had a party paper, the *Patriot*, edited by A. M. Sevier who had come from Tennessee. Democratic officers had control of the county records during the war, the county treasurer being R. A. Hening who kept intact all the county funds. Following the war when many Democrats were disfranchised and immigrants came from Wisconsin and other northern states the Republicans gained the upper hand for awhile, and by fusion with the Greenbackers carried the county a few times. Reorganization of the Democratic party began in the fall of 1869 when Mr. Sevier established the *Neosho Times* as a party organ. Sevier was a strong editorial writer and later was elected state railroad commissioner. J. A. Stockton then joined him as one of the publishers. M. E. Benton, a young lawyer from Tennessee, came to Neosho in 1871 and soon took leadership of the party. He was a grand nephew of Sen. Thomas H. Benton. From that time on till 1894 the Democrats generally elected a majority of their county ticket. Associated with Benton in the

party councils were B. J. Morrow who was circuit clerk and recorder, the three McElhanys, James R., John T. and Henry C., Aaron Choate, sheriff; Judge W. I. Price, probate judge; Judge Joseph Cravens, circuit judge; John F. Shannon, who was sheriff in 1888, and postmaster under President Cleveland, Hugh and B. P. Armstrong, Frank Featherstun and J. T. Albert of Seneca, Judge J. E. and John C. Alexander and Harry Osbourn. Among the lawyers who took the stump in the campaigns during the two decades from 1880 to 1900 were A. J. Harbison, Lyman W. White, James H. Pratt, George Hubbert, John B. Murray and Colonel Benton. Benton was elected prosecuting attorney in 1874, and became such an influential figure in politics that President Cleveland appointed him United States District Attorney for the western district of Missouri in 1885. He was elected to Congress from this district for five terms beginning his first term in 1896. He served as a member of the state constitutional convention which was his last service in public life. He died in 1924. The life of Benton was closely interwoven with the history of the Democratic party of the county for almost fifty years and his leadership was generally recognized. John T. Sturgis came to the county as a young lawyer in 1888 and was elected prosecuting attorney in 1890. He was in partnership with Benton in law practice at this time. He was elected to the Springfield court of appeals in 1912 and was appointed a commissioner of the supreme court in 1930.

The county Democratic paper, the *Neosho Times*, changed ownership in 1890, Sevier and Stockton selling to R. G. Weisell and H. S. Sturgis, who continued in partnership as owners and publishers until 1898, when Weisell sold out and went to Iowa, Sturgis remaining with the paper. The *Times* has never wavered in its faith in Democracy and has never failed to receive support as the county Democratic organ. Weisell was secretary of the county committee and an influential man in party councils. J. E. Hinton, circuit clerk for twelve years ending in 1890, and P. R. Smith, county clerk for twenty-four years ending in 1894, were strong party men. D. P. Weems of Newtonia, one of the large Democratic family of the name, in the eastern part of the county, was county collector; J. H. Centers of Neosho was assessor, county clerk and circuit clerk.

In the election of 1892 Cleveland carried the county by ninety-six majority and the Democratic county ticket was elected, but in 1894, because of the panic, the Republicans carried the county by a big majority and elected a ticket composed largely of school teachers, as the party leaders didn't want the nominations. From that time on the county has been Republican more times than Democratic, and as a result the county officers have been largely Republican. More recent leaders of the party have been Dr. E. M. Roseberry who was county chairman several campaigns and a representative in the Legislature; L. E. Mitchell who was county chairman in 1920 and 1924; W. A. Phipps, who was probate judge three terms; I. H. Collier, A. J. Thomas, J. M. Sanders and B. W. Bridges, who were sheriffs in succession; S. E. Brown of Berwick and J. D. Brookshire of Diamond, were representatives in the Legislature and W. A. Chandler of Seneca was a delegate to the Dallas convention in 1928. Leo H. Johnson was prosecuting attorney, 1916 to 1918, and is in demand as a speaker

in all campaigns. L. D. Rice was county chairman several times and is now prosecuting attorney for the second term.

The election of 1930 was about an even break for the two parties but in 1932 the Democrats elected their entire ticket by a large majority.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

NODAWAY COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Nodaway County was organized February 14, 1845. Named for the stream flowing through it. The name is a corruption of *Ni-di-wah*, a Sac and Fox Indian word, meaning "hearsay." (It will be remembered that the original designation of Holt County was Nodaway). The county seat, Maryville, was laid off in 1845, and named for the first resident lady, Mrs. Mary Graham.

Nodaway County with Atchison, Andrew, Buchanan, Holt and Platte counties, formed the original Platte Purchase. The acquisition of this valuable territory is fully described in these volumes. Thomas H. Benton introduced the bill in Congress for the purchase, and his colleague, Senator Lewis F. Linn, gave the bill strong support.

Thomas A. Brown was the first member of the General Assembly from Nodaway County in 1846; William Cook in 1848-50; Thomas A. Brown was back in 1852-54; Perry H. Talbot in 1856; Francis P. Davis in 1858; Amos Graham in 1860; Alonzo Thompson in 1862; Josiah Coleman in 1864; Wm. A. Jones in 1867-69; M. B. W. Harmon in 1871; Scott K. Snively in 1873; Joseph Updegraff in 1875; Albert P. Morehouse in 1877; Thomas C. Ellis in 1879; Cyrus A. Anthony in 1881; A. P. Moorehouse and L. D. Cook in 1883; Cyrus A. Anthony and H. McCoy in 1885; John F. Daniel and George O. Cobb in 1887; John B. Kildow and Albert W. Florea in 1889; Elijah W. Bishop and Albert W. Florea in 1891; Charles Buholts in 1893; James F. LeFavor in 1895; Robt. C. Vanderhoef in 1897; Joab Nicholas in 1899; Chas. J. Colden in 1901-03; James H. Lemon in 1905-07-09; Anderson Craig in 1911; John W. Praiswater in 1913; Chas. Hyslop in 1915; William Job in 1917-19; Jesse Miller in 1921; William Job in 1923-25-27-29-31-33.

Nodaway County has been a political battle-ground for many years, and only through thorough organization and leadership have the Democrats secured some offices. This county gave to the state government a distinguished citizen in Albert P. Morehouse, who was elected lieutenant-governor in 1884 on the ticket with John S. Marmaduke. It has now an active Democrat on the Supreme Bench in George R. Ellison, a member of the distinguished Ellison family. Others who can be cited for services to their party are: William Job, George Hepburn, Geo. H. Westfall, James W. Blagg, state senator, M. E. Ford, Roy Fitzsimmons, Richard Tobin, Dwight Davis, Chas. F. McCaffrey, Arch Frank, E. F. Woodward,

William F. Jackson, John W. Thompson, William Kelley, Alvin Bingham, L. C. Cook, J. B. Newman, M. A. Peery, John M. Dawson, W. G. Sawyers, John Murrin, Guy C. Clary, J. W. Wiley, D. R. Baker, Charles Talbott, W. M. Blackford, Fred J. Yoemens, W. R. Tilson, Arch Frank, Fred C. Newton, S. H. Roach, Geo. M. McNeill, P. R. Growney, E. K. Bailey, W. W. Jones, and James Todd.

In 1920 when women were granted the right of franchise they responded in Nodaway County with a complete organization, as follows: Mrs. J. D. Robinson, chairman; Miss Beatrice Winn, secretary; Mrs. Harvey, treasurer; Mrs. J. E. Pierpoint, Mrs. S. A. Roach, Mrs. Elsie Woolridge, Mrs. J. C. Carmichael, Miss Louise McCann, Mrs. Wroe Carpenter, Mrs. John Wilson, Mrs. Hiram Day, Miss Elizabeth Flynn, Mrs. Chas. Ferguson, Mrs. R. S. Ferguson, and Mrs. Will Linebough.

In 1932 Nodaway County came through with a great endorsement of the New Deal. Roosevelt and Clark carried the county by practically 4,000 majority.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

OREGON COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Oregon County was organized February 14, 1845. It was named for the territory then under discussion for admission into the Union.

The first member of the General Assembly was Thomas J. Howell in 1846-48-50-54; W. S. Allen in 1852; Thomas Simpson in 1856-58; John R. Woodside in 1860; in 1862 not represented; David Bricker in 1864; John Alley in 1866; J. A. Rice in 1869; Thomas J. Howell in 1871-75; M. G. Norman in 1873; J. P. Woodside in 1877; Samuel W. Greer in 1879; Thomas J. Braswell in 1881-83; N. B. Allen in 1885; W. F. Collier in 1887; Samuel W. Greer in 1889-91; M. G. Norman in 1893; J. P. Woodside in 1895; John M. Cox in 1897-99; Emelius P. Dorris in 1901-03-05; T. J. Braswell in 1907-09; W. C. Paynter in 1911; H. A. Clark in 1913; Mathew C. Culp in 1915; L. D. Howell in 1917-19; George H. Miller in 1921-23; Charles C. Jackson in 1925 to 1931; J. N. Florea in 1933.

Oregon County has been considered a Democratic county and has always effected a good organization to help the state and national tickets. Those Democrats who have been active in the party are included in the following: Wight Simpson, Benjamin Childers, G. M. Humphrey, W. J. Highfill, L. P. Norman, J. P. Woodside, Edward Stropp, W. D. Weaver, James A. Payne, J. D. Brooks, Noah Bell, James H. Jones, J. W. Harmon, Dr. D. C. Plummer, R. A. Young, J. C. Johnson, J. B. Gum, J. B. Wilson, W. N. Huddleston, J. Henry Johnson, N. P. Allen, O. L. Meek, J. F. Elliott, J. H. Ramsay, B. F. Couch, Dan W. Roy, Lewis Depriest, Gordon P. Harris, C. W. Black, Gordon P. Davis, Oris Campbell and W. F. Allen.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

OSAGE COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Osage County was organized January 29, 1841, and named for the river which forms the greater portion of its western boundary. The Osage River was named by the French more than 100 years ago from the tribe of Indians upon its banks. The word is a corruption of *Oua-chage*, or *Ou-chage* (whence Wahsatch), and as applied to an individual means "the strong." Linn, the county seat, is named in honor of Senator Lewis F. Linn.

Andrew Alexander was the first member of the General Assembly from Osage County in 1842; Oliver W. Holmes in 1844; W. W. Reynolds in 1846; Charles H. Gregory in 1848; A. E. Rowden in 1850; Zach Isbell in 1852-54; Lebbens Zevely in 1856; Jos. M. Clark in 1858; John W. Blount in 1860; Lebbens Zevely in 1862; J. B. Cooper in 1864; Will J. Knott in 1869-71; Henry Marquand in 1873; Joseph P. Wagner in 1875; L. A. Lambert in 1877; John H. Diercks in 1879; C. W. Holtschneider in 1881; J. M. Dennis in 1883; Herman Gove in 1885; William F. Cochran in 1887; Alonzo Tubbs in 1889-91-93-95-97-99; Alfred A. Speer in 1901-03-05-07-09; J. W. Vosholl in 1911-13; Jas. Robinson in 1915; Dr. A. H. Rickoff in 1917; Gerhard Plassmeyer in 1919-21-23; George Polk Player in 1925; E. M. Zevely in 1927-29; John Klebba in 1931; H. C. Mertens in 1933.

By always maintaining a thorough organization the Democrats of Osage County have been able at times to get some of the county offices. Those active in party work include: Joseph Nilges, W. A. Gensert, C. J. Vaughan, Herman Gove, Bayard Mosby, E. M. Zevely, Lafe Vaughan, Geo. W. Boone, John T. White, R. O. Shobs, Lee Green, John Kelly, James Robinson, Ben Schanwecker, James B. Cox, John B. Crum, John C. Vaughan, James D. Franklin, Anton Otto, Henry Schroeder and H. M. Jett.

In the election for United States Senator in 1932 Bennett Champ Clark carried Osage County over Henry Kiel by nearly 1,400 majority.

In the November election of 1932 the following Democrats were elected on the county ticket:

Joseph Suellentrop, circuit clerk and recorder; L. L. Robinson, county judge; Ben F. Schwartz, county judge; Paul B. Dessieux, probate judge; Jacob Kramer, collector; H. M. Lueckenhoff, county clerk; Guy Vaughan, assessor; J. Hazell Mosby, prosecuting attorney; John Otto, sheriff; Joseph Neuner, treasurer; P. H. Nilges, public administrator; H. C. Mertens, member General Assembly; J. O. Cooper, coroner.

OZARK COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Ozark County was organized January 29, 1841. In 1843 the name was changed to Decatur, in honor of the famous fighting commodore, Stephen Decatur, but in 1845 its present title was restored. The first county seat was Rockbridge, near the north line, which subsequently was changed to Gainesville.

Elijah H. Hudson was the first member of the General Assembly in 1842; not represented in 1844; Robert Hicks in 1846-48; William R. Neill in 1850-52; G. C. McSpadden in 1854; Robert Hicks in 1856-58; Charles S. Neill, coupled with Douglas County, in 1860; Robert Hicks, coupled with Douglas County, in 1862; T. P. Bruton, coupled with Douglas County, in 1864; M. C. Martin in 1866; Wm. H. Norris in 1869-71; R. Q. Gilliland in 1873; Wm. A. Love in 1875-77; John W. Souder in 1879; Wm. H. Norris in 1881-83; A. J. Coffey in 1885; Joseph B. Pilant in 1887-89; Joseph N. Murphy in 1891; William Mahan in 1893-95; George R. Curry in 1897-99; Marshall H. Hutchison in 1901; Larkin E. Brown in 1903; James R. Small in 1905; William Mahan in 1907-11; James J. Kyle in 1909-13-15; G. W. Collins in 1917; G. Plassmeyer in 1919; James J. Kyle in 1921; G. W. Rogers in 1923; Ora P. Murphy in 1925; James F. Lawson in 1927-29; S. F. Amyx in 1931; George W. Collins in 1933.

While there has been very little gained in the way of public office in Ozark, the Democrats have always had a thorough organization of the County Committee. Those active in the campaigns include Simon S. Singer, G. W. Boone, S. H. Emory, John T. White, J. D. Cook, W. R. Harris, Hardy Shanks, N. Shanks, Walter Smith, J. K. Dunnigan, G. W. Dean, Clarence Bascom, John Johnson, Robert Thompson, Andy Johnson, W. C. Boone, J. W. Robbins, L. A. Shanks, James W. Terry, George W. Lightner, James W. Fields, A. D. Harrison, Herbert E. Pace, D. Farmer, J. T. Prigmore, J. F. Strickland, Charles Davis, S. J. Williams, J. B. Norton, James W. Fields, C. F. Grisham, J. T. White, Joe Cowart, Monroe Mackey, Homer Owens, A. D. Harrison, J. W. Hill, S. W. Daniels, John Davis, Oscar Conrad, L. A. Kelly, Fray Johnson, O. T. Sims, Frank Morris, J. W. Brown, Oliver Claybrook, Otto Enlow, J. M. Loftis and Austin Pinkney.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

PEMISCOT COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Pemiscot County was organized by an act of the Legislature approved February 19, 1851, and included all of New Madrid County south of the following line: "Beginning in the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi immediately opposite Major's mill race, and running thence

along said mill race to the Cushion Lake Bayou, thence along said bayou to Cushion Lake; thence along the middle of said Cushion Lake to a point opposite to the head of Collins Lake or Portage Bay; thence to the head of Collins Lake, or Portage Bay; thence along said lake or bay to the junction with Little River, and thence due west to the eastern boundary of Dunklin County."

From 1862 to 1865 the county court did not convene. In April, 1862, the county records were taken to Memphis by Major Carleton, then clerk of the court, who returned them to the county again in August, 1865, with the loss of one or two unimportant books.

In March, 1863, T. J. O. Morrison secured the passage of a bill extending the jurisdiction of the courts of New Madrid County over Pemiscot County, and this arrangement continued until the reorganization of the courts.

No circuit court was held from 1860 to 1868. In 1866 Judge Albert Jackson came to hold court, but, being strongly prejudiced against this section of the state, he sought some excuse to adjourn. This he found in the fact that the old seal had been broken, and a new one put in its place. He therefore decided that every instrument issued under the new seal was void, and went home without transacting any business.

When Pemiscot County was first organized in 1851 the offices were filled by the following: Circuit clerk, Theodore Case; county clerk, Geo. W. Carleton; sheriff, Robert Stewart.

The county was represented with New Madrid County until 1866. However, Robert E. Cloud was elected in 1860. He was strong for the South and left the state with Governor Jackson in 1861. In 1862 he met with a remnant of the Legislature in the Mississippi River within the jurisdiction of Pemiscot County.

From 1866 to 1886 Pemiscot County was represented in the General Assembly by James P. Stincil, S. H. Steel, H. M. Darnell, George W. Carleton, H. C. Garrett, Chas. B. Faris, in 1891; John F. Averill, 1897-99; Frank D. Roberts, 1901; Arthur L. Oliver, 1905; Sterling H. McCarty, 1911-13; Von Mayes in 1915; A. Sloan Oliver in 1917; Sam J. Corbitt in 1919; H. Paul Bestor in 1921; H. E. Doermer in 1923; W. P. Robertson in 1925; H. T. Simpson in 1927-29-31; H. M. Buckley in 1933.

Democrats who deserve mention include: Everett Reeves, A. G. Mosely, H. V. Litzenfelner, P. S. Payne, Louis H. Schultz, Dr. L. J. Brannon, H. Highfill, Hina C. Schult, J. R. Brewer, J. D. Huffman, W. H. Carter, Dr. C. A. Wells, and Robert L. Ward.

In 1920, the Woman Suffrage Amendment allowing women to vote, the county formed a complete committee of women to bring out the vote. It was composed of the following: Mrs. N. C. Hawkins, chairman; Mrs. R. L. Ward, secretary and treasurer; Mrs. J. A. Baker, Mrs. H. E. Doermer, Mrs. P. B. Bester, Mrs. J. W. McCullough, Mrs. Allen, Mrs. Von Mayes, Mrs. A. R. Sanders, Mrs. M. G. Manuel, Mrs. J. W. Wallace, Mrs. E. W. McKnight, Miss Mae Fisher, and Mrs. Thomas Lester.

In 1932 Bennett Champ Clark carried Pemiscot County by a majority of 3,496.

A history of this county would be incomplete if James S. Wahl was not mentioned. He is one of the upstanding business men of Southwest Missouri, and has always been identified with the movements for the advancement of that section. He has been a Democrat who never sought office, but whose influence throughout the Southeast has always been helpful to the party. He was strongly against prohibition, believing it wrong in every way to the interests of society and the state, and during all the years in which prohibition was the law he believed the people would finally repeal it.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

REVIEW OF DEMOCRATIC PARTY ACTIVITIES IN PERRY COUNTY

By Albert J. Graff,* Perryville

Immediately after the Civil war, political conditions in Perry County were in chaotic condition. In the election of county officials, political lines were almost non-existent. Often there were as many as four Democrats on the old fashioned ticket for the same office and perhaps one Republican. Party lines were more sharply drawn for candidates for the legislature. Democrats were elected to the legislature for many years before the Civil war and continued to be elected during and after the war for many years. Arch H. Cashion seems to have been elected in the year 1896.

Samuel J. Tilden for president and Phelps for governor carried Perry County by good, safe majorities. From 1876, the Democrats were successful in the county, electing most of the county officers; occasionally a Republican would slip into office in the county. Early in the eighties the young Democrats began to try to get control of the party machinery and the Old Guard fought desperately, with the result that the Democratic majority began to slip, so that by 1894 they carried the county by only 20 Democratic majority. In the campaign of 1896, the free coinage of silver was the dominant issue. The Democratic Party in Perry County split wide open. Many Democrats resented the nomination of William Jennings Bryan over "Silver Dick" Bland; others were afraid of silver. That was the beginning of the triumph of the Republican Party in Perry County—McKinley's majority was 71. Emanuel Estel, county collector, and William A. Difani, county assessor, were the only Democrats elected in the county. In 1898 the county went Republican by a majority of 90, and Estel for collector and Chalmer F. Luckey, county clerk, were the only Democrats elected.

The Democrats made a partial come-back in 1900, McKinley's majority being only 34, and six Democratic county officers were elected. The Republican majority in the county in 1902 was 63 and five Democrats were elected to county offices. Theodore Roosevelt's majority in 1904 was 203; only two Democrats were elected to county offices. In 1908, Taft's ma-

jority was 205, and L. M. Anderson, Democratic candidate for county treasurer, was the only Democrat elected.

The three-cornered contest for president in 1912 gave Taft a plurality of 172; Roosevelt was a bad third with only 86 votes, Perry County being one of fifteen counties in Missouri which gave Taft a plurality, Wilson carrying the other 99 counties. The Republicans carried Perry County by a majority of 700 in 1918. The high water mark for Republican success came in 1920, when the Republican majority for that year was 2,141, and not a Democrat in Perry County was elected. Since the year 1920, the Republican majority has been gradually reduced at each election, by strong persuasion by the leading Democrats. Those who remained at home in the election of 1920 were brought back each year to cast their vote for Democracy, after they had traveled the disgraceful route and had played "dead doggie" for a season. The campaign in the year 1920 was the most disgraceful in the history of Perry County, because the Democratic party was split wide open, and the Democrats were fighting each other like cats and dogs; they deserved only defeat, which, of course, could only be expected—not a defeat by the Republicans, but a defeat by the Democrats themselves.

Before the Civil war, Isadore Moore, Perry County's first member of the legislature, Henry Caldwell, Joab Burgee, Thomas Riney, Dr. Reuben Shelby, Col. Robert M. Brewer, Henry Burns, and his son Henry Burns, James A. Burgee, and John J. Seibel, were some of the post war leaders. The late eighties and early nineties found Joseph G. Weinhold, John B. Davis, Chalmer F. Luckey, James T. Greenwell, Dr. D. F. Morton, William Martin, J. Matt Manning, L. M. Anderson and Hon. Edward Robb the leaders of Democracy in Perry County. Hon. Edward Robb served as prosecuting attorney, member of the Legislature, assistant attorney general of Missouri, and finally congressman from this congressional district for eight years. Wm. A. Difani, Judge Charles Palisch and Emanuel Estel were the leaders of the party in the late nineties. From 1900 to the present time there have been many outstanding Democrats who always came up for plenty of punishment: A. E. Doerr, Dr. J. P. Clark, Dr. W. H. Barks, Dr. G. A. Blaylock, Judge Claus Stueve, Judge Adolph Schmidt, Sam Price, and Neno Barber; but they carried on, not a losing fight at all, because they held their lines for many years, and are still ready to battle, and in the last campaign, many of them were called on for their valuable advice which was always found to be sound and greatly appreciated; and very much needed.

In the year 1924, Albert J. Graff was chosen chairman of the Perry County Democratic Committee, and with the able and militant assistance of the Democratic County Committee, and Dr. F. M. Vessells, Sr., major retired, Dr. F. L. Cissell, Ben Lane, A. H. Zoellner, editor of the *Perry County Sun*, P. B. Hood, A. E. Doerr, Dr. W. H. Barks, Dr. G. A. Blaylock, Gordon Griffith, Mrs. Blanche Griffith, Mrs. Grace Nesslein and many other loyal Democrats, carried the banner of Democracy through the fight, when in 1928 the Republican majority was under 700 and Alfred E. Smith lost the county by only 57 votes. In the election of 1932 the victory

was gained, the goal reached, with a majority for Franklin D. Roosevelt of 1,108 votes, a large majority for Guy B. Park, Bennett Champ Clark, and all thirteen Democratic candidates for congress. Every Democratic candidate for state office was elected and eight out of ten county officers were elected, two Republicans slipping in by only a few votes.

This victory was gained without funds from State or National Democratic Committee. Not a penny was contributed from outside of Perry County. The young Democrats of Perry County have recently organized a Young Democratic Club, which now has a membership of about 200, and will be greatly increased. Edward Brewer is president of the club; Mrs. Blanche Griffith is secretary, ably assisted by Gordon Griffith, Gentry Nations, Bennie Schindler, Mrs. Clela Govro, Mr. Dennis Govro, Mrs. Grace Nesslein, Judge and Mrs. Homer M. Graff, and a legion of other fine up-standing young Democrats.

They will continue to carry the banner to victory for the Democratic Party for many more years. At the present time Albert J. Graff is chairman of the Perry County Democratic Committee. Mrs. Blanche Griffith is vice president; A. H. Zoellner is secretary.

The members of the county committee are Albert Pouyer, Mrs. Josephine Hagan, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Cissell, Albert Abernathy, Mrs. Sadie Abernathy, Judge Claus Stueve, Mrs. Henry Schlichting, W. B. Cline, Miss Cora Morrison, Bert Knox, Mrs. Willie Moore, Ben Clifton and Mrs. G. N. Bess.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

DEMOCRACY OF PETTIS COUNTY

By D. E. Kennedy,* Sedalia

The history of the Democratic Party in Pettis County antedates the formation of the county in 1833; the earlier settlers were mainly from Kentucky and were followers of Andrew Jackson, among them were Nimrod Jenkins, who settled in the county in 1818; Abner Clopton; George Heard, who built the first house in Georgetown in 1833; Clifton and Watson Wood, pioneer merchants and bankers; Reece Hughes, Judge James Ramey, D. John Montgomery, and many others whose descendants live in Pettis County and consistently vote the Democratic ticket.

Prior to the Civil war, all county offices were filled by Democrats, and in the election of 1860, the vote was evenly divided between Douglas and Bell, Lincoln receiving but two votes in the county; after the Civil war the Democrats carried the county with varied success until the present time.

The growing county attracted many new citizens; among these we may mention Col. John F. Phillips, George G. Vest, Russell Hicks, the splendid Gentry families and a long line of active Democrats who added much to the party's spirit prior to and after the Civil war: Colonel Phil-

lips was an officer in the Union Army and reputed to be an ideal soldier, afterwards a member of Congress, judge of the Kansas City Court of Appeals, and United States district judge under appointment from President Cleveland; Colonel Phillips was a wonderful lawyer, a finished orator, very dignified and without a sense of humor. It is related that when he was a candidate for congress in 1880, his opponent was a man named Rice, who was nominated by the Greenback party and endorsed by the Republicans, and was very little known in the district; Phillips in the campaign would ask "Who is this man Rice, I never heard of him." After the election he received a telegram which read, "My name is Rice, I am the man who beat you for congress." Later on Phillips was invited to dinner to the home of a friend in Versailles. The dinner consisted of courses of rice and Phillips never got over it. However, he was a great man and a great judge.

His partner, George G. Vest, was known in every household in the state. First a member of the Confederate Senate, and afterwards a member of the United States Senate, he left an impress on the history of Missouri during that period. Phillips, Vest and Russell Hicks were law partners in Sedalia for many years and associated with them for a time was James B. Gantt, later one of the most distinguished members of the Supreme Court of this state, and one of the most beloved.

GEORGE VEST KNEW HIS ENGLISH

Vest was master of the English language as well as of invective when necessary; his power over an audience was beyond comprehension, and he possessed a rare sense of humor. On one occasion when trying a case in the circuit court at Jefferson City, his opponent was a very tall corpulent gentleman, while Vest was small in stature; Vest in the trial of the case continuously interrupted the opposing counsel who finally lost his temper and said to Vest, "If you don't keep still and stop interrupting me I will swallow you." Quick as a flash Vest came back, "If you do you will have more brains in your stomach than you have in your head." Senator Vest died at Sweet Springs, Saline County, where he had lived during his later years.

ED. NOTE:—The old courthouse at Warrensburg where Vest made his famous dog speech, was long pointed out to the passer-by as a relic of that occasion.—This classic is preserved in Stevens' "Centennial History of Missouri, 1820-1921," S. J. Clarke Pub. Co., Vol. II, p. 517.

John T. Heard, a son of George Heard, one of the earlier pioneers, represented the Seventh Congressional district for many years, was a distinguished lawyer, and one of the old school Democrats.

The Democrats of Pettis County were represented on the State Committee at various times; William H. Powell, for eight years; D. E. Kennedy four years, and Harvey L. Terry for the past ten years.

One of the largest gatherings of Democrats brought together in the State was held in Sedalia in 1892, and was addressed by Adlai I. Stevenson who was elected vice president that year. More than fifty thousand

people assembled at that meeting. Stevenson said: "I was told when I came here I would talk to thousands, but I did not expect a million."

At the election in 1872, Maj. William Gentry, candidate for governor on the Liberal Republican ticket carried the county; in 1876, Tilden and Phelps carried it by large majorities; in 1880 Hancock and Crittenden were successful; in 1884, Cleveland and Marmaduke carried it, Marmaduke by an unusual majority; in 1888, Cleveland and Francis; in 1892, Cleveland and Stone and the entire local ticket; in 1896 Bryan swept the county and all local offices were filled by Democrats; in 1900 Bryan and Dockery by safe majorities; in 1904, Roosevelt and Folk carried the county. In 1908, Bryan and Cowherd were in the majority. In 1912, Wilson and Major swept the entire Democratic ticket into office; in 1916 Wilson and Gardner brought the same result; in 1920, 1924, 1928, the Republicans carried the county except that in 1924 Dr. Nelson, the Democratic candidate for Governor, had a majority, while 1932 is present history,—the Democrats had a majority of more than six thousand.

While the Republicans carried the county in recent presidential years, the Democrats have been successful in the "off" years, and control practically all of the county offices with exception of those of circuit judge, judge of probate and circuit clerk.

The Democrats of Pettis County are faithful to the ideals of the party, and are loyal to their friends; this has often been demonstrated when a sharp contest for the nomination to some high office has developed; the lines are closely drawn and no quarter given until the nomination is made, when they get together and work for the common cause.

The old pioneers of the party have long since passed away, and left a wonderful heritage to this generation in the civilization they created; they obeyed the law; they supported their government; they kept the faith and it is certain that their influence and the lessons they taught will not soon be forgotten.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

PHELPS COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Phelps County was organized November 13, 1857. The county was named for John S. Phelps of Greene County, member of Congress from 1844 to 1862; a distinguished Union soldier during the Civil war, and governor of Missouri from January, 1877, to 1881.

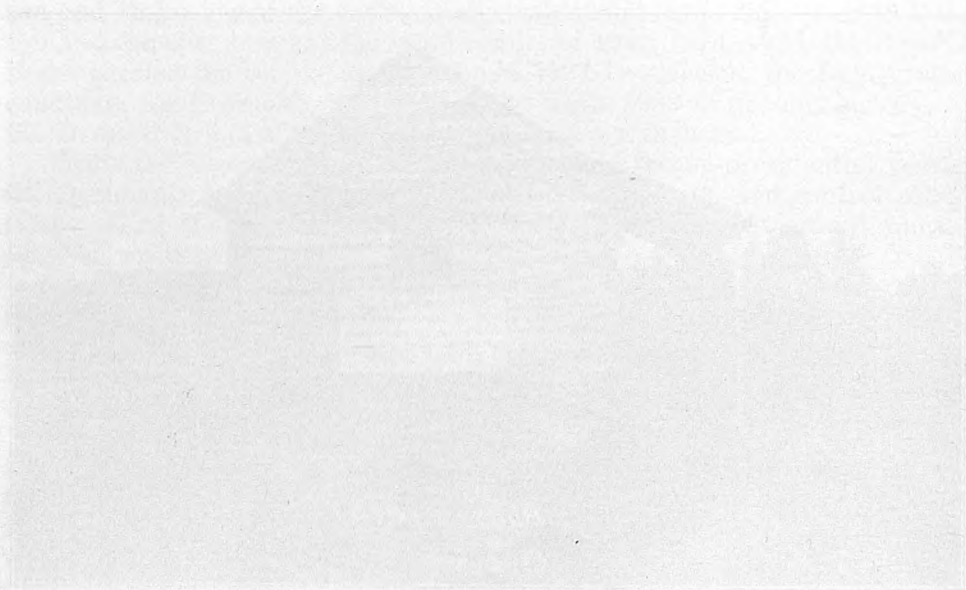
William Marcie was the first member of the General Assembly from Phelps County in 1858; Samuel G. Williams in 1860; Elijah Perry in 1862; P. C. Roberts in 1864; E. P. Fenell in 1867-69; C. H. Frost in 1871; Thomas C. Harrison in 1873; Francis M. Lenox in 1875; Charles H. Storts in 1877-83; John R. Bowman in 1879; Oliver P. Paulsell in 1881-85; Claude D. Jamison in 1887; F. W. Shinneman in 1889-99; Wesley A. Via in 1891;



THE FIRST COURTHOUSE IN PHELPS COUNTY

This log building was also the first home of Masonry in the section when this territory was included in St. Louis County. Located on Federal Highway 66, west of Rolla, and is viewed by the many tourists that travel this very popular Ozark route.

The first court house of Alabama was built in 1801 at the town of Wetumpka. It was a small, one-story building made of brick. The building was located on the site of the present-day Alabama State Capitol. The building was destroyed by fire in 1819. The present-day Alabama State Capitol was built on the same site in 1847.



THE FIRST COURT HOUSE OF ALABAMA
This building was also the first court house of Alabama. It was built in 1801 at the town of Wetumpka. The building was destroyed by fire in 1819. The present-day Alabama State Capitol was built on the same site in 1847.

The first court house of Alabama was built in 1801 at the town of Wetumpka. It was a small, one-story building made of brick. The building was located on the site of the present-day Alabama State Capitol. The building was destroyed by fire in 1819. The present-day Alabama State Capitol was built on the same site in 1847.

Charles N. Martin in 1893; John L. Short in 1895; William R. Hale in 1897; J. M. Coffman in 1901-03; Wm. J. Salts in 1905-07-13; Louis J. Rinehart in 1909; John O. Holmes in 1911; Frank H. Farris in 1915-17-19; Wm. J. Ellis in 1921; Stephen M. Lorts in 1923; Booker Hall Rucker in 1925; Charles L. Woods in 1927-29; B. H. Rucker, Sr., in 1931-33.

No county in the state could boast of a more thorough organization than Phelps County. Some of those Democrats who have managed the campaign of the party for many years and deserve mention are: Charles C. Bland, member St. Louis Court of Appeals in 1896, brother of Richard Parks Bland, Frank H. Farris, Jos. F. Williams, Albert Neuman, David E. Cowan, B. H. Rucker, S. N. Lorts, Granville Allen, C. L. Woods, M. F. Faulkner, W. A. Hawkins, William R. Ellis, Carrie L. Arthur, Alexander B. Hale, S. J. Williams, Pat Birmingham, George Williams, John Hale, G. W. Carney, Jackson Bishop, Will R. Ellis, Frank A. Germann, David L. Stewart, Tim Birmingham, Charles Sands, D. S. Branstetter, Walter Malone, Jackson Bishop, Albert B. Holmes, E. J. Koch, Dr. S. L. Baysinger, Ken Lenox, Will Carney, F. E. Denison, John Bennett Scott, John A. Watson, Dr. W. S. Smith, Harry W. Fuller, George Prewitt, and William J. Salts.

Some years after the defeat of Richard P. Bland at the Chicago convention in 1896, when William Jennings Bryan was nominated, Judge C. C. Bland wrote the following:

"The influences which compassed the defeat of my brother at the Chicago convention were outside of, and beyond the control of the Missouri delegation. In my judgment, formed at the time, and still retained, based upon the platform adopted, and from what I heard at the convention from influential and reliable sources, my brother was defeated because he was an honest, uncompromising Jeffersonian Democrat, not sufficiently imbued with populist vagaries to command the support of the then large voting population which at that time dwelt in a political zone lying outside of either of the two great political parties. To secure that vote, I thought then, and still think, the convention sowed to the wind. The Democratic Party has reaped the whirlwind."

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

PIKE COUNTY AND THE "BLOODY NINTH"

By Hon. Jefferson D. Hostetter*

The old Ninth Congressional District of Missouri, as it existed in the early 'eighties, was represented for twelve consecutive years by Judge A. H. Buckner.

Judge Buckner became an able veteran legislator and soon after his entrance to Congress rose to the chairmanship of the great and powerful committee on banking and currency.

Consequently, no substantial opposition ever materialized to his securing the Democratic nomination for that highly coveted position. All his

worries were confined to mustering forces sufficient to submerge the candidate which the opposition party might put up against him at the general election.

During these twelve years a crop of strong, able and ambitious young democrats grew up, who looked longingly at his seat in the National House of Representatives. But none dared contest the nomination with Judge Buckner, so firmly entrenched was he in the good graces of his constituents.

So, the absence of all internecine party strifes, and the periodical return of Judge Buckner at six consecutive general elections, justly earned for the Ninth District the appellation of the "placid, peaceful ninth."

In 1884 Judge Buckner conceived the idea of rounding out his public career with a term as governor of Missouri. Whether he chose this course of his own volition, or whether he was unconsciously influenced to abandon a sure thing for the greater but uncertain political prize of the governorship was never definitely known, but it was currently gossiped that the crop of ambitious young democrats who, tugging at the leash, looked with watering mouths on the congressional seat which he had occupied so long, subtly, surely and silently wielded their influence towards inducing him to seek the greater political prize.

Judge Buckner's decision, however, proved to be an unwise one. He was confronted with two strong opponents for the democratic nomination for governor. Gen. John S. Marmaduke and former Lieut.-Gov. Robert A. Campbell, and strange to say, the pivotal test of strength between these three great democrats was tried out in Pike County.

Each had special claims on the electorate of Pike County. Governor Campbell was "to the manor born" and had practiced law in the county, later moved to St. Louis and was elected comptroller of that city and had a large and influential host of relatives in the county. He was a Union man in the war between the States.

Judge Buckner had been a resident of the county; had served as circuit judge in the circuit which included the county and had many influential relatives living within its borders.

WAR RECORD COUNTED

Marmaduke's war record as a Confederate general was particularly appealing to the democracy of the county; and the men who wore the gray in the war between the States rallied almost to a man to his support. The Southern sympathizers had not forgotten. Sufficient time had not elapsed since the close of hostilities for wounds to heal or for the memory of wrongs suffered to be effaced. Those whose property had been confiscated without compensation and whose families had been impoverished thereby, were far from being reconciled. Capt. J. C. Jamison, editor of the *Louisiana Press*, who had seen service in the Confederate Army, actively espoused the cause of General Marmaduke and was afterwards appointed Adjutant General of the State under the Marmaduke administration.

An intensive campaign was conducted by the three contenders. They personally campaigned and made speeches in the county. Marmaduke was

charged by the temperance element with too much looking on "wine when it is red." Out of this charge an amusing incident occurred when he spoke at Frankford. It was a time honored custom then to have candidates to speak out on an improvised platform on the street. So "Big Jep" Cash, an ardent admirer and supporter of Marmaduke, when it came the latter's time to speak, seized the General by the arm and, in the loud and lurid language characteristic of him, shouted, "Git up thar, General, and tell 'em how much beer you kin drink."

The General made no reply to this suggestion, but manifested some visible embarrassment, and, no doubt, inwardly prayed to be saved from his over-exuberant and enthusiastic friends. However, the General carried the county after one of the hottest gubernatorial campaigns ever witnessed therein and this proved to be the turning point in the campaign and the forerunner of his state-wide victory over his two competitors for the Democratic nomination.

BUCKNER'S RETIREMENT AWAITED

The voluntary retirement of Judge Buckner from Congress was the long awaited and hoped for event by the crop of candidates which had developed during his long twelve year tenure. Ambitious aspirants held in check for so long were unleashed, favorite sons from each of the nine counties, which then composed the Ninth Congressional District, sprang up as quickly as the fierce and fighting warriors sprang into existence after Cadmus sowed the dragon's teeth. Pike produced two of the contenders for the coveted Congressional seat, viz: Elijah Robinson, an able lawyer and the youngest Circuit Judge in the State, and William H. Biggs, also an able lawyer and afterwards for twelve years a Judge of the St. Louis Court of Appeals. Each of the other eight counties backed a favorite son. Lincoln backed Richard H. Norton, a gifted lawyer, keen as a briar, vigorous, versatile and possessing an attractive personality which made him the idol of his followers. Audrain backed Col. John E. Hutton, a lawyer, doctor and editor, who had seen service during the Civil war, having aligned himself on the Union side. So the list was closed with ten able contenders for the coveted seat in Congress, and, somewhat in imitation of the armed warriors produced by Cadmus, they began the fierce fight to destroy each other.

GENESIS OF "BLOODY NINTH"

This was the genesis of the "Bloody Ninth." Clashing ambitions converted it over night into an armed political camp. It was peaceful, placid ninth no more.

The contest attracted state-wide attention. The first engagement was the run off primary between Biggs and Robinson in Pike County with Robinson the victor by about six hundred. This reduced the number of contenders to nine, one from each county. The nominee was to be chosen by a Convention of delegates. Each county selected its delegates pledged to its home man and the Convention was held at Montgomery City and after

organizing and taking twenty-two hundred ballots without making a choice, the wearied delegates adjourned the Convention to meet again two weeks later at New London in Ralls County.

It was thought that the "cooling off" process incident to the delay would be productive of an agreement on the nominee. It was apparent that the two strong men out of the large field of candidates were Norton of Lincoln and Robinson of Pike. Both were practically of the same age, and had read law in the same office, for few lawyers at that time ever attended a law school. During this period of preparation for the bar they had a "falling out" which rupture time had failed to heal completely. Both were able and successful lawyers. Both were good business men and had acquired a fortune of sufficient magnitude so that each could properly finance his campaign without fear of running on the rocks.

Robinson was a native born Lincoln Countian, but had removed to the adjoining County of Pike where he began to practice law.

Nat C. Dryden, the brilliant, eloquent, erratic and iconoclastic criminal lawyer, also of Lincoln County, was Norton's floor manager and reminded the Convention in loud and stentorian tones that Lincoln County chose to support the son who stayed at home.

FUTILE BALLOTING CONTINUED

At the meeting in New London, the futile balloting continued and it became more and more evident that the favorite sons from many of the counties other than Pike and Lincoln had a very uncertain hold on their county delegation. Colonel Hutton's Audrain County delegation, however, steadfastly voted for him, but until the final break he had been unable to secure any votes from the other counties.

The real contest was between Norton and Robinson. Norton could get within one vote of the necessary number to nominate, but was unable to get that one. He was determined that Robinson shouldn't have it. Then the word was quietly passed around for the Norton delegates to vote for Hutton.

So they did on the final ballot, which was past the two thousand mark, and Sam B. Cook, who was a member of the Convention and was keeping close tab as the Norton votes kept coming to Hutton, finally sprang to his feet and made the electrifying announcement "that nominates him." And so it did, and all the defeated candidates being called before the Convention made their "bread and butter" speeches of thanks to their supporters and pledged themselves to support the nominee and the historic Convention adjourned *sine die*.

In 1886 Robinson and Norton again became rival candidates and favorite sons from other counties, with some slight changes, entered the lists, and Colonel Hutton then serving his first term, with Audrain County backing him, asked for a second term.

The same stalemate took place in the Convention as had occurred two years before.

FIGHT BENEFITS HUTTON

This time Robinson could get within one vote of the necessary number to nominate, but was unable to get that one vote, and, to thwart his ancient enemy, Colonel Norton, threw his strength to Colonel Hutton and nominated him a second time.

Thus Colonel Hutton served two terms in Congress with little exertion on his part and with practically no expenditure of money to secure the position. He was fortunate enough to occupy the strategic position which made him the beneficiary of the fierce feud between Norton and Robinson.

In 1888 Norton and Robinson again became rival candidates. But this time the lines were differently drawn. Colonel Hutton declined to become a candidate. James P. Wood, familiarly known as Perry Wood, of Ralls County, became a candidate. Perry Wood had served in the General Assembly of Missouri and was the "Daddy" of the local option law. He was a man of parts, a capable, successful lawyer, tall, handsome, of pleasing personality and a foeman worthy of any man's steel.

Audrain was one of the counties in the Judicial District presided over by Judge Robinson as Circuit Judge and it was generally assumed that, absent a home man candidate, Judge Robinson would have the support of the county for the asking. However, Perry Wood contested in the primary with Judge Robinson for the support of Audrain County and after a hot spirited fight Robinson won the county's support, but by a very narrow margin.

Local option was popular in Audrain but was not popular in the southern part of the district in the counties where there was a large German element and it was impossible for Wood to get any delegates there. He was referred to there as "Mr. Local Option Wood," and that was sufficient to freeze him out of any support.

Colonel Norton mended his fences materially in the southern part of the district and secured the support of the Franklin County delegates, which had hitherto gone to Thomas B. Crews, a home man.

This time the Convention was held at Warrenton.

The usual deadlock ensued. Perry Wood with "Little Ralls" at his back, apparently was destined to play the part Colonel Hutton had played in the two preceding conventions, and become the recipient of a nomination growing out of the Robinson and Norton feud. But these two battle scarred political warriors were getting tired of a game which was costing them a lot of money and from which neither was deriving any benefit.

With Ralls County voting steadfastly for Wood the Convention was again tightly deadlocked as neither Robinson nor Norton could get the necessary majority to nominate. Would the nomination be thrown to Perry Wood as it had been thrown to Colonel Hutton? That was the burning question.

ROBINSON-NORTON COMPROMISE

After a multitude of futile ballots, the feeling developed that Robinson and Norton should come to some agreement whereby one of them would get the nomination and the other would wait for his reward until a future

opportune time. This was deemed preferable to throwing the nomination to Wood or any of the other weaker candidates. Finally Robinson and Norton, tired of unending expense, and wearied with their personal warfare, lent favorable ears to the proposition.

While the Convention was in recess, together with Sol Hughlett of Montgomery County, who was Robinson's aid, and Nat Dryden, who was Norton's aid, all four quietly and secretly repaired to an upper chamber and arranged the details of the compromise settlement whereby one or the other would gain the coveted seat in Congress.

The plan agreed upon, in brief, was as follows: They were to decide the issue by matching dollars, the winner to have the support of the loser's delegates and to contribute a thousand dollars to recoup the loser in part for his money outlay which had run up into high figures.

When the details were agreed upon, Dryden proposed that he and Hughlett would match the dollars for their respective principals. Norton, who secretly suspected the loyalty of Dryden, immediately opposed this suggestion and said, "No, let me and 'Lige' do the matching." Norton in later years openly asserted that Dryden had the Congressional bee in his bonnet and that he knew it at that time and was afraid to risk him in the matching business.

The writer of this sketch, a short time before Colonel Norton's death, was given the inside account of the occurrences on that occasion by Colonel Norton himself.

Norton, after putting a veto on Dryden's proposal, then seated himself at the table opposite Robinson. He reached his hand into his pocket and pulled out a silver dollar and without knowing whether heads or tails would be up, slapped it down on the table and said to Robinson, "Now, match it."

"LIGE, YOU'VE LOST"

Robinson immediately fished out a silver dollar from his pocket and likewise placed it on the table. One of the seconds then said, "Raise your hands, gentlemen." They both did so simultaneously, and the two seconds looked at the dollars and Hughlett said in a sympathetic tone, "Lige, you've lost." Robinson, his face white as a ghost, and his voice choking with emotion, said, "Two best out of three." Thereupon Norton sprung to his feet and said, "No, single dash, by G-d." Dryden and Hughlett both agreed with Norton that "single dash" was the agreement.

They all immediately left the room, Robinson leaning heavily on the supporting arm of his friend Hughlett, but true to the compact notified his delegates to vote for Norton and the Convention was quickly called into action and Norton was nominated with the combined vote of his own and Robinson's delegates.

The *St. Louis Globe Democrat* of the following morning in describing the nomination in scare headlines, said "They gambled for it." It was well known, of course, that the gambling instinct, which is, in some degree common to all human kind, was very highly developed in all four of the able and distinguished men who participated in that historic transaction.

Robinson's friends, particularly his Pike County home folks, were wild with indignation. They felt that he would have won had he stuck to his guns; that the Ralls delegation, where he had second choice friends, would ultimately have broken up and come to him, rather than see Norton win or nominate another "dark horse." They criticised him severely for gambling away what they regarded as an ultimate sure thing. They made it so unpleasant for him, that he issued a public statement in a futile effort to quiet the storm of criticism made more painful because emanating from his own friends.

Norton, after an intensive and spirited campaign, was elected the following November, but by a reduced party majority.

Robinson renounced politics forever, and soon removed to Kansas City and built up a splendid law practice there, which he was so eminently capable of doing.

FIREWORKS INCIDENT

An unfortunate and untoward event which occurred in Mexico following the first election of Cleveland for President in 1884 added to the troubles of the Ninth District Democracy.

Grover Cleveland was the second President which the Democrats had elected since the Civil war. Tilden having been elected in 1876, but was prevented from being seated by the 8 to 7 Commission.

Mexico, the home of Colonel Hutton, in common with all other Democratic strongholds, held a monster meeting in ratification of the great party victory. Fireworks galore under the charge of a committee were being discharged from the veranda of the courthouse and ten thousand enthusiastic and exuberant Democrats were present enjoying and taking part in the celebration.

By an unexplained accident, large bundles of explosives were ignited and sky rockets, Roman candles, etc., were sent whistling in every direction. One of the Roman candles whizzed across the street and struck a young democrat named Dowell¹ and broke a cheek bone and destroyed an eye.

Dowell brought suit for \$50,000 damages against the fireworks committee and the case was removed to Pike County by change of venue where it was twice tried before Hon. Elliott M. Hughes, Judge, and a jury. George Robertson of Mexico was the leading attorney for Dowell.

Naturally, Democrats, while sympathizing with Dowell, did not want to see its committee on fireworks mulcted in damages and the case assumed more or less a partisan tinge. Robertson, a high class, seasoned and capable lawyer and a Democrat himself, tried the case, however, with all the force, vim and vigor at his command.

An amusing incident occurred during one of his addresses to the jury. In describing the negligence of the Committee, in letting the fireworks get out of control and picturing the course of the deadly rocket which struck

¹ The incident referred to had to do with the injury of Mr. James Dowell, afterwards elected Collector of Audrain County, and for many years one of that county's most enterprising and successful farmer-stockmen.

Dowell in the eye, got his wires crossed and said it shot with deadly aim "through the atmosphere of the air," thereby in a measure spoiling the effect of his eloquence.

The first jury decided against Dowell and on his appeal the Supreme Court reversed and remanded the cause on account of an error in an instruction, and on the second trial the jury again decided against Dowell and this decision the Supreme Court en banc upheld in an opinion written by Judge Theodore Brace. The curious who may wish to explore this interesting semi-political case further will consult *Dowell v. Guthrie, et al.*, 99 Mo. 653, and 116 Mo. 646.

However, the democracy of Audrain County made reparation in part to Dowell by electing him for two terms as Collector, the best paying office in the County.

FEUD LEFT BAD FEELING

The uproar in the Ninth district which began in 1884 and increased in volume and intensity covering three biennial elections created serious scisms in the ranks of the Democracy which were deeply deplored by many of its adherents.

The feud between Robinson and Norton had created a particularly hostile political feeling between the two adjoining sister counties of Pike and Lincoln, which extended in a slightly lesser degree throughout the entire district. But, instead of subsiding it was destined to rise to greater and more dangerous heights.

CHAMP CLARK

Champ Clark, another one of Pike County's favorite sons, had long had his eye on a seat in Congress. He had prudently restrained himself from "tossing his hat in the ring" for Congress presumably for two reasons: he was poor and consequently unable to properly finance a district campaign and with so many other Pike County aspirants of Congressional stature it seemed practically impossible to be the sole contender from the county.

He had entered the practice of law when the bar of the county had many strong members. Competition was keen and the "starvation period" for raw recruits was much prolonged. He had taught school, run a newspaper, served as City Attorney of Louisiana and Bowling Green, and Prosecuting Attorney of the county for two terms and one term in the lower house of the General Assembly at Jefferson City. He learned in this preliminary experience much of the arts of politicians in which he was really deficient.

He had a wonderful and almost unbelievable faculty for treasuring up in his memory the best and most striking things which the wide range of authors he read after set out, and could quote them verbatim or improve on them by dressing up the same thought in a more striking garb. Many of his writings and speeches abound with aptly quoted sayings of others. This faculty of Clark's led to a supposedly caustic criticism on one occasion, but which in reality was a compliment.

Menoah S. Goodman, a gifted editor, often wielding a vitriolic pen, ran a county newspaper while Clark was Prosecuting Attorney. He (Goodman) conceived the idea that Clark was too complaisant in respect to the gambling evil which he averred was running rampant right under his nose. Clark had Goodman summoned to appear before the Grand Jury to give information as to the gambling complained about and Goodman having only hearsay information could furnish nothing on which to base an indictment. This angered Goodman and he wrote a bitter criticism of the Prosecuting Attorney in the next issue of his paper.

Among other things he said, "Mr. Clark is the most adept man we ever knew in manufacturing hooks and eyes to pin other people's thoughts together." A bright sentence, unique and witty, no doubt meant as a knock-out blow, but was it not in reality a compliment? Emerson, the dean of philosophers, has said that next to the originator of a great thought is the quoter of it.

It is an unwritten law that has much weight in Democratic party politics that a man who makes good in his first term has a just claim to a second term. Norton was making good as a Congressman and nobody had any complaint to make on that score.

Clark, who had repressed his ambition for so long, realized this handicap but on account of the multitude of available and capable men in the district who were possible aspirants for the position, he figured that if he got into the fight against Norton for the latter's second term and made a creditable showing, even if defeated, he would be in line to contest with Norton *alone* for the latter's third term. His prognostications proved to be correct.

He "threw his hat" into the ring in 1890, and made an intensive campaign for the nomination, particularly in Audrain County, which was then the "key" county in the district. His chances at first seemed hopeless. People were tired of the uproar. Norton's duties kept him in Washington. Clark made an almost house to house campaign and spoke at school-houses and button-holed voters all over Audrain County until his rising strength alarmed the Norton men so that Norton was compelled to return in person and take charge of his campaign which enabled him to defeat Clark, but by a very narrow margin in Audrain County.

NOT A BACK SLAPPER

But Clark had accomplished one of his major objectives. It made him the logical candidate to contest for the nomination against Norton in 1892. It gave him a clear field. He had inherited much of Robinson's strength. He was a tip-top stump speaker at all times. Naturally his handshake was not cordial and he was not an adept at "back slapping, baby kissing" or similar arts of getting close to the voter. His demeanor appeared often as gruff and chilling to the voter who did not realize his hidden innate kindness of heart. But he improved in these respects as he went deeper and deeper into the political game.

He ran a newspaper and taught school as stepping-stones to the law. Likewise he practiced law as a stepping-stone to politics.

The law was not particularly appealing to him. He was at all times a voracious and omnivorous reader. History, the Bible, poetry, and the classics were his favorite subjects. He was unwilling to adopt Lord Eldon's rule, based on the idea that the law being a jealous mistress, one to succeed should "live like a hermit and work like a horse."

The fight to the finish between Clark and Norton in 1892 opened in early March and lasted until the 31st of August, when Clark was finally and legally nominated. It exceeded in bitterness any preceding campaign since the Robinson-Norton feud began in 1884.

The people of Pike and Lincoln counties shared in the bitterness towards each other; each backed its champion, its home man, to the limit. The usual friendly relations of trade and commerce and visitation which had existed between the inhabitants of these two great counties were practically suspended. The political prejudices thus engendered seriously interrupted the works of Cupid, the God of Love and marriages between lovers of these two counties almost reached the vanishing point.

Clark had spent all the money he could rake and scrape together in the campaign of 1890 and was sadly in need of the "sinews of war." His friends in Pike County came to his rescue with remarkable loyalty and fidelity. The hat was passed around for his benefit at many gatherings for voluntary contributions. Ofttimes even at church gatherings, as the campaign progressed and the issue hung in the balance and interest rose to fever heat, contributions were collected to aid him in the fight. Former enemies of Clark forgot their enmity and "chipped in" their mite to further his cause.

"LOVE ME, LOVE MY DOG"

A notable instance of this transformation was the example of Gabriel Phillips, former Treasurer of Pike County, but then cashier of a bank in Bowling Green. There is an old saying, "Love me, love my dog." Clark owned a bulldog named "Tige," which followed his steps all over the town and spent the day in his law office as regularly and as religiously as did his master. Tige had a peculiarly wrinkled and ugly face and a pronounced pug nose. He was really harmless, but his sour looking ugly face impressed his non-acquaintances with the mistaken idea that the dog was angry, and about to open hostilities at once. Phillips didn't like dogs anyway. So one day as he was coming down the steps which Tige was ascending to reach his master's law office, he mistook Tige's stern visage as presaging an immediate attack and "whipped out" a pistol and shot the dog, the bullet passing through the face into the mouth, which Tige promptly spit out.

Friends had to keep Clark in his office until he "cooled off" to prevent a shooting match between him and Phillips. The dog recovered, but the frigidity between the two men, growing out of the unwarranted shooting of Tige, continued until in the 1892 campaign. Phillips gen-

erously loaned from his bank \$2,500 to friends of Clark to help finance the campaign.

The district had recently acquired Crawford County. The Congressional Committee, which was favorable to Norton, based the number of delegates from each county on the off year vote of 1890 instead of on the presidential vote, as had been the custom theretofore. This change resulted in altering the number of delegates from each county so that the Norton and Clark delegates were a tie outside of Crawford County, which had five votes in the Convention, and being the key county the fight was the fiercest ever known in the new county in the Ozark hills where neither candidate was previously known.

Frank Farris, who later figured conspicuously in Democratic politics in Missouri, managed Norton's campaign in Crawford County and John T. Woodruff, then Prosecuting Attorney of the county, managed Clark's campaign. The delegates were selected at Cuba by a mass meeting. It was said that there never was, theretofore, such a crowd in Cuba as assembled there on the day of the mass meeting.

Five Clark delegates and five Norton delegates were selected at this mass meeting, each claiming to be the regularly elected delegates, although the Clark forces claimed that on account of their credentials being signed by the Chairman and Secretary of the Democratic County Committee their regularity could not be questioned.

DOUBLE HEADED CONVENTION

The Convention met at Montgomery City and was unable to really organize. It was a double headed Convention.

Henry Clark of Montgomery County was chosen Chairman by the Norton delegates and George W. Whitecotton of Ralls County was chosen Chairman by the Clark delegates. When these rival chairmen undertook to control the proceedings of the Convention, pistols clicked and the air was tense with excitement and only the cooler heads prevented a wholesale riot. For six days the deadlock continued, with no tangible results. Each side brought all the pressure possible but it was futile so far as reaching a conclusion.

An amusing incident occurred during this six day stalemate. John W. Jacks, editor of the *Montgomery Standard*, was violently anti-Clark and pro-Norton, and was a tireless talker. The Clark men promptly sent for Press Hogue, former Recorder of Pike County and rated as one of the fastest, most voluble and tireless talkers in the county, to come to Montgomery City and talk Jacks down.

Hogue responded at once and it is said that the talking match between him and Jacks continued throughout the Convention with honors about even. Like the Convention it ended in a draw.

After a recess of three days the wearied delegates again reassembled and split in twain, one part nominating Clark and the other nominating Norton, each getting five votes from Crawford and each having the same number of votes.

In this situation it became apparent that both would be defeated at the general election and the State Democratic Committee took a hand and with the reluctant consent of the two candidates ordered a new primary in each county to select delegates.

The fight was thus again carried back to the people and in the second primary test Norton carried Crawford County over Clark, but the Clark forces made a still hunt in Montgomery County, (which Norton had previously carried in the first round) and Clark carried it by the narrow margin of eleven votes. Montgomery County had more delegates than Crawford County, so that Clark was nominated regularly at Saint Charles on August 31st, 1892, and was elected at the following general election in November, running about 500 votes behind the ticket.

Norton contended, with some degree of plausibility, that as he carried Crawford County on the second test it vindicated his claims to its delegates in the first Convention. And he was unable to concede that his rival was the legitimate nominee of the party. A letter signed by one Wilson was widely circulated in Lincoln County attacking the regularity of Clark's nomination and proclaiming the alleged unfairness of the treatment accorded Colonel Norton and advising the Democrats not to recognize a nomination obtained by such alleged reprehensible methods and wound up with this sentence, "Let us strangle the wolf in his puppydom."

AN UNCHEERFUL LOSER

The authorship of the famous Wilson letter was ascribed by many to Colonel Norton. It was well written and contained much lurid language and strong denunciatory phrases. However that may be, it was apparent that Norton was not following the spirit of that passage in the Bible which, slightly paraphrased, reads as follows: "The Lord loveth a cheerful loser."

Clark was nominated in 1894 without opposition, but on account of that being a landslide year in favor of the Republicans, supplemented by a tactical blunder made by Clark in Saint Charles County which alienated some German votes, he was defeated by Treloar, a music teacher in Hardin College, Mexico, Missouri, who had been put up by the Republicans, by a narrow margin of 130 votes.

Thereafter he was nominated without opposition and elected at each election until 1920 to a seat in Congress, serving altogether for 26 years from the historic Ninth District. The district soon lost its turbulent, troublesome hue, and once more became the "peaceful, placid ninth."

Normal relations were restored between the counties of Pike and Lincoln and Clark in later years ran ahead of his ticket in Lincoln the same as in other counties in the district.

As Speaker of the House of Representatives and with the Presidency of the Republic almost in his grasp he brought great fame to the old ninth district. He died March 2, 1921, just two days before the expiration of the 66th Congress.

It is a supreme satisfaction to his friends, and would be to him (if the dead could be acquainted with things mundane) to realize that his son

Bennett Champ Clark has been honored with a seat in the United States Senate, the upper branch of the body wherein he served so long and faithfully.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

PLATTE COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Platte County was organized December 31, 1838. It was named for the Platte River which flows through it and from which the Platte Purchase was named. Platte City, the name of the county seat, was originally called Falls of Platte.

David R. Holt was the first member of the General Assembly from Platte County in 1840. He died and Demetrius A. Sutton was elected to fill the vacancy. Bethel Allen and John A. White represented the county in 1842; Archilles Jasper and Bela M. Hughes in 1844; Hughes resigned and Thompson Ward was elected to fill the vacancy; William Conway and Lewis Calvert in 1846; A. M. Robinson and Hall H. Wilkerson in 1848; R. D. Johnston and D. D. Burns in 1850; J. B. Martin and H. Brooks in 1852; D. D. Burns, John Doniphan and Geo. P. Dorris in 1854; Edward P. Duncan, Chas. A. Perry and John Wilson in 1856; Samuel Maguire and John E. Pitt in 1858; Leonidas M. Lawson and George P. Dorris in 1860; John Wilson and H. J. Wolf in 1862; John Wilson and D. D. Burns in 1864; Thomas Quinn and John Donovan in 1866; T. F. Warner and Addison Burge in 1869; R. P. C. Wilson and William H. Ballard in 1871; John H. Winston in 1873; James Atkins in 1875; William C. Wills in 1877-79; James W. Anderson in 1881; James Atkins in 1883; Charles F. Chrisman in 1887-89; John W. Coots in 1891-93; Z. S. Collins in 1895; James M. McMonigle in 1897; Wight Boydston in 1899; J. W. Farley in 1901-03; Edwin E. Pumphrey in 1905-07; Jas. H. Hull in 1909-11-13, when he was speaker of the House; David A. Chestnut in 1917-19; Frank Settle in 1921; A. D. Gresham in 1923; Rufus J. Miller in 1925-27; E. R. McCormick in 1929 to 1934.

Francis Murray Wilson was a member of the General Assembly in 1913 when he was president *pro tem* of the Senate. He was long an aspirant for the governorship, and was the nominee in 1918, and again in 1932, when he died October 12, 1932.

On the death of Francis M. Wilson, Judge Guy B. Park of Platte County was selected to fill the vacancy on the ticket, and was elected governor in November, 1932. Governor Park's father, Tom W. Park, was long prominent in the affairs of the Democratic Party. He was chief clerk in the office of Alexander A. Lesueur, Secretary of State.

Henry Dillingham, now U. S. Marshal for the Western District of Missouri, was always prominent in party matters and head of the county committee in 1916.

The Cockerill family is one of the most distinguished families of Platte County, and it includes Mrs. Francis M. Wilson and Mrs. Henry Dillingham.

Those Democrats who served in the party ranks and assisted in making Platte County Democratic include: James H. Hull, Thomas J. Smith, J. Will Rule, Harry M. Strother, Lem T. Patterson, W. A. Jordan, Francis M. McKay, Edwin E. Pumphrey, Harmon D. Miller, Anderson H. Word, William Forman, R. P. C. Wilson, Berry S. Sloan, J. W. Roberts, James W. Harrington, David A. Chestnut, D. G. Cockerill, John L. Skellman, Tom W. Park, R. M. Jenkins, Geo. T. Riley, J. W. Carson, Thomas B. Duncan, W. T. Jenkins, Sid Beery, Andrew D. Gresham, Calvin Ham, Mathew Sheperd, James J. Settle, J. W. Farley, William McCormick, Thomas Adams, Richard F. Duncan, H. Frank Settle and John W. McCalley.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

POLK COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By F. L. Stufflebam,* Bolivar

Polk County was created by act of the Legislature, March 13, 1835. The southern part of the county had been settled by Tennessee Democrats. Among the early settlers were the Mitchell, Looney, Lemmon and Acock families, all from East Tennessee. They were thoroughly grounded in Jacksonian Democracy. Settling nearer the center were the Campbell, Viles, Johnson, Faulkner, Slagle, and Pike families from Tennessee and Kentucky. In the north section were the Hockenhull, Zumwalt, Inglis, Mashburn, Arnold, and Tillery families. The first officials were largely Democrats. The county was named after President James K. Polk.

The immigration during and following the Civil war, coming as it did from the north, changed the political complexion to Republican, but there has always been a solidly anchored minority that has stood for Jacksonian Democracy.

Since 1872 the party has had a militant Democratic exponent, the Bolivar *Herald*. For twenty-five years it was edited by the brilliant C. D. Lyman. His health failed him in 1898 and the paper was sold to T. G. Rechow and Herman Pufahl, prominent Democratic lawyers. In 1904 it passed to the present owner, F. L. Stufflebam.

There have always been outstanding leaders in the party. Some of the hardest battles ever fought on the stump in the state were fought in Polk County. Reconstruction days and the free silver campaigns resounded with debates.

At the present time the party is well organized and aggressive. At the last election there were 4,300 Democratic votes to 3,700 Republican votes. Our cities are Republican, while the rural section is about evenly divided.

The following Democrats are holding county offices at present: Representative, Oliver W. Mitchell; western judge, James F. Hughes; eastern

judge, James F. Hockenhull; prosecuting attorney, Frank S. Sea; sheriff, William Jack Killingsworth; assessor, Price M. Walden; treasurer, Chas. E. York; administrator, Dr. R. J. Winn.

One of the most valiant and most able exponents of the party still living is Theodore G. Rechow, who for fifty years has been the leading party campaigner. His advanced age has kept him from vigorous speaking engagements for the past ten years, but he has never missed raising his voice in behalf of the party in each campaign.

During the past campaign, Harold Stewart, Bolivar, was chairman; Mrs. Annie M. Scotten, Bolivar, was vice chairman; Mrs. Elva Stewart, Bolivar, secretary; and Mrs. W. S. White, Bolivar, treasurer. A campaign lasting through September and October brought victory to every county candidate except the coroner.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

PULASKI COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By George W. Lane,* Waynesville

To properly visualize the political history of Pulaski County and understand why it has been so consistently loyal to the Democratic Party, it is necessary to go back to its pioneers, who were descendants of the Cavaliers that immigrated from England and landed at Jamestown on the Virginia coast, then migrated westwardly through Tennessee and Kentucky—some came from the Carolinas across the Mississippi, and finally settled in Missouri.

As a matter of fact, the first settlers of what is now Pulaski County were largely from Tennessee. They were of that virile stock that gave to the world such dominant characters as "Old Hickory" Jackson, James K. Polk, Andrew Johnson—all presidents of the United States—together with such red-blooded and dominant characters as Gen. Sam Houston, Davy Crockett, all sturdy supporters of democratic principles as opposed to the Federalistic doctrines of Alexander Hamilton and his successors. With the portrayal of this background it is easy to understand that our earliest settlers were born and bred democrats, on account of association and personal contact with the flaming and fiery exponents of the rights of the common people as against those seeking special privileges; they were the true crusaders in their newly made homes west of the Father of Waters.

Prominent among these valiant and earliest advocates of the basic principles of the Democratic Party were the Colley and Christeson families. Colley Hollow was named for its first settlers; the Christeson family settled along the Roubidoux River; their descendants became so numerous and powerful in politics, that a political opponent once remarked that he could not find any authority in the Bible for the Christeson family to own and control the fertile Roubidoux Valley and dominate a free people.

During the dark days of the Civil war and the still darker period of reconstruction under the Drake Constitution—with its damnable "test oath" (an oath no self-respecting man could, or, ever did take) and the contemptible "Carpetbagger," dismally failed to subdue or change these sturdy pioneers; some were shot, others hanged without court or jury, their homes burned and property stolen, still they stood true and faithful and maintained their political self-respect. Among the families that bore the brunt of these outrages and came out stronger in the faith than ever, were the Bradfords, Yorks, Hickses, Howards, McDonalds, Clarks, Lanes, Williamses, Raylses, Rowdens, Pages, Bartletts, Carmacks, Mitchells, Ballards, Cooks, Ganses, Maneses, Armstrongs, Murphys, Smiths, Harries, Vaughans, Hobbses, Wilsons, Morgans, Johnsons, Wyricks, Bateses, Hancocks, Hamiltons, Imbodens, Underwoods, Tibbses, Prewetts, Rollinses, Gladdens, Nickels, Roams, Teeples, Deckers, Wheelers, Vaughts, Zumwalts, McGregors, Dyes, Phillippses, Scotts, Laughlins, Longs, Crews, Davises, Trowers, Hendrickses, Brittaines, Wrights, Whites, Berrys, Burchards, Bells, Andersons, Woodys, Robinsons, Finleys, Crumleys, Pippins, Judge Hill, Paynes, Cases, Crosslands, Hinshaws, Adkissons, Hoopses, Mathewses, Claiborns, Woods, Curtises, Vincents, Brownfields, Musgraves, McElroys, McMakins, Laymans, and many others we cannot call to mind at the moment.

It is well to observe that many here mentioned, real empire builders and leaders of political thought and action, were never candidates for public office; those that did receive honors at the hands of their party were accorded this recognition on account of their general fitness and past party service clearly entitling them to the distinction and honor—indeed, they were generally drafted. These early Democrats were more patriots than politicians and "let the office seek the man." Pulaski County was very fortunate in that its early exponents of democracy were not office seekers, but crusaders fired by a zeal for principles they inherited from their forefathers and held as a sacred heritage. The result is, that since the organization of the county in January, 1833—more than one hundred years ago—it has remained steadfastly Democratic, notwithstanding many of its leading Democrats were disfranchised as above referred to following the Civil war.

Even with so many Democrats disfranchised in the county they had helped wrest from the wilderness, old Pulaski refused to be dislodged from its ancient moorings. Fifty state elections have come and gone since this grand old county was organized, and fifty times she has been recorded in the Democratic column for all state candidates; she has asked little and received but little from the party, but is proud of her record even though situated in that section of southern Missouri to which the opposite party looks for its greatest majorities. Sometimes it has stood almost alone among its sister counties, as the one oasis in a section almost wholly dominated by Republicans. For consistency in her fealty to the party of Jefferson, her record is unique and stands as a beacon light to the present generation and a bright promise for the future.

Democratic officials have always controlled the county finances and under their frugal management, every county obligation has been promptly

met; not a county warrant on any fund has gone to protest on account of lack of actual cash on hand since the years immediately following the Civil war.

Several outstanding men have represented Pulaski County in the General Assembly during its century of existence, among them one state senator before the Civil war—Allen Hamer. The following have rendered distinguished services to their county, state and party as members of the legislature: G. W. Colley, John B. Ellis, Capt. H. E. Warren, W. L. Bradford, Capt. D. E. Davis, J. L. and W. D. Johnson, G. W. Berry, Dr. H. C. Murphy, A. J. McDonald, and J. W. Armstrong, now serving his sixth consecutive term, an all time record for length of service in the history of the county.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN PUTNAM COUNTY

By A. P. McElhiney,* Unionville

In writing of the Democratic Party of Putnam County it should be stated that the county was first organized and approved February 28th, 1845. The first county seat was named Justice. It was located on Shoal Creek near the James W. Magee farm, now owned by his son Clair.

In 1848 the county seat was located at Winchester, west of the old Petty Mill Site. It was again moved to Fairplay in 1857 where Hartford is now located. In 1855 the county seat was changed to where Unionville is now located, but at that time it was named Harmony.

In 1877 the records show the election of three county judges, N. R. Berry, C. Bird Guffey and E. M. Gregger, all of whom were Democrats.

The first weekly paper was called the *Argus* in 1858. It was a Douglas Democrat paper. It was later called the *Unionville Argus* and later the *Unionville Republican*. On September 11, 1865, Mr. W. T. O'Brient, who was recognized as a Democrat, became its editor. Up to this time no regular Democratic county ticket was put in the field.

In 1863 Brace, a Democrat running for Congress, received 247 votes.

Later on the *Unionville Republican* became strictly a Republican organ, and the Democrats had no newspaper.

There was always a Democratic following. The Berrys, J. J. Petty, G. W. Houston of Omaha, George W. Ruth and the Magees among the most active leaders. Of this group there remains only Sam Magee, who having outlived all of his old affiliates, called himself "the lone wolf." During the last campaign he spoke at every Democratic meeting in the county, although he was 82 years of age. For this service he proudly boasted of having received letters from every state official in Missouri as well as from President Roosevelt.

Other Democrats deserving notice are as follows: Z. T. Brawford, H. D. Marshall, Dade Johnson, E. M. Johnson and William Boland, all of whom could be relied upon to do their part for Democracy.

Dade Johnson, Z. T. Brawford and George Jordon were elected over their Republican opponents. H. D. Marshall for representative was defeated by only seventy-seven votes when most of the Republican majorities were over fifteen hundred.

Democratic candidates for representative have made the following showings: In the year 1888 there were cast 1,144 votes; in 1890 there were cast 1,845 votes; in 1892 the vote was 1,150; in 1894 the vote was 792. About the same average was made until the year 1922 when the Democratic candidate for representative was defeated by only 38 votes.

For several years previous to 1928 the Democrats had a county chairman and a short skeleton county committee organized, but never a complete one. During these years the local Democrats aided sometimes by making speeches each night for about two weeks. However there was no complete committee, and very little semblance of personal workers.

In 1928 during the second term of Clare Magee as county chairman a special effort was made to see that the committeemen were filed from each township. There was in addition to these workers, certain men and women designated to do personal work, distribute literature, act as challengers at polls, and to haul Democrats to the polls. The Democrats were caught in the landslide but made a good showing in spite of odds.

In 1930 Mr. Magee encouraged the same sort of tactics. As a result of strong personal work by every active Democrat, we succeeded in electing the first representative from the county since the Civil war, running on a strictly Democratic ticket. We also elected a county attorney, came within thirty votes of electing the presiding judge of the county court, and missed the office of circuit clerk by slightly over one hundred votes.

In 1932 Guy P. Allen, county chairman, took charge of the campaign, having organized the county by committees of one man and one woman in each township in the county.

Arranging Democratic meetings over the entire county and spending his time and money for the advancement of the principles of the Democratic Party the results show for themselves. Electing representative, prosecuting attorney and sheriff; other candidates on the Democratic ticket being defeated by only a small margin, many being less than one hundred votes.

In conclusion will say of the Democrats in Putnam County, like the poor in the time of Christ—we always had them with us.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE DEMOCRACY OF RALLS COUNTY

By Benton B. Megown,*

In writing the history of Democracy of Ralls County, one must needs go beyond the county's legal birth. This may seem an anomaly, but is true, nevertheless. On September 19, 1820 (which was about two months before Ralls County was legally born) the first General Assembly met.

Among the first duties of the youthful Legislature were the election of two United States senators. In this session sat Daniel Ralls, a representative of Pike County. Mr. Ralls lived about three miles west of New London, and on soil which was soon to be named in his honor, for deeds performed. David Barton, the astute politician of the then embryonic state, was summarily elected as the first senator—but for the second place, the state was to see and feel its first major political battle, a battle fierce and vitriolic. Aspirants for the junior seat were Thomas Hart Benton, John B. C. Lucas, Henry Elliott, John Rice Jones, and Nathaniel Cook, the state's most renowned; the battle continued through several days, and shook the youthful state from center to circumference. Ralls, a devout follower of Benton, was sick unto death, and unable to attend the sessions of the Assembly; but when all matters were arranged for the last ballot, he, too sick to walk to the hall, was carried on his bed by four big negroes—when and where he cast the deciding vote that sent Colonel Benton to the United States Senate, which position he filled for "six Roman lustrums." This one act should give, and does give Mr. Ralls, and Ralls County immortal renown, for that vote not only gave to Missouri, but to the nation, the renowned Benton, one of the greatest Democrats of all times.

While Ralls County has never been aggressive for State political honors, she has ever had great men to whom the state could look in framing and propagating its Democracy. Her pioneer inhabitants, emigrated from Kentucky, Virginia, and the Carolinas, were, and are now inherently Democrats.

DOMINANT LEADERS

The three dominant political leaders in the county at its birth were Stephen Glascock, Dabney Jones and Stephen Cleaver. General Cleaver never sought political favors for himself, yet was very active in all political matters. He was a delegate to the first State Constitutional Convention, his only political honor. Jones and Glascock ruled the early politics of the county with an iron hand. Jones having held the offices of sheriff, collector, state representative and county judge. Glascock having served his constituents as justice of the peace, circuit clerk, county clerk, recorder of deeds, judge of probate, and representative—some of which places he held at the same time. These men actually dominated the politics of the county until about 1840. About that time a new and younger set of politicians appeared on the scene. Some of these had quite a penchant for state politics, while others seemed to be satisfied with ruling local affairs. At this juncture appeared the Caldwell family, viz; James D., Robert B., and Samuel K. James D. dividing honors with William Newland, in serving the county in the Legislature for four terms; he was also assessor one year. Robert B. served the county as sheriff for three terms, and one term as representative; also, one year as assessor. Samuel K., the most dominant figure of the three, served as Circuit Clerk and Recorder for four terms. In 1865, he was ousted by the powers then dominating under the "Drake Constitution." He was so popular with all peo-

ple, that in 1866 he was again elected to his office, and held the place until his death, August 14, 1868. He was also surveyor of the county for one term.

Another influential character who played a very important role in our county politics alongside the Caldwell family, was Chapel Carstarphen. He was representative, sheriff, collector, and for many years one of the judges of the county court. Also, Col. John Ralls, a son of Daniel Ralls, above mentioned, was, in his quiet way, for many years a very potential figure in political affairs. The many positions of honor and trust, both civil and military, which he occupied attest his popularity.

For about twenty years, from 1840, we had two high-lights in political affairs, in Rev. William Priest and William Newland; yet their political aspirations never seemed to contravene each other until they crossed bats for the office of Representative in 1854. From 1846 to 1850 we were represented in the State Senate by Reverend Priest, whose vision for justice, honor and democracy was unsurpassed within the state. He was a member of the 1875 Constitutional Convention, which gave to the state and nation one of the greatest state constitutions. He was very active in the convention, and his profound and tolerant ideas of right and justice, between man and man, is impressively noticeable in that document. It was he who informed the convention when it was discussing the employment of a chaplain, that he saw no need of spending the state's money for that favor—that he had been daily praying unto the Lord for nigh unto a half century, and that he would be glad to render his best efforts, gratis. In 1872 he was elected, or rather conscripted, to serve as judge of the county court, and was three times reelected.

Hon. William Newland, Reverend Priest's contemporary, was a fine public speaker, a real leader of men, and possessed a great proclivity for politics. He was not only a political power within the gates of Ralls County, but his activities ramified throughout the state. His political life began with his election to the House of Representatives in 1848; he was three times reelected, and was speaker during his last term. In 1858 he was elected to the Senate, in 1862 he was elected sheriff and collector; in 1872 he was again elected to the Senate.

One of the most animated political contests ever had in our county was between the two last mentioned gentlemen. Both impressive speakers, very popular, and the very best of friends. Newland winning by three votes. Some of Reverend Priest's friends were very much incensed over the result, and in talking to the reverend gentleman said that they knew he was defeated by trickery; that they knew of more than several times the number of votes by which he was defeated were obtained by fraud and trickery, and that he must contest. But, after hearing them, the Reverend said: "Well, boys, if Billy and his friends used any more trickery than we did, they just knew how to do it more than we did; no, there will be no contest." Thus ended the controversy.

Democracy in Ralls County ran as smoothly and uninterruptedly as does the Father of Waters, until the "Draconian Code" was disgracefully

forced upon our people. Then it was that high-type men who had been legally elected to office were relentlessly ousted, and citizens indiscriminately disfranchised. And then it was that Ralls County saw in office for the first time any one other than a Democrat. Many of the older ones yet remember (1933) the "test oath" under the damnable Draconian Code, and to this day delight to call down anathema upon its memory. Under this nefarious system there was a Registering Board, each township had an enumerator, and there was a general supervisor over the county. It was the duty of this board to take the enumeration of all electors, and to ascertain whom it thought fit to vote. A short time before the election this plenary board would meet and go over the list of voters—the ones that were regular and loyal to the Union were marked with the sign "L," those that were considered disloyal were marked "DL," and those considered doubtful "D." This august council in its loyal task, as it would have one believe, always check off a sufficient number of doubtful, along with the disloyal to be certain that the "damn democrats," as it was pleased to call them, could not win. The ruling powers seemed to be more determined to prevent Democrats from being elected to the Senate and House, than to the county offices, which can be easily understood. In 1866, Henry C. Wellman, Democrat, was duly elected representative, but was ousted by the powers in command, and Lucerne Buckley, Republican, was seated. Again, in 1868, Mr. Wellman was duly elected, but this time ousted and Wilson B. Elliott, Republican, seated. Such was the conduct under the Draconian Code.

CAME BACK IN 1870

But in the November election of 1870, Ralls County again embraced Democracy, electing everyone of its county officers. It came about in this way: John Megown and James W. Lear, two young and aggressive Democrats, had dared to run, and had been given the nomination for the offices of probate judge and circuit clerk and recorder, respectively. Both had previously held office, and both were destined to be a power in politics for twenty years thereafter. Lear had served as county clerk from August, 1858, to March, 1862, at which time he was not regarded as sufficiently "loyal" by the powers then dominating, and was thrown out of office by them. Megown, a young struggling lawyer, had previously assessed the county twice, and thoroughly knew the people and their political persuasion. He maintained that no one legally qualified to vote should be deprived of that prerogative, and if trickery was necessary to alter the situation so all could have their franchise, then and in that event should trickery be resorted to. Samuel Megown, father of John, and who had gone off with the Lincoln partisans, was the controlling force of the registering officers, and it was he, who gave the voting list the final inspection, and certified it to the judges giving the names of all who were approved as voters, those that were doubtful, and those as disloyal and disfranchised. These registering officers had loyal supporters in both the sheriff and county clerk, and the lists were sent to the judges just a few days before the election.

Providence seemed to play into the hands of young Megown, for the day before the lists were to be sent out Samuel Megown was called away from home on business. John, the son, through the aid of his mother, obtained possession of the lists, changed the mark designating the so-called disloyal to doubtful, and the doubtful to loyal, as far as he felt safe in doing. He then conveyed the information to Robert M. Spalding, who was chairman of the County Democratic Committee, who immediately called a meeting of the committee; fearful of being detected in their work, the chairman had the committee meet at the home of Asa Glascock situate about one mile west of New London. At this meeting \$300.00 were raised for campaign purposes. And in this campaign every art known to country politics was brought into service. For instance, and as one example, seamstresses who were making clothes for the so called loyal, selected that day to have them call and have their clothes fitted, holding them on several occasions until it was too late to vote. When all was said and done on that historic day, and the votes were finally counted by the court, to the utter amazement of the registering board, and all other Republicans, every man running on the Republican ticket for county office was defeated; and from that day to this hour, 1933, not a Republican has been elected to a county office, and only one has been appointed. Lear was five times elected to the office of circuit clerk and recorder; Megown, three times to the office of judge of probate—and lost the nomination of circuit judge by only one vote—an office that his spirit panted for, as the "hart panteth for the water-brook." His son, J. E. Megown, was deputy county clerk for six years and county treasurer for two terms.

COL. RICHARD DALTON

We shall now take up one of the most popular and outstanding political celebrities of which Ralls County boasts. Col. Richard Dalton. Dalton's first political honor was that of circuit attorney, to which he was appointed in 1868, and held that year. In 1886, he was a candidate for Congress against Col. R. H. Norton, Judge Elijah Robertson, Col. John E. Hutton, and Hon. Chas. E. Peers, a quartet of renown. He made a very impressive campaign, being by far the best speaker of the bunch. In this campaign he made such an impression on Champ Clark (who then had his eye on Congress) that Clark afterwards said he was more fearful of him than any man in the district, and after Clark had been elected to Congress, he worked over-time to persuade President Cleveland to appoint Dalton to the office of surveyor of customs at St. Louis, the fattest Federal job in the state. Said Clark: "Of course I wanted my friend Dalton to have the fat plum, but my primary reason was to shunt him where I would not have to run against him; for he could call more men by their given name, and pat more men on the back in a given length of time than any man in my district." In 1890, Dalton was elected representative to the General Assembly. While a lawyer and a good one, he had abandoned the practice, and was carrying the sobriquet of Farmer Dick Dalton. He had defeated for the nomination Judge W. O. Gardner, one of the most astute politicians the county ever produced. It was in the session of 1890,

that Dalton made his memorable fight against the railroad lobbyist. Think of one man daring to fight the indomitable railroad trust—but such was the metal of Mr. Dalton; and they soon found him to be a foeman worthy of their steel. I was once informed by one of the state's political sages of Democracy, that Dalton made the greatest reputation in one term in the House, that was ever made by anyone before or since his time. "Why," said he, "he entered the House practically unknown and in one term made himself a formidable candidate for governor—and lost the gubernatorial nomination to that invincible William J. Stone, by only a scratch—and that contest was under the old convention system, of which Stone was a past-master." To this day many of the older men maintain had we had the ballot system then as now, Dalton would have been nominated. Be that as it may, Stone is admitted to have been the most skillful politician of Missouri's great galaxy—and Colonel Dick was outgeneraled and lost.

But, it was war to the knife
And knife to the hilt.

Dalton was a choice speechmaker—a crack debater and possessed a master mind. He went off with the gold standard wing of the party and lost much of his prestige with the democracy of the county and state. However, he never received, politically, what he deserved.

"Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air."

In 1878 begins the political life of Hon. James Perry Wood, one of the most scintillating political characters of our county, he having been elected to the office of prosecuting attorney. He was reelected in 1880, and again in 1882. In 1884, he was elected state senator, and served one term. While in the Senate Mr. Wood introduced and pushed through the bill known as the Wood Local Option Law. His work on this bill gave him great prominence, which to a great measure made him an outstanding candidate for Congress in 1888—and after a most exciting contest, he was defeated Col. R. H. Norton. Mr. Wood never sought office after this. Yet, he was always very active in politics, and his influence was sought by both county and state candidates.

As a contemporary of Colonel Dalton and Mr. Wood, was James O. Allison, who was destined to be for many years the leading influence of Democracy in Ralls County, and one of the outstanding figures in the State. He first served one term as School Commissioner. In 1884, he was elected to the House of Representatives, which position he held for three terms. In 1890, he was elected Prosecuting Attorney, serving two terms. In 1903, Governor Dockery, of his own motion, and in recognition of his consistent work for the party, appointed him Commissioner of the World's Fair at St. Louis. He served as a member of the board of regents of the Kirksville State Normal School; was twice elected Presidential elector for the 9th Congressional district; served four years on the State Democratic

Committee. He was elected a member of the Constitutional Convention (1922) from the 13th District. Giving a glimpse of his keen insight and knowledge of the thoughts and feelings of his fellowmen, will say, that within one month after the convention had convened, he prophesied, almost in toto, the results of the convention. No man, in the last twenty-five years has held political dominion over the Democracy of the County as did Mr. Allison.

BRISCOE FAMILY

No true history of the Democracy of Ralls County could be written without that of the Briscoe family. In 1886, John S. Briscoe ran for and was elected to the office of County Assessor—thus starts one of the most influential families in politics known to our county. Mr. Briscoe was Assessor two terms, going from that office to the County Clerk's, which he held for three terms. He was succeeded by his son, Robert A. Briscoe, who had been serving as Deputy, and who held the office for two terms, voluntarily quitting. Then we have Mrs. Mollie Briscoe, the widow of a deceased son, Harry C. Briscoe, who is now serving her second term as Recorder of Deeds. Jack Briscoe, a cousin of John S., served as School Commissioner one term, and as Prosecuting Attorney two terms, from 1907 to 1911. Then in 1930, Bentley E. Briscoe was elected County Collector. All outstanding officers. John S. the fountain-head, was the dominating figure of the official family, and one of the staunchest Democrats that ever lived. All candidates, both for county and State offices beat a path to his door, seeking his endorsement, so outstanding was his popularity in the county.

In 1893, Charles T. Weaver was elected Sheriff, and made one of the best sheriffs in the history of the county. In 1897, while holding the office of sheriff he was elected county collector, which office he held for one term. In 1916, he was elected Judge of the Eastern District of the county, and served in that capacity for three terms, voluntarily quitting. Mr. Weaver was rather an unassuming man, never appearing to be overzealous in politics, yet his friends were legion, as shown by the important offices held by him, and his word carried great weight throughout the county. His son, Harry G., was elected Probate Judge in November, 1922, and has been twice re-elected, an honor being equaled only by Judge John Megown. Judge Weaver is a very popular and efficient officer.

In a way, one of the most unique figures in our county politics, is Paul W. Flowerree. Mr. Flowerree was elected county treasurer in November, 1893. He had the misfortune to lose his eyesight when a young man. While making the campaign many wondered how he really could fill the office. Soon after he assumed his duties his astute mind proved that he was equal to the task, and he had the work of the office completely in his mind. His wife did the clerical work for him, and proved to be a most agreeable and efficient officer. Unique, also, in that he proved to be one of the most sought after, or feared local politicians of the county. He is pronounced in his ideas; always strong for one, or vehemently

against one, no neutral ground. And for years his influence has ramified into every corner of the county. He was reelected. Then his wife, Mrs. Mollie C. Flowerree, was elected to succeed him, being the first woman to fill a county office in our county. She served two terms. She also served as committeewoman for several terms.

In the summer of 1896, Samuel A. Howard, on account of ill health, resigned as circuit clerk. Ben E. Hulse was appointed to fill the vacancy, and assumed his duties on July 1st, 1896. Thereupon started one of the most potential political characters among later day devotees of the Democracy of our county. Mr. Hulse served as circuit clerk and recorder until January 1st, 1899, at which time the offices were separated. Mr. Hulse continuing as circuit clerk and Philip B. Conn assuming the duties as recorder. Mr. Hulse was elected prosecuting attorney in November, 1902, and on January 1st, 1903, stepped from the office of circuit clerk into that of prosecuting attorney, which office he capably filled for four years. By his consistent affability to all classes of people and his probity in official and business life he deeply ingratiated himself with the people. About 1912 he moved to Hannibal, Missouri, and has been very active in politics there. The Hulse family has been very prominent in our politics for many years. Mr. M. L. Hulse was oil inspector; Mr. John Hulse, coroner; Mr. Hubert Hulse, county superintendent of schools; and Mr. Earl D. Hulse, county collector, now holding a job with the state auditor.

In passing along we must not forget to mention Horatio A. Adkisson, who has been before the public as a fighting Democrat for thirty-five years. Mr. Adkisson has been highly honored by his party, first serving as county assessor for two terms, then as sheriff, 1905-1909, then was again elected and served as sheriff from 1929 to 1933.

Benton B. Megown has been signally honored by his party. In 1911, he was elected circuit clerk. He held this office for one term, stepping therefrom into the office of probate judge, which he held for two terms, then stepping into the office of prosecuting attorney, which he held for one term. He had previously served the city of New London as city attorney for two terms, and mayor for two terms. He was appointed city attorney a short time before he was admitted to the bar, and was mayor at the age of twenty-four. Both Mr. Megown and his wife, who served as committeewoman for several years, have been very active in Democratic circles for years. Mrs. Megown also served as congressional committeewoman, and was vice-chairman of same. Benton B. is a son of the aforementioned John Megown.

Another active personality in Democratic circles in our county for years was Mr. Edwin W. Keithly. He energetically served on the Central Committee for a number of years, and was secretary of same for years. He was elected representative in 1926 and twice reelected. At his zenith Mr. Keithly was one of the most popular men of the county. The Keithlys settled in the county in a very early day, and have always been very active Democrats. Mr. Ernest A. Keithly is at present, 1933, our efficient circuit clerk, and he, too, has been very energetic in politics.

THE JUDICIARY

Our judiciary, like our county officers, have been consistently Democratic, with the exception of the period under the "Draconian Code." Six of the judges who have occupied the bench in our circuit have been elevated to the Supreme Court, viz.: Hon. Rufus Pettibone, Priestley H. McBride, Theodore Brace, Reuben F. Roy, William T. Ragland and Charles T. Hays. Judge Roy forsook the party over the money question in 1896. It is true that not all of the judges lived in Ralls County, yet, they were a part of the political fabric, and played no small part in the political game. Judge Roy lived and died in Ralls County. Judge Hays, who was one of the best politicians, as well as one of the best judges that ever sat on our circuit bench, was born and reared in our county. The same can be said of our present learned and affable judge, Hon. Edward L. Alford. Judge Alford has played no small hand in and for Democracy in our county, and has done effective work at various times throughout the state.

Ralls County has virtually had the lion's share of speakership of the House of Representatives, as four men, who were reared in the county were speakers of the house. First came Hon. William Newland, then Hon. James H. Whitecotton, who, while at the time he served as speaker, was representing Monroe County, yet, he was reared in Ralls. Then Hon. James P. Boyd—the same can be said of Mr. Boyd, who was representing Monroe County while speaker, but was reared in Ralls. Then Hon. Drake Watson, who represented the county for three terms, being speaker during his last term. All staunch fighting Democrats. But few counties can boast of such signal honor.

In writing the history of the Democracy of Missouri, Ralls County must necessarily have her name written high on the obelisk of worthy counties, for she has always been one of the bulwarks of Democracy in the state. In 1928, when political persuasion went awry throughout Missouri, and most of the counties cast their lots with the Republicans, and voted for Mr. Hoover, Ralls, true to her colors, did not go off after false gods, but voted straight down the line, from President to constable. And at the last election, 1932, she was the third Democratic county in the state.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

HISTORY OF THE DEMOCRACY OF RANDOLPH COUNTY

By Hon. W. T. Dameron,* Huntsville

Randolph County territory was clipped off, mostly from the old Mother County, Howard, and was organized January 22, 1829, being the 32nd organized county of the state, and was named after John Randolph of Virginia, one of the noted Democrats and Congressmen of his day, and friend of Thomas Jefferson, the father of Democracy. Hon. John Miller, Governor of Missouri, a Democrat, appointed four of the first county offi-

cials in January, 1829—all Democrats—Hancock Jackson, sheriff; James Head, Dr. William Fort and Joseph M. Baker, county court judges. This court met in Huntsville, February 2, 1829, and appointed Robert Wilson, clerk; Thomas Gorham, surveyor; Jacob Medley, collector, and Terry Bradley, assessor. Terry Bradley was a Whig, and so was Wilson, then a circuit court clerk.

Politically, the county at that time, was very close between the Democrats and Whigs, and also for twenty-five years later, and the candidate that could pull the most votes from the opposite party was sure of election, especially was that the case in voting for county and township officers, which were generally divided between the two parties, and it behooved each party to select their best and most competent men as candidates. This was generally done by "leaders," of each party. When the leaders could not agree on all the candidates a mass meeting was called at Huntsville, which named the candidates by ballot. We can mention the names of only a few leaders who were elected to office and have long since passed on.

Perhaps one of the most prominent pioneer Democrats, with state-wide acquaintance, was Hancock Jackson, a farmer by occupation. The first sheriff of the county, and later county judge and in 1846, under a call by the governor for troops in the war with Mexico, Jackson led, as captain, a company of one hundred volunteers from Huntsville to the seat of war in Texas and helped Uncle Sam whip the Mexicans in 1847. In 1856 Captain Jackson was elected lieutenant-governor of Missouri. In 1857 Governor Polk was elected to the United States Senate and Captain Jackson served as governor only one or two days when he was succeeded by Gov. Robert M. Stewart, who had been chosen at a special election. Later Captain Jackson moved to Texas and died there in 1876.

Another pioneer Democrat and business man—a merchant—was Dabney C. Garth, widely known as one of the first merchants of Huntsville, and also established the first mercantile store at old Bloomington, in Macon County. He was very prominent and a popular Democrat, and a leader in his party for many years, and represented the county in the State Legislature in 1850 and 1854.

Dr. William Fort was another pioneer, beloved and leading Democrat, a practicing physician and farmer, and his advice was often sought in party affairs. During his political activities it was "nip and tuck" between the Democrats and Whigs in the county. In the first county election in 1830 a "split" county ticket resulted, but Dr. Charles McLean, Whig, was elected to the Legislature. The Democrats elected Dr. William Fort to the Legislature in 1832 and 1834. Dr. Fort died at his home near Huntsville in 1881 at the age of 88.

Dr. Waller Head was another pioneer Democrat and leader in party affairs. He was the first physician to locate in Huntsville. He was elected to the Legislature in 1836. The Head family was prominent in the county in pioneer days socially and politically and all strong Democrats. James Head was the "father" of the town of Roanoke which he first named "Van Buren" but later changed to Roanoke. The Randolph

and Howard County line ran through Roanoke but the largest part of the town is now in Howard County. John Head, Sr., and John Head, Jr., lived north of Roanoke in Randolph County. Gen. Sterling Price of Chariton County, married the youngest daughter of James Head—Miss Sallie—at the Head home in 1833.

BEFORE THE WAR

For a few years in pre-Civil war days Randolph County was entitled to two representatives in the Legislature. From 1830 to 1856 there were about as many Whigs as Democrats elected to the Legislature. Other Democrats elected to the Legislature were: James B. Dameron, 1842; May M. Burton, 1856; H. D. Wilcox, 1858; J. F. Cunningham, 1860. The Whig party began to wane in the county in the middle '50s when the old Know-Nothing and American parties began to show strength.

Another leading Democrat of the county in pre-Civil war days was Judge William A. Hall, a lawyer of great ability and a farmer. He was elected circuit judge in 1846 and held that position until 1861 when he and Gen. Sterling Price were elected delegates from the same senatorial district to a state convention at Jefferson City to vote on the question of Secession. Both opposed the state seceding from the Union. In 1862 Judge Hall was elected to Congress and remained a Democrat until his death. After the war commenced there was quite a split in parties in Randolph County. In 1864 many Democrats and Whigs voted for Lincoln and quite a number of Democrats never returned to their old party, but after the war many Whigs united with the Democrats.

Some other leading Democrats and office holders of pre-Civil war days were: William Upton, Major Horner, John J. Allen, Capt. James Terrill (who led a volunteer company of soldiers from Huntsville to Western Missouri during the Mormon war of 1838) was county judge many years; John Viley, Joseph Goodding, Chris Collins, Joseph C. Dameron, Robert T. Gilman, Henry Austin, Thos. P. Coates, Capt. Thos. J. Lowry, Benjamin Dameron, John M. Yates, Henry Blake, C. B. Stewart, Reuben Samuel, Geo. W. Dameron, Caswell Wisdom and John B. Taylor.

John R. Hull, a young attorney and Democrat edited the *Randolph Recorder*, the first weekly paper started in Huntsville in 1853. Later it was sold to E. G. St. Clair, a Democrat, who changed the name of it to *The Independent Missourian*. Later it was sold to Francis M. Taylor, who changed the name to the *Randolph Citizen*. The *Citizen* was independent in politics but opposed abolitionism. In 1862 the *Citizen* suspended publication at Huntsville and Mr. Taylor moved to Macon City and died there.

Geo. W. Dameron was the seventh sheriff of the county. He was a native of Caswell County, North Carolina, and came to Randolph County with his parents in 1831 at the age of sixteen. At the age of twenty-five he was elected constable of Silver Creek Township and was reelected consecutively six terms, serving twelve years. Then in 1852 he became a Democratic candidate for sheriff and collector. There were two other Democratic candidates for the same office—George Swetman and Robert Smith—and the "leaders" could not agree on the one to make the race at

the August election. A mass meeting was called at Huntsville to select the nominee and Mr. Dameron was nominated on the first ballot. He and Cris. Collins, candidate for assessor, were the only Democrats elected to county offices that year, the Whigs taking all the other offices. G. W. Dameron was a strong and active Democrat all his life. He died in 1898 at the age of 83.

During the Civil war the "Radical" Republicans were in power in the county, electing their county and state ticket in 1862 and in 1864, and most of their ticket in 1866. But when the "Southern Boys" regained their right to vote in 1868 the county went Democratic and has been Democratic by a large majority ever since, or for sixty-five years; their majority in 1932 was 6,656. After the Civil war closed quite a number of former Whigs who had become Democrats were elected to different offices and were among the best and strongest Democrats in the county. Here are some of the leading Democrats and office holders since the Civil war, who have passed on: James Terrill, Samuel Burton, D. J. Stamper, S. Jones, H. T. Fort, J. F. Hannah, Thos. P. White, J. D. Richmond, B. F. Harvey, Austin Chrisman, M. M. Burton, Strother Ridgway, J. E. W. Cosby, H. Felphs, M. Y. Buchanan, J. W. Graves, W. O. LaMott, P. D. Myers, Z. T. Chilton, James M. Williams, N. P. Wise, Jonas Robb, Harry McKinney, W. F. Elliott, W. H. Williams, N. G. Mattock, B. H. Ashcom, G. N. Ratliff, I. C. Grimes, F. K. Collins, Sam Magruder, A. J. Ferguson, Henry Roberts, J. M. Baker, John W. Manning, Charles Allen, A. P. Terrill, R. F. Palson, B. S. Head, W. B. Sellers, A. F. Gill, P. L. Vasse, J. D. Head, Charles Allen, J. W. Wight, Gene Terrill, R. R. Rothwell, W. H. Wilson, S. T. Morehead, J. A. Swetman, Joe Allen, J. M. Burton, Joel Rucker, W. R. Samuel, C. H. Hance, A. C. Dingle and John N. Hamilton.

Representatives: Thos. P. White, John C. Burton, James F. Cunningham, William Quayle, H. A. Newman, James F. Wright, F. P. Wiley, Walker Wright, W. J. Hollis, W. C. Hall, W. B. McCrary, Will A. Rothwell, W. A. Wight, S. W. Creson and W. T. Heathman. Joe Rice was elected state railroad and warehouse commissioner and Prof. L. E. Wolf, state superintendent of schools.

IN CONGRESS

Randolph County has been represented in Congress by only three of her citizens (Democrats), Judge Wm. A. Hall, Gideon F. Rothwell, who was an able lawyer and fine gentleman, and U. S. (Riley) Hall, son of Judge William A. Hall. Mr. Rothwell was elected in 1878 and served one term. "Riley" Hall was born and reared in the county, was a law graduate and practiced his profession in Moberly several years and was a bright fellow. Later he quit law practice and engaged in farming. In the latter '80s he joined the Farmers Alliance and was quite prominent in that order. In 1892 he became candidate for the Democratic nomination for Congress against Charles H. Mansur, who was asking for a third term, and after a heated campaign Hall was nominated and elected, and re-elected in 1894. When free silver was made an issue he aligned himself with the gold standard wing of his party and, as his district was

largely for free silver, he did not ask for a third term, and practically retired from politics, although in 1895 he and Dick Bland debated the silver question at Huntsville before a big crowd and it was thought by many that Riley was too young, quick at repartee, and got the best of "Uncle" Dick. The "Silverites" were not satisfied with the debate and accepted a challenge by Mr. Hall "to debate the question with any one the opposition may name." Later in 1895 W. J. Bryan accepted the challenge and they "fought it out" at Huntsville. The crowd was largely in sympathy with Mr. Bryan and Mr. Hall recognized that fact and it seemed to have taken much "pep" out of him and it was generally conceded that Mr. Bryan got decidedly the best of Mr. Hall. When his term in Congress expired, Mr. Hall moved back to his farm in the northwestern part of the county. Later he organized and taught a high school at Prairie Hill in Chariton County, near his home. Years later he moved to Glasgow, Missouri, where he became president of a college. In later years he moved to Columbia, Missouri, where he organized a school for training students for admission to Annapolis and West Point, contemporaneous with Yale and Harvard.

Col. Henry A. Newman, a native of Virginia, came to Randolph County about 1856. He joined the Confederacy in 1861 and served through the war as a gallant soldier, being advanced from a private to Colonel. After the war closed he returned to Randolph County. Colonel Newman was a real, loyal Democratic politician with a state-wide acquaintance, a witty and attractive public speaker. He was elected to the State Legislature in 1872 and again in 1886 and was at one time secretary of the state senate, and was state labor commissioner under Governor Crittenden, and at one time member of the State Democratic Committee. By the way, the Colonel was one of the "contact" men that brought about the surrender of the notorious Frank James to Governor Crittenden in 1882. After the Spanish-American war Colonel Newman was delivering a Democratic speech to a big crowd when "Imperialism" was one of the issues. A fellow in the audience called out "what about the Philistines," meaning "Filippines." The Colonel hesitated for a moment and then said "Friend, about 2,000 years ago Saint Paul wrote a letter to the Philistines and we haven't heard from them since." That settled the heckler. By occupation Colonel Newman was a farmer, brick mason and contractor and died in Huntsville many years ago, a poor man.

"CITIZEN" WAS REVIVED

Following the close of the Civil war, the old Randolph *Citizen* was revived by the Thompson brothers—Dick, William A., James B.—and their brother-in-law, Alex Phipps. James B. Thompson first conducted a general mercantile store at Mt. Airy for a while after the war closed and in the later '60s became editor of the *Citizen*. He was a vigorous writer and made it hot for the Radical Republicans. All the boys were strong Democrats. About 1873 James B. Thompson retired from the *Citizen* and became interested in the Moberly *Monitor* which he edited for a few years. He then moved to La Plata, Missouri, and established the *Home*

Press, and continued to publish a weekly paper there until his death in 1892. After Mr. Thompson retired as editor of the *Randolph Citizen*, Alex Phipps became the editor and he was also a strong writer. The last time the writer saw Mr. Phipps was at a Fourth of July celebration and picnic at the old Huntsville Fairgrounds in 1875. He was a fine reader and read to the large crowd the Declaration of Independence. That year the *Citizen* again suspended publication.

One of the most noted circuit judges of the state since the Civil war was Geo. H. Burckhardt, who was born, reared and lived all his life in Randolph County. When a young man he taught school a few years and took up the study of law, was admitted to the bar and practiced law at Huntsville with fine success. He was a very affable man and popular with the people. His father, George F. Burckhardt, a pioneer of the county and a leading Whig, was elected to the State Legislature four terms, 1820-24, 1838 and 1840, and was given credit for designing the Missouri state seal. Naturally George H. Burckhardt, the first few years of his mature life, voted the Whig ticket. He cast his first Democratic vote in 1860 and remained a strong Democrat through the remainder of his life. In 1862 he was elected circuit judge and was elected in successive years for that office, serving twenty-eight years, or until his death, at the age of 69. He was one of the fairest and most popular circuit judges in the state.

Judge Alexander H. Waller was a native of Carroll County, Kentucky. He came to Missouri when young and to Huntsville in 1873 as a young law student and secured employment as deputy circuit clerk under Charles H. Hance, and continued his law studies. He was a fine young man and made many friends in Huntsville and in the county. He was admitted to the bar by Judge G. H. Burckhardt in 1877 and was elected city attorney in 1878. In 1878 he was elected prosecuting attorney of the county and reelected in 1880 and 1882. Later he moved to Moberly to practice his profession and still later he and Will A. Rothwell formed a law partnership. After the death of Judge John A. Hockaday of Boone County in 1903, Gov. A. M. Dockery appointed Mr. Waller circuit judge to fill the vacancy and he was twice reelected. Retiring from the Bench he resumed his law practice until his death. Judge Waller was a fine man, able lawyer and a strong Democrat.

Among the most able and vigorous prosecuting attorneys of the county, besides Judge Waller, back in the '70s, '80s and '90s, who have passed on, were Ben T. Harden, Frank P. Wiley, William Palmer and Will A. Rothwell; Mr. Wiley was elected to the General Assembly in 1878 and in 1880.

Will A. Rothwell was elected National Committeeman from Missouri at the Pertle Springs convention in August, 1895. In 1902 he was chairman of the State Committee when the Democrats retained control of both branches of the General Assembly and reelected W. T. Carrington, superintendent of schools.

Will A. Rothwell was a member of a family of Rothwells that were very prominent in the Democratic party before and since the Civil war.

and they continue to be so, being represented at present by Fount Rothwell, who is the present collector of customs at St. Louis, and Hamp Rothwell, a prominent attorney of St. Louis County. Rolla Rothwell, a brother of Will, was for several terms mayor of Moberly.

The death of Will A. Rothwell in October, 1908, cut short a political career that would have reached some distinction. He was a man of a most agreeable personality with a host of friends throughout the state.

While the location of Moberly had no political significance it had the notoriety of afterwards bringing to attention two Democrats who became prominent and distinguished in the party's affairs. John Lynch's father owned land adjoining the site, and John served two terms as U. S. Marshal at St. Louis under Grover Cleveland.

The booming development of Kansas City made it necessary for the Wabash Railroad to get in touch with it as soon as possible. This road, formerly the North Missouri, was built to attract the trade from Iowa and the north to St. Louis. Fortunately for Randolph County, the connection was located a mile or more south of Allen, which was the station serving Huntsville and other towns west. Of course, the railroad secured the usual concessions.

In order to give the place a good start, it was arranged to celebrate the opening, and several thousand people were present, with bands and the usual things that go with such gatherings. Many came from Huntsville and Alex Phipps of the *Randolph Citizen*, afterwards editor of the *Moberly Monitor*, was selected to make the dedication speech, which he did standing on a large box in the prairie grass. He concluded his speech as follows: "The child is born, and its name is Moberly."

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

RAY COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Ray County was organized November 16, 1820, among the first counties organized in the new state. It was named in honor of John Ray, a member of the Constitutional Convention from Howard County. It has the distinction of having been the home of Austin A. King, governor of Missouri from 1848 to 1852; also of Ephraim B. Ewing, who in 1849 was appointed secretary of state by Governor King. Ewing went from this office to that of the attorney-general in 1856. He resigned and in 1859 was elected to the Supreme Bench, from which office he was ousted by the Radical Government. Mordecai Oliver of Ray County, was a member of Congress in 1852 and 1854 from the Fourth District.

Austin A. King not only served the state during the early days of its making, but he represented Missouri in Congress in 1863 as a Union Democrat during those unhappy days when the state was torn with strife and war. Allen P. Richardson, of Ray County, was registrar of

lands in 1849 under appointment of Governor King. Other Democrats who served the party faithfully in the past can be named, as follows: J. L. Farris, John F. Morton, Jewell Mayes, Thomas D. Bogie, Geo. A. Trigg, Albert P. Hamilton, John C. Brown, Jas. L. Mizner, Austin Thompson, Albert M. Clark, William F. Yates, R. A. Cravens, Charles Dale, Walter R. Patton, David A. Thompson, John J. Pardue, W. A. James, J. F. Campbell, O. W. Dale, Frank Campbell, J. M. Marshall, J. R. Wilson, L. A. Vandiver, Allen Cravens, J. S. Cruse, E. L. Willeford, Thomas B. Cook, Maunce M. Milligan, John I. Mansur, E. T. Crowley.

Isaac Martin was the first member of the General Assembly from Ray County, in 1822-24; William B. Martin in 1826; Isaac Martin in 1828; James Holman in 1830-32; William C. Pollard in 1834; W. R. Blythe in 1836; C. B. Morehead and Hardy Holman in 1838; W. R. Blythe and Hardy Holman in 1840; Philip L. Lawrence in 1842; David Thompson in 1844; Charles E. Bowman in 1846; Ephraim B. Ewing in 1848; T. C. Tiffin and Thomas A. King in 1850; D. Bronstetter in 1852; Lewis C. Bohannon in 1854; Thomas Cleavenger in 1856; Benjamin A. Rives and Walter King in 1858; A. H. Conrow and L. C. Bohannon in 1860; C. T. Garner and A. J. Barr in 1862; John Grimes and J. W. Black in 1864; B. J. Waters in 1867-69; Fred Scoville in 1871; Jacob T. Child in 1873; Walter King in 1875; James L. Farris in 1877-83-85-91; Louis C. Bohannon in 1879; William T. Brown in 1881; John F. Morton in 1887-89; George W. Trigg in 1893; William B. McKee in 1895; Robert L. Macey in 1897-99; John C. Duval in 1901; Thomas W. Crow in 1903-05; Thos. B. Cook in 1907-09; Edward L. Willeford in 1911-13; Thomas B. Cook in 1915; Albert M. Clark in 1917-19; Dick B. Dale in 1921-23; Fred R. Arnote in 1925-27; C. A. Brown in 1929-31; Dick B. Dale in 1933.

Jacob L. ("Tuck") Milligan, of Ray County, was elected to Congress from the Third District to fill out the term of Joshua W. Alexander in 1919, whom President Wilson appointed secretary of commerce. Excepting one term, he has been in Congress continuously, and in 1932 was elected at large.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

REYNOLDS COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Reynolds County was organized February 25, 1845. Named in honor of Thomas Reynolds, governor of Missouri from 1841 to 1844. He committed suicide on February 9, 1844, at Jefferson City, Missouri. His name was bestowed upon this county through the efforts of Hon. Pate Buford, a particular friend.

Pate Buford was the first member of the General Assembly from Reynolds County in 1846; William Edmonston in 1848, John Buford in 1850-52-54; Thomas B. Harrison in 1856; Lucien N. Ferris in 1858; Pate

Buford in 1860; Gideon Howell in 1864-67; J. B. Barnes in 1871; L. N. Farris in 1873; Joseph Dill in 1875; E. D. Brawley in 1877; Henderson Chitwood in 1879-81-83-85; J. C. O'Dell in 1887-95-97; William C. Brooks in 1889; W. D. Dickson in 1891-93; William C. Brooks in 1899; Joab F. January in 1901-03; T. D. Shriver in 1905; T. J. Sweazea in 1907; Wm. H. Shy in 1909; R. L. Daniels in 1911; W. M. Brooks in 1913-19; J. M. Mooney in 1915-17-25-27-29; Charles Sutton in 1921-23; L. T. Daniels in 1931-33.

Reynolds County has been a Democratic county for many years. Democrats who contributed to this were: J. S. Wadlow, A. P. Farris, Robert L. Daniels, Thomas J. Sweazea, Carter M. Buford, George D. Sloan, Thomas J. Jordan, Thos. A. Johnson, Jesse R. Harrison, W. M. Brooks, C. L. Sutterfield, M. G. Harrison, W. F. Akins, James Elders, G. W. Smith, R. I. January, Dr. L. B. Ralls, W. H. Shy, W. P. Brown, S. E. Warner, S. L. Cox, E. M. Hunter, H. L. Fitts, J. J. Jamison, C. R. Wadlow, Robert L. Parks, C. C. O'Dell, Dr. A. F. Bugg, T. D. Shriver, A. L. George, W. P. Brown, John R. Johnson, C. W. Counts, James M. Mooney, R. L. Black, Sam M. Brewster, Dr. C. M. Fitzpatrick, and Robert Elders.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

HISTORY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN RIPLEY COUNTY

By J. P. Campbell* and Glenn Goddin**

The first General Assembly of the State of Missouri was held in 1820, and Ripley County was admitted to the state in 1834. At the time of its admission Ripley County comprised the area which is now Ripley and Carter counties, and was represented by Thomas Chilton, of Chilton, located in the part of the county later known as Carter. He was Ripley's first representative, serving from 1834 until replaced in the General Assembly in 1840, when John Chilton was elected representative in that year.

Ripley County was solidly represented by Democrats from its time of admission until the days of the Civil war. During the days of Reconstruction it was represented by Republicans, and it was not until 1871 that Pinkney Mabrey, a Democrat, was elected. After Mabrey's election Democrats represented the county until the years of 1886 and 1888, at which time Republicans were again elected to the Legislature. From 1890, at which time the present Democratic organization was formed, until 1928 there has been a solid line of Democratic representatives. Our last two representatives, as well as all other county officers, have been Democrats. Since 1871 practically all county officers have been Democratic, with a few exceptions, the worst defeat occurring in the election of 1914 when the party lost both the collector's office and that of county clerk. Along about the year 1890 the party leaders began to realize that

they would have to change the form of election if they were to hold power in the county, for in 1888 John Dodd, a Republican, was elected sheriff, due to the fact that the Republicans voted as a unit, while the Democrats were voting on many candidates, as had been the practice of the party from the time Mabrey and the Democratic ticket was elected in 1871—when Democrats regained control of the county, after the days of Reconstruction.

In 1890 the Democratic Party leaders organized, and party lines were drawn. This was the first campaign in which this procedure had ever occurred in Ripley County, for at that time a Democratic nominating convention was held to name a county ticket. Two years later the primary election was arranged, the expense of which was paid by the candidates.

CHARLES L. FERGUSON. Born June 27, 1887, at Doniphan, Mo.; received his education in the public schools, Westminster College, Fulton, Mo., and at the Law School of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. Admitted to the bar in 1910; served two terms as prosecuting attorney of Ripley County and was representative from Ripley in the 50th and 51st General Assemblies. Elected judge of the Circuit Court of the Thirty-third Judicial Circuit in 1924; resigned as circuit judge, September 1, 1930, to accept appointment as commissioner of the Supreme Court for the unexpired term of Judge James D. Lindsay, deceased. Appointed commissioner Division One, of the Supreme Court on April 12, 1931, for a term of four years. Married June 4, 1913, Miss Edythe Sharratt of Kansas City. They have two children, Charles Edwin and Sarah Margaret.

JOHN MORGAN ATKINSON, representative of Ripley County, was born in Hickman County, Tenn., September 14, 1870, and came to Missouri with his parents in 1873. He was educated in the public schools of Doniphan and at the Cape Girardeau Normal. He married Miss M. Owen of Trenton, Tenn., June 23, 1897. Served two terms as county clerk of Ripley County and has been a member of the House three successive sessions, being first elected in 1902, and was speaker of the House in the Forty-fourth General Assembly. He is a lawyer by profession and resides at Doniphan. (Note: From 1908 Blue Book).

Mr. Atkinson also served as assistant attorney general under Governor Major from 1909 to 1913. He died at Los Angeles, Cal., March 14, 1934.

The Public Service Commission Act was adopted by the Forty-seventh General Assembly and became effective April 15, 1913, during the administration of Gov. Elliott W. Major, who appointed its first members. John M. Atkinson of Doniphan was its first chairman. He was Democratic nominee for governor in 1920, and his defeat in the general election was the first defeat in politics he ever met in a general election. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the nomination for governor in 1916.

THOMAS F. LANE, Senator from the Twenty-first District, was born April 16, 1869, at Dalton, Whitfield County, Georgia. He was educated in the common schools of Butler County, Mo., and in the law department of the Missouri State University. He was elected prosecuting attorney

of Ripley County in 1898, and was reelected to that office in 1900, 1902 and 1904. Married Miss Mary E. Johnson, eldest daughter of ex-Senator T. Perry Johnson, January 15, 1890, at Poplar Bluff, Missouri. Served as State Senator from 1908-1910, from Twenty-first District. In the 46th General Assembly he was chairman of appropriations, and county courts, and justice of the peace committees and a member of criminal jurisprudence, will and probate law, fish and game law, and University, Normal Schools, Agricultural College and School of Mines committees.

THOMAS MABREY was representative in the General Assembly, 1879, from Ripley County and also served as senator in the 31st General Assembly while making his home in this county. He was a pioneer lawyer and Democratic leader.

THOMAS W. MABREY. Representative in 1889-1891-1893 General Assemblies, serving as speaker of the General Assembly. Following his term as speaker he became connected with the U. S. Custom House at St. Louis, under Richard Dalton. He was active in the organization of the Democratic Party in Ripley County in 1890, at which time the first party ticket was named by a convention system.

PINCKNEY MABREY was representative in the General Assembly, 1871, from Ripley County. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1875. Editor for many years of the *Doniphan Prospect*, Ripley County's first newspaper. Stalwart Democrat during his active life.

JAMES K. LANGFORD served Ripley County eleven years as court clerk prior to 1895, and was active in the organization of the Democratic Party in 1890.

JESSE B. SHEPPARD was elected prosecuting attorney of Ripley County in 1880, serving in 1881-1884; was reelected in 1890, serving until 1894. When the 33d Judicial Circuit was created in 1905, he was appointed judge and was elected to the judgeship of the 33d Circuit in 1906 for a six year term. Also served as a presidential elector in the Kansas City Democratic Convention, being instructed for Bryan, in the year 1900.

COL. WILLIAM H. RIGHTER was among the first pioneers of Ripley County, having settled in Doniphan when there were only a few cabins. He was an active Democratic worker during his lifetime. He served as prosecuting attorney of Ripley County and also represented Ripley in the General Assembly in 1883, at which time he rendered the county one of its most valuable services, when he led the fight which resulted in the building of the branch road of the Iron Mountain Railroad, now the Missouri Pacific, from Neelyville to Doniphan, giving Ripley County its first railroad connections.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

ST. CHARLES COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

St. Charles was one of the original districts, which were named St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid. The county was named for the Town of St. Charles, which was chosen by the French. The county was organized October 1, 1812.

The first members of the General Assembly were Benjamin Emmons and Joseph Evans in 1820; Felix Scott and Joseph Evans in 1822-24; Wilson L. Overall in 1826; Stephen Hempstead in 1828; Felix Scott in 1830; William N. Fulkerson and William M. Campbell in 1832; Henry Porter in 1834; John D. Coalter and Benjamin Emmons in 1836-38; James G. Bailey in 1840; William J. McElhaney and Pinos Shelton in 1842; John Orrick and John D. Coalter in 1844; W. M. Allen in 1846; Robert Miller in 1848; C. F. Fant and W. Fawcett in 1850; Arnold Krekel and John A. Talley in 1852; Chas. F. Fant and Josiah Pratt in 1854; Darius Helad and B. W. Dudley in 1856; John N. Pulliam and Andrew King in 1858; A. Abington and V. Randolph in 1860; Robert Bailey, Jr., and B. F. Cook in 1862; W. E. Claus in 1864; J. C. Orrick and Conrad Weinrich in 1866; J. C. Orrick and E. Weinrich in 1869; A. H. Edwards and Henry Abington in 1871; A. H. Edwards in 1873; Charles Daudt in 1875; C. T. Mallinckrodt in 1877; Henry C. Lackland in 1879; Frederick W. Grabenhorst in 1881-83-85; R. W. Mueller in 1895-97-99; John H. Stumberg in 1901-03; Robert D. Silver in 1905 to 1911; R. C. Haenssler in 1913-15-17; John C. Parr in 1919-21; William F. Weinrich in 1923-25; Louis J. Ringe in 1927-29-31; F. J. Iffrig in 1933.

St. Charles County has always been classed as a strong Republican county, but it is possessed of some of the most active Democrats of any county in the state, including the following: J. Louis Saettele, Bert Blessing, G. J. Fistor, Frank Hercules, Frank Iffrig, G. T. Camp, William F. Weinrich, John G. Daubbert, Julius Kessler, J. C. Brown, Marcus Menke, A. J. Duvall, Ben Raus, Osmund Haenssler, T. L. Hardin, R. M. Thompson, W. M. Gray, Grover Keys, W. B. White, Fred Hoefner, D. M. Kerr, W. H. Bates, R. M. Gillette, J. C. Ehrhardt, Donald Kerr, B. H. Jolly, R. E. Fulkerson, Dr. Will L. Freeman, Walker Cunningham, Wiley Huston, Paul F. Houser and Joe Ehrhardt.

In 1932 there was a thorough organization of the Democratic County Committee, composed of the following: Wiley Huston, Mrs. Blanch R. Schafer, Miss Myrtle Eberius, Otto Wilke, J. D. Owen, Mrs. Lillie Barclay, Donald M. Kerr, Mrs. Anna Mueller, Albinus Orf, Mrs. Joseph Stuckey, Leslie L. Fulkerson, Mrs. Eliza M. Bueneman, Mrs. A. H. Fehlig, Joseph D. Davy, Mrs. Vernie M. Cappel, Mrs. Tess C. Neff, Hugh Holmes, Fred Ottomeier, Harry Sullenstrop and Mrs. L. J. Beilsmith.

In the November election in 1932 St. Charles County gave Franklin D. Roosevelt, for President, a majority of 3,247; Bennett Champ Clark, for U. S. senator, 3,056 majority. The following Democrats were elected on the county ticket: J. L. Rothermich and R. E. L. Fulkerson, county judges; Charles Phelps, sheriff; Jos B. Wentker, prosecuting attorney;

William H. Bruns, collector; Henry Oelze, assessor; Joseph M. Dickherber, treasurer; Dr. Will L. Freeman, coroner; B. H. Jolly, school commissioner; F. J. Iffrig, member General Assembly.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

ST. CLAIR COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By Ralph and Waldo P. Johnson,* Osceola

The Pioneers in Saint Clair County came largely from Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, and the county was Democratic by inheritance and blood up to the outbreak of the Civil war. During the political fight between Senator Benton and his opponent this county stood stanchly by Senator Benton. This was perhaps due to the friendship of Waldo P. Johnson, whose home was at Osceola and who was successively representative, district attorney, circuit judge and United States senator, holding the latter place until the outbreak of the Civil war. He later represented Missouri in the Senate of the Confederate States and was president of the Constitutional Convention of 1875. During the war and under the infamous Drake Constitution all those who fought for Democratic doctrine and State Rights were disfranchised and the Radical Party was in control, although in 1870 the county was carried by the Democrats. The change in population during reconstruction brought many good citizens from the North and from 1870 down to the present time the county has been regarded as doubtful or close politically. Generally, the Democratic Party has carried the county, but many Republican county officers have been elected, and occasionally the county has been carried by the Republicans for the State and National tickets. In 1878 the Greenback ticket was elected, and in 1880 a fusion ticket, composed of Democrats and Republicans, was elected over the Greenback ticket, and in 1896 a fusion of Democrats and Populists was elected. The county has had a material part in electing its favorites among the State and National offices, Senator Cockrell, Senator Stone, Governor Folk and others, always being able to count on running somewhat ahead of the ticket in St. Clair County. Senator Stone's first nomination for Congressman was obtained by the vote of St. Clair County. The county has always been regarded as a political battle ground of enough importance to warrant the State and National committees sending their ablest speakers to this county, among them having been Cockrell, Vest, Stone, Reed, and even William J. Bryan made two political speeches in this county at the time when he was one of the popular leaders of the Nation. In the landslide of 1920 Harding carried the county by nearly one thousand votes, but in 1924 Nelson, Democratic candidate for governor, carried it by over seven hundred, and in 1932 Roosevelt's majority in the county was about fifteen hundred, and he carried the entire Democratic county ticket with him.

The county has not furnished a large number of candidates for State and District offices since the Civil war. In this respect St. Clair County

has not been too generously treated by her neighboring counties in the various districts as she has not had a circuit judge since the Civil war, and the only Democratic state senator since that time was John C. Whaley, who was elected in 1898. She has never had a Democratic Congressman. In the matter of district and appointive offices, Republicans in the county have fared better than the Democrats, furnishing a congressman, a United States district attorney, a circuit judge and two State senators since the 'sixties.

The county has been fortunate in the members she has sent to the lower house of the General Assembly. They have been men of exceptional ability who have made enviable reputations.

In this list are included John C. Ferguson in 1872, who, though his career was terminated by death at an early age, won distinction as one of the ablest lawyers of west Missouri; Frank C. Nesbit, 1876, was a Hancock elector in 1880 and was secretary of the Missouri State Senate for four terms, a distinguished lawyer who found a broader field in Washington; W. W. Warren, who was a beloved minister of the county; Nathaniel C. Whaley, 1906, later an assistant United States attorney and a prominent lawyer in St. Louis; J. A. Luchsinger, 1908, now probate judge of the county, and active politically for the last forty years; Harry R. Pence, 1922, now county clerk and member of the State Committee, and one of the most active politicians in the west part of the state.

ALWAYS ON THE JOB

While St. Clair County has had few candidates for District and State offices, she has always furnished her share of the workers. She has been represented on the State Committee and by men whose ability was recognized over the state and whose opinions were sought and valued by party leaders. Among the members she has furnished the State Committee are: John H. Lucas, John S. Pence and Harry R. Pence. No account of the activities of the Democratic Party in St. Clair County would be complete without further mention of John H. Lucas. Coming to the county in 1870, he at once took an active part in the work of reorganizing the party and for fifty years was an influential factor in all party activities, giving much of his time to every campaign for a long number of years, although he was never a candidate for a political office himself. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1922, and was recognized as one of the ablest trial lawyers of his generation in the State.

John S. Pence during a lifetime spent in the county has always been in the front line of battle and has never faltered in his loyalty to the party. In every campaign he has given generously of his time and efforts in support of the ticket and the splendid and uniform Democratic vote in the southwest part of the county has been largely due to his constant work for the past forty-five years. His son, Harry R. Pence, who is serving his second term as a member of the State Committee, has served the Party and the county with distinction and credit. He has been urged to run for a State office and in 1928 was a delegate to the National Convention. Due largely to his efforts, residents of St. Clair County have

received a rather large number of appointive offices in the present state administration.

Lee E. Crook, although often urged to become a candidate for District office, has declined, preferring to serve the people of the county as prosecuting attorney. He was a delegate to the National Convention in 1924, and is a lawyer whose ability is recognized over Southwest Missouri.

Mention should also be made of Sam O. Hargus, who was born and reared in Roscoe township, and who made this county his home until he became assistant United States district attorney under Francis M. Wilson at Kansas City. He also served as a special assistant to the attorney general of the United States. Later he was private secretary and political adviser to Governor Park and at present is attorney for the Public Service Commission of Missouri.

No account of the Democratic Party in this county would be complete without mentioning the names of some of those whose work, as privates in the ranks, have kept in flourishing condition the party in this county, which is at present largely due to the efforts of such men as Charley Lucas, W. C. Lucas, Dr. John Sævers, J. P. Watson, J. W. Gardner, the Toalsons, Wilsons, Johnsons, Lewises and Crookses, Osceola; Jack Ring, Dick Bachelor, Jim White, A. A. Johnson, the Paynes, Houses and Coles of Appleton City; Ed Williamson, W. J. Lash, William Williams, Wishards and Parks of Moonegaw township; the Stricklands, the Shaffners, the Barrs of Chalklevel township; the Penns, J. R. Lightfoot, the Nesbits, Judge John T. Bunch, and his son, Judge W. I. Bunch, and many others of Butler township; J. A. Gover, J. F. Gover, Tom Greene, Jas. Ray, Jas. Harris, G. A. Talley, the Suiters and many others of Jackson township; the Garrisons, the Govers, the Harpers and a score of others of Polk township; the Brashears, the Donovans, the Culbertsons, the Burches and the Pencses, and others of Roscoe township; the Burches, the Bruces, the Zeners, the Richardsons and the Brackenridges of Speedwell township; the Burtons, the Capps and the Millsaps of Washington township; the Millers and Wheelers of Dallas township; the Culbertsons, Cleve Wilson, Judge Nevitt, Ben Bratcher and W. E. Crouch of Collins township; E. L. Nance, the Vannices, Heares and Kellers of Doyal township.

Special mention should be made of Judge Thomas D. Nevitt, who though well along in years and nearly blind, is still a live wire for the Democratic Party. He has been on the firing line more than fifty years, and served this county well as a member of its county court, and has always been ready to go night or day for anything that he thought was for the good of the party.

In naming those above it is not pretended that all the best workers of the party are mentioned but merely those that came to the mind of the writer on the spur of the moment, as there are numerous others, each generation furnishing a few outstanding men in nearly every community in St. Clair County, which have kept the county largely Democratic, when as a matter of fact, its inhabitants, perhaps naturally, are more Republican than Democratic.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

ST. FRANCOIS COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

St. Francois County was established by an Act of the Legislature passed December 19, 1821, from portions of Ste. Genevieve, Washington and Jefferson counties. The judges of the county court, James Austin, George McGahan and James W. Smith, held their first meeting on February 25, 1822, at the house of Jesse Murphy, but after electing John D. Peers, clerk, adjourned to meet on the same day at the house of David Murphy. The county was then divided into four townships, Perry, Pendleton, Liberty and St. Francois. For these townships the following appointments were made: Perry—William Hale, constable; John Andrews, Jr., assessor; Thomas Hale, Archibald McHenry and John Baker, judges of election. Pendleton—Wesley Garrett, constable and assessor, and James Milburn, Absalom Dent and John Sherrill, judges of election. Liberty—Robert Hays, constable; James Dunlap, assessor, and Reuben McFarland, James Dunlap and Samuel Kincaid, judges of election. St. Francois—Benjamin Burnham, constable; Laken Walker, assessor, and Richard Murphy, John Murphy and D. F. Marks, judges of election.

The circuit court was organized on April 1, 1822, by Judge N. B. Tucker of St. Charles County. The first county officers were as follows: John D. Peers, county clerk; Charles Hart, sheriff; Samuel P. Harris, assessor; Richard Murphy, treasurer; Michael Hart, collector; James Austin, judge of the county court.

The representatives of the county in the General Assembly from 1830 to 1886, were the following: Corbin Alexander, 1830-36; Joseph Bogy, Sr., 1840; Francis Murphy, 1844; Thomas H. Hale, 1846; Joseph Bogy, Sr., 1848; W. M. Crunceleton, 1852; Corbin Alexander, 1854-56; V. C. Peers, 1858-60; P. W. Murphy, 1860-62; J. P. Smith, 1862-64; D. J. Meloy, 1864-66; W. D. Huff, 1866-68; E. C. Sebastian, 1868-70; P. W. Murphy, 1870-72; F. E. Walker, 1872-74; William Carter, 1874-76; L. D. Walker, 1876-78; George McMahan, 1878-80; R. L. Sutherland, 1880-82; F. M. Carter, 1882-84; S. C. Gossom, 1884-86; John D. Satterwhite, 1886; John W. Fraser in 1889; R. F. Banks in 1891-93; William H. Young in 1895; Wilbur F. Arnold in 1897; John L. Bradley in 1899-1901; Joseph Dunklin in 1903; Carl F. Arnold in 1905; William H. Lewis in 1907; Hart B. Ledbetter in 1909; Jeff D. Poston in 1911-13-19; A. P. Gray in 1915; Geo. W. Moothart in 1917; I. N. Trelkeld in 1921; H. C. Johnson in 1923; Dr. J. H. Shoemake in 1925; Geo. W. Williams in 1927; C. C. Schuttler in 1929; T. E. McKinney in 1931; R. S. Roberts in 1933.

Thomas Estes Noell was elected to Congress in 1867, and when he resigned James R. McCormich, of Iron County, was elected in his stead.

Democrats of prominence in the work for the Democratic Party in St. Francois County included: Judge E. E. Swink, George K. Williams, C. T. Malugen, Martin L. Clardy, Madison R. Smith, Clark McMullen, Henry M. O'Bannon, J. Edward Brewer, C. Clyde Akers, G. A. Tetley,

C. A. Tetley, Henry Watson, F. A. Benham, J. H. Malugen, M. W. Jones, J. L. Cleveland, Jas. C. Heifner, Francis M. Horton, J. J. Bowman.

The Democratic women of St. Francois County formed a strong women's county committee in 1920, composed of the following: Mrs. S. J. Tetley, chairman; Mrs. J. Thompson, secretary; Mrs. J. J. Bowman, treasurer; Mrs. Rone Politte, Mrs. W. T. O'Neil, Mrs. Frances Aubuchan, Mrs. E. O. Presnell, Mrs. Henry Blissingoff.

In 1932 St. Francois County gave Roosevelt a substantial majority, and the vote for United States senator was Bennett Champ Clark, 7,682; Kiel, 5,955; a majority of 1,727 for Clark.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

STE. GENEVIEVE COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By Edward A. Moreau^a and LeClere Janis,^b Ste. Genevieve

Ste. Genevieve County has only gone Republican twice in presidential elections in the course of its history.

Following shows the Democratic and Republican majorities in presidential elections in Ste. Genevieve County over a period of fifty-six years: 1882, Democratic by 600 votes; 1884, Democratic by 550 votes; 1888, Democratic by 500 votes; 1892, Democratic by 400 votes; 1896, Democratic by 350 votes; 1900, Democratic by 350 votes; 1904, Democratic by 177 votes; 1908, Democratic by 48 votes; 1912, Democratic by 41 votes; 1916, Democratic by 77 votes; 1920, Republican by 768 votes; 1924, Republican by 85 votes; 1928, Democratic by 1,449 votes; 1932, Democratic by 1,984 votes.

The first members of the General Assembly from Ste. Genevieve County were John B. Bossier, James Caldwell, Charles Ellis and Joab Waters, in 1820; Beverly Allen in 1826; John S. Barrett in 1828; Robert Moore in 1830; Joseph Bogy in 1832; Clement Detchmendi in 1834-36; Joseph Coffman in 1842; Robert J. Boas in 1844; Jeremiah Robinson in 1846; Johnson B. Clardy in 1848; S. E. Roussin in 1850; Jesse B. Robbins in 1852; Lewis V. Bogy in 1854; F. A. Rozier in 1856; Robert J. Boas in 1858; John C. Watkins in 1860; D. C. Tuttle in 1862; George Bond in 1864; Joseph Bogy in 1867-69; A. F. Beltrami in 1871; Robert C. Madison in 1873; William F. Cox in 1875-79-81; Jasper N. Burks in 1877; L. G. Patterson in 1883; Theodore P. Boyer in 1885; Henry S. Shaw in 1887-89; John F. Shearlock in 1891-93; Joseph C. Pratte in 1895; John B. Caldwell in 1897; Peter H. Huck in 1899-1901-03-07-09; Bernard S. Pratte in 1905; Patrick H. Coffman in 1911; Wm. Russell Wilder in 1913-15-27; Leo D. Karl in 1917-19; Goforth J. Ditch in 1921; Louis J. Drury in 1923-29-31-33; Andrew P. Drury in 1925.

John Scott was one of the most distinguished citizens of Ste. Genevieve County. He was prominent in all matters pertaining to the Territory and to the State until his death.

In the early days of the development of the Louisiana Territory, land titles was a source of bringing many lawyers of distinction to Ste. Genevieve County. When the settler had actually inhabited, possessed, or cultivated the land for ten years, a confirmation was required. To secure this, it was necessary for the lieutenant-governor to certify the fact of possession for the required time to the proper officer at New Orleans, who issued a patent. Under these inducements, people from Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky and other States came to Upper Louisiana in large numbers. This was doubtless due to the fact that here these pioneers found a country most similar to that which they had left, and no prior settlement of the French prevented their securing the best land.

Among those who composed the aggressive organization of the party in the past include: Dr. J. B. Roberts, Camille J. Stanton, Henry J. Janis, Thomas B. Straughan, Felix J. Rigdon, H. Ward Hicks, Wm. P. Huck, Jasper N. Burks, Dr. F. E. Hirsch, Dr. N. W. Jarvis, G. A. Thurman, Peter Huck, Herbert Fallert and Emmanuel Godair.

WOMEN GET VOTE

In 1920, when women were given the right to vote, Ste. Genevieve County had one of the most thorough organizations of any county in the State. The Women's Democratic Committee was composed as follows: Mrs. E. T. Smith, Mrs. W. M. Billups, Mrs. G. W. Barnett, Mrs. F. H. Starr, Mrs. M. R. Penaloza, Mrs. E. C. Slevin, Mrs. Minnie Radcliffe, and Mrs. J. H. Pierce.

In 1932 the county was carried for the New Deal by nearly 2,000 majority for Roosevelt for President, and almost an equal number for Bennett Champ Clark for U. S. senator.

"Probably the first American settlers in Ste. Genevieve," says The Goodspeed Publishing Company, in the "History of Southeast Missouri," "were John and Israel Dodge, brothers, who came as early as 1788. Not much could be learned of the former. Israel Dodge was born on Block Island, and while a youth made a trip on a slaver to the coast of Africa. He afterward served in the American Army during the Revolution and about its close came to the western country. He married Nancy Hunter, a sister of Joseph Hunter, a pioneer of New Madrid County, but, for some cause not now known, he was divorced from her after the birth of a son. He then came to Ste. Genevieve, where he died in 1806. He was the first sheriff of the district, and was succeeded by his son, Henry Dodge. The latter had a remarkable career. He possessed a strong liking for military life, and in 1806, accompanied by John Smith, went to New Madrid to join Burr's expedition, thinking it a legitimate enterprise, but, warned by Jefferson's proclamation, returned home. In September, 1812, he was appointed major of territorial militia, and took an active part in the operations against the Indians. Toward the close of the war, he was promoted to rank of brigadier-general to date from January 17, 1814. After the return of peace, he was engaged in the manufacture of salt at the Saline. In 1827 he removed to Fever River Lead Mines, in

Wisconsin. In 1832 he was commissioned major of United States Rangers, and on March 4, 1833, made colonel of First United States Dragoons. When the Territory of Wisconsin was organized, he was appointed its governor by President Jackson, and so continued until 1841. During the next four years he served as a delegate to Congress, and from 1845-47 as governor again. He then served in the United States Senate from the admission of Wisconsin to the Union, until 1857. He died June 18, 1867, at the age of eighty-five years."

The Byrd family was another large and influential family that settled in this district. Abraham Byrd was a member of the General Assembly in 1832, and became a member of the State Senate in 1836 and 1838. He was a member of the first Territorial Assembly and the Constitutional Convention of 1820. In 1836 he was a presidential elector.

Among the original settlers were Francois Valle, Jean Baptiste and Vetal St. Gen Bauvais, Jean Baptiste Pratte, Nicholas Janis, Laurant Babouri, Jaques Peter and Paul DeGuire, Jean Baptiste Thavmure, August Antoine and Baptiste Obuchon, Jacques Guibourd, and John and Israel Dodge.

The Valle Family was one of the most prominent and influential. Francis Valle, Jr., married Louise Carpentier in 1777, and reared a family of several children. One daughter married Robert T. Brown, who became a prominent citizen of Perry County; Dr. Walter Fenwick, Joseph Pratte, son of J. B. T. Pratte; and Captain Wilkinson.

Firman Andrew Rozier was among the first settlers of Southeast Missouri, and one of the pioneers who came to Missouri when it formed a portion of the French territory in America. He was educated principally at St. Mary's in Perry County, at that time the most flourishing institution of learning west of the Alleghanies, where he began the study of classics.

FENWICK-CRITTENDEN DUEL

Dr. Fenwick and Thomas T. Crittenden were participants in a duel held on a Mississippi River island near Ste. Genevieve in the year 1811, which resulted in Fenwick's death. The duel came about as a result of a quarrel between Fenwick's brother, Ezekiel Fenwick and Thomas T. Crittenden. Ezekiel Fenwick first challenged Crittenden but for some reason Crittenden refused to meet him. Dr. Fenwick considered this a personal affront and offered himself in his brother's stead, and was accepted. The parties met October 1, 1811, on Moreau's Island. General Henry Dodge was second for Dr. Fenwick and Hon. John Scott, second for Mr. Crittenden. At the first fire Dr. Fenwick fell mortally wounded, and died a short time afterwards.

Crittenden was a member of the famous Crittenden family of Kentucky, and in 1810 was appointed attorney-general of the Territory of Louisiana by Governor Benjamin Howard, succeeding Edward Hempstead.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

ST. LOUIS COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By J. C. A. Hiller,* Kirkwood

In 1875 the General Assembly of Missouri passed an act separating the city from the county of St. Louis. The newly appointed county judges under the act were: Henry L. Sutton, presiding judge; Joseph Conway and James C. Edwards, associate judges; William D. Clayton was appointed county clerk and recorder of deeds; Alfred Carr, sheriff; Thomas T. January, county treasurer; Frank J. Bowman, special counsel. The temporary county seat was the Mount Olive House, on the Olive Street Rock Road. On December 4, 1877, the people endorsed the location of the county seat at Clayton.

Clayton dates its birth from May 9, 1879, when the corner-stone of the courthouse was laid. Among those attending the ceremonies were George Knapp of the *Missouri Republican*; Frederick L. Billon, the historian; Henry C. Brockmeyer, the lieutenant governor; Nat C. Claiborne; General James Shields, elected to the United States Senate by the General Assembly in 1879, to succeed David H. Armstrong; Robert H. Kern; R. Graham Frost; Capt. Joseph A. Brown, and others.

Some of the most prominent people of eastern Missouri located in St. Louis County, and included the Lucas family, the O'Fallons, the Sappingtons, Thomas J. Colman, the Tessons, Skinkers, Charles G. Gonter, the Baldwins, from whom the town of Baldwin takes its name, the Bonfils, the Herryfords, William F. Broadhead, Governor William Clark, the Claytons, B. C. Stevens, D. C. Taylor, Dan C. Taylor, William Forsyth, Charles P. Chouteau, Benjamin F. Thomas, the Prices, Philip S. Lanham, the famous auctioneer, Judge Phister, presiding judge of the county court, appointed by Governor Morehouse; Lucius L. Bates, son of Governor Frederick L. Bates, Andrew Jackson Denny, Norman J. Colman, the first secretary of agriculture appointed by President Cleveland in 1889; the Hunt family, the Turner family, James Miller, a nephew of Governor John Miller, Irl R. Hicks, famous publisher of the magazine *Word and Works*; the Ferguson family, the Lays, Captain Stephen Smith, the Larimores, and others.

Perhaps not all lovers who visit Creve Coeur Lake know of the unhappy Indian maiden, whose hopeless love suggested the name Creve Coeur, the Broken Heart. Becoming enamored of a young Frenchman, who visited her father, the Chief, and realizing he did not return her love, and true to the stoic character of her race, she fled from her home to the cliffs above the lake and plunged to a watery grave. So the lake takes the name of the Indian maiden's unrequited love—Creve Coeur—the Broken Heart.

DEMOCRATIC OFFICIALS OF ST. LOUIS COUNTY

The following is a list of Democratic officials elected or appointed to positions in the Federal, State and County Government of St. Louis County.

Between 1876 and 1900:

J. A. Brown, prosecuting attorney; William Pfister, assessor; Henri Chomeau, surveyor; Robert G. Coleman, state senator; Edward C. Kehr, member of Congress; C. P. Ellerbe, representative First District and Insurance Commissioner; T. T. Hathaway, representative in General Assembly; C. Pitman Smith, representative in General Assembly; John A. Massey, member board of agriculture; Berkley Johnson, county surveyor; Charles Costello, chairman democratic county committee; Dr. R. M. Higgins, chairman Democratic County Committee; Dr. J. B. Sudduth, chairman Democratic County Committee.

Between 1902 and the present:

Hon. Bennett Champ Clark, United States senator; Henry Albers, judge county court, First District; Raymond Walsh, judge county court, First District; Richard S. Smiley, presiding judge county court; Daniel Sheerin, judge county court, First District; Wm. H. Tegetthoff, representative First District, and also recorder; Melcene T. Smith, representative Second District; William A. Ryan, representative First District; Chilton Estes, representative Second District; Wm. M. Daly, Jr., representative Third District; Ernest Marshall, state beer inspector (1905-1910); J. C. A. Hiller, chief grain inspector, labor commissioner, member Capitol Building Commission and election commissioner, chairman County Committee, 1904-10; A. V. Lashly, prosecuting attorney, member Constitutional convention, 1923, and circuit judge; Thomas Winer, circuit clerk; D. C. Taylor, public administrator; Clarence L. Shotwell, excise commissioner, chairman County Committee and state senator; John E. Mooney, excise commissioner; Charles J. Harwood, member Board of Agriculture; Philander P. Lewis, chairman Board of Agriculture; Joseph Kane, judge Court of Appeals; James R. Claiborne, member of Congress; William Schramm, judge county court, First District; R. E. Schumacher, judge county court, Second District; J. Fenton Rudder, county collector; Edward Tiffin, county clerk; Fount Rothwell, United States collector of customs, under both the Wilson and Roosevelt administrations; Adam Henry Jones, prosecuting attorney; A. Evan Hughes, judge probate court; Dr. John O'Connell, coroner; Dr. Luke B. Tiernon, coroner; Martin L. Neaf, assessor; Maurice Dwyer, treasurer; John M. Crutsinger, county surveyor; C. Arthur Anderson, prosecuting attorney; W. Francis Cronin, public administrator; Lon Sanders, election commissioner; Louis Kunz, election commissioner; Owen G. Jackson, chairman election commission; J. C. A. Hiller, chairman Democratic County Committee, 1904-1910; Clarence L. Shotwell, chairman Democratic County Committee, 1912 and 1930; John E. Mooney, chairman Democratic County Committee, 1914-16; Wm. M. Daly, chairman Democratic County Committee, 1918; W. T. Wright, chairman Democratic County Committee, 1920; James E. Hereford, chairman Democratic County Committee, 1922-1926; M. W. Cronin, chairman Democratic County Committee; Clarence L. Shotwell, chairman Democratic County Committee, 1930.

The following comprised the Democratic Central Committee of 1877:

Bonhomme—Jno. W. Andrews, David Clarkson, Andrew Cummings, S. T. Van Dover, Jno. D. Moody; *Carondelet*—Wm. V. Weinrich, George Fuchs, Daniel Glock, Milton Smith, Jas. A. Eddie; *Central*—Chas. H. Edmondson, Ernest Marshall, Dr. J. J. O'Brien, Jno. W. Groby, M. F. Taylor; *Meramec*—Joel R. Frazier, Jno. W. Doss, Joseph A. Brown, T. J. Collins, Simon Henning; *St. Ferdinand*—Jas. W. Link, John A. Massey, Stephen W. Hutchinson, Leon DeLisle, Frederick Price.

* * * * *

Those Democrats who have been prominent and active in St. Louis County for many years are included in the following: Lee Barton, John A. Marcus, J. J. Gillick, Jesse Joplin, F. A. Reid, Wm. Hayes, J. D. Gibson, H. J. Moynehan, J. Mont Hord, Dan Sheerin, W. M. Daly, George B. Bowles, George Barnett, A. E. Bruce, George Donovan, D. J. Griffin, J. Thomas Wright, John Connerford, Thomas Johnson, M. W. Cronin, Frank L. Johnson, Peter J. Walsh, Edward F. Dillon, Geo. L. Frazier,

Joseph Pondrom, Frank L. Bartlett, R. F. Surkamp, Sidney Shotwell, Con P. Curran, Roy E. Sibley, John A. Dowdall, Fount Rothwell, Hamp Rothwell, Owen G. Jackson, William C. Schramm, Harry B. Duck, D. J. Griffin, J. M. Lashly, Barney Berglar, L. John Webber, O. E. Morton and Jos. T. Davis.

In 1932 the result of the election in St. Louis County was a revelation. The county had been consistently Republican for many years.

In 1928 Herbert Hoover, for President, carried the county over Alfred E. Smith by a majority of 8,770; and Roscoe C. Patterson carried the county for United States senator over Charles M. Hay by a majority of 8,268.

In 1932 Franklin D. Roosevelt for President carried the county over Herbert Hoover by a majority of 23,165; and Bennett Champ Clark carried the county for United States senator over Henry Kiel by a majority of 19,195.

The Democratic County Committee that managed the campaign in 1932 was composed of the following:

Con P. Curran, chairman; Mrs. Florence Kirk, vice chairman; Mrs. Marie H. Boehmer, secretary; Sidney Shotwell, treasurer; Maurice A. McDonnell, Mrs. Annabel Engel; Roy E. Sibley, John A. Dowdall and Mrs. Agnes V. Haller.

In the November, 1934, election Thomas H. Thatcher was elected presiding judge of the St. Louis County Court, Eugene Tighe, associate judge of that court from the North District; A. Evan Hughes was reelected probate judge; David B. Russell to the Legislature, and C. Arthur Anderson reelected as prosecuting attorney. The Democrats also placed a number in the various township and district offices, in fact made a very creditable showing in St. Louis County as a whole.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: Joseph C. A. Hiller was born in the Province of Silesia, Prussia, March 1, 1853; came to America when a boy, and to Missouri in 1870; educated in the common schools and studied law two years; member of the General Assembly in 1889 and 1891; chief grain inspector for five years; labor commissioner from 1907 to 1911; on the Capitol Building Commission that managed the building of the present State Capitol October 16, 1911, to the completion on September 8, 1917; election commissioner of St. Louis County from July, 1923 to 1929 and in 1934.

DEMOCRACY OF THE CITY OF ST. LOUIS

By John L. Kickham

In narrating the political history of St. Louis, probably the most difficult part to accurately determine, to the satisfaction of the narrator, is the proper starting point. A history of the part played by the Democratic Party in the development of the city might properly be started with the original incorporation in 1809. Since so large a proportion of the descendants of the founders of the city have become aligned with the Democratic Party, it could easily be argued that the proper starting point would be the date in December of 1763 when a little party of Frenchmen landed

at what is now the foot of Walnut Street and established the trading post which was destined to become the largest city on the longest river in the world. Then again very substantial arguments could be offered for starting one day in 1803 when the vision of Jefferson was consummated in the Louisiana Purchase, or we might begin our history with the admission of the state to the Union in 1821; the election of Andrew Jackson in 1828; or, the period around the Civil war.

However, any of the above mentioned dates would necessitate touching on those war-torn times when party lines were broken, and the conscientious acts of men of varying opinions were so deeply felt as to transcend party regularity, and efforts, though misdirected, in the light of present day decisions, were sanctified by the devotion of the individual on each side, to what he regarded as his sacred cause.

For the purpose of this work, it is the writer's opinion that the beginning of the History of the Democratic Party in St. Louis really starts with the adoption of the constitutional amendment in 1876 which gave St. Louis the status of a county as well as that of a city, a status which is puzzling to every newcomer to our city, and paralleled in no other political subdivision in the world, although partially copied at Baltimore, Maryland.

St. Louis became a city in April, 1823 by an act of the General Assembly in 1822. There was some opposition to the adoption of the charter with suffrage restricted by a property qualification, and only white citizens, twenty-one years of age, were allowed to vote. William Carr Lane was the first Mayor, receiving 122 votes, August Chouteau 70 votes, and M. F. Leduc 28 votes.

The Mayor was a physician who came from Pennsylvania, and is spoken of highly by the history of the time. He was so popular in this office that he was continued for six terms. In the early days of the city, the Whigs, through the influence of Henry Clay's American Party, were the dominant influence. In the election of the third Mayor, Dr. Samuel Merry, a Democrat, was a candidate. He would have been Mayor had he not held a federal office at the time.

John F. Darby was elected Mayor in 1835, and there seems to have been no political contests for mayor until 1844, when Bernard Pratte was elected on a platform of "Henry Clay and Protection to American Industries." Over 4,000 votes were cast at this election, and the contest between the Whigs and Democrats was so strenuous that when Thomas H. Benton offered to vote he was challenged, and was required to make oath that he considered St. Louis his place of residence.

In 1846 Peter G. Camden, the "Know-Nothing" candidate, was elected Mayor. He served one year, when the Democrats carried the city and elected Bryan Mullanphy as Mayor. At this election Mullanphy received 2,453 votes; W. M. Campbell, as a "Native American," 1,829; James H. Lucas, a Whig, 962. The history of the time speaks in complimentary terms of the charity of Bryan Mullanphy, who gave willingly to the relief of distress.

John Marshall Krum was the eleventh Mayor of St. Louis, being elected as a Democrat in 1848.

John How, a Democrat, was Mayor of St. Louis in 1853 and 1854. In 1856 he defeated the "Know-Nothing" candidate, John B. Carson.

There was some political significance to the election for Mayor in 1858. Oliver D. Filley, the "Free-Soil" candidate, defeated George R. Taylor, a Democrat, a prominent business man and one of the ablest men of his Party.

In 1861 John How, who had served three terms as Mayor and who was a leading Democrat, was defeated by Daniel G. Taylor, who ran on the "Union Anti-Black Republican" ticket. Taylor was supported by Democrats, the emancipationists and those who hoped the Civil war might be averted. The How ticket was headed "Unconditional Union" and was strongly supported by Francis P. Blair, Jr.

Walter B. Stevens in his history "St. Louis, The Fourth City" (Vol. 1, pp. 105-106), says:

"Night after night the excitement of that municipal campaign continued. Thornton Grimsley marched and marched his 'Constitutional Guards' for Taylor. The republicans turned out 'Wideawakes.' There was all of the display of a national campaign. Behind the noise and glare of the campaigning was a feeling that as much was at stake as in a presidential contest. Business interests were deeply concerned. The river trade was the commercial artery of St. Louis. Steamboatmen and merchants clung to the hope that the influence of the border might avert war. Sentiment was against secession but it refused to believe that war was inevitable. The bloodshed, the overt act which was to make every man takes sides for civil war, had not yet come. But while the Taylor men and the How men were carrying on the open campaign, the Germans were drilling at night in Ruedi's garden, and the minute men were recruiting for the more serious business which was to follow the election. St. Louis had a population of 162,000. The vote cast in that election was over 22,000."

The intense strife and antagonism over the position of the state in its relation to slavery culminated on May 10th, 1861, when Camp Jackson was captured.

The military force was assembled at Camp Jackson under the authority of Governor Jackson, and the Missouri state flag and the United States flag floated over the camp. The spirit of the camp was not warlike.

A Committee of Public Safety had been formed in St. Louis, commanded by Blair, Boernstein, Siegel and Schuttner. On April 30, 1861, an order came from Washington, D. C., signed by A. Lincoln, to Lyon, which said: "You will, if deemed necessary by yourself and by Messrs. O. D. Filley, James How, James O. Broadhead, Samuel T. Glover, J. J. Witzig and F. P. Blair, Jr., proclaim martial law in the city of St. Louis."

Upon agreement, six regiments, commanded by the Committee of Public Safety, marched from the Arsenal on the Camp. Blair took Laclede Avenue; Boernstein, Pine Street; Schuttner, Market Street; Siegel, Olive Street; Gratz Brown, Morgan Street; McNeil, Clark Avenue.

When the command arrived at Camp Jackson Lyon sent a demand in writing to Frost setting forth that the assemblage having in view hostilities

to the general government and coöperation with its enemies, gave him thirty minutes for an answer. Frost replied, protesting that Lyon's action was unconstitutional, and adding that being wholly unprepared to defend his command from the unwarranted attack he was forced to comply.

The capture of Camp Jackson marked the opening of hostilities as between the Union and Confederate sympathizers in Missouri. We shall not attempt to recite the historical narrative of events occurring during and immediately following the Civil war. Histories are replete with descriptions of those trying times.

"THE SCHEME AND CHARTER"

St. Louis at the time of the adoption of the "Scheme and Charter" in 1876, was considered a Democratic City, and throughout its prior history, even before the use of the word "Democrat" as a political designation, a large majority of the citizens of St. Louis were committed to the political doctrines of Thomas Jefferson. Throughout the entire history of the city, from its very inception down to the present time, the white population of the city has been preponderantly Democratic. Through a quarter century preceding the Roosevelt election of 1932, with a total negro population that reached some 43,000 voters—of which 40,000 voted Republican—no Democratic candidate for mayor lost by more than half that number. On November 8, 1932, the city was carried for Franklin D. Roosevelt by approximately 103,000 with the aid, according to the most authentic estimates, of approximately 16,000 negro voters, or about one-third of their number, and in 1934 it was estimated that some fifty per cent, or 22,000, voted Democratic. In view of this it would seem fair to say that St. Louis is and always has been a Democratic city, despite the fact that during nearly a quarter of a century the city government was in the hands of members of the opposing party.

While we do not wish to deviate from our intention of starting this narrative with the adoption of the charter of 1876, we feel justified in mentioning the splendid character who headed the city government at the outbreak of the Civil war—the Honorable Daniel G. Taylor, whose rugged candor seemed to be tempered with just the right touch of easy diplomacy to keep the city on an even keel while even families were torn asunder by divergent opinions throughout this city, situated on the border line between the North and the South. At that time the city comprised ten wards, each having two representatives in the City Council, almost all of whom were Democrats. Among that list we find the names of F. W. Cronenbold, Erastus Wells, Isaac T. Green, and others, whose sons have done much to advance the cause of Democracy. Notable among the descendants of these men are, Rolla Wells, who served the city as mayor from 1901 to 1909, whose administration will be treated later in this narrative, and Dan G. Taylor, Jr., son of the Civil war-time mayor. Daniel G. Taylor, Jr., served as circuit judge for a number of years—since then has conducted an extremely successful and ethical law practice and has served the Democratic Party in almost every capacity, from precinct worker to campaign chairman.

BROWN ELECTED MAYOR

The first post Civil war mayor elected on the Democratic ticket was Joseph Brown, who served two two-year terms. He was followed by Arthur B. Barrett, a Democrat who was elected in 1875 and died only a few days later—April 23, 1875. James Britton was elected at a special election held immediately thereafter. The election was contested by Henry Overstolz, the opposing candidate, and after a lapse of almost one year, Overstolz was declared elected on February 9, 1876. While this contest was being determined, the agitation for a separation of St. Louis—City and County—had reached a point where its sponsors were demanding tangible action. The State Legislature had passed an enabling act in 1875 authorizing the separation of St. Louis city and county, amending Section 20, Article 9, of the Constitution to read

"The city of St. Louis may extend its limits so as to embrace the parks now without its boundaries, and other convenient and contiguous territory, and frame a charter for the government of the city thus enlarged, upon the following conditions: The council of the city and county court of the county of St. Louis shall, at the request of the mayor of the city of St. Louis, meet in joint session and order an election, to be held as provided for general elections, by the qualified voters of the city and county, of a board of thirteen freeholders of such city or county, whose duty it shall be to provide a scheme for the enlargement and definition of the boundaries of the city, the reorganization of the government of the county, the adjustment of the relations between the city thus enlarged and the residue of St. Louis County, and the government of the city thus enlarged, etc."

Among other things, this authorizing act provided for the election of a chief executive and two legislative bodies for the city. With its adoption came into being the city council elected at large, and the house of delegates, the members of which were elected by wards. The enabling act, of course, provided for adoption of the charter by the qualified voters of both the city as enlarged and the residue of the county. In accordance with the act, Mayor Overstolz requested the county court and the city council to call an election of thirteen freeholders whose duty it would be to devise a scheme for the enlargement of the city, drafting of a new charter, defining the boundaries, an adjustment of the relations of the city as enlarged and the county, and all details pursuant to the act. The election was held early in 1876 and the following citizens were elected: George H. Shields, Silas Bent, James O. Broadhead, M. Dwight Collier, F. H. Lutkewitte, Henry T. Mudd, George Ward Parker, George Penn, M. H. Phelan, Samuel Reber, Albert Todd, D. H. Armstrong, August Kriekhaus.

This board completed its work and submitted its scheme July 3, 1876. An election was held to reject or ratify the work of the board on August 22, 1876.

The vote as officially recorded in the city was as follows: For the charter, 11,424; against the charter, 9,549; for separation, 11,417; against separation, 9,523.

The total county vote was as follows: For the charter, 494; against the charter, 1,751; for separation, 1,309; against separation, 4,619.

The defeat of the proposition in the county was followed by the filing of a petition on October 13, 1876, in Circuit Court, to contest the reported result of the election. The original petition was followed by the filing of a number of petitions, writs, demurrers, etc., the purpose of each being either to force or prevent a recount of the county vote. Although almost every known legal trick was used and an innumerable number of writs, petitions, etc., were filed, the case was handled with remarkable dispatch in view of present day delays. The contested election, as stated above, was held August 22, 1876; the first petition filed October 13, and on December 28 the legal battle was practically brought to a close when Judge Gottschalk ordered the mayor of St. Louis and the presiding justice of the (old) county court "To act and to make their decision on the basis of the commissioners' report, *exercising their discretion as to the rejection of votes*. The following day, December 29, the respondents, Major Overstolz and presiding Justice Speck, by a return to Circuit Court No. 1, announced the Scheme and Charter carried. It is interesting to note that we have been unable to find any record of the figures by which they reported the project to have carried.

CITY BECOMES SEPARATED FROM COUNTY

On January 16, 1877, Mayor Overstolz took the oath as provided under the new charter.

The charter extended the city limits from a point two hundred feet south of River Des Peres on the south, to the northern boundary of U. S. Survey No. 114 on the north—a distance of approximately nineteen miles, with a western line running from three to six miles from the river at various points, giving the city a total area of about sixty-two square miles.

The first city council under the then "New Charter" was composed of the following councilmen, elected at large, or by city-wide vote:

	John H. Lightner, president	
S. D. Barlow	John J. O'Brien	Geo. Rinkel, Jr.
Thos. Foley	Geo. W. Parker	John Rude
Nicholas Berg	A. L. Bergfeld	Geven Campbell, re-
Moses Fraley	Dew. S. Rowse	signed, replaced by
		Robt. M. Parks
		Wm. Scudder

Membership in the House of Delegates consisted of twenty-eight delegates who were elected, one from each of the twenty-eight wards.

FRANCIS' TERM AS MAYOR

In 1885, another illustrious Democrat—Honorable David Rowland Francis—was elected mayor of St. Louis. He brought to the city government a mind trained in the business marts of the country, but more than that, a personality unusual in its every characteristic, a resistless enthusiasm. Born at Richmond, Kentucky, on October 1, 1850, the son of a

former sheriff of Madison County, Kentucky, and a grandson of a soldier in the War of 1812, he was graduated from Washington University with the degree of Bachelor of Arts, conferred in 1870. Seven years later he organized the D. R. Francis Commission Company. At the age of thirty-three he was elected president of the Merchants Exchange and at thirty-five, became mayor of St. Louis, elected on the Democratic ticket, after having obtained the nomination as a result of a convention deadlock between Rainwater, Noonan and Parks. He was elected by a plurality of 1,200, and the city enjoyed an administration of its affairs that is an imperishable record of business achievement. Among these achievements may be listed, a reduction in the interest rate on bonded debt, collection of a million-dollar judgment from one of the railroads (which had been considered uncollectible for some time), withdrawal of a protest made by a taxpayers' organization against granite paving of the downtown streets, purchase of the present Chain of Rocks site for a water supply base, a reduction of the rate charged by the St. Louis Gas Light Company from \$2.50 per thousand to \$1.25 per thousand cubic feet, inauguration of the city street sprinkling system, and the general effort on the part of the administration to advertise St. Louis throughout the country as "The Convention City."

NOONAN SUCCEEDS FRANCIS

The remarkable achievement of the Democratic Administration of 1885-1889 was given a tremendous popular endorsement in the election of the Honorable Edward A. Noonan as a successor to Mayor Francis. The Noonan administration continued the splendid record of its predecessor, adding as a lasting and important monument, the City Hall at Twelfth and Market streets.

The temporary slump in the national popularity of the Democratic Party due to Bryan's espousal of the silver issue, was reflected in the two subsequent city elections.

During the early part of the Noonan administration, Harry B. Hawes and a number of other outstanding Democrats organized the Jefferson Club, the history of which is given elsewhere in this work. Suffice it to say that the Jefferson Club did not become a potent factor in St. Louis elections until 1900. The by-laws of the club did not permit the organization to endorse the candidacy of anyone for a nomination prior to the convention. Hawes was the functioning head of the organization just prior to and during the campaign of 1901. While it cannot be said that he or the club disregarded the by-laws, it is a noteworthy coincidence that practically every member of the organization was actively supporting Rolla Wells for the nomination for mayor prior to and during the convention. The members of the Jefferson Club—as individuals—were given much credit for bringing about his nomination and subsequent election.

WELLS' ADMINISTRATION MOST PROGRESSIVE

The two terms in which Mayor Wells served St. Louis are probably the most progressive in the history of the city. He selected for his personal

appointments the most outstanding men available. Notable among them Charles W. Bates, in the legal department, was assisted by William F. Woerner, Benjamin H. Charles, Charles P. Williams, James G. Conkey, and A. H. Roudebush.

In the other department were: James Y. Player, Comptroller; James M. Franciscus, Treasurer; James Hagerman, Collector; John J. O'Brien, Assessor; Bernard Dierkes, Auditor; P. R. FitzGibbon, City Register; Hiram Phillips, president of the Board of Public Improvements; Ben C. Adkins, Water Commissioner.

Other Democrats who were prominent during the Wells administration included P. J. Clifford, Charles E. Swingley, James A. Smith, Dr. John Young Brown, William Anderson and Dr. H. Wheeler Bond.

During this period St. Louis presented the World's Fair, which may now be said to have been the beginning of that vast development which is now progressing in such great strides under another Democratic Mayor—Bernard F. Dickmann.

In "Episodes of My Life," Rolla Wells has furnished some interesting Democratic history. In his Foreword, he says:

"For fifty years, from my twenty-second year until my retirement a few years ago, I held various executive positions in the private, quasi-public and public occupations in which I was engaged.

"Fifty years is but a brief and fleeting span. Yet it seems long when one considers not so much the years which have vanished, but rather the complex work and intricate perplexities encountered. As I review those years a panorama unfolds, in the enactment of which many persons had a part. Those who supported and coöperated with me, and likewise those who opposed me, were actors in the drama of my career—some prominent, and some minor. However, the principal figure in one's life is himself.

"For the friends and colleagues who volunteered their loyalty and encouragement, and for those fellow-citizens with most of whom I had not even the pleasure of being acquainted, who accorded me their good will and approbation, I have a deep sense of appreciation."

The National Democratic Convention of 1896 is the first political event that seemed to attract his attention. He decided to attend the Convention at Chicago, where the free coinage of silver was the paramount issue, and Richard Bland of Missouri was a popular candidate. Some friend remarked that "Rolla hasn't a Bland badge. Give him one." And he says: "I informed them that I was not in accord with the silver issue and, therefore, would have to decline to be a supporter of their candidate. The next day I attended the convention. With my friend, Mr. Charles Knapp of the St. Louis *Republic*, we closely followed the proceedings. I sat within ten feet of Mr. William J. Bryan when he delivered his 'Cross of Gold and Crown of Thorns' oration. I have frequently felt that the lung power of Mr. Bryan brought about his nomination."

His "Episodes," then interestingly recites the formation of the "Democratic Sound Money Organization," which brought about the convention

at Indianapolis, Indiana, on September 2, 1896, which nominated Senator John M. Palmer and General Simon B. Buckner as the Democratic Sound Money candidates, and he quotes President Grover Cleveland with the following comment on the platform:

"I feel grateful to those who have relieved the political atmosphere with such delicious infusion of fresh air. Every Democrat after reading that platform ought to thank God that the glorious principles of the Party have found defenders who will not permit it to be polluted by impious hands."

Coming back to local and state political affairs, he says: "In the State election of 1900, the City of St. Louis was Democratic, the first Democratic success in twelve years. This victory caused some of the Democratic politicians to feel that with the assistance and coalition of the so-called 'Solar-Walkers,' or silk-stocking independents, the city could also be carried at the municipal election the following spring. A coterie of these gentlemen for years had made it a practice to meet at luncheon at the Noonday Club. Their names, as I recall, were Thomas S. McPheeters, F. N. Judson, I. H. Lionberger, James L. Blair, Judge Wilbur F. Boyle, James Campbell, John T. Davis, Henry T. Kent, H. N. Davis and Fielding Oliver."

They were asked by some of the Democratic political leaders to name a candidate for Mayor, with the assurance that the Party leaders would coöperate to nominate and elect their choice, which finally resulted in Mr. Wells' accepting the nomination, which was made by acclamation by the convention.

The ticket headed by Mr. Wells was composed of the following: Joseph L. Hornsby, President of the Council; James M. Franciscus, Treasurer; James Y. Player, Comptroller; Bernard J. Dierkes, Auditor; L. F. Hammer, Jr., Collector; P. R. FitzGibbon, Register; John J. O'Brien, President of the City Council; Hiram Phillips, President of the Board of Public Investments; Arthur Johnson, Inspector of Weights and Measures; James Scullin, City Marshal.

A campaign committee was organized, with Thomas Hennings as Chairman. The Jefferson Club under the leadership of Harry B. Hawes, its president, was active in support of the ticket. Many meetings were held throughout the city, and among the speakers who participated, the following are mentioned: Isaac H. Lionberger, F. N. Judson, David R. Francis, Harry B. Hawes, Daniel G. Taylor, George J. Tansey, Thomas L. Anderson, Thomas C. Hennings, Edward A. Noonan, Jr., Thomas S. McPheeters, Edward C. Simmons, Waller Edwards, William J. Flynn, Judge James McCaffrey, E. E. Guion, Fred Combs, William Jefferson Polard, Frank A. J. Hiller, George J. Neville, M. J. Gill, Guy Golterman.

The ticket was elected by about 10,000 plurality, and on April 4, 1901, Marion Reedy's *Mirror* said: "Mr. Rolla Wells was handsomely elected Mayor of St. Louis last Tuesday. The whole ticket was, likewise, triumphant. The victory marks an end of Ziegenheinism locally, and the beginning of the end of Free Silver, and the reuniting of the Democracy nationally."

A DEMOCRATIC HOUSE-CLEANING

Prior to the beginning of the Wells administration in St. Louis, certain public appointees were known to have been guilty of some indiscretions which, to put it mildly, were not calculated to reflect the greatest credit upon themselves as individuals nor upon the party in power at the time. The "body politic" of the city, or at least certain departments of the city, stood in need of a "general cleaning." The proudest claim of an Englishman is that Britain has never been beaten except by a Briton. To paraphrase, we might say with some degree of accuracy, that irregularities of Democrats have never been punished except by Democrats. It has been the invariable rule throughout the country that when representatives of the Democratic Party have forgotten their public trust, some Democrat has always come forward to correct the condition. It has been true in many cities throughout the country and St. Louis is no exception.

The Democratic City Convention of 1900 deadlocked over the nomination of a circuit attorney. As a solution the name of Joseph W. Folk was presented. There is a tradition to the effect that he addressed the convention in response to the suggestion of his name, stating that he did not go to the convention seeking a nomination but that if he was elected "some men in the front seats would be in prison before his term expired." The remark was taken lightly. Folk was nominated, and elected in November, 1900. He appointed as "Court Room" assistants, C. Orrick Bishop and Andrew C. Maroney. A campaign of law enforcement was started largely through the efforts of A. C. Maroney which created one of the greatest sensations in political history. Maroney, a self-educated man of unusual civic mindedness, a brilliant prosecutor, and a man of extraordinary personal integrity, took his assignment to the "clean-up campaign" with unusual seriousness. He worked night and day, cultivated an underworld acquaintance, familiarized himself with every phase of the situation, and effected prosecutions and convictions which were astounding. While the inauguration of the World's Fair found this undertaking far from complete, organized political corruption was well "on the run" and visitors to St. Louis during that period enjoyed greater safety and left with a better impression of the city than they might have had had the conditions existing during the Republican administration of the last few years of the nineteenth century endured. For this the city owes a debt of gratitude to the memory of A. C. Maroney, of which it has never taken cognizance. However, unequivocal evidence of the overwhelming public approval of the accomplishment of this then brilliant young official is reflected in the election returns of 1904, when the man by whom he was assigned to this most disagreeable task, was elected governor on the Democratic ticket in the face of a Republican landslide which swept the entire country. Folk was the only Democrat elected in Missouri in the campaign of 1904, and he has gone down in history as "The man who wrecked the party." Not that the prosecutions by Folk and Maroney were limited to Democrats, but the spectacle of a public official prosecuting fellow members of his own party with the same relentless

vigor which characterized his activities in cases involving members of the opposing party, was so unusual as to cause a tremendous amount of intra-party rivalry, or even antagonism, and of course greatly minimized the party's chances.

FOLK, AS GOVERNOR, CONTINUES TO FIGHT GRAFT

Folk, as governor, continued to sponsor the general "cleanup." Maroney was made a member of the Board of Police Commissioners, and continued his relentless opposition to graft. As a result of his investigations, literally hundreds of police officials were dropped from the rolls or given worse punishment. Wealthy and powerful political figures were tried and in some cases convicted; others were able to establish a "reasonable doubt" in the minds of jurors as to the question of guilt but faded into political oblivion never to emerge. After the Woodrow Wilson victory of 1912, Governor Folk was given an important administration appointment at Washington and Maroney was reappointed to his former job as assistant circuit attorney by Circuit Attorney Thomas B. Harvey. Other assistants under Circuit Attorney Harvey included Glendy B. Arnold (now probate judge) and Edward B. McCullum, at this writing a member of the St. Louis Court of Appeals.

In the campaign of 1912, aside from Circuit Attorney Harvey, few Democrats were elected. Unquestionably the purging process of Maroney and Folk had been a great public service; however, the fact that they were Democrats and showed no special consideration to culprits who had worn the party label, caused a feeling within the party which alienated hundreds of votes. The public, while approving, did not express its approval with ballots—a sad commentary on the ingratitude of a "grateful public."

ADOPTION OF NEW CHARTER

In 1913, Dr. John H. Simon was nominated in a strenuously contested primary, over Saunders Norvell. Dr. Simon was defeated by his Republican opponent. This election marked the end of the City Council and House of Delegates, as the new charter which created the Board of Aldermen and vested the legislative power of the city in one assemblage, was adopted prior to the next mayoralty election.

GARDNER CHOSEN GOVERNOR

As a result of a hectic primary contest for the Democratic nomination for Governor, in 1916, Frederick D. Gardner of St. Louis emerged as the nominee. In a spirited pre-election campaign Gardner, opposed by Judge Henry Lamme of Sedalia, as the Republican candidate, was elected.

The Democratic organization of St. Louis was divided in its support of Gardner for the nomination; however, it gave him wholehearted support in the general election. This, with a strong independent following, not only in St. Louis, but outstate, as well, made possible the election of the first St. Louisan as Governor since that of Governor Joseph W. Folk in

1904. Prominent in the business affairs of the city, Gardner served with distinction as the Chairman of the Board of Freeholders which drafted the new City Charter and which was adopted by city-wide vote and became effective with the City election of 1913. His administration as Governor is now referred to as one of the most commendable in the history of the state.

James A. Reed was re-elected to his second term as United States Senator.

MCDANIELS ELECTED CIRCUIT ATTORNEY

Again in 1916 the Democratic Party lost a majority of the city candidates but retained the circuit attorney's office with the election of one of the most lovable characters in public life—Lawrence McDaniel. A man far above average in almost every way, but as the public has always focused its eye on some salient feature in its heroes, just as it has seen in Babe Ruth only a "slugger" overlooking that superb throwing arm, his unusual fleetness on the bases, permitting all other qualities to be overshadowed by his ability to hit home runs; just as they saw in Washington only a great general, losing sight of that singular gift of tolerance which prompted him to appoint Jefferson and Hamilton to the same cabinet; so, they have permitted Lawrence McDaniel's marvelous gift of oratory, his brilliant legal mind, his singular executive ability, his almost unparalleled depth when committed to serious thought, to be lost, while the public focused its mind on "Larry's" remarkable gift of humor. Probably no one in public life has ever possessed an even comparable ability to express a serious thought in terms which could be so readily understood and so promptly evoke a laugh. This splendid attribute, while it has endeared him to the public and given him a place in the hearts of a vast number of St. Louisans enjoyed by no other individual, has brought immeasurable happiness to his family, his friends and perhaps himself, it has undoubtedly retarded his political success, as it has caused the public as a whole, and many individuals who should think more deeply, to consider him in the light of a humorist, overlooking his exceptional legal, executive and intellectual magnitude.

HAWES ELECTED TO CONGRESS

The 1920 campaign marked the retirement from Congress in the old Eleventh Congressional District of William L. Igoe, a man probably more highly regarded for personal integrity than any other public official. While superlatives of this kind are seldom used in good taste, it would seem that the personal reputation of Mr. Igoe would warrant the above statement. Perhaps many have questioned his judgment, and his political enemies have, in rash moments, questioned his motives, but the writer has never heard of anyone who, at any time, questioned the sheer, unsullied, old-fashioned common honesty of "The Great White Father." What greater personal accomplishment can one record than to have served for eight years in the Congress of these United States and a lifetime in public

life, and maintained such a reputation. His campaign for mayor of St. Louis in 1925 will be dealt with at greater length later in this narrative.

Mr. Igoe was replaced in Congress by another St. Louisan of unusual ability—Harry B. Hawes. Hawes came to St. Louis in 1887, at the age of eighteen. About 1891 he was the “spark-plug” in the organization of the Jefferson Club, which a few years later became so important a factor in St. Louis elections. Elected to succeed Mr. Igoe in Congress in 1920, he was re-elected in 1922 and in 1924. In 1926 he was elected United States Senator to fill the unexpired term created by the death of Selden P. Spencer, and on the same day (November 2, 1926) was elected to the long term expiring March 4, 1932. In all the history of St. Louis politics it would be difficult to find a man possessed of the singular “talent” for organization possessed by Harry Hawes. Starting with a most prepossessing appearance and an irresistibly dominant personality, he established a reputation for loyalty to friends and a charming fearlessness in attack on those whom he was unable to place in that category. He is one of the few men known to public life who have been able to campaign for self or friend with equal effectiveness. This quality is, of course, attributed to his immediate and almost uncanny grasp of the “right move” at the right time.

DEMOCRACY AT LOW EBB

The city campaign of 1921 recorded little of interest from a Democratic standpoint. The overwhelming defeat of Governor Cox by Warren Harding, for the presidency, in 1920, together with the loss of the state ticket, reduced Democratic enthusiasm to a minimum. The Republican election machinery was functioning perfectly with scant opposition from Democratic leaders. The democratic candidate for mayor was a man of a most forceful character. Only such a character as James W. Byrnes would have accepted the nomination, with the party organization in the condition extant at that time. Although almost wholly out of sympathy with the Democratic Committee, basing his campaign more upon his commercial accomplishments than his party activity, and with little more than passive support from the organization, he ran the most popular Republican who ever held the office of mayor (Henry W. Kiel), to within 8,000 votes of defeat. Byrnes' showing amazed everyone except Byrnes. The splendid vote obtained by this forceful and enthusiastic individual in 1921 brought to many party men renewed vigor, and party interest, which was reflected in the events surrounding the off-year congressional election of 1922.

Senator James A. Reed, because of his intense fidelity to what he regarded as the spirit, as well as the letter, of the Constitution, offered vigorous opposition to certain administration policies during the World war and made history by his almost superhuman efforts in opposition to the League of Nations as sponsored by President Wilson. He had stuck to his guns in the face of overwhelming public opinion, and opposed conscription, the eighteenth amendment, the nineteenth (suffrage for women) amendment, and the League of Nations. The Dry Forces were very much in the ascendency when the state convention convened at Joplin in 1920.

Senator Reed was "read out of the party." He was not officially permitted a seat in the National Convention at San Francisco. During the 1920 presidential campaign he placed himself in a most unusual position by pursuing the paradoxical course of endorsing and voting for James M. Cox for the presidency, and concurrently repudiating his policies and platform declarations. He had held a mass meeting in Kansas City at his own expense and delivered a stirring oration against the League of Nations. His enemies were predicting oblivion for the "Fire Brand of the Senate."

SENATOR REED'S FIGHT FOR RENOMINATION

In 1922 Breckenridge Long, assistant secretary of state under President Wilson, and at present ambassador to Italy under Franklin D. Roosevelt, became a candidate against Reed for the nomination. The campaign was waged solely on the basis of Reed and anti-Reed. Prohibition was the burning question. Reed had the opposition of all the forces which he had alienated during his previous twelve years in the upper house—the Anti-Saloon League and all Dry forces—the ardent pro-Wilson element; the Suffrage element; the proponents of the League of Nations; and all the "holier than thou" groups. It was probably the most vigorous campaign in the history of Missouri Primaries, with the principal battle ground in St. Louis. Reed was nominated by a majority of 5,942 votes. Party leaders then began a campaign to reelect him. At the general election Reed carried St. Louis by approximately 40,000 votes and was elected by a substantial majority. Harry B. Hawes was reelected from the then Eleventh District, as were a few justices of the peace, constables, members of the Legislature and other district officials, but the rest of the ticket scored what after-dinner speakers eloquently referred to as "moral victories."

"BILLY" HUGHES AS A CAMPAIGN ORGANIZER

Senator Reed's primary victory in 1922 brings into our narrative another Democrat whose character was such as to demand special mention in any story of St. Louis Democracy. For all practical purposes the contest in St. Louis was under the direct supervision of William H. Hughes. "Billy" Hughes had many qualities which would be worthy of mention, but we think, chief among them would be the vigor with which he expressed himself. His casual greeting to a friend on the street was expressed in the most emphatic terms; his public utterances were offered in terms so forceful as to leave no doubt as to his meaning; he fought for his ideals with an intensity which made him loved even by his enemies, for his nobleness of purpose. Nowhere in history will you find a man more thoroughly imbued with a devotion to Democratic ideals, or more eager to fight for our Constitutional guarantee of individual liberty. While embracing no church himself, he would have been willing at any time to lay down his very life to guarantee to every other man the right to embrace the church of his choice. It was he whom the writer first

heard use the expression—"I do not agree with what you say but will defend with my life your right to say it." Losing life's last great fight in September, 1933, he had lived to see his Party triumphant in his City, his State, and throughout the Nation. Senator Bennett C. Clark made a trip from Washington to deliver a brief address at his funeral and draw from the life of his friend and political benefactor, an example in citizenship for the vast number of individuals who attended to make that last gesture of affection to a man who had fought their party's battles with an intensity born of conviction and a sincerity found only in the highest type of idealism. His son, A. Evan Hughes, was elected probate judge of St. Louis County in 1932, to fill an unexpired term, and so distinguished himself for integrity and public service even in that somewhat colorless office, that he was reelected in 1934 as one of only four successful Democratic county major candidates (a few minor district candidates were elected). Seldom has a public official approached his duties with a greater conscientiousness and realization of his responsibility, and unusual though it may be, the public of St. Louis County seems not unmindful of the exceptional honesty and ability with which he is serving.

JACKSON ENTERS ST. LOUIS POLITICS

The 1922 campaign marked the entrance in St. Louis politics of William Rufus Jackson, the present postmaster of St. Louis by appointment of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the author of *Missouri Democracy*, of which this narrative will comprise one chapter.

Mr. Jackson served as postmaster at Mexico, Missouri, under President Wilson. After more than eight exceptionally successful years in that office (his term extending into the administration of President Harding), within which time he was elected president of the Missouri Association of postmasters and a member of the executive committee of the National Association of Postmasters, and received the lavish praise of Postmaster General Burleson for the splendid record he made at Mexico. For purely political reasons, he was not reappointed at the beginning of the Harding administration. Yielding to the entreaties of his life-long friend and political associate James A. Reed, he came to St. Louis in 1922 to organize and direct the publicity division of the Reed primary and pre-election campaign. The results give eloquent testimony of the effectiveness with which this assignment was handled. Following his retirement as postmaster at Mexico, he decided to remove to St. Louis, where he affiliated with the regular Democratic organization, and took an active, though somewhat less conspicuous, part in each campaign until 1932, when Bennett Champ Clark organized his campaign for United States senator. Clark's close contact with the Reed campaign placed him in a position to appreciate the methods employed by Jackson in 1922, and being mindful of this he asked Jackson to take the same responsibility for him, and again the results speak for themselves. Details of the Clark campaign will be treated more exhaustively in their proper chronological place.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1924

The 1924 campaign rocked the Democratic Party in St. Louis to what was left of its foundation. The St. Louis delegation went to the National Convention at New York solidly for Alfred E. Smith for the nomination for president, but was forced to vote, through a "unit voting rule" adopted at the State Convention, for just any other candidate—usually Wm. G. McAdoo, for whom the members of the St. Louis delegation at that time had their enthusiasm quite well under control.

The fourteen days of balloting for a candidate, amassing a total of one hundred and three ballots, the days of wrangling over whether a certain un-American organization would be repudiated, or to repudiate the general principal of secret organizations organized to promote bigotry and place a few unscrupulous individuals in position to profit by the fostering of religious intolerance, the unfortunate misuse of control by a few out-state leaders in yielding nothing to the St. Louis and Kansas City contingents, and the expense of spending fourteen days in New York trying to bring the convention to some kind of a decision, left leading Democrats of St. Louis impoverished of party loyalty, *esprit de corps*, enthusiasm and funds. The National Platform closed its final paragraph with the following "*We deplore and condemn any effort to arouse religious or racial dissention.*" While many leading St. Louis Democrats regarded this as wholly inadequate as a repudiation of the then powerful Ku Klux Klan, this organization which at the time was created by a comparatively few selfish, unprincipled individuals, who were sufficiently unscrupulous to foment sentiment in favor of social ostracism for the Negro, political ostracism for the Catholic, and commercial ostracism for the Jew, and were waxing wealthy through their nefarious efforts. Inadequate as it seemed, it was stronger and far more direct than the Republican plank the same year which, under a separate heading reading: "Constitutional Guarantee," "*The Republican Party reaffirms its unyielding devotion to the Constitution and to the guarantee of civil, political and religious liberty therein contained.*" John W. Davis, the Democratic candidate, had strengthened the Democratic position with an unequivocal denunciation of the Klan in particular, and bigotry in general.

Dr. Arthur Nelson was the Democratic candidate for governor of Missouri. Characteristically a man of definite opinions, strong personality, and forceful character, he followed the advice of some of his advisors rather than the lead of the titular head of his party, and refused to make an unequivocal statement on the subject. He completely alienated the Jewish element in St. Louis, lost the few Negroes who were then voting Democratic, and further reduced the enthusiasm of the regular party workers, many of whom were affiliated with the Catholic Church. The above should not be regarded as a reflection on the personal views of the late Dr. Nelson; powerful arguments were advanced on both sides of the question. Many very highly regarded members of the Catholic Church, many leaders among the Jewish clergy and laity, and many prominent Negroes were opposed to permitting the question to become a campaign

issue, and urged him to disregard the subject entirely. Those on the other side of the question argued that the Presidential candidate had taken the lead, almost all gubernatorial candidates had followed, and that failure to denounce the organization implied an endorsement. The result was a loss of the city by 43,000.

IGOE ALMOST WINS MAYORALTY

Immediately after the crushing defeat of 1924, party leaders throughout the city felt the necessity of rebuilding the party fences and getting ready for the Spring election. Looking back to the showing made by Byrne in 1921, it was easy to build up a statistical background for enthusiasm. It was obvious at that time that a serious factional fight would develop in the Republican ranks. The popular Mayor Kiel had announced, or at least very strongly intimated, his intention to retire. Most of the leading Republicans were in a receptive mood for the nomination, each faction and each group having its own candidate. It was generally conceded that a strong Democrat had "the chance of a lifetime" to become mayor. Wm. L. Igoe, whose splendid personal attributes were touched upon when recording his retirement from Congress in 1920, was induced to become a candidate. The campaign committee began by endeavoring to acquaint the public with the sterling qualities of its candidate. Both by spoken and printed word Igoe was given all of what publicity men call a "built-up" position. Many well-meaning Democrats sacrificed good citizenship on the altar of party expediency and voted for what they regarded as the weakest Republican, Victor J. Miller. Miller was nominated on the Republican ticket largely through these votes, and Democratic headquarters simply radiated optimism. However, Miller had the unqualified support of the *St. Louis Star* and long before the campaign even became interesting, the *Star* started its propaganda; probably one of the most effective pieces of political propaganda ever accomplished in St. Louis; a series of "True Confession" stories written under the name of one Frank Sillsby, alleged ex-bank robber, convict, gunman and killer. The stories were written in such a way to build up the greatest possible public sentiment against such men as Sillsby, and particularly a "gang" of desperadoes which was operating in St. Louis at the time, allegedly headed by one "Dinty" Colbeck, who has since been convicted of a mail robbery and given a lengthy sentence. As a cover for his other operations, Colbeck operated a group of taxicabs. The series of stories was scheduled so as to reach an apex in point of interest about election time. Very close to the close of the campaign the *Star* published a picture purported to be that of the Democratic candidate alighting from one of the cabs owned by Colbeck. During the Wilson administration, and while Igoe was a congressman, some of his constituents had asked him to endeavor to obtain a presidential pardon for another St. Louis convict. This appeal was forwarded to the President in routine manner, with a letter from Igoe which in effect said, "I have been asked to intercede for this man. I ask that in your review of the case you give it your consideration and be governed by the facts as shown." Much capital was made of the above mentioned

picture and this letter. Through innuendo, based upon these two facts, they drew an equation between Igoe and the gangster element. This unquestionably cost the Democratic candidate thousands of votes, and the reputation of a man of the very highest integrity had suffered from a most unfair attack.

SARTORIUS' SACRIFICE

On the other hand, the entire ticket was sacrificed for the principal office. Eugene J. Sartorius (who was elected circuit judge in November, 1934) was the candidate for comptroller. Democratic strategists believed that any effort made for Sartorius would spur on to great efforts the friends of Louis Nolte, the Republican candidate, and that any extra votes brought out for Nolte would be straight Republican votes. Sartorius was told of this theory at a meeting at the Jefferson Hotel. It was suggested that he sacrifice his own campaign in the interest of the party—not that he withdraw; as that would be taken by the public as evidence of weakness, but that he merely stay on the ticket and do nothing to further his own interests. In response, he turned to Senator Hawes, who was present, together with other party leaders, and said, "Are you asking me to do this?" and Hawes replied, "No, I wouldn't ask my own brother to do this for me. It amounts to political suicide, as your poor showing this time will naturally hurt you in all future campaigns in which you may happen to be a candidate; but, if you do it, it will help the party." So, Sartorius, with a magnanimity unparalleled in St. Louis political life, remained in the campaign but never made another speech, and he was overwhelmingly defeated on election day. No direct expression of appreciation is known to have reached Sartorius, but it was appreciation of this and other similar gestures which earned for him the popularity which enabled him to win the nomination and election for circuit judge in 1934. It just isn't the way of things that such self sacrifice ever goes permanently unrewarded.

The final returns showed Igoe defeated by some 2,800 votes. The Republicans were in complete control of the election machinery, and an analysis of the vote by precincts would convince anyone that something happened on election day that was at least noteworthy. The election was contested under the direction of Judge Jesse McDonald and Peter Barrett and while the contest was not carried through to a definite conclusion, the published results of the election and subsequent partial recount did convince the public of St. Louis, particularly the Democrats, that a party victory was well within the realm of possibility, and the 1926 campaign was approached with some degree of optimism.

FORDYCE HEADS STATE COMMITTEE

In the 1926 campaign every active party man was imbued with a determination to win at least for the head of the ticket.

An auspicious beginning was made in the selection of Samuel W. Fordyce as chairman of the Democratic State Committee. Mr. Fordyce,

very highly regarded personally, head of one of the most important law firms in the city, a Harvard graduate with an excellent collegiate record, the very best of family background, a splendid reputation as a citizen, as a lawyer, and as a Democrat, brought to the State Committee a degree of prestige sorely needed at the time. Prepossessing in appearance, enforcing his ideas by the sheer weight of his personal magnetism, he soon had all factions pulling together in perfect unison. Harry B. Hawes was elected senator with a majority of 36,000, although he lost St. Louis by slightly more than 2,000 for the long term. This was largely due to an unusual condition; both candidates running for the long term were also running for the unexpired term created by the death of Senator Selden P. Spencer. Hundreds of independent voters voted a Republican ballot and placed an "X" in front of the name of Harry B. Hawes for the short term and neglected to do likewise for the long term. Hawes carried the city for the short term. His opponent had the support of all those in public employ and controlled voters rarely make such mistakes.

Senator Hawes was succeeded in Congress from the old Eleventh District by one of the most tireless workers and one of the most whole-hearted lovable characters in public life—John J. Cochran.

REORGANIZATION OF JEFFERSON CLUB

The 1926 campaign also marked the reorganization of the Jefferson Club. On April 22, 1926, a caucus was held at the Law offices of Koerner-Fahey and Young for the purpose of organizing the young men of the Democratic Party. The name "Junior Democrats" was adopted and H. Felthan Watson, now U. S. District Attorney in China under Franklin D. Roosevelt was chosen temporary chairman. An organization meeting was called for April 29, 1926. At this meeting Watson appointed Emmett Golden, who was elected alderman from the 27th ward in 1933; Joseph Simpson, appointed judge of City Court No. 1 in 1934 by Mayor Dickmann; Jos. J. Ward, Thos. Quigley and Phil Meagher to draft a constitution and by-laws.

Another meeting was held June 4, 1926, at which the constitution and by-laws were submitted with the name changed to "Young Democrats' Association," and the following officers elected:

Jos. J. Ward, President; H. Felthan Watson, First Vice President; Daniel Shearin, Second Vice President; Marion J. Hannigan, Third Vice President; J. Cole Greenway, secretary; Philip P. Meagher, Treasurer; Joseph P. Schmitt, Marshal.

Some time later the state committee appointed a local committee consisting of Fred English, Kenneth Teasdale and Joseph A. Lennon to "look into the situation concerning young men."

Under date of September 1, 1926, a letter was mailed by Joseph A. Lennon to a number of young Democrats calling a meeting for September 14, 1926, at the Melbourne Hotel, "to organize a club and decide upon a practical method of assisting the party in the coming registration and election."

This group met and decided to confer with the Young Democrats' Association.

Harry B. Hawes, then congressman and just starting his campaign for the Senate, saw the potential strength of a young Democratic movement in St. Louis and gave these young men every encouragement. He attended a meeting held in the office of Kenneth Teasdale in the Boatmen's Bank Building, which was also attended by the following:

Jos. J. Ward	Ernest Oakley	Thos. Royal
Kenneth Teasdale	Robert McCutcheon	John J. Sweeney
Joseph A. Lennon	Irwin Sale	James Franciscus
Thos. C. Hennings	Frank X. Reller	Felthan Watson
Geo. G. Vest	L. G. Waldman	John L. Kickham
Joseph Simpson		Samuel Leiberman

Plans had previously been completed for the consolidation of these clubs and the purpose of this caucus was to formulate plans for an election and talk over the general availability of the various members for offices. Kenneth Teasdale, a brilliant young lawyer, member of the firm of Curlee, Nortoni & Teasdale, was the unanimous choice of those attending the caucus, for President.

In 1931 Teasdale was made chairman of the State Finance Committee, appointed by John J. Raskob to raise funds for the liquidation of the deficit of the National Committee. In 1932 in conjunction with Judge Ernst Green, he managed the campaign of Russell Dearmont for the nomination for Governor and in 1934 was elected president of the St. Louis Bar Association. Arrangements were made for an organization meeting and election of officers at the Washington Hotel. The meeting was addressed by Harry B. Hawes, John J. Cochran and others, and the following officers were elected: Kenneth Teasdale, president; Jos. A. Ward, vice president; Thos. C. Hennings, Jr., treasurer; James Franciscus, Jr., secretary.

The gathering was attended by about one hundred and fifty young Democrats. The constitution set forth, among other things, that "no one over forty years of age could hold office," that membership be restricted to white, male, adult Democrats, and that the club should not participate in any primary. The purpose of the age limit, according to debate on the subject, was to get the organization identified in the public mind as a young men's organization, it being the intention at the time to amend the by-laws at a later date eliminating the age limit.

It was deemed strategic to have the club's membership participate in the election day work under the direction of and coöperating with the regular ward organizations. A transportation committee was organized, through which more than five hundred automobiles were supplied for Democratic workers throughout the city.

A Jefferson Day dinner was arranged at Hotel Jefferson, with Claude G. Bowers of New Jersey as principal speaker. The dinner-dance was a huge success—more than three hundred attended.

The Jefferson Club continued to prosper during 1928. Teasdale was reelected president, a drive was organized to raise funds, and many of the prominent Democrats contributed substantially. The finance committee was headed by Daniel G. Taylor, Judge Henry S. Priest, Wm. H. O'Brien, and Samuel W. Fordyce.

A club house was opened in a stately old residence at Seventeenth and Locust streets. Franklin Miller officially opened his campaign for circuit attorney at a Jefferson Club meeting, and following his election made his appointments of subordinates almost exclusively from the Club's membership.

A newspaper was operated from Jefferson Club headquarters by Pheлим O'Toole, alderman, 1933, from the Thirteenth Ward; John J. Sweeney, who became deputy coroner in 1932 under Coroner Furlong, and Joseph Bauer, chief clerk of the State Legislature, 1932-33-34-35.

A ward chairman was appointed for each ward. It was planned to hold the regular monthly meeting of the Jefferson Club in a different ward each month, with the ward chairman presiding. While this plan was never actually carried out, it added stimulus to the membership campaign.

The question of the Club's participation, even tacitly, in primary contests, was brought to a head over the appointment of P. J. Cavanaugh as ward chairman for the Twenty-Seventh Ward. Cavanaugh was actively supporting the candidacy of Committeeman Pudevitor for reelection to the City Central Committee in opposition to Lilburn G. May. Cavanaugh was accused, in open meeting, by some of May's friends, of holding meetings exclusively for Pudevitor under the auspices of the Jefferson Club. After much heated debate, a committee was appointed to report on the question at a subsequent meeting. Pudevitor strenuously objected to this disposition of the question, but the motion for the appointment of the committee carried. Cavanaugh resigned as ward chairman before the committee reported, but the debate left no doubt as to the opposition of a vast majority of the membership to placing the club in position of even passively participating in a primary.

The question has come up twice since; in 1930 at a meeting in "Friendship Hall," which occupied part of the palatial residence of Mrs. Mary Ryder and which she very graciously placed at the disposal of the Jefferson Club, considerable thought was given to the propriety of placing a "slate" in the field and giving wide publicity to the fact that all Jefferson Club members were supporting the slate "as individuals." Chief among the proponents of this plan was L. G. Waldman, then chairman of Membership and Organization Committee, and later commissioner of weights and measures under Mayor Dickmann.

JEFFERSON CLUB'S PARTICIPATION IN THE CAMPAIGN OF 1930

From this meeting springs an interesting chain of circumstances. As a solution to the many and varied motions and suggestions, the writer had the honor to move that a committee of not more than five members be appointed to wait on the City Committee and ask for a committee of

like number from that body to draft a formidable candidate to file for each office, pointing out that being so induced to file, the candidate would be virtually assured of the support of the City Committee, the Jefferson Club members, most of the prominent party men, and the candidate so selected would be certain of the nomination. A clause was incorporated in the motion to extend the function of the joint committee to devise plans and ways and means for carrying on the campaign. The committee consisted of Joseph A. Ward, George G. Vest, L. G. Waldman, David Murphy and Joseph A. Lennon.

These committee members met with the City Central Committee, offered the club's plan, which was very readily accepted, and a committee was appointed from that body.

The joint committee met, and after much effort, persuasion and urging, a "slate" was drafted which included among other stalwart Democrats, Irwin Sale, congressman, Tenth District; John J. Cochran, congressman, Eleventh District; J. L. McLemore, congressman, Twelfth District; Eugene Sartorius, prosecuting attorney; L. G. Waldman, circuit clerk.

Thoroughly satisfied that the slate was one which should appeal strongly to the better element throughout the city, the joint committee decided to appoint a campaign committee of one hundred. The following named Democrats were selected for the value of their judgment, as well as the prestige each would bring to the campaign:

The Campaign Committee was organized with Bernard F. Dickmann, chairman; Mrs. Nat. S. Brown, vice chairman; George Vest, secretary; Ralph Coale, treasurer; John J. Nangle, chairman finance committee; Joseph J. Ward, chairman headquarters committee; Arthur Fitzsimmons, chairman organization committee; and J. W. McAfee, chairman speakers committee. The Executive Committee comprised the following well known Democrats:

Judge Glendy B. Arnold, Miss Alberta Allen, John F. Byrne, James Douglas, Mrs. C. B. Faris, Arthur Fitzsimmons, James J. Fitzsimmons, L. J. Gualdoni, George Hobbs, Charles M. Hay, Mrs. Mary Hanlon, William L. Igoe, Mrs. Jos. W. Jamison, Senator Michael Kinney, William P. Light-holder, Charles A. Lemp, Miss Nell Meehan, Mrs. Elliott W. Major, Mrs. R. E. Oldfather, Judge Samuel Rosenfeld, Mrs. Lon Sanders, Eugene Sartorius, Judge Daniel Taylor, Louis Waldman, Mrs. E. J. White.

These were augmented with the citizens' Campaign Committee composed of the following:

Judge William H. Allen, Judge T. L. Anderson, Judge and Mrs. Glendy B. Arnold, William Baer, Mrs. L. W. Baldwin, Major James L. Barngrove, Max G. Baron, Peter Barrett, Judge Irvin Barth, Mrs. P. Bearman, Mrs. J. R. Bissell, Judge Jas. T. Blair, Mrs. L. A. Blatterman, Judge and Mrs. Thomas Bond, W. J. Brennan, Col. and Mrs. Ben G. Brinkman, Mrs. M. Brown, George Burleigh, Col. and Mrs. James W. Byrnes, William M. Byrne, Mrs. J. W. Byrnes, James Campbell, Mrs. Mary Casey, W. Frank Carter, Maurice Cassidy, Elmore Cave, Dr. Laura N. Chappell, Mrs. Joe Chassaing, Mrs. Agnes Cheely, Col. Bennett C. Clark, Ralph Coale, Congressman and Mrs. John J. Cochran, Mrs. J. B. Comstock, Mr. and Mrs.

William C. Connett, Mrs. Isaac T. Cook, Mrs. C. W. Corcoran, Mrs. Angelo Corrubia, Mrs. Agnes Hart Corley, W. B. Cowan, Miss Della Cox, Mrs. Robert Crabb, Mrs. Gus Creeley, Mr. and Mrs. Michael J. Cullinane, Mr. and Mrs. Campbell Cummings, Miss Margaret Cummings, Col. Francis M. Curlee, Mr. S. H. Curlee, Carl P. Daniel, Mrs. George F. Davis, Joseph T. Davis, Mrs. J. DeDonato, Mrs. R. E. Delaney, Jos. F. Dickmann, Col. Arthur Donnelly, Thomas A. Dooley, Mrs. R. D. Drescher, Mrs. Warren Drescher, Jr., Mr. and Mrs. Jerome Duggan, Marion C. Early, Judge and Fred L. English, James C. Espy, Mrs. T. J. Farrell, Mrs. Oscar Field, Arthur Fitzsimmons, J. S. Fleming, Sam W. Fordyce, David R. Francis, Jr., Mrs. Kate Frein, ex-Governor and Mrs. Fred D. Gardner, Miss Lelia Gerkin, Mr. and Mrs. Ed. F. Goltra, Mrs. Bob. Grant, Ernest A. Green, Judge and Mrs. J. F. Green, Walter C. Guels, Miss Anna F. Hall, O. W. Hammer, Mrs. Rose Hand, Edward R. Handlan, Joseph W. Hannauer, Mrs. J. E. Hannegan, Mrs. C. F. Hart, William Hauschulte, United States Senator Harry B. Hawes, Mr. and Mrs. Charles M. Hay, Mrs. Tom M. Hayes, J. D. Healy, Thomas C. Hennings, Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., Walter Hensley, Mrs. C. Hoffman, Mat. J. Holland, Mrs. George Hyland, W. L. Igoe, Mr. and Mrs. W. Rufus Jackson, J. W. Jamison, Former Assistant Attorney General and Mrs. Sam B. Jeffries, Charles F. Jerabek, Don Jones, William T. Jones, Mrs. Mary E. Kickham, Mrs. J. O. King, Mrs. William J. Kinney, Mrs. Russell Kirkpatrick, Mrs. Frank Kulage, Mr. and Mrs. Charles E. Lane, Mr. and Mrs. Jacob M. Lashly, Mrs. R. J. Leacock, William H. Leahy, Former U. S. Solicitor Fred W. Lehman, Charles A. Lemp, Joseph A. Lennon, W. McMillan Lewis, Isaac H. Lionberger, Mrs. J. M. Lind, Mrs. R. L. Lund, Miss A. Loftus, Mrs. Annie Lottman, W. Stone Madden, Miss Catherine Manion, Mrs. Morton May, Louis Mayer, John R. McCarthy, Miss Josie McCarthy, Mrs. R. E. McClanahan, Mrs. E. J. McCullom, Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence McDaniels, C. M. McDonald, Judge Jessie McDonald, Mrs. T. H. McFarland, Mrs. May McGregor, Louis McKeown, Tom McNamara, Mrs. G. V. Mechin, John A. Mercurio, Judge and Mrs. Franklin Miller, Mrs. J. S. Miller, Former United States Internal Revenue Collector and Mrs. Geo. H. Moore, Mrs. C. H. Moreno, Mr. and Mrs. P. J. Morrin, Mrs. R. L. Morris, Mrs. James A. Mowery, Francis Murphy, Mrs. Maurice Murry, John J. Nangle, Mrs. Jessie Naughton, Mrs. B. M. Nevins, Mrs. John D. Newell, Mrs. L. M. Ottafy, George Ott, Dr. Louis R. Padberg, Mrs. Gaty Pallen, Dr. W. G. Patton, Mrs. T. George Paul, T. M. Pierce, Mrs. Charles E. Porter, Mrs. E. P. Porterfield, Mr. and Mrs. Geo. T. Priest, Mrs. L. E. Printy, Frank C. Rand, Mrs. Wm. L. Ray, J. L. Rehme, Mrs. Josephine Rebori, James M. Rohan, Miss May Rohan, Judge O'Neill Ryan, Mrs. Mary E. Ryder, Judge Virgil Rule, Mrs. Tillie F. Sale, Phil Scanlon, P. J. Schilling, Miss Bonita Schramm, Frank Schramm, Mr. and Mrs. Tom Sheehan, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Sheehan, Mrs. Andrew S. Sheridan, Dr. John Simon, Tom K. Smith, Judge Daniel G. Taylor, Mrs. Frank W. Taylor, Jr., Mrs. George Teasdale, Mrs. Kennet Teasdale, A. T. Terry, Mrs. Geo. E. Thomas, Mrs. J. W. Thompson, Mrs. Walter D. Thompson, Miss Florence Tierney, Geo. G. Vest, Mrs. E. P. Voll, Mrs. W. L. Waldon, Miss Mary Walsh, Jos. J. Ward, Mrs. Wm. J. Ward, Mrs. Wilbur Watson, Frank O.

Watts, Erastus Wells, Mrs. J. J. Whalen, Former United States Senator and Mrs. X. P. Wilfley, Edw. J. White, Mrs. Helen Wilke, Mrs. Charles P. Williams, Judge Fred L. Williams, John L. Wilson, Mrs. Helen Woodsworth, David Woodlock, Jos. T. Wright, Mrs. David Young, Fred G. Zeibig.

The Committee of a Hundred met and elected Bernard F. Dickmann chairman, and George G. Vest, secretary. The chairman and secretary were to confer daily. Daily conferences were to be held. During one of these noon-day conferences of the committee Secretary George Vest, having seen in Dickmann every requisite of a successful candidate and great potential possibilities as an executive, suggested that he run for Mayor in 1933. Many have claimed the distinction of being the first to suggest the availability of Bernard F. Dickmann for mayor, but the distinction unquestionably belongs to Judge George G. Vest, whose name, and that of his illustrious grandfather, Senator Vest, receive frequent mention throughout this work.

Dickmann's energetic direction of the campaign of 1930 made a very favorable impression upon most of those active in the party at that time. During the 1932 campaign he was induced to act as treasurer of the Democratic State Committee which proved to be a very strategic position from which to launch his mayoralty campaign in 1933, which will be taken up in its proper chronological position.

Shortly after the close of the 1930 campaign, another effort was made to change the by-laws of the Jefferson Club to permit active participation in the primary. The then president, George G. Vest, felt so very emphatically in favor of the change that he temporarily vacated the chair in order to take the floor and deliver a most convincing argument in favor of the change, submitting the opinion that only by taking an active part in the primary could we hope to gain patronage control, and that without it the Jefferson Club would never be anything but a "debating society." Others expressed the opinion that the function of the Jefferson Club was to sponsor the social functions of the Party, such as the Jefferson Day Dinner, etc., and provide the place where intra-party differences could be "ironed out" rather than "fought out." The latter view seemed to be the more popular, though unquestionably the less effective course, from the standpoint of developing the Club to the maximum of its potential possibilities. Again the effort to open the way for the Jefferson Club to participate as such in the primary was lost, but the force of Judge Vest's speech was reflected in the course pursued by the Club during the 1932 primary. Under this plan it was agreed that any group favorable to any candidate for major office might have authority to arrange a special meeting of the club and advertise the candidate as the principal speaker for the meeting.

The first of these meetings was presented in the interest of the campaign of Russell Dearthmont for the nomination for Governor by a committee headed by Kenneth Teasdale, first president of the Jefferson Club and later president of the St. Louis Bar Association. The Statler Hotel Ballroom was reserved and more than a thousand people attended. A similar meeting was held by a committee headed by Irwin Sale, L. G.

Waldman and others in the interest of the campaign of Bennett C. Clark for the nomination for U. S. Senator. This plan, had it been continued, would ultimately have had the effect of tacitly placing the club on record as favoring certain candidates, by the sheer force of superior numbers attending a particular meeting.

IN THE CITY ELECTION OF 1933

In January, 1933, Roland F. O'Bryen was elected president of the club, and late in the mayoralty campaign of 1933 it was decided by the campaign committee that a really representative social gathering of sufficient importance to attract attention, would have a very desirable effect on the closing days of the campaign. With this in view, they asked that the Jefferson Day dinner-dance be held on April 1st instead of April 13, thereby putting the dinner-dance three days before election day. The officers and members of the club welcomed this opportunity to be of service to the party. Arrangements were made for the function to take place at the Chase Hotel, Palm Room. United States Senator Thomas of Utah was invited to deliver the principal address. All available time was taken on Radio Station KWK from 7:00 P. M. to 11:00 P. M. that evening. Senator Harry B. Hawes accepted a place on the program and offered some reminiscences of the Old Jefferson Club of the late '90s. The mayoralty candidate, Bernard F. Dickmann, availing himself of the club's offer of practically unlimited radio time, delivered a splendid forty-five minute address, placing his ideas before a vast audience in a most dignified way, and unquestionably gained hundreds of supporters.

The service rendered by the Jefferson Club, however effective it may have been, or however important it may have seemed at the time, gained for the organization or its officers nothing along the line of influence with the administration, and no voice in the distribution of patronage. Many individual members of the Club were given important appointments; notably, L. G. Waldman, commissioner of weights and measures; George G. Vest, judge of City Court No. 2; J. Wesley McAfee, city tax counsellor; Hugo P. Albrecht, deputy assessor; Louis McKeown, Jack Burkhardt and Edgar Waymann, associates city counsellor, and several others, but all of them received their recognition due to activities elsewhere, the Jefferson Club affiliation being of very little, if any, weight. Certainly, the prediction of Judge Vest, offered two years previously, had been fulfilled.

Late in the spring of 1934, shortly after a very successful Jefferson Day celebration, an election of officers was held, with the following result: Roland F. O'Bryen, president, reelected; Robert J. Hannegan, first vice president; Hugo Albrecht, second vice president; John O'Connell, secretary; Jack Burkhardt, assistant secretary; Robert Aronson, treasurer; John A. Connelly, assistant treasurer; directors, Thomas Madden, Joseph A. Ward, Eugene J. Sartorius, J. Wesley McAfee.

The club did not take an active part in the campaign of 1934, due largely to the fact that most of those who had been the most active work-

ers during previous campaigns had been drafted for special duties in the campaign, as individuals, or were engaged in the campaign as candidates. However, as it has been the consistent opinion of the majority of the members, expressed in every test vote, that the function of the Club is to carry on the social life of the Party, to sponsor the more spectacular and less serious phases of party activity, and since the majority so wills, and since majority rule is the most fundamental of all Democratic doctrine, may the Jefferson Club continue to be the common meeting-ground where all members of all factions representing myriad divergent views, may assemble in friendly mien and "iron out" rather than "fight out" their differences. In this capacity, it may never be given credit for having "brought out" a candidate, it may never be given widespread patronage recognition, and it may never be looked upon as controlling vast numbers of votes, but in this capacity it will render immeasurable service to the party, and while its officers must look elsewhere for an avenue through which to earn political recognition, no one will ever challenge its right to render uncompensated service to the Party, and, those who serve for the sake of serving are rarely annoyed by too persistent offers of assistance from those served.

"AL" SMITH CARRIES ST. LOUIS

The 1928 campaign marked the first time that a Democratic presidential candidate carried St. Louis during the current century. Samuel Fordyce was reelected chairman of the State Committee, and through his able leadership, factional differences were held to a minimum. Alfred E. Smith, the presidential candidate, was tremendously popular and it was anticipated that he would "carry" many candidates into office with him. A lively, but extremely friendly, primary campaign ensued. In the general elections Smith carried the city by approximately 14,000. The St. Louis Bar Association inaugurated its endorsement of judicial candidates by preferential primary within the organization. There were nine circuit judges to be elected. In the Bar Association primary, three Democrats—O'Neal Ryan, Moses N. Sale and James F. Green, were endorsed, all of whom were elected.

For some years prior to 1928, a condition was known to exist in the office of the circuit attorney, then held by a republican, which, to put it mildly, was not "entirely satisfactory" to all citizens. The weak spot in the opposition line being so very obvious, Democratic leaders were clamoring for the strongest possible candidate to help wrest at least one office from the opposition. At that time, not a single office in the City Hall or Municipal Courts Building was held by a Democrat. With this in mind, former Circuit Judge Franklin Miller was induced to file for the nomination. He was nominated, over two opponents, by an overwhelming vote, but the real proof of his political and personal popularity can be found in the following figures:

He was elected over his opponent, Howard Sidener, by over 59,000 votes, while the popular "Al" Smith carried the city by only 14,000. When

Miller was reelected in 1932, he ran only about 500 behind Franklin D. Roosevelt, who carried the city by approximately 103,000 votes. His conduct of the office has been all that could be asked of any public official—considerate and courageous, enforcing the law with a firmness which satisfied the most exacting, yet the most self-sympathizing criminal will never accuse him of being unduly severe, or of permitting his zeal to prompt his prosecutions to even border upon persecution.

MCDANIEL'S RACE FOR MAYOR

The 1929 city election brought out the first really interesting contest for the nomination for mayor in years. Three splendid candidates were in the field—Judge Henry S. Priest, Dr. John H. Simon (who had previously been the party nominee) and Lawrence McDaniel, whose intellectual brilliance and affable disposition evoked mention previously in this narrative, entered the contest, McDaniel winning by a substantial margin.

After the primary, the campaign committee decided that there was no chance of electing any of the aldermanic candidates, regardless of effort, and suggested that Democratic aldermanic candidates withdraw. It was believed that this course would greatly minimize the efforts of the Republican candidates, as their election would then be assured. It was public information at the time that thirteen of fourteen aldermanic candidates agreed to withdraw. One man filed as a Democrat, but known to have some very influential Republican friendships, refused to consider the proposition (withdrawal). It cannot be said that this candidate was not loyal to his party. His name will not be mentioned as he really did exercise his prerogative. However, it is inconceivable that anyone at that time really believed there was a chance for any Democratic candidate for alderman. Not even the most ardent Republican questioned McDaniel's superiority. He was highly regarded for his ability, as well as his remarkable personality, while his opponent, running for reelection, to put it mildly, was not regarded even at that time as an intellectual giant—he has since been adjudged *non compos mentis*. McDaniel unquestionably had a chance. Conservative party men estimated that the withdrawal of the aldermanic candidates would have reduced the Republican vote by at least 20,000. The one adamant candidate refused "to play." All candidates stayed in the race—McDaniel lost by approximately 8,000 votes. Maybe it was Republican strategy, and maybe it was just a coincidence, but either way, our post-election dinner was a "consolation dinner" and McDaniel was credited with a "moral victory," which, he said "carried no salary check."

GENERAL ELECTION OF 1930

The 1930 campaign was under the direction of a committee of one hundred outstanding Democrats, and is covered in some detail in a history of the Jefferson Club. The entire ticket was defeated, with the exception of those whose campaigns were confined to districts. There was no U. S. Senatorial contest, and most of the interest in the campaign centered upon

the contest for prosecuting attorney. It might not be amiss to mention, in passing, a bit of strategy used by our opponents in this campaign. They had a very spirited contest for the nomination for prosecuting attorney, resulting in the nomination of a former Police Court judge, Harry Rosecan. The Democratic nominee was Eugene J. Sartorius (later elected Circuit judge), a man of exceptional family background, a splendid education, worlds of political experience, a good law practice, high character, and unchallenged reputation. The opposition, realizing the weakness of its position, started a rumor to the effect that the Democratic committee was trying to get Sartorius to resign in order that they might name a "strong" candidate. The newspapers based stories upon the rumor, many people commented upon it, and even many ardent Democrats became convinced that it was a good idea. The Republicans handled this little political trick with such adroitness that many Democrats and countless numbers of independent voters became convinced that the Democratic candidate was weak, for some unknown and unexplained reason, while, in reality, it is doubtful if a more substantial or less vulnerable man could have been found. The result was that Sartorius failed to run substantially ahead of the ticket.

THE DARK HOUR BEFORE THE DAWN

1931 saw the Democratic Party with little resources or enthusiasm. A ticket was placed in the field, precincts were canvassed, some effort was put forth by those who felt a desire to keep the party organization functioning, but no one had any hope of winning any office on the city-wide vote. It was the "dark hour just before the dawn." The glorious days of 1932 were almost upon us, but as yet too far in the future to permit recognition. But the Republican propaganda was backfiring, the "depression" was upon us, the TARIFF MYTH had been exploded, social and political unrest was everywhere, the Republican Party had remained in power four years too long for its own good, and had for once been on the receiving end of a panic for which it could not escape responsibility. The dawn of 1932 was breaking. The band wagon move to Roosevelt had started, that smooth-running, well-directed, pre-convention campaign was beginning to gather momentum; plans were being made for the scintillating, inspiring campaign of Bennett Champ Clark; campaign plans were being made by Howell, Hay and Byrne, other senatorial aspirants; plans made and committees organized for the strenuous and compelling though unsuccessful campaign of Russell Dearmont for the nomination for governor; plans for the successful campaign for the nomination of the Honorable Francis M. Wilson, whose sudden, untimely and regrettable death, cost the party a Gubernatorial candidate, cost the state an excellent governor, cost Mrs. Francis Wilson a kind, loyal and faithful husband, and cost the Democracy of Missouri one of its towers of intellectual strength.

Having enumerated some of the salient features of the 1932 campaign we will endeavor to give a more detailed account of each.

CLARK'S CAMPAIGN FOR UNITED STATES SENATOR

1932 probably offered more political "upsets" than any year in history. The campaign really got started with the opening declaration of Bennet Champ Clark for Senator. This campaign is treated more in detail elsewhere in this work by the author, William Rufus Jackson, than whom no one could be better informed on that particular subject.

The story of the scintillating campaign of Senator Clark, in 1932, would be ample subject matter for a book of considerable importance. Any one of a number of incidents might be mentioned, in passing, as the outstanding feature of the campaign, but in the opinion of the writer the greatest single contribution to the success of this very remarkable campaign was the personality of the candidate's brilliant and charming sister, Genevieve Clark Thomson. Seldom, if ever, has a campaign been graced with the constant efforts of one so eloquent on the "stump," so gracious during the trying days at headquarters, so calm when alleged party leaders and individuals of alleged "vast importance" showed signs of wavering, or even actively supporting some opponent; so singularly endowed with that quality so rare in those of the gentler sex—"political sense."

Senator Clark, through the efforts of a pitifully small group of loyal personal supporters, whose tender of support was based entirely upon a deep affection for the candidate, more than upon any prospect of success or selfish interest, rose from a most obscure position at the time of the State Convention in April, to nomination by a plurality of 95,401 in the August primary, and the election over former Mayor Henry W. Kiel of St. Louis, by 441,872 in November.

No man could have done it without friends of the finest quality who were willing to sacrifice everything for the good of the campaign, and no group of friends, however self-sacrificing and loyal, could have done it without a candidate whose courage, integrity, energy and personality were so far above the average as to render any description a mere assemblage of impotent adjectives.

Second to the campaign for the senatorial nomination, but only in point of progress made by the "long shot" in the early betting, was the campaign of Senator Russell Dearmont for the nomination for governor. Dearmont, an extremely popular young man, young at least compared with his venerable opponent Francis M. Wilson, made a most vigorous campaign; traveling thousands of miles, making innumerable speeches, holding personal interviews, and conferences with thousands of voters, no one could have expended greater effort or submitted to greater personal inconvenience and discomfort, but the personal popularity of his opponent was too long and too well established. Wilson was nominated, although Dearmont carried St. Louis by 4,667 largely through the efforts of Ernest Green, Kenneth Teasdale, J. Wesley McAfee, L. G. Waldman, L. J. Gualdoni, and a few others.

Notable among the 1932 Democratic victories was that of State Senator William J. Doran of the 29th District. Entering the primary contest

against a very popular man, and without the support of several of the ward organizations in the district, he won the nomination decisively, and was the first Democrat elected to the State Senate from the 29th District in the history of the State.

Not a single Democrat was defeated in St. Louis in this election and the thorough public approval of the way the new administration was functioning was reflected in the overwhelming vote of confidence given the Democratic Party in the City election of 1933.

A VOTE OF CONFIDENCE IN 1933

Immediately after the Democratic victory of 1932, everyone who had been active in the party, the newspapers, and most of the public-minded citizens, began to consider the qualifications, records, etc., of various individuals, with a view to the mayoralty campaign. Among those most prominently mentioned, were:

Thomas K. Smith, who had just been given an award of \$1,000, and proclaimed the "most valuable citizen,"

Judge Daniel G. Taylor, son of Mayor Taylor of Civil war time,

Jacob M. Lashly, president of the Chamber of Commerce,

Lawrence McDaniel, former circuit attorney and candidate in 1929,

Bernard F. Dickmann, president of the Real Estate Exchange, treasurer of the Democratic State Committee, son of former Sheriff Joseph Dickmann.

The opening gun was fired late in November, 1932, when Jerome F. Duggan, former national committeeman of the American Legion, sent a letter to each of one hundred friends, inviting them to a meeting for the purpose of ascertaining how they would react to his becoming a candidate for mayor. The consensus of opinion showed about 99 to 1 in favor of his running.

Mr. Duggan made a formal announcement of his candidacy very early in January, 1933, which caused a general showdown among other aspirants.

DICKMANN PUT FORWARD FOR MAYOR

An informal caucus was held very shortly thereafter at the home of a man prominently mentioned as a prospective candidate. A number of those who were regarded as "logical candidates" attended this meeting. There were also a few prominent Democrats, who could not have been regarded as likely candidates, and a few who were looked upon as tacitly representing various aspirants.

The sentiment at this meeting seemed to be preponderantly in favor of Bernard F. Dickmann. Within the next few days, several announced their respective withdrawals from the field, and in most cases, either stated that they would support Dickmann, or made some very laudatory reference to his general availability.

This, whether planned or otherwise, had the effect of starting a "bandwagon" movement to the then president of the Real Estate Exchange.

Every member of the Democratic City Central Committee ultimately declared for Dickmann. While Jerome Duggan's early announcement may have hastened Dickmann's public declaration, he could not be further stampeded; his platform was not published until it had been given ample thought and preparation. His opponents made repeated attacks calculated to draw him into some kind of public controversy, to no avail. His campaign, under the personal direction of Judge Jesse McDonald, Hon. Wm. L. Igoe, John J. Nangle, Al. McCormack, James Waechter, J. Wesley McAfee, J. M. Lashly, Chas. M. Hay, Dr. R. Emmett Kane, Jos. M. Darst, and a few others in the advisory council, and L. G. Waldman, Ralph Page, H. Sam Priest, Joseph Mockler, Al. Fleishman, and Robert Turner as sub-chairmen, was ably conducted, and the result was never in doubt. With a field of five, Dickmann received approximately five times as many votes as his strongest opponent. It was the largest Democratic primary vote in history, nearly 135,000 going to the polls.

Wm. Stone Madden, whose brother had been elected sheriff in November, 1932, was nominated for comptroller by a few thousand votes over Wm. Bauman. The Republicans realizing the futility of trying to elect the entire ticket, launched a campaign to reelect Comptroller Louis J. Nolte. Everything Republican was sacrificed to "save Nolte."

Late in the campaign, certain propaganda was used which seemed to be "registering" on the public mind, and a desperate "last minute" effort was made to elect the Republican candidate for mayor—Walter J. G. Neun—but the general public approval of the national, state and local officials elected the previous November, was too strong, and the personal popularity and general reputation of Bernard Dickmann, were too firmly established to overcome. Dickmann was elected by some 15,000 majority. The only Republican elected was Louis J. Nolte, as comptroller.

Bernard F. Dickmann was inducted into office as mayor on April 18, 1933 in the chambers of the Board of Aldermen, followed by appropriately impressive and dignified ceremonies in the rotunda of the City Hall. He was confronted with a number of Herculean tasks, any one of which would have taxed the energy and determination of the average person.

THE PATRONAGE PROBLEM

His first problem, at least his most vexatious one, was the replacement of the old city employees. Under our system of government, there is a theory to the effect that employees should be politically in accord with the executive. Mayor Dickmann subscribed to this theory. Among his first acts was the appointment of a committee to "devise a patronage scheme," in other words, a system or plan by which patronage would be dispensed. The committee met, but seemed to miss the purpose for which they had been appointed. Instead of a general plan, they made a list of recommendations of various individuals for certain respective positions, each member of the committee having certain persons in whom he was interested. The scramble for jobs started in the very committee which had been organized to prevent a "scramble for jobs." The committee not only

failed to carry out its function, but actually defeated the purpose for which it was created.

Throughout the campaign, the speakers had talked of "cleaning out the City Hall" and replacing those City Hall employees with Democrats. All, including the public at large, were in accord with the theory of general replacement. Unfortunately there is no well defined identifying mark by which to distinguish a Democrat from a Republican. There are few people who are not endowed with friends in both parties. After the election many Republican employees became "ardent Democrats." Every possible pressure was brought to bear to keep old Republican employees in their jobs. Democratic lawyers were appealed to by their Republican clients to write letters endorsing certain Republican employees for re-appointment. Many who criticized the mayor most severely for retaining Republican employees in their jobs, wrote letters asking that certain Republicans be retained. The patronage problem had become a mess from which no power could ever equitably extricate it. Not because the mayor was originally unmindful of his duty to his party, but because a committee failed to understand or failed to heed the expressed reason for its appointment, and because many prominent and influential men lacked the courage to refuse to recommend that certain Republicans be retained and tried to "pass the buck" to someone—just anyone.

Fortunately, all other problems were handled with greater success. The budget was balanced by the employment of some most drastic measures. Liquor control machinery was set up with the utmost facility. Tax measures were presented, passed, and made effective with similar promptness.

THE ADMINISTRATION A DECIDED SUCCESS

1934 found the Democratic Party in control of most of the city and state offices. The local offices contested for included nine circuit judges, probate judge, collector of revenue, license collector, recorder of deeds, and three court clerks. All the Democratic candidates were elected by majorities ranging from 20,000 to near 45,000, with the average majority almost 40,000. Total votes were so near the same figures for so many candidates, that no one could claim a "personal victory." It was a victory for the Democratic Party; a victory for the "Forgotten Man;" a victory for the policies of Thomas Jefferson; a sweeping endorsement of the city administration started in 1933; of the equitable measures sponsored by Mayor Dickmann, and passed by a Democratic majority in the Board of Aldermen; an endorsement of Governor Park and the state administration,—but, above all, an endorsement of the efforts and accomplishments of that great human thinker, that truly great President, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

AN HISTORICAL RESUME

Through the efforts of influential and public spirited Democrats St. Louis secured a number of the National Democratic Conventions. On June 27, 1876, the National Democratic Convention met in St. Louis and

nominated Samuel J. Tilden of New York for President, and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana, for Vice President. The result of this election proved to be one of the most eventful in the history of the United States. The result was long in doubt and was finally settled in the Electoral College, which gave Rutherford B. Hays 185 votes and Samuel J. Tilden 184. There were many Democrats dissatisfied with the result, but finally Hays was seated and peace, "that hath its victories no less renowned than war," prevailed.

On June 5, 1888, the National Democratic Convention met at St. Louis and Grover Cleveland of New York, was nominated for President, and Allen G. Thurman of Ohio for Vice President. Cleveland, who had been elected in 1884, was defeated by Benjamin Harrison of Indiana.

On July 6, 1904, the National Democratic Convention met at St. Louis. Alton B. Parker of New York was nominated for President, and Henry G. Davis of West Virginia for Vice President. Parker was defeated and the "Mysterious Stranger" appeared in Missouri.

On June 14, 1916, the National Democratic Convention met in St. Louis, and President Woodrow Wilson was again nominated, with Thomas R. Marshall for Vice President. Woodrow Wilson was reelected President in 1916.

In the history of the state and nation St. Louis has been represented by many prominent and distinguished Democrats. In the United States Senate, Thomas Hart Benton, for a period of thirty years, Henry S. Geyer, Trusten Polk, Francis P. Blair, Jr., Lewis V. Bogy, David H. Armstrong, Xenophon P. Wilfley and Harry B. Hawes.

In the House of Representatives, Edward Bates, Spencer Pettis, William H. Ashley, James B. Bowlin, John F. Darby, Thomas H. Benton, Francis P. Blair, Jr., J. R. Barrett, John Hogan, Erastus Wells, William H. Stone, Edward C. Kehr, R. Graham Frost, Thomas Allen, John H. McLean, John J. O'Neill, James O. Broadhead, John M. Glover, Seth W. Cobb, John T. Hunt, James J. Butler, Patrick F. Gill, William L. Igoe, Harry B. Hawes, John J. Cochran, James R. Claiborne, and Thomas Hennings, Jr.

Some distinguished Democrats have served the state in the Governor's office: Alexander McNair in 1820; Frederick Bates in 1824; Trusten Polk in 1856; John S. Marmaduke in 1884; David R. Francis in 1888; Joseph W. Folk in 1904; Frederick D. Gardner in 1916.

In the office of Lieutenant-Governor: William H. Ashley in 1820; Thomas C. Reynolds in 1860; Charles P. Johnson in 1872; Norman J. Colman in 1874; Henry C. Brockmeyer in 1876; Robert A. Campbell in 1880; John B. O'Meara in 1892; John A. Lee in 1900.

In the office of Secretary of State, Joshua Barton, Spencer Pettis and Michael R. McGrath; State Treasurer, Peter Didier and Nathaniel Simonds; State Auditor, William Christy, William V. Rector and Elias Barcroft; Attorney General, Edward Bates, Rufus Easton and Edward C. Crow.

In the office of Supreme Judge: Mathias McGirk, Rufus Pettibone, Robert Walsh, John C. Richardson, William V. N. Bay, Ephraim B. Ewing

Edward A. Lewis, Shepard Barclay, William C. Marshall, Leroy B. Valliant, Henry W. Bond and Robert F. Walker.

The history of the Democracy of the City of St. Louis is replete with the names of those who have followed the teachings of Thomas Jefferson since St. Louis became a city. The following are included in those who were prominent: Samuel Lazarus, Moses Wetmore, William H. Swift, Nicholas M. Bell, Colin M. Selph, Charles P. Higgins, Louis C. Nelson, Henry S. Priest, Frederick D. Gardner, Michael K. McGrath, Charles C. Maffitt, Thomas J. Ward, D. W. Marmaduke, John H. Terry, Sam W. Fordyce, Thomas Wagner, John M. Wood, J. R. Claiborne, Rolla Wells, Martin Collins, M. H. Phelan, Chas. A. Pollack, Robert A. Campbell, Charles P. Johnson, George A. Castleman, Chas. T. Nolan, Vernon W. Knapp, Edward F. Goltra, Sterling P. Bond, John B. Dempsey, Richard D. Lancaster, Peter T. Barrett, George P. Burleigh, John P. Collins, Mat J. Holland, Wm. P. Lightholder, E. E. Guion, Robert J. Carroll, William J. Flynn, Joseph Traummiller, Jeremiah Truin, Henry Hennings, Joseph P. Rice, Frank Kleiber, Richard M. Wray, Thos. T. Hathaway, W. P. Bentley, Jas. J. Carroll, Hugh J. Brady, David Nelson, Collins Thompson, William M. Ledbetter, John W. Drabelle, James Hagerman, L. D. Kingsland, Chas. W. Knapp, F. E. Marshall, Dr. C. A. Forester, Chas. H. Turner, James Bannermann, A. C. Cassidy, Walter B. Douglas, Phil A. McDermott, William J. Brennan, A. C. Steuver, P. R. FitzGibbon, Chas. M. Huttig, Edward J. White, James E. King, Chas. M. Hay, Sam B. Jeffries, Gale F. Johnston, Jos. A. Jamison, R. V. Cooper, Owen G. Jackson, Fred L. Williams, John Roberts, Festus J. Wade, Thos. C. Hennings, Sr., John J. Nangle, Henry C. Menne, Philip Dwyer, M. J. Mulvihill, Andrew Sheridan, Andrew Blong, Lawrence P. Daley, John Y. Patrick, Thomas Leonard, James J. Gilmartin, William H. Hughes, J. D. Lukenbill, Ralph W. Coale, Charles Geraghty, James P. Miles, Thomas E. Kinney, Clinton Boogher, Ben G. Brinkman, Dr. S. McNearney, John Byrne, Thomas Butler, Michael Kinney, John P. Collins, George W. Hobbs, John P. Haney, Mrs. R. E. Oldsfather, Miss Nell Meehan, Joseph Meehan, Joseph Brogan, Thomas Doran, William Cullinane, J. J. Gallagher, George M. Murphy, John J. Golden, J. J. Fitzsimmons, David Israel, L. J. Gualdoni, Roy J. Lee, Jos. R. Cosgrove, John F. Gillespie, L. G. Waldman, Leslie S. Davidson, R. M. Nichols, Whitlaw T. Terry, Thomas A. Dwyer, Chas. F. Hill, Frank L. Johnson, Robert E. Hannegan, Mrs. Chas. B. Faris, Mrs. Mary Ryder, Mrs. J. O. King, Lucy K. Gorman, Walter L. Hensley, W. A. Waechter, M. P. Hay, Harry J. Cantwell, Roscoe Anderson, Jos. M. Darst, J. Edward Bates, Frank Thompson, Thos. C. Hennings, Jr., Jas. M. Douglas, R. P. Hensley, Chas. G. Gonter, John A. Hope, David J. Murphy, Jos. A. Lennox, Jas. W. Griffin, L. L. Atwood, W. A. Miller, Geo. W. Chadsey, Lorenzo A. C. Church, Chas. T. Hunt, L. C. Kingsland, Frank K. Harris, R. D. Abbott, Wayne Ely, Edward H. Miller, Web A. Welker, Brandon Hope, Jas. J. Milligan, R. Sloan Oliver, Mrs. Nat Brown, Thomas L. Anderson, Edw. L. Bakewell, Abbot L. Anderson, Frank J. McDevitt, Ruben S. May, Thos. R. Madden, W. S. McIlroy, John T. Murphy, Lawrence McDaniel, Jos. L. McLemore, Emmett Golden, Jas. W. Newell, Jos. J. E.

Vollmer, Con P. Curran, P. H. Cullen, Wm. S. Conner, Max. O'Rell Truitt, John B. Sullivan, Jos. T. Sullivan, John J. Sweeney, Chas. T. Revelle, Kenneth Teasdale, Jos. J. Ward, M. J. Whalen, Samuel M. Watson, Scott Wilson, Henry L. Smith, Redick O'Brien, John R. Green, Jas. J. Seeley, E. J. Sartorius, Wood Netherland, A. A. Buford, J. F. Nangle, H. H. Larimore, Walter N. Davis, John R. Scott, Ervin H. Gamble, Chas. A. Lemp, Frank Lee, Chas. B. Faris, Chas. B. Williams, Geo. H. Moore, Ernest A. Green, Jas. F. Green, Dewey S. Godfrey, Harry H. Haeussler, Chilton Atkinson, John B. Campbell, Arthur A. Blumeyer, Ed. Powell, W. A. Benoist, Roger D. Moore, J. J. O'Brien, Roy E. Sibley, David M. Robinson, J. M. Lashly, Jas. Y. Player, C. R. Burton, W. H. Woodward, Jas. A. Rector, James T. Blair, W. S. Covington, Charles R. Pratt, Edward Cave and Frank Lee.

IN CONCLUSION

We realize that when one has the temerity to attempt to record recent history, there will be many instances where the reader will be better informed than the writer; in recording events of a political nature, one must, of necessity, rely upon rumors and information obtained by circuitous routes, depending upon the memory of others, or, even worse, upon his own. However, we have tried to give an accurate account of what, at this time, is really believed to have happened, avoiding all that which, to use a pet expression of one of the Party's most gifted and prolific writers—Mel. Fulcher, "Doesn't add up."

We have referred extensively to the following works:

- "Annals of Old St. Louis;"
- "History of Northeast Missouri," Walter Williams, 1913;
- "St. Louis, the Future Great City," L. U. Reavis, 1876;
- "History of St. Louis the 4th City," Walter B. Stevens, 1909;
- "History of St. Louis County," Wm. L. Thomas, 1911;
- "Centennial History of Missouri," Walter B. Stephens, 1921;
- "Episodes of My Life," Rolla Wells;
- "Official Manual of the State of Missouri," 1900-1934, Inc.;
- "Revised Code of St. Louis," 1925.

We have found these works interesting, instructive, and, if uniformity as to dates can be taken as a criterion, surprisingly accurate.

We bring this narrative to a close, conscious of a deep feeling of gratitude toward Mr. Wm. Rufus Jackson for his kindness in inviting us to add our narrative to his otherwise highly dignified, instructive and inspiring work.

JOHN L. KICKHAM.

PAUL YOUNG is one of the most widely known and popular Democrats in the city, and the state for that matter. He was the last Democrat to serve as Recorder for the City. He was the chief deputy in the excise office, serving under Nicholas M. Bell, the

first commissioner to be appointed under that law. He is noted as a tax expert and his services have been so valuable that for seventeen years, with one short intermission, he served the state in that capacity. Under the administration of Governor Park, he became Chief Clerk of the office of the tax commissioner.

MRS. NAT BROWN is also a member of the National Democratic Women's Division of the Democratic Party in which she has held membership since its organization, when women were allowed suffrage. She is also an active member in the Jefferson Club of St. Louis, and a member of the Advisory Board of the Young Peoples Jefferson Club. She is an active member of the North St. Louis Democratic Club. Mrs. Nat Brown was a delegate at large in 1932 to the Democratic National Convention at Chicago and from the time the women were accorded a vote Mrs. Nat Brown has always been a delegate to the National Conventions.

SALINE COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Saline County was organized November 25, 1820. It derived its name from the famous salt springs within its borders. It has had many county seats in its history; Jefferson, Jonesboro, Arrow Rock, and then its present county capital, Marshall.

Sweet Springs was once a great resort of prominent Democrats. It was long the residence of Senator Vest, and was frequently visited by the Marmadukes, Prices, Stephenses, Sebrees, Ewings and other distinguished families. In the 'eighties the week-ends found a great gathering of politicians there to enjoy the water and baths, and to promote the candidacy of favorites.

Saline County Democrats have been conspicuous in the affairs of Missouri from the early days of statehood. In 1844 Meredith M. Marmaduke, who had been elected lieutenant-governor in 1840 on the ticket with Thomas Reynolds, became governor when Reynolds committed suicide. William B. Napton, of Saline County, was appointed to the Supreme Bench in 1839 by Governor Lilburn W. Boggs. He held a place in this court until 1857 when he refused to take the Test Oath. Claiborne F. Jackson, elected governor in 1860, was deposed on the breaking out of the Civil war by the Radical Government.

Asa Finley was the first member of the General Assembly from Saline County in 1822; William M. Chick in 1824; Asa Finley in 1826; William Becknell in 1828-30; Charles M. Cravens in 1832; George Penn in 1834; Claiborne F. Jackson in 1836; Thomas A. Harvey in 1838; DeWitt McNutt in 1840; Harrison Gwinn in 1842; John Brown in 1844; George W. Bingham in 1846-48; William O. Maupin in 1850-52; J. Locke Harde-man in 1854; William H. Letcher in 1856-58; Matt W. Hall in 1860; William L. Corum in 1862; A. J. Prewitt in 1864; Miles L. Laughlin in 1866-69; William O. Maupin in 1871; T. R. E. Harvey in 1873; Matt W. Hall in 1875; Samuel Davis and Ben F. McDaniel in 1877-79; Vincent Marmaduke in 1883; William M. Walker in 1885; Frank P. Seabee and Robert L. Brown in 1887-89; Abram Neff and Jerome D. Eubank in 1891; William Wilson and Clement W. Eubank in 1893; Matt W. Hall and Sydnor B. Burks in 1895-97-99; Matt W. Hall and Robert L. Haines in 1901-03-05;

John G. Miller in 1907-09; Joshua F. Barbee in 1911-13-15; Ed. H. Haynie in 1917-19; Robert L. Haines in 1921-23; Walter Robertson in 1925-27-29; Guy Abney in 1931; J. L. Jones in 1933.

A number of Saline County Democrats have been prominent in the service of the State and Nation.

James Cooney, after serving in several county offices was elected to Congress in 1896, and reelected in 1898 and in 1900 from the Second District. Champ Clark said Cooney's maiden speech was "one of the greatest speeches ever delivered in the House."

Claiborne F. Jackson, elected governor in 1860, was from Saline County.

William E. Coleman, superintendent of Schools for two terms, from 1882 to 1886, was from Saline County.

Of the Democrats of Saline County who were prominent in the organization of the county committees, and others who gave their support in making the county one of the banner Democratic counties of the state, may be named: John R. Hall, T. A. McAllister, B. S. Edmonds, Ed. H. Haynie, Albert R. James, Sidney T. Gray, John C. Hains, Dr. J. R. Brown, Louis Crother, Joshua Barbee, Robert M. Reynolds, Dr. F. A. Howard, H. C. Francisco, Dr. John R. Hall, Dr. A. L. Sharp, R. C. Hanna, Louis Armentrout, Sterling T. Price, Robert D. Johnson (elected to Congress in 1930), Henry W. Harvey, William D. Bush, J. Frank Coleman, Thomas H. Fisher, D. N. Burruss, William G. Lynch, W. C. Gaines, Jas. A. Walker, John S. Wilson, D. D. Duggins, W. R. Rhoades, and J. J. McKeever.

ARROW ROCK

Walter B. Stevens in the "Centennial History of Missouri," (Vol. I, p. 78), relates the following:

"In the vicinity of Arrow Rock is a cliff which is supposed to have suggested the name. One of the traditions is that the pioneers called it 'Airy Rock' and that the name was changed by later comers to Arrow Rock. Elliot Coues, who edited the Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, held that Arrow Rock derived its name from the visits of Indians who went there to make arrow heads from the rock. But Gerard Fowke, the archaeologist, who spent some time in explorations along the Missouri, said: 'No one now living at Arrow Rock ever heard of the origin of the name as stated by Coues and by others before him. Only one tradition exists to account for it. A number of young warriors assembled on a sandbar opposite the cliff to test their power with the bow by ascertaining who could send an arrow farthest out into the stream, the victor to wed the chief's daughter. One of them shot clear across the river, his arrow lodging in a crevice high above the water; and so the cliff was known thenceforward as "the arrow rock." No citizen of the place has ever heard of any other explanation of the term.'"

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

SCHUYLER COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Schuyler County was organized February 14, 1845. The county was named in honor of General Phillip Schuyler of Revolution fame, soldier and senator. He served in the French and Indian war in 1756; was made a major-general of the Revolutionary Army in 1775. He was active in the war and was elected to the first United States Senate in 1789. The first county seat was at Tippecanoe but was removed to Lancaster in 1845.

Edwin French was the first member of the General Assembly from Schuyler County in 1846-48; John W. Menor in 1850-52-54; Don C. Roberts in 1856; Thomas Roberts in 1858-60; John McGoldrick in 1862-64; Seth W. Hathaway in 1867; A. J. Baker in 1869; John Sharp in 1871; Jesse Carter in 1873-75-77; Mark B. Patterson in 1879; John R. Rippey in 1881; Peter C. Berry in 1883; Nat M. Shelton in 1885-87; Christopher C. Fogle in 1889-91-93; Edward Higbee in 1895; Mathew Coffey in 1897-99; John T. Jones in 1901; A. D. Morris in 1903; W. C. Biggs in 1905-07; J. S. Clapper in 1909-11-17-19; Winfred Melvin in 1913-15; F. C. Shelton in 1921-23; John Hombs in 1925-27; J. Riley in 1929-31; H. J. Bowling in 1933.

Schuyler County has been reliably Democratic since its organization. The names of some of those Democrats that have been active for many years in party work include: William P. Clarkson, Geo. W. Ford, Jos. H. Hall, David E. Morris, George Hulen, T. G. Neeley, W. L. Young, Winfred Melvin, Chas. M. York, Earl E. Fagle, John H. Green, W. M. Saxbury, Claud C. Fagle, C. C. Dean, L. O. Young, W. F. Rice, Albert F. Botts, James A. Riley, John H. Jeffries, A. D. Morris, J. H. Croskey, H. F. Broadwell, Alex McCandless, James S. Clapper, J. M. Dawkins, Luther D. Talbert, Rube White, Melvin Jacobs, James B. Thompson, Edward F. Harris, William Sloop, W. O. Stacy, H. F. Rogers, W. R. Kelley, James H. Chinn, John T. Snider, Noah W. Jackson, O. A. Sidwell, Robert Lee Eason, Dr. H. E. Mitchell, Warren C. Biggs.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

SCOTLAND COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Scotland County was organized January 29, 1841. The first courts were held in Sand Hill, but in 1848 the county seat was located at Memphis.

Jesse Johns was the first member of the General Assembly from Scotland County in 1842; James L. Jones in 1844-46; Thomas S. Richardson in 1848-50; A. S. Darby in 1852-54; Levi J. Wagner in 1856; James P. Knott in 1858; Hiram Sheffield in 1860; E. E. Sparks in 1862; James Means in 1864; S. W. Birch in 1867; W. P. Browning in 1869; Thomas McAllister in 1871; Levi J. Wagner in 1873; Thomas W. Green in 1875; Theophilus Williams in 1877; S. A. Linn in 1879; Lewis Meyers in 1881;

J. D. Skidmore in 1883; John W. Priest in 1885; George T. Collins in 1887-89-97; J. C. Christy in 1891-93; Benjamin F. Bourn in 1895; James P. Nesbitt in 1899; Charles K. Green in 1901; Lee T. Witty in 1903-05-23-27-29-31; W. M. McMurry in 1907-11-19; Martin Miller in 1909-13-15; Geo. W. Wilson in 1917-27; T. A. Davidson in 1925; J. C. Woodsmall in 1933.

Scotland County has been reliably Democratic since the Civil war. Democrats who were active in party work were: Dr. H. Robert, Chas. Feters, D. M. Francis, Joseph Hicks, H. C. Boyer, John Depew, William Downing, Earl McDaniel, I. M. Horn, H. D. Jones, A. L. Smith, W. M. McMurray, John T. Braun, W. B. Evans, Geo. H. Lawton, John W. Priest, George W. Lancaster, R. W. Snelling, Ben F. Bourn, Thomas Wagner, W. F. Barker, Jas. H. Barker, George Struble, John E. Luther, Martin Miller, William L. Scott, N. A. Thompson, J. B. Howard, Thomas P. Smith, William T. Reddish, Hudson V. Smoot, John C. Cristy, Newton Cone, Birney B. Reeves, J. F. Chasteen, Arthur Steeples, and H. D. Jones.

In 1858 J. Proctor Knott, of Scotland County, was appointed attorney general by Governor Stewart to succeed Ephraim B. Ewing who resigned. In 1860 J. Proctor Knott was elected attorney general on the ticket with Governor Jackson. The office was vacated by the Ordinance of 1861. Knott, being a Kentuckian, returned to Kentucky, and in 1867 was a member of Congress from that state. He was a brilliant and accomplished man, and might have reached a high place in the history of Missouri had the Civil war been deferred for some years.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF LEADING DEMOCRATIC OFFICIALS OF SCOTT COUNTY

By C. L. Blanton,* Sikeston

CIRCUIT JUDGES

In the early 'eighties Harry C. O'Brien was elected circuit judge succeeding John D. Foster, a Republican, and served three terms in that office. He was succeeded by Henry C. Riley of New Madrid County, who served four terms, followed by Chas. B. Faris of Pemiscott County. Faris served one term and was then appointed United States District Judge, which position he now holds. At the time of Faris' election, the judicial district comprised the counties of Cape Girardeau, Scott, Mississippi, New Madrid and Pemiscott.

CIRCUIT CLERKS

Wm. Wylie was circuit clerk and recorder during the latter part of the 'seventies and was succeeded by John M. Leftwich who gave Charles A. Leedy, now a resident of Kansas City, his early training as deputy. Following Leftwich came T. F. Hinkle, during whose term the offices were separated and the following were elected to the office: James M. Arnold and Frank Kirkpatrick, now serving as recorder of deeds.

PROBATE JUDGES

During the late 'seventies and early 'eighties Wylie A. Hughes served as probate judge, succeeded by S. R. Jones, both of whom resided at Commerce, which was at that time a Republican stronghold of Scott County. Following Jones came Alex Wright, former sheriff, having served earlier in the 'eighties, who was, if I remember correctly, succeeded by Charles A. Leedy.

SHERIFFS

Joe T. Anderson, who resided at Commerce, was one of the early sheriffs of Scott County and served until about 1875 when he was succeeded by Alex Wright (commonly known as Uncle Alex.) Wright's successor was George Arnold, cousin of the illustrious Marshall Arnold, who went to Congress from this district in the early 'nineties and was a power in the Democratic party, both State and National, and was always referred to as the Little Giant of Scott.

Jasper Trotter, a native of Scott County, and the husband of Elizabeth Winchester, also a native of Scott County, who was the daughter of Henderson Winchester who was killed in a duel with Dick Overton at the close of the Civil war, succeeded Arnold, serving two terms, followed by his wife's brother, Green O. Winchester.

Succeeding Winchester was Montrose P. Wade, son of R. Bay Wade, a physician at Benton (now the county seat of Scott County), in the early 'seventies coming from the state of Tennessee. He has to his credit one term served in the Legislature.

Joe F. Watkins, Wade's successor, served one term as sheriff, and was then succeeded by L. P. Gober, now residing at Vanduser.

COUNTY JUDGES

Isaac Hunter of Morley, was one of the county judges in the middle 'seventies, having also served at one time as a member of the Missouri Legislature. His nephew, Stephen B. Hunter, is now purchasing agent at the State Penitentiary.

Following Hunter came Dan Pigg, succeeded by Sam Harrison, and after Harrison came John E. Marshall. Mr. Marshall was very active in Democratic politics, always ready for a political fight. In the early 'nineties he was elected to the Missouri Senate. His successor as County Judge was W. L. Carroll who now resides in Sikeston, and who is eighty odd years old. Despite his age he is ready at any time for a political scrap, having been the dependence for organizing the Democrats in Scott and Stoddard counties during his active years.

Succeeding Judge Carroll was Joseph W. Myers, who now resides in Sikeston, and who, with Dr. T. R. Frazier as presiding judge and J. V. Bandy of Chaffee (the latter two having passed on) conceived the idea of building a courthouse for Scott County without a bond issue, and who made good by giving Scott County one of the most magnificent capitol

buildings of any county in the state. William Hunter, commonly called Senator, was also a very active Democrat who legally assisted in the project, his grandfather, William Myers, an Indiana pioneer and an uncle of Jos. W. Myers, having donated the site in 1840. Hunter passed on to his reward some fifteen years ago.

COUNTY CLERKS

Last, but not least, was James McPheeters, who served the county of Scott as its clerk for thirty-six years, having been elected in 1874, and was retired in 1910. Mr. McPheeters was a living example of pure, Christian, patriotic, Democratic manhood, whose name is destined to be remembered for many years to come.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

SHANNON COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Shannon County was organized January 29, 1841. It was named in honor of George F. Shannon, a prominent lawyer of the State, who died suddenly at Palmyra in August, 1836.

Thomas C. Rogers was the first member of the General Assembly in 1842; Pete Buford in 1844; Joshua Chilton in 1846 to 1854; David C. Reed in 1856; Shannon Chilton in 1858; A. Deatherage in 1860; not represented from 1862 to 1866; David C. Reed was elected October 5, 1869; George F. Chilton in 1871 to 1877; James P. Creager in 1879; David C. Reed in 1881; Jefferson D. Storts in 1883-85; Perry Chilton in 1887-93; J. A. Jadwin in 1887; W. F. Collier in 1891-97; Hezekiah Weaver in 1895; George F. Chilton in 1899; William H. Crandall in 1901; John W. McClellan in 1903; W. L. Gilmore in 1905; P. L. Lyles in 1907-09-13; Wesley M. McMurry in 1911; F. M. Jones in 1915; David L. Bales in 1917 to 1929; W. A. Despain in 1931; Irby C. Henry in 1933.

Shannon County has been a reliable Democratic county, and is always thoroughly organized for the State and National campaigns. There are many Democrats in Shannon County who should be mentioned in the history of Missouri Democracy; these should include: L. B. Shuck, John T. Bay, Clay Jenkins, W. N. Henderson, Henry C. Adair, P. L. Lyles, J. T. Lloyd, Robert B. Parker, Arthur E. Orchard, John W. McClellan, Alex J. Deatherage, S. A. Cunningham, L. O. Chilton, W. M. Shockley, A. M. Terrill, J. W. Copeland, Andrew J. McIntyre, Thomas J. Freeman, J. B. Darling, J. N. Burns, Thomas M. Mooney, Elmer J. Ward, T. J. Freeman, J. D. Smith, Peter Weaver, L. N. Searcy, Walter Webb, C. L. V. Randall, W. N. Henderson, W. M. Barr, Fred S. Turner, D. M. Brown, A. A. Lewis, F. M. Lawson, John F. Church, C. C. Spencer, W. E. Hyde, C. M. Seaman, A. J. Hawkins, Irby C. Henry and C. E. Bradley.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

SHELBY COUNTY'S POLITICAL HISTORY

By W. C. Hewitt,* Shelbyville

So far as reflected by the county records, the political history of Shelby County began with the first election held after the county was formed out of the territory formerly attached to the county of Marion. This election was held in August, 1835, and the total vote for congressman was ninety-six. Of this number, William H. Ashley and James H. Birch, Whig candidates, received sixty-six and forty-five respectively. George F. Strather and Albert G. Harrison, Democrats, received thirty votes each. This may be attributed to the fame of Henry Clay, which was much exploited by the Kentuckians, who formed a part of the first line of pioneers peacefully invading the then unclaimed and uninhabited wilderness beyond the Mississippi.

There is no record of the Presidential vote at the next election held in August, 1836. It does appear that Lilburn W. Boggs, the Democratic candidate for governor, received sixty-six votes, whereas his Whig opponent, William H. Ashley, received thirty-nine. Two years later, in August, 1838, Albert G. Harrison and John Miller, Democrats, received one hundred and fifty-two votes as congressional candidates, their Whig opponents receiving one hundred and eighteen.

At the presidential election held in 1840, the Democratic electors received a majority of seven votes out of a total of four hundred and fifty-nine.

In the election of 1844, the Whig ticket headed by Henry Clay for President received a majority of thirty-five votes. Evidently the pioneers from Kentucky were still in evidence. The vote was reversed at the presidential election of 1848, however, when the Democratic electors polled a majority of eighty-eight. At this election John McAfee, Democrat, was sent to the Legislature, where he became speaker of the House of Representatives. He was later defeated for reelection when he bitterly opposed the political ambitions of Thomas H. Benton. According to the written history of this county, the opposition to McAfee was headed by Joshua M. Ennis of Shelbyville. This was the introduction of Ennis in the political history of Shelby County, but he was a power in Democratic affairs until his death in 1891. A rugged Marylander, who always spoke the quaint language of the "Eastern Shore," he helped to make and unmake congressmen, and his friendship was coveted by the controlling men of his party. His long and constant friendship for William H. Hatch of Hannibal helped to make Colonel Hatch a congressman and to keep him as such until he was a man of national renown. An invincible campaigner, he held many official positions in the county and was held in great respect by our people.

The election of 1852 was a contest between Franklin Pierce and Gen. Winfield Scott for the Presidency. The Democratic electoral ticket received 309 votes to 202 for the Whig electors. This was the last election wherein the old Whig party presented a presidential candidate. This historic party was soon to be among the things which had ceased to be.

In 1856, when the Presidential contest was between James Buchanan, Democrat, and Millard Fillmore, Know-nothing, this county cast its vote for Fillmore, and while this was the year when the Republican party was represented for the first time, the candidate for that party did not receive a single vote.

The vote at the Presidential election of 1860 was as follows: Bell, 702; Douglass, 476; Lincoln, 90. The anti-slavery agitation, with the shadows of war impending, confused the people and unsettled their convictions.

When the election of 1864 was held, a large portion of the voters of Shelby County were disfranchised. Hence, while the votes cast were mainly for the Republican candidates, it did not reflect the sentiment of the people.

RETURNED TO FOLD

With the passing of the era of oppression and political ostracism, the county returned to the Democratic fold, where it has ever since constantly remained. At the last presidential election, our President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, received a majority of 2,508 votes.

It is not possible, within the limits of this sketch, to name all of those who have contributed to the ascendancy of the Democratic party in Shelby County. The county was largely settled by emigrants from the States of Virginia, Maryland, Delaware and Kentucky, with a smaller contingent from the Carolinas and Tennessee. Naturally the influence of Jefferson and the other great Virginians was reflected in the convictions of those who came from the "Old Dominion," and the work of the great John Marshall as Chief Justice contributed much to forming a stable government in the early days of Missouri. In fact none of us can fully comprehend the debt which our country owes to this colossal expounder of the Constitution. When we do comprehend it, he will rank as the greatest judge of all the ages.

Likewise, the men from Maryland were much imbued with the wisdom and great character of Roger B. Taney, and through them his name was revered among the primitive builders of our county. And in those days, when Andrew Jackson was fighting his wars and emerging into a national figure, his influence counted for much to the cabin dwellers of the early years.

The Party has never lacked for leaders, however. Within its ranks many distinguished men have developed. Richard P. Giles, a brilliant lawyer, was elected to Congress in 1896, but never took his seat. Death ended his career soon after the election, and James T. Lloyd was sent in his place and continued to serve for several terms thereafter; both were residents of Shelby County.

Another Shelby Countian deserves special mention: W. O. L. Jewett was a native of Maine and came to Shelby County as a young lawyer. He was, perhaps, a Republican by birth and education and came to this county at a time when all power and all promise of official preferment was with that party. But his sense of justice caused him to espouse the

rights of our disfranchised citizens, and he remained their steadfast champion until the dark days were over and they were recognized as citizens again. He afterwards served with distinction in our Legislature. His political integrity was beyond question.

With this background, we are confident that our county will always stand for an honest and a real Democratic government.

The county and judicial circuit have had outstanding Democratic heads at the helm at all times, starting with William P. Harrison, and following down with John T. Redd, Theodore Brace, Thomas H. Bacon, Andrew Ellison, Nat M. Shelton and the present incumbent Vernon L. Drain, who is serving on his eighteenth year and a lawyer and man for whom every one in the district has the utmost respect.

The prosecuting attorney's office likewise has always had legal talent from the highest rank of Democracy. W. O. L. Jewett, who is spoken of elsewhere, was the first prosecuting attorney, followed by R. P. Giles, James T. Lloyd, R. A. Cleek, N. E. Williams, E. M. O'Bryen, W. L. Hamrick, H. J. Libby, J. D. Dale, R. F. O'Bryen and the present incumbent, Morris E. Osburn, who, according to the citizens of today, will be the leading attorney of North Missouri in a few years.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

STODDARD COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By Hon. Ralph Wammack*

Stoddard County was organized as a political unit of the State in 1835 and from the first was a Democratic stronghold.

The reason for its initial Democratic background is not hard to find.

The hardy pioneers from North Carolina, Kentucky and Tennessee early in the nineteenth century began their westward migration into Southeast Missouri, and a casual contact with their numerous descendants in Stoddard County reveals the fact that their ancestors largely came from those states and that they were nearly all Democrats and that their descendants are, for the most part, loyal to the political faith of their fathers to this day.

It is true that some of the early settlers came from Illinois, Indiana, Alabama, Mississippi, and other states, but most of them were likewise Democrats.

Typical of the names that come down to us from the early settlers, and whose descendants remain with us in the present generation, we find the names of Asherbranner, Aslin, Crites, Culbertson, Barham, Dowdy, Goza, Miller, Harper, Cooper, Owen, Bedford, Snider, Walker, Vaughn, Sitz, Hodge, Norris, Lincoln, Bollinger, Sandford, Welborn, Morgan, Buck, Carter, Hill, Harty, Taylor, Wilson, and scores of other Democratic families who have had more or less connection with the official life of the county since its organization.

They came with their families, their cattle, their rude farming implements, their squirrel rifles, and in some instances their slaves, and settled down to subdue the forest and to found homes, and soon became in fact a truly typical southern community of that day and time.

There is no record, or historical data extant, so far as the writer knows, by which the politics of the county officers prior to the Civil war, could be definitely ascertained, but from tradition and the recollection of the oldest inhabitants it may be safely assumed that they were practically all Democrats.

During the war there was apparently almost a complete cessation of civil official life. The county was most of the time under military rule for about five years. The record of our Circuit Court discloses that on the 23rd of November, 1860, the Court adjourned and that on the 16th day of October, 1865, the Court convened. There is no record showing any session between those dates.

After the war, and under the "Drake Constitution," the Republicans came into power and for about five years held all the county offices.

From 1870 to 1890 there was no organized party politics affecting county officers and we find both Democrats and Republicans holding county office during that period, with the Democrats predominating.

During the same period the county at all elections for State and National offices gave a safe majority for the Democrats.

In 1878 Dr. Joseph S. Richardson was elected to the Legislature, re-elected in 1880, and became Speaker of the House in 1881, and in that session, and subsequent sessions, made a distinguished name for himself in that body and throughout the State.

He was a Tennessee Democrat of the old school and came to the county with his family about 1872.

"INDEPENDENT" POLITICS

During the period of so-called independent politics in county matters it was charged that it was the favorite pastime of the Republicans to encourage a number of Democrats to offer for the same office and then at the last moment for some Republicans to come out and win the election. This system resulted in Republicans holding some of the best offices in the county to the dissatisfaction of aspiring Democrats, and so a movement was launched in 1890 for a party primary, and in that year was held the first county-wide Democratic primary in Stoddard County.

It was bitterly condemned by the Republicans, and many independent Democrats in the fall campaign, but the entire Democratic ticket was elected that fall by handsome majorities, and the electorate having put its seal of approval on the Democratic primary, it became the settled policy of the party in this county to hold a primary for the nomination of its county candidates prior to each recurring general election until the general primary law was passed during the administration of Governor Folk. It proved quite satisfactory to the Democrats and resulted in all county offices being filled by Democrats until the election of 1904, when Frank

Brannock, Democrat, was defeated for re-election for county collector by Samuel Ulen, Republican, by a few votes.

Brannock contested the election but the courts upheld Ulen.

At the next election the Democrats regained that office and resumed their undisputed mastery and continued to hold all the county offices with the exception of one District County Judge, until 1920, when it went Republican in the Harding landslide with the rest of the State.

During 1888 and continuing until about 1896, the Wheelers, or Farmers Alliance, made great headway in the county and many Democratic farmers joined in the movement, and it threatened to disrupt the Democratic organization; happily however, for the County Democracy W. J. Ward, a leading Democratic farmer, became a leader in the organization and by his influence, and that of others, it was kept out of politics as an organization.

It did, however, have its influence on the county elections and probably caused the party to nominate W. J. Ward for the Legislature in 1890.

He was a Tennessee Democrat and came to this county in 1886.

He served the county for three terms in the Legislature and was Speaker during one session.

Henry W. Hickman was another Tennessee farmer that came to the county in an early day and came into prominence through the Farmers Alliance. He became President of the State organization and was nominated for Railroad and Warehouse Commissioner by the Democratic State Convention in 1890 to head off the farmer movement. He was elected and served the full term of six years.

The nomination of William Jennings Bryan on a free silver platform in 1896 and his endorsement by the populists or Farmers Alliance, marked the end of the farmer movement in Stoddard County.

There was some defection in the ranks of the Democrats over the free silver issue and some left the party never to return, but on the whole it was a popular issue in the county and gained more converts than it lost as is shown by the fact that in the election of 1896 the Democrats carried the county by a greatly increased majority.

Beginning with the projected drainage and reclamation of the swamp and overflowed lands of Southeast Missouri about 1900 and continuing to the outbreak of the World war, there was a great influx of people into this county from Illinois, Indiana and other northern states, and as most of these new settlers were Republicans it made the election of the county ticket a little harder and more uncertain from election to election.

This is shown by comparative returns; Wilson carried it for President in 1916 by only 796 votes and Graves only carried it in 1918 by 443 votes, and in 1920 Harding carried the county by 522 votes. In 1922 it swung back into line giving the ticket an average of about 1,000 votes plurality. In 1922 there was an influx of negroes into the county brought in by landowners to expand cotton production and as they nearly all voted the Republican ticket that has made the problem still harder and more uncertain for the Democrats.

While the county went Democratic in 1924 by about 500 votes on the general ticket, yet, about half of the county ticket was defeated, the Republicans capturing some of the best county offices.

CAME BACK STRONG

The party came back strong, however, in 1926, and elected the entire county ticket, which was due largely to the splendid organization set up and maintained by the County Committee.

The result of the election of 1928 in the county, and in the country at large, for that matter, does not lend itself as a fruitful theme for discussion by even the most daring of Democratic historians.

It was a deluge from which the Democrats of the county dug themselves out by a smashing victory all along the line in 1930, by approximately 1,400 majority to be followed in 1932 by a tidal wave of Democratic votes, retiring every Republican from county office.

The party is now united, vigorous, militant and aggressive under the able leadership of Hon. Charles C. Oliver, the Chairman of the County Committee, and will doubtless render a good account of itself in future elections.

Stoddard County Democrats who are entitled to honorable mention for long, continued and distinguished service in office comprise the following: Reuben P. Owen, who was Circuit Clerk and Recorder, County Clerk and Circuit Judge for approximately forty years; Charles D. Wilson, Circuit Clerk for twenty years; Jasper Newton Punch, County Clerk for sixteen years; but the grand prize goes to the Barham family, where we find Charles H. Barham holding the offices of Assessor and Circuit Clerk and Recorder for a combined period of twenty years; a brother, Jonathan R. Barham, holding the office of Sheriff for four years and that of Collector for four years; a son, George Barham, holding the office of Sheriff at intervals for twelve years and County Treasurer for four years; a nephew, James A. Barham, holding the office of Treasurer ten years; and a nephew, Lee Barham, holding the office of Township Collector of Castor township for four years, and the family is still prominent in county politics and George Barham is at present Sheriff of the county.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

STONE COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Stone County was organized February 10, 1851, and was named for the stony character of its soil. Galena, the county seat, was named for the presence of that mineral in the vicinity.

In 1856 Stone County was coupled with Taney County for representation in the General Assembly, Jesse Jennings was the representative; Charles Byrd in 1860; P. C. Berry in 1862-64; G. R. King in 1869; J. M.

Moore in 1871-73; John M. Johnson in 1875-77; P. C. Berry in 1879; John Kerr in 1881; R. C. Crume in 1883; Duncan M. V. Stuart in 1885; Joseph Standlee in 1887; T. Hodge Jones in 1889; James A. McCullah in 1891; George W. Moore in 1893-95; Z. T. Reynolds in 1897; William Spears in 1899-1901; Thomas L. Viles in 1903-05; Truman S. Powell in 1907; Theodore Tromley in 1909; W. D. Craig in 1911; William C. Woods in 1913; E. P. Gracey in 1915; James K. Parks in 1917; Truman S. Powell in 1919; R. S. Tromley in 1921; Ralph W. Powell in 1923-31; Seth Tuttle in 1925; James W. Ellis in 1927; R. S. Tromley in 1929; H. J. Warren in 1933.

While Stone County has been found regularly in the Republican column, there has always been a thorough organization of the county by the Democrats, and those who deserve credit are included in the following: Otis F. Douglas, Edwin P. Gracey, O. H. Travers, Allen H. McQuary, Willis Wiley, Harry L. Craig, J. O. Rea, Charles H. Carney, Sam Smith, H. D. Berry, Paul Carr, William Inmon, A. M. Crable, B. F. Carney, L. A. Logan, G. L. Stone, Frank Adams, S. E. James, Thomas Steward, C. P. Smythe, H. D. Berry, James Pritchard, W. C. Bass, Fred Butler, O. B. McMonigle, Don C. Wright, W. D. Craig, George Stone and Bert Akers.

For the first time in its political history Stone County in 1932 was Democratic; Franklin D. Roosevelt for President and Bennett Champ Clark for United States senator, carried the county by small majorities. The Democrats elected a part of the county ticket—C. O. Gray and W. A. Carr, judges of the county court; T. H. Harper, prosecuting attorney; C. H. Keith, superintendent of public schools; H. J. Warren was elected to the General Assembly.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

SULLIVAN COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson

Sullivan County was organized February 16, 1843, and named by Hon. E. C. Morelock for his native county in Tennessee. In the preliminary organization in 1843, the county was named Highland. The first courts were held at the house of A. C. Hill within the limits of the present site of Milan, which became the county seat in 1845.

The first member of the General Assembly from Sullivan County was E. C. Morelock in 1846-48; Joel DeWitt in 1850; W. R. Smith in 1852; William R. Smith in 1854; Robert D. Morrison in 1856; O. H. Bennett in 1860; J. F. Dunlap in 1862; I. Comstock in 1864; A. C. Eubanks in 1867-71-73; James S. Todd in 1869; H. W. Haley in 1875; Delarma Miller in 1877; William H. Craig in 1879-81; Joshua Gray in 1883; John H. Decker in 1885; I. M. Roberts in 1887; Wm. P. Taylor in 1889; D. N. Crouch in 1891; John E. Swanger in 1893-95; John Morris in 1897; Peter J. Scott in 1899; J. A. Carmack in 1901; Hall J. Purdy in 1903-05; John Kobbe

in 1907; Wm. F. Calfee in 1909; Andrew J. Harris in 1911; Jan Brown in 1913; Joe Nickell in 1915-19-29; Dr. W. J. Mairs in 1917; F. M. Burch in 1921; A. D. Morrison in 1923; W. S. Clark in 1925; E. M. Streeter in 1927; A. C. Roach in 1931; Manford Watson in 1933.

There are few counties in the state that maintain so thorough an organization of the Democratic County Committee as Sullivan. This has resulted in the Democrats securing frequently a part of the county ticket. Democrats who were active in the different campaigns include: J. L. Hayes, George Murdock, J. C. Franklin, Dr. W. J. Mairs, John A. Humphreys, L. Claud Porter, E. M. Girdner, Dr. E. G. Baker, William Parsons, H. L. Walters, D. A. Conner, Roy Milligan, E. E. Frazer, Ed. L. Montgomery, John Carroll, Jos. W. Childers, John W. Clapp, R. E. Ash, T. J. Briggs, J. H. Franklin, Andrew D. Morrison, Mark H. Mairs, Charles Adkins, R. A. Page, John P. Butler, Dr. John Payne, Ed. S. McNealey, C. L. Rowland, T. E. Payne, C. P. Sorrell, J. W. Lee, D. G. Freeland, C. H. Russell, James Roach, J. L. Shepherd, Louis Cleeton, James Harris, C. B. Knifong, C. M. Spencer, D. C. Burk, Evert Johnson, C. W. Watson, W. H. Jones, I. C. Porter, N. J. Payne, and T. B. Carmack.

In 1932 Sullivan County recorded handsomely for the New Deal, and gave Bennett Champ Clark nearly 700 majority over Henry Kiel.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

TANEY COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Taney County was organized January 6, 1837. The county was named in honor of Roger Brooke Taney. In 1831 he became attorney general of the United States, under the administration of President Andrew Jackson. In 1836 he was appointed to succeed John Marshall as chief justice of the United States Supreme Court, a position which he held until his death in 1864. His most famous decision was in the Dred Scott case, in which was denied freedom to a slave going into a free state. Forsythe, the county seat, located in 1838, was named in honor of John Forsythe, who was secretary of state in 1834, under Andrew Jackson's administration.

John W. Hancock was the first member of the General Assembly from Taney County in 1838; Jesse Jennings in 1840; John D. Shannon in 1842; Jesse Jennings in 1844; F. S. Franklin in 1846; Cyrus H. Frost in 1848; Jesse Jennings in 1850-54-56-60; J. D. Caldwell in 1852; F. M. Gideon in 1862-64; Jesse Jennings in 1867-69; S. W. Bunch in 1871-73; J. C. Johnson in 1875-79-85; J. W. Hayworth in 1877; W. L. Beck in 1881; J. R. Vanzant in 1883; Samuel Dial in 1887; A. S. Prather in 1889-97-99-03-09; C. C. Owen in 1891; James L. Davis in 1893-95; C. H. Groom in 1901; J. M. Depuy in 1905-07; Henry M. Blunk in 1911-13; Guy B. Mitchell in 1915-17; J. Weatherman in 1919; D. F. McConkey in 1921; W. E. Freeland in 1923-25-27-29-31-33.

It would seem that a county organized under the influence of such illustrious Democrats as Andrew Jackson and John Forsythe would have accorded some recognition to its historical fame. On the contrary, it became after the Civil war strongly Republican and still adheres to that belief, for it was one of the few Republican counties that voted for Hoover in 1932. There are many good Democrats in the county, however, who have carried on the campaigns for years, some of whom can be named: Walter I. Moore, R. M. Huffman, B. M. Huffman, J. L. Gordon, J. H. Ward, R. M. Irwin, C. O. Wright, M. C. Grant, G. R. Rogers, W. W. Cupp, W. L. Gray, Albert Parnell, Alva Hull, J. C. Ellison, G. R. Powers, W. J. Lawrence, Floyd Jones, A. F. Morris, J. G. Root, W. A. Belt, C. C. Collins, J. N. Holt, A. F. Morris, John W. Bennett, E. R. O'Brien, J. R. Allen, and Porter Siler.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

TEXAS COUNTY

By C. W. Gladden,* Houston

Texas County has an area of 1,145 square miles of land, the largest county in the state by one hundred and forty-five square miles. While this county does not have as large a population nor as large a Democratic majority as some of the counties, yet few have returned a Democratic majority more regularly and consistently from the time of their organization, than has Texas County.

The county was established February 14, 1845. The first election was held in August, 1846. David Lynch, David B. Commons and James M. Dougherty were elected county judges. Cyrus H. Frost was elected sheriff and Willis G. Jones assessor.

Texas County recorded her first vote for President in 1848 when 185 votes were cast for Louis Cass, Democrat, and 82 votes for Zachary Taylor, Whig. In 1852 Pierce received 167 votes and Scott 95. In 1856 Buchanan received 479 votes and the Know-nothings polled 91 votes for Fillmore. In 1860 the Breckinridge Democrats gave him 511 votes; the Douglas Democrats cast 61 votes; the Bell Unionists 194 and the Lincoln Republicans 6. In 1864 Lincoln received 37 votes and McClellan 10. In 1868 Grant got 202 and Seymour 99. In 1872 Horace Greeley polled 838 and Grant 48. In 1876 Tilden received 1,144 votes and Hayes 563. In 1880 Hancock received 1,250 to 477 for Garfield and 285 for Weaver. In 1884 Cleveland polled 1,652 and Blaine 970. In 1888 Cleveland received 1,782 votes and Harrison 1,161.

A Republican county officer has been elected a few times but the Harding and Hoover landslides of 1920 and 1928 are the only times the county ticket has gone Republican since the Civil war. The normal Democratic majority of the county has been around seven hundred for years. In 1930 one Democratic county officer was elected by 1,000 majority. Then the climax was reached in 1932 when President Roosevelt

and the entire Democratic ticket carried the county with majorities up to 2,500.

Texas County has the distinction of furnishing the first and last congressman elected from the Sixteenth Congressional District. Hon. Robert Lamar, of Houston, was the first congressman elected after the formation of the district. Attorney Lamar was for many years very active and influential in the Democracy of Texas County. He was first elected to Congress in 1902 and again in 1906. Hon. W. E. Barton, Democrat of Houston, was elected to Congress in 1930 and served two years, until the redistricting of the state did away with the Sixteenth District. Judge Barton also served one term as Circuit Judge of the Nineteenth District.

Judge L. C. Simmons, 86-year-old Confederate soldier, has long been one of our fighting Democrats and one of the oldest and best loved landmarks of Texas County Democracy. At one time he served as County Judge of this county.

Editor E. K. Lyles, of the Houston *Herald*, has long played a prominent part in the political activities of the county. He has conducted that paper for almost half a century and it has always been recognized as Democracy's greatest asset in Texas County. Editor Lyles served the county as recorder at one time.

Judge W. L. Hiett, prominent attorney of Houston, has long been a prominent figure in Democratic politics. He served in various county offices during his younger days and was a valuable asset as a speaker in campaigns.

Judge John S. Stites, presiding judge, county court, has rendered valuable service for years in this important position and stands out as one of our fighting Democrats.

Judge C. L. Johnson, present probate judge, has worked in the party lines for a long term of years and served in various offices. G. F. Romines, banker of Houston, and J. S. King, banker of Raymondville, have been hard party workers for years and have filled responsible county offices in the past.

Many other good old Democrats deserve mention and so do a score of younger ones who have taken up the work and will continue to carry the Democratic banner to victory in Texas County, but space will not permit mention of them all.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN VERNON COUNTY

By Hon. O. H. Hoss,* Nevada

The history of the Democratic Party in Vernon County is co-existent with the formation of Vernon County in 1856. There was an ineffectual attempt in 1851 to organize Vernon County, but it was not until February 27, 1855, that Vernon was legally created out of Bates County. The new county was named "Vernon" after Miles Vernon, a gallant soldier who

fought under General Jackson at New Orleans. Miles Vernon was afterwards a state senator in the Missouri Legislature, representing the senatorial district in which Laclede County is situated.

The first county clerk of Vernon County was Col. Dewitt C. Hunter and at that time Colonel Hunter, Col. R. A. Boughan, Maj. W. W. Prewitt and Dr. J. N. B. Dodson, all Democrats, were among the first officers of Vernon County—Dr. Dodson was the first representative.

It might here be said that the late Maj. John N. Edwards in one of his books, "Shelby and His Men," said that Col. D. C. Hunter was the bravest man under fire on the battlefield that he had ever seen in his life. The above mentioned and many other noble men of that day, all Democrats, were strongly entrenched in the faith of the Democratic Party, the cornerstone of whose principles was laid down by Thomas Jefferson—"Equal Opportunity for All and Special Privilege to None."

The old Federalist Party was in opposition to this idea and so was the Whig Party which succeeded it, and so is the Republican Party which succeeded the Whig Party. The opposition to this cornerstone of the Democratic Party in the first place was Alexander Hamilton, who believed and taught that the government should be controlled by the rich, *and* that the rich should *make money* out of the government. These old-time Democrats, as well as those of the present day in Vernon County, have always been in opposition to this Hamiltonian idea and one old-time, stanch Democrat of Vernon County propounded this question: "If it be true that a free government such as ours is supposed to be, should be controlled by the rich, and the rich make money out of the government, on the theory that the prosperity of the rich would trickle down to the rest of us, then what is the difference between that theory of government and the idea which existed 2,000 years ago that Lazarus and his kind should be fed from the crumbs that fell from the rich man's table?" The answer to this question thus propounded has never been answered satisfactorily to the Democrats of Vernon County, and they have continued to keep the faith, notwithstanding the horrors of the Civil war, brought on by the "Northern Rebellion." Northern Rebellion? Yes, did not the East and the North rebel against the United States Supreme Court and the rightful authorities in the Dred Scott decision? And may I also add that history repeats itself and that it was the East and the North that first rebelled against the constitution so far as the eighteenth amendment was concerned.

MARAUDING BANDS

Being on the border of Kansas, Vernon County, as well as Bates and Cass, was ideally located to become the victim of marauding bands of cut-throats from the state of Kansas, who came over to steal horses, household furniture, and especially feather beds, as these were luxuries to those people in Kansas. These cut-throat robbers even penetrated as far east as Cedar County.

There is an old negro, Ben Lindley, now living in Nevada who told the writer that his master, Captain Lindley, was out plowing in the field

and the Kansas jay-hawkers shot him down and stole the horses. The writer asked the old darky if they stole the feather beds, too, and he said no, that they had the feather beds all down in the cellar and brush tops were cut off and piled on top of them to conceal them.

During the war the courthouse at Nevada was burned by Kansas marauders and Col. D. C. Hunter, who was county clerk but also active in the field in the Army of the Confederacy, heard of the intention to burn the courthouse so he secured a two-horse wagon, loaded all the records into the wagon and took them down into Arkansas. A short time thereafter Colonel Hunter asked Major Prewitt to take these records to a safe place in Arkansas until the war was over and Major Prewitt took them to a Union man who was an honest, straight-forward gentleman, and told him whichever side won, the records would be valuable and to please safeguard them. This was done and after the war was over the records were brought back to Vernon County—all except Book "B" and Colonel Hunter and Major Prewitt were always distressed at its loss, as it occasioned a great deal of unnecessary expense to property owners.

After the "Uncivil War" was over, the Democrats found themselves disfranchised, largely by the infamous Drake constitution of 1865, which prohibited anybody from voting, or any minister from preaching, or any teacher from teaching who would not subscribe to what was known as the "infamous test oath" provided for in the Drake constitution. (This "infamous test oath" was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1867.)

At this time there appeared on the scene a friend of right, justice and humanity in the person of the Hon. S. A. Wight, who had been a gallant Union soldier in New York state and who had located in Nevada to practice law. Wight was a man with a giant intellect and the heart of a child and he threw his whole mind and energy into helping right the wrongs of the people and was elected to the Senate on the Democratic ticket before the infamous Drake constitution was repealed by the Missouri Constitution of 1877.

In 1869 Hon. William J. Stone located in Vernon County to practice law after the three-year course at the State University. He had studied law in the office of his brother-in-law, the Hon. Squire Turner of Columbia. Stone was a native of Kentucky and at once joined in with the other Democrats of Vernon County and did valiant service for the party and the people during all the rest of the years of his useful life. He was elected prosecuting attorney of Vernon County in 1872, was a frequent delegate to Democratic state conventions, and in 1876 was presidential elector from this district. In 1884 he was first nominated for congress in a convention held at Appleton City, and was elected for three successive terms—refusing to run for the fourth term. He was a candidate for governor of Missouri and elected in 1892 and was one of the few governors of Missouri since the "Uncivil War" who went out of the office of governor stronger with the people than when he went in. He was elected to the United States Senate and took his seat in that body of March 4, 1903, and continued to serve as United States senator from Missouri

from that day until the day of his death, April 14, 1918. His remains were buried in Deepwood cemetery at Nevada. At the last regular session of the Missouri Legislature a bill was passed appropriating the sum of \$15,000 to erect a suitable monument to Senator Stone at Nevada and Governor Park has already appointed a commission for this purpose. Senator Stone's political life was somewhat unusual in that he was the only man in Missouri who was congressman, governor and senator—all three. He believed in the Democratic principles with his whole heart and soul and also believed in organization work. In the 'eighties and 'nineties he was a tower of strength to the Democratic party. Senator Stone could see further down the road into the future than any other statesman of his day.

Among the other able, distinguished and first-class Democrats who rendered valuable services to the Democratic party in Vernon County were Judge Charles R. Scott, L. L. Scott, Senator W. M. Bowker, M. T. January (still living in Nevada), the Hon. J. B. Johnson, C. T. Davis, Harry C. Moore, Granville S. Hoss, Judge D. P. Stratton, Capt. Mans Lowe, Dan Gibson, Sr., Judge J. W. Underwood, Wash Wyand, Dr. J. D. Todd, Major Blanton, J. E. Harding, Paul F. Thornton, Squire M. J. Moss, M. A. Pinkerton of Montevallo (who is still living), J. H. Requa, A. C. Sterett (familiarily known as Gus Sterett), S. R. Crockett, Wm. Crockett, Frank Anderson, Judge H. P. Gray, C. A. Yater, W. H. Prewitt, Robert Badger, Dr. Morod, Col. R. M. McNeil, T. H. Austin, the Hon. Wm. M. Hall, A. J. King (now living in San Francisco, California), Dr. L. H. Callaway, Albert McGovney, David Arnold, Senator Wight and Major Prewitt, mentioned above, and a host of other splendid citizens.

The Vernon County Democrats of the last century builded so wisely and so well that they laid a foundation for the future success of the party in all the succeeding years of the twentieth century. Many of the descendants of these old Democratic pioneers are still living in Vernon County, faithful to the traditions of their elders and loyal supporters of the Democratic party.

WOMEN VOTE RIGHT, TOO

The passage of the amendment granting woman suffrage has not brought about any change. Nine-tenths of the good Democratic women of Vernon County had no desire whatever for the right of suffrage, but when the duty and responsibility was cast upon them, a great many wholeheartedly devoted themselves to a study of civil government and party platforms, with the result that they are more ardent Democrats now than before they had the right of suffrage. The Women's Democratic Club of Vernon County was formed a few years ago with Mrs. Mary Schumann as first chairman and Mrs. W. W. Nunn, secretary—Mrs. Nunn is at present representative in the Legislature from this county. Other enthusiastic members and workers in the Women's Democratic Club are Mrs. L. H. Callaway, Miss Georgiana Phelps, Mrs. John Sullivan, Miss Kate Wilhite of Sheldon and her sister, Mrs. Barthelmes, Mrs. Lucille Hudson, now president of the club, Miss Byrde Price, Mrs. Mattie L.

Koontz of Richards, Mrs. J. H. Bean, and a host of other good Democratic women in the county.

The present generation of Democrats in Vernon County is composed of men who are wide awake, aggressive and loyal supporters of the principles of the party. The present chairman of the Democratic County Committee is the Hon. George Rumsey, who has been ably assisted in the campaigns by intelligent and hard-working Democrats in every township in the county. These are so numerous that they cannot all be named but among them are Harold W. Brown, present adjutant general of Missouri; T. W. "Dick" Harper, former representative, Dan Gibson, W. L. Earp, C. C. Earp, J. H. Bean, Homer Poage, Richard Phelps, now temporarily living in Kansas City while employed in a government position; the Hon. Lee B. Ewing and his three sons—Boyd, Lynn and Robert Ewing; Robert Jordan, Gordon Ewing, ex-county recorder and ex-mayor; Sterling Janes, present mayor, C. Gordon Ewing, the Crawford brothers, S. C. Roberts, W. T. Ballagh, E. E. Price, W. F. Sterett, H. L. Glenn, C. A. Logan, Lynn Logan, Alfred Barton, Dewey Routh, James J. Lindley, Ernest Gray, Finis Godfrey, Judge J. R. Moss, J. R. Davis, Frank Porter, J. W. Miller, J. W. Greene, Fred Todd, Dr. T. B. Todd, I. N. Marquis of Walker, Woody Stonum, L. F. Richardson, the Reverend Mr. Hawkins, and scores of others.

At the first election after the organization of Vernon County, held in 1856, Col. D. C. Hunter was chosen as clerk of the county court and also of the circuit court. The candidates for President were James Buchanan on the Democratic ticket and Millard Fillmore for the Whigs or "Know-Nothings." The Republican nominee was John C. Fremont. The total vote cast for President was 474, of which the Buchanan electors received 302, the Fillmore electors 172; the Fremont electors receiving no votes whatever.

In the election of 1876 the vote for governor was as follows:

John S. Phelps, Democrat	1,861
G. A. Finkelnburg, Republican	765

The 1880 election for governor:

Thomas T. Crittenden, Democrat	2,319
D. P. Dyer, Republican	957

The 1884 election for governor:

Marmaduke, Democrat	3,545
Ford, Fusion	2,003

The 1924 Vernon County vote for state auditor:

Middelkamp, Democrat	5,213
Thompson, Republican	3,626

The 1930 election, Judge of Supreme Court:

Ellison, Democrat	4,249
Blair, Republican	2,901

Everybody, including the Republicans, knows what happened in the election of 1932 when Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected President of the United States, and Guy B. Park, Governor of Missouri; and Vernon County did its part in good shape.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

THE DEMOCRACY OF WARREN COUNTY

By Hon. W. H. Drunert,* Warrenton

More than fifty years ago the voters of Warren County, Missouri, elected John Howard sheriff of their county, on the Independent ticket. Republican county people wondered who furnished the brains for this change. They saw Sam B. Cook. The Independents elected their candidates.

Mr. Cook soon afterwards bought the Warrenton *Banner* and he published a wonderful county paper. In his campaigns against a strong courthouse Republican clique he had the support of such men as the Hon. Nat C. Dryden, Judge Charles E. Peers, Col. Porter Taylor and his brother, Vince Hayes, Dan Coleman, Dr. C. O. Foreman, Ernest Schowengerdt, S. P. Carrico, Felix Logan and J. P. Cullum.

Mr. Cook was elected sheriff and collector, which office he held for two terms. After he moved to Mexico, Missouri, the Republicans organized a strong following and gained steadily until the Republican nomination meant election. The Democrats kept up their ticket, but could not overcome the big majority. In the last ten or twelve years the new ideas in Young Democrats that Cook had sown, began to work—and they looked for a real leader.

Fifteen years ago, W. M. Drunert moved to Warrenton, from Lafayette having been reared in the Northern part of this county, he began slowly but earnestly to line up the Democrats and get out the full vote, with the help of Dr. Abeling, F. M. Hutcherson, O. Johnaber, Felix Logan, Ed Kelly, Dr. Devereaux, and Forest Hughes.

The last election shows plainly what they accomplished with very little aid. The Democrats polled over 1,500 votes instead of four or five hundred. No doubt the next election will find Warren County in the Democratic column. In spite of two of Warren County's sons running on the State ticket—Honorable Edward Winters for governor and George Hackmen for auditor—and both made a special fight to keep Warren County rolling up a big Republican majority—even the Republicans say that William Drunert did it.

Chas. E. Peers of Warrenton was an able lawyer and state senator. His place was hard to fill, as no one ever went to him for help and did not get it. He was a tireless worker for his friends. He was a man who could do things and he helped many young men to get positions.

Judge Parker was another staunch Democrat who served Warren County as probate judge for several years. N. C. Dryden, a lawyer, was another of Warrenton's most influential citizens.

The weather was never too cold nor the roads too bad for Dr. C. O. Foreman to ride his horse miles out in the country when he was called, and he had a very large practice.

The present county committee is W. H. Drunert, chairman, Mrs. Alice Devereaux, vice chairman, both of Warrenton; Forest Hughes, secretary and Mrs. J. Archer, treasurer of Wright city; Marion Earnco and Mrs. Harry Howell; Mr. and Mrs. John McCann; Oliver Weiser and Mrs. Carrie Luppold, Charles Meyer and Mrs. William Opfer.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

WASHINGTON COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Washington County was organized August 21, 1813, seven years before Missouri was admitted into the Union. It was named for George Washington, the "Father of His Country." It is claimed that Potosi was first settled in 1765. Washington County has the honor of being the home of Daniel Dunklin, who was elected lieutenant-governor in 1828 on the ticket with John Miller, and then became governor in 1832. In his campaign address, when a candidate for lieutenant-governor, he said: "It devolves on the *Democratic Party*, headed by Andrew Jackson, again to bring back the government and cause it, as Jefferson did, to be administered according to the spirit and genius of the Constitution." It is said that this was the first reference publicly made of our party name.

Washington County was also the home of Henry Shurlds, who was appointed State Auditor in 1833 by Governor Dunklin, and in 1835 transferred to the office of secretary of state. It was the home, too, of James H. Relfe, who was elected to Congress in 1843 and reelected in 1845.

The first member of the General Assembly from Washington County was George Hudspeth in 1820; James H. Relfe and Philip Cole in 1822; Philip Cole in 1824; Thomas H. Ficklin and Abraham Brinker in 1826; Philip Cole and Joseph N. Reyburn in 1828; Joseph N. Reyburn, John S. Brickey and James B. Bruffee in 1830; Stephen D. Dunklin, John S. Brickey and George Brackenridge in 1832; John S. Brickey, Joseph M. Stevenson and Ayres Hudspeth in 1834; William W. Smith, Meyers F. Jones and William H. Stuart in 1836; Meyers F. Jones, T. Manning and Ayres Hudspeth in 1838; J. Farquahar, A. C. Hingston and Ayres Hudspeth in 1840; Andrew Gogorth and F. A. McClanahan in 1842; John P. Alexander and David E. Perryman in 1844; David E. Perryman in 1846-48; Ferdinand Kennett and Luke W. Burris in 1850; George B. Cole and Thomas C. Johnson in 1852; Wm. E. Brady in 1854; John Alley in 1856; John T. Gartlott in 1858; William Lawson in 1860; John Evans in 1862;

Francis Kellerman in 1864; George B. Cole in 1867; John P. Murphy in 1869; Geo. B. Clark in 1871; James A. Carson in 1873; William S. Relfe in 1875; Henry W. Posten in 1877; John A. McCormick in 1879; George C. Loomis in 1881; Mortimer F. Williams in 1883; W. R. Goodykoontz in 1885-87; Henry S. Evans in 1889; Jesse L. Eaton in 1891-93; Eugene C. Baugher in 1895-97; W. M. Bennett in 1899; Edward T. Eversole in 1901; John J. Declue in 1903; Elbridge M. Dearing in 1905; Cyrus N. Banta in 1907; Marion E. Rhodes in 1909; Wm. H. Evens in 1911; John J. Eaton in 1913-15-17-19; Charles A. Young in 1921-23-25-27-29; S. T. Richards in 1931; G. H. Higginbotham in 1933.

Some of the Democrats who were prominent in the organization of the party in Washington County for many years, are the following: Isaac A. Letcher, John O. Long, Chas. H. Richeson, Thompson F. Blount, Hugh McGregor, George C. Loomis, J. W. Settle, John A. Eaton, Arthur Kelsey, Edmond Casey, James T. Hudson, W. J. Dent, F. P. Blount, Joseph Cresswell, Luther E. Cresswell, Edward T. Eversole, Henry C. Bell, I. B. Headlie, John Boyer, M. V. Flynn, Walter Higginbotham, J. F. Hays, D. R. Buckley, M. N. Wallen, B. E. Kimberlin, Hugh L. White, C. O. Nicholson, L. W. Garrett, Joseph M. Knox, Samuel F. Thurman, Stephen D. McGrady, George Crump, Dr. J. P. Yeargain, and Elbridge M. Dearing.

"Washington County, as part of the Territory of Missouri," says Walter B. Stevens, "was organized in 1813 under an act of the territorial legislature. An imposing two-story courthouse with a large porch and brick columns from ground to roof was built. So enterprising were the Potosi people of that day they came within one vote of securing the location of the territorial capital."

Moses Austin was the first to erect a smelter at Potosi. During the territorial period of 1817 an Academy, an educational institution, was started at Potosi, in Washington County. It was managed by trustees, who were elected annually and the institution was authorized by a territorial act. The first trustees were: General William H. Ashley, Lionel Brown, John Rice Jones, Moses Austin, David Wheeler, Moses Bates, Benjamin Elliott, James Austin, William Perry, John McIlvain, Andrew Scott, John Hawkins and Abraham Brinker. At that time Potosi was the chief town of the rapidly growing mining districts.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

WAYNE COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Wayne County was organized December 11, 1818, when it comprised the greater part of the Southern one-third of the State. It was formerly called by the sobriquet of "the State of Wayne," and latterly "the Mother of Counties." It was named in honor of Gen. Anthony Wayne, of the

Revolution, the famous "Mad Anthony" of history and legend. Greenville, the county seat, was laid out in 1818, and named for the scene of General Wayne's treaty.

The first settlements in Wayne County were made in 1802, when Joseph Parish, Thomas Ring and David, Charles and Robert A. Logan came from Kentucky. Parish was a Virginian, and the father-in-law of Thomas Ring and of one or more of the Logans. He located near where the village of Patterson now is, and adjoining his grant was that of Robert Logan. Charles and David Logan and Thomas Ring made their settlements on the St. Francois.

The first clerk of the courts was Solomon R. Bowlin. Thomas Catron also filled the office, but was not the immediate successor of Bowlin. He resigned in 1849, and went to California. The office was then administered by Nixon Palmer for a short time, after which George W. Creath was elected. Wiley Wallis was one of the first sheriffs.

The representatives in the General Assembly from Wayne County were the following: Ezekial Rubottom in 1820; Elijah Bettis in 1822-24-26; R. D. Cowan in 1828-34-38; John B. Conner in 1830-32-42; Hardy Allard in 1836; Wiley Wallis in 1840-44; M. N. Abernathy in 1846; William Welsh in 1848; Samuel Black in 1850; Benjamin Holmes in 1852-54; D. L. Jennings in 1856; Joseph S. White in 1858; Thomas J. Bledsoe in 1860; P. L. Powers in 1862-79; James McMurtry in 1864; James M. Wood in 1867; W. T. Leeper in 1869-71; L. M. Pettit in 1873-75; L. F. Medley in 1877; Lewis McSpaden in 1881-85; George T. Lee in 1883-87; D. J. Allen in 1889; John F. Rhodes in 1891; Richard A. Collins in 1893; Milan Davis in 1895; Virgil A. O'Bannon in 1897; Robert H. Davis in 1899; R. L. Ward in 1901; Voltair V. Ing in 1903; David M. Clark in 1905; W. A. Settle in 1907; James M. Bowers in 1909-11-13-15; Oscar W. Hackworth in 1917; C. H. Jones in 1919; Coulton M. Becker in 1921; George W. Silvers in 1923; Philip R. Stivers in 1925-27; Albert M. Costner in 1929; M. M. Alexander in 1931-33.

Among the Democrats who fought the battles of Democracy and for the Jeffersonian principles for many years were: Albert Claine, William Woods, J. M. Bowers, John Ewing, Geo. W. Stivers, B. H. Hughes, O. L. Munger, N. W. Hughes, W. T. Leeper, R. A. Collins, Robert Montgomery, Dr. O. A. Mayes, O. W. Hackworth and J. F. Hughes.

In 1920 the women were allowed to vote, under the Woman Suffrage Amendment, and they formed an active organization, as follows: Mrs. Lora Wilson, chairman; Mrs. Alice Bunyard, secretary; Mrs. Alice Sebastian, treasurer; Mrs. Alice Leeper, Mrs. Nan Shar, Mrs. Mollie Nelson, Mrs. Ott Homes, Mrs. Emma Kimmel, Mrs. J. W. Libla, Miss Grace Hovis, Mrs. Kate McGee and Mrs. Samantha Wilkinson.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

WEBSTER COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Webster County was organized March 3, 1855, and was named in honor of Daniel Webster. Marshfield, the county seat, was named for Webster's country seat in Massachusetts.

Lemuel Jones was the first member of the General Assembly in 1856 to 1860; R. W. Jamison in 1862-76; W. F. Bodenhamer in 1864; R. L. Childers in 1866; W. J. Ferguson in 1868; Spencer Martin in 1871; N. H. Hampton in 1873; John F. McMahan in 1875; Joseph Wisby in 1879; Thomas C. Love in 1881; J. N. Williams in 1883-85; Jos. T. Moore in 1887-89; J. F. Miller in 1891-97; Scott Atkinson in 1893-95; W. D. Delzell in 1899-1901; William J. Callender in 1903; F. M. Hooten in 1905; Sam C. Trimble in 1907; John S. Stanley in 1909; Joseph C. Julien in 1911; G. S. Dugan in 1913; John V. Atterberry in 1915; James McMahan in 1917; H. C. Day in 1919-21-25; Monroe Case in 1923-27-29; Robert W. Fyan in 1931-33.

The Democratic Party has always had a fighting chance for some of the county offices, for it is possessed of some of the best and most active Democrats in the state. Those who have contributed to the success of the party include the following: William R. Brooks, Francis S. Martin, Thomas C. Love, Robert W. Fyan, Silas A. Killian, J. C. Julian, C. C. Robertson, J. A. Clifton, C. H. Green, Ben F. Julian, W. H. Rush, N. W. Brannock, J. W. Brittain, T. L. Cantrell, Wm. Hargus, James McMahan, W. W. Sayers, W. T. Breedlove, G. A. Haymes, B. W. Mackey, W. D. Louder, Charles Wommack, Ellis Young, Frank Talbott, George Miller, S. C. Hoover, R. H. Moore, W. M. Puett, Abe Killian, Sam Barnard, Logan Brown, Irvin Randolph, W. E. Sherman, S. N. Dickey, Charles W. Dickey and N. S. King.

In 1882 Robert W. Fyan of Webster County, was elected to Congress when the State was redistricted. This district was represented by a Republican until 1890 when Robert W. Fyan reclaimed it for the Democrats, and he was reelected in 1892.

In 1932 Webster County supported the New Deal by giving Franklin D. Roosevelt a majority of 1,128 votes over Herbert Hoover, and Bennett Champ Clark for United States senator 1,094 majority over Henry Kiel. The Democratic county ticket was elected with two exceptions. Out of seventeen county officers only the circuit clerk and the public administrator are Republicans. The following Democrats were elected: T. C. Dugan, L. P. Williams and R. E. Morris, county judges; J. H. Robertson, probate judge; T. C. Bassore, county clerk; Tom R. Wells, recorder; Homer Chaffin, prosecuting attorney; Ralph A. Day, sheriff; S. H. Whittenberg, collector; J. H. Jameson, assessor; H. Ansel Stone, treasurer; Dr. John W. Good, coroner; J. S. Hazelton, surveyor; Peter J. Shook, superintendent of schools; and Robert W. Fyan, representative in the General Assembly.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

WORTH COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Worth County was organized February 8, 1861. The county was named in honor of General William Worth, a prominent commander in the American forces in the Mexican war. Grant City was laid out in 1864, during the Civil war, and was named in honor of General U. S. Grant, afterwards President in 1869 to 1877.

J. J. Young was the first member of the General Assembly in 1862; Lawrence Dry in 1864-73; Martin Hickman in 1867; Andrew McElvain in 1869-79; R. T. Sloan in 1871; Robert Walker in 1875; John D. Horn in 1877; Elias S. Garver in 1881-83-85; John Ewing in 1887; Elijah Miller in 1889-93; Fremont Lamb in 1891; C. M. Harrison in 1895; Simeon Davidson in 1897; W. V. Hauber in 1899; O. B. Hudson in 1901-03; W. W. Aldrich in 1905-07-15; A. O. Stanley in 1909; J. C. Lutes in 1911-13; J. E. Wyman in 1917-19; John J. Haas in 1921; C. T. McLaughlin in 1923-25; L. B. Day in 1927-29; Oscar Fletchall in 1931; N. R. Aldrich in 1933.

Worth County composed a part of the famous Platte Purchase, and its political history begins during "A Decade of Civil War, Radicalism and Oppression," and a Democrat who contends for the principles of Thomas Jefferson under and through such discouragements deserves some credit. And no county in the state has had an organization of more active and aggressive character than Worth. Those prominent in party work include: J. V. Wilhite, J. Engle, G. A. Merckling, David C. Mull, Wm. P. Spillman, V. H. Sanders, John Ewing, C. E. Martin, S. J. Foland, Cecil V. Wiman, James Anderson, B. G. Wright, W. W. White, S. O. Miller, L. J. Simmons, C. H. Golding, Jr., J. R. Wood, Lee M. Phipps, James Gross, Thos. Wilson, A. O. Stanley, J. E. Wyman, W. W. Aldrich, James C. Lutes, R. S. Slagle, W. H. Wright, Lewis C. Davidson, Chas. Combs, A. M. Jones, Chas. A. Scott, Phil S. Girson, J. T. Marrs, W. M. Beavers, C. H. Golding, O. O. Herndon, J. F. Hunter, and Jay Barker.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

WRIGHT COUNTY DEMOCRACY

By R. P. Thompson*

Wright County was organized January 29, 1841. The county was named in honor of Silas Wright, a United States senator from New York, who was a Jackson Democrat and a delegate to the Baltimore Convention in 1832, when Andrew Jackson was nominated for President and Martin Van Buren for vice president. Hartville, the county seat, was named for the man who owned the townsite.

Robert Montgomery was the first member of the General Assembly from the county in 1842-44-48; John H. Hight in 1846; John S. Shields in 1850; D. W. A. Morehouse in 1852; John F. McMahan in 1854; Arthur

Rippee in 1856; Henry W. Riley in 1858-60; Ratliff Palmer in 1862-64-79; John P. Robertson in 1866-69; James P. Raney in 1871-83; Winfield S. Pope in 1873; E. C. Steele in 1875-77-81-85; Barney Amick in 1887; Devon P. Gourley in 1889; Allen C. Scott in 1891; William N. Newton in 1893; James R. Middleton in 1895; Paul Ellis in 1897; Moses W. Kelton in 1899; Joel F. Short in 1901; C. A. Newton in 1903-05; R. H. Hanson in 1907-09; Geo. E. Wilkins in 1911; B. A. Taylor in 1913; Sherman Griffith in 1915-17; Charles W. Evans in 1919; S. W. Hopper in 1921; Amos C. Roy in 1923-25; R. E. Latimer in 1927; John T. Robinett in 1929; John N. Pryor, Jr., in 1931; Amos C. Roy in 1933.

Wright County has possessed some sterling Democrats in the past, who have had to contend for everything the party obtained in the way of offices; the list including Peter R. Young, R. P. Julian, William H. Gorman, S. O. Shields, R. F. Adams, E. B. Garner, Walter I. Creer, J. R. Deckard, John W. Key, Joseph H. Dennis, William Latimer, Ben Moore, James Grimes, H. P. Henderson, J. A. Wheeler, Bert Herrick, T. C. Stewart, J. D. Reynolds, G. W. Summers, C. F. Craig, William Colton, W. F. Ripple, Rufus Crewse, Alfred Owens, R. W. Prophet, W. H. Gormon, N. J. Craig, J. W. Allen, A. J. Webb, A. L. Claxton, J. O. Young, C. H. Duvall, D. V. Loury, A. C. Roy, J. D. Winters and M. W. Yocum.

In 1932 Franklin D. Roosevelt for President carried the county by a majority of 839, and Bennett Champ Clark for United States senator by a majority of 863. The Democrats elected the following county officers: W. L. Jackson, prosecuting attorney; M. P. Claxton, sheriff; Emmons W. Hikes, collector; Jonah Long, superintendent of schools; and Amos C. Roy to the General Assembly.

*EDITOR'S NOTE: See Biographical Section.

INDEX

A

Absurd conclusions.....	407
Active Democrats, Macon County.....	678
Adair County Democracy.....	539
Adams, John Quincy.....6, 51, 69, 73,	105
Adams, Washington.....181,	185
Addison, Geo. D.....	521
Address by F. D. R. at inauguration.....	368
Address by Senator Barkley.....	512
Address of Welcome to Monticello.....	420
Administration a success.....	796
Administration of Governor Edwards.....	115
Adoption of New Charter, St. Louis.....	775
"Aflame with hope for 'New Deal'".....	70
Against prostitution of government.....	71
A great trilogy.....	519
Agricultural aid.....	313
"A" in James A. Reed.....	386
Ake, Eli D.....	451
Akers, Thomas Peter.....	147
Alaska.....	5
Alexander, Armistead Milton.....	233
Alexander, Joshua Willis.....	301
All Democrats.....	687
All through this gateway.....	504
"All who know him love him".....	73
Allayed discord.....	182
Alleged candidate for presidency.....	411
Allen, Albert O.....250, 258,	451
Allen, Charles H.....	115
Allen, Perry T.....	350
Allen, Thomas.....226,	232
Allison, James O.....	521
"Al" Smith carries St. Louis.....	790
Always on the job.....	757
Amendment ratified May 15, 1934.....	386
"American party, The".....	114
Ames, Fisher.....	5
An Admixture of political party control of State affairs.....	279
Anderson, Geo. Washington.....	175
Anderson, Morris.....	685
Anderson, Thomas Lilburn.....142,	148
Andrew County.....	540
Andrew Jackson and his following in Missouri.....	43
Andrew Jackson, the Man.....	72
"An Early Missouri Political Feud".....	94
Anecdote of the '40s.....	659
Anglo-American Sentiment.....	13
Annexation of Texas issue.....	111
Annual feature, Jefferson Club.....	416
Anthony, Robert A.....	521
Anthony, Susan.....	424
An uncheerful loser.....	730
Appealed to Buchanan to save Union.....	90
Appealed to Supreme Court.....	434
A rededication to the spirit of Patriots.....	511
Armstrong, David Hartley.....199,	216
Arnold, Judge Glendy B.....	786
Arnold, Marshall.....199, 273,	572
Arrow Rock.....	801

Ashley, William H.....47,	106
Assembly Republican.....	337
Associates in forming constitution.....	105
Assurance of Early Statehood.....	10
As we leave the political scene.....	383
Atchison appointed to vacancy.....	97
Atchison County.....	542
Atchison, David Rice.....60, 102,	131
Atchison on other side of Slavery.....	89
Atchison's attack on Benton.....	112
Atkinson, John M.....521,	753
Atlantic Monthly writer also wrong.....	399
Attorneys in Frank James case.....	202
Audrain County.....	543
Austin, Moses.....113,	504
Austin, Stephen.....	504

B

Baber, Hiram B.....	60
Baker, Newton D.....367, 457 et seq.	
Ball, David A.....521,	700
Ball, James F.....	699
Bank asked new Charter.....	87
Bank Bill Vetoed.....	71
Bankhead, Capt. John W.....	36
Banks opposed to regulation.....	70
Banks tumbling.....	71
Barclay, D. Robert.....	440
Barclay, Shepard.....255,	521
Barclay, Thomas S.....	178
Barker, John T.....313,	325
Barkley, Senator Alben W.....457 et seq.	
Barrett, Harry H.....	521
Barrett, James J.....	521
Barrett, James R.....	169
Barrett, John Richard.....142,	148
Barrett, J. W.....	453
Barry County.....	549
Barton broke self.....	81
Barton County.....	551
Barton, David.....18,	44
Barton's venom.....	95
Barton, John Spencer.....	521
Barton, Joshua.....22,	47
Barton, O. S.....	522
Barton, William E.....	364
Bashaw, Thomas P.....	201
Bassford, Homer.....	259
Bates, Barton.....	161
Bates, Charles W.....	105
Bates County.....	552
Bates, Edward.....22,	105
Bates, Frederick.....48 et seq.;	435
Baumhoff, Richard G.....	477
Bay, S. Mansfield.....	60
Bay, William Van Ness.....	145
Bayard, Thomas F.....	38
Bean and Mason.....	451
Bean brothers, The.....	451
Before the War, Randolph Co.....	746
Befriended new members.....	298
Believed in rule of money.....	65

Cannon, Franklin	59	Clark, Peter H.	433
Canton Press	453	Clark, Robert C.	523
Cape Girardeau County	567	Clark, General William	18, 44, 515
Cape Girardeau transfer	7	Clay County	588
Capitol at Jefferson City begun	47	Clay County Centennial Democratic Committee, 1933	599
Carey, Col. Archibald	36	Clay County officers, 1933	599
Carr, William C.	23, 48	Clay, Henry	51, 169
Carried in on mattress	81	Clay and followers got busy	88
Carroll County	574	Clay and Webster with Benton	78
Carroll, John H.	523	Clay sponsors statehood measure	23
Carroll, William	66	Clay stood corrected	97
Carter, Alex	523	Clay's chickens returned to roost	88
Carter, Amon G.	457 et seq.	Clay, Rhodes	250
Carter County	579	Claycomb, Stephen N.	237, 254
Carter, William F.	523	Clayton aided Benton in fight	87
Caruthers, Ed. P.	453	Cleveland, Grover	202, 594
Caruthers, Samuel	147	Cleveland called extra session	257
Casey, Michael E.	242	Clinton County	600
Cass County	580	Clinton Tribune	449
Cass held as a dodger	92	Club chartered special train	419
Cass, Lewis	99	Club went into active politics	421
Cassville Democrat	452	Cobb, Seth Wallace	263, 272
Caucasian, The	451	Coburn, John	14
Caulfield, Gov. Henry S.	38	Cochran, Charles Fremont	274
Cedar County	581	Cochran, John Joseph, 363; substituted	390
Centennial Road Law	318	Cockrell, Ewing	653
Chair made and used by Jefferson	420	Cockrell, Ewing, on his father	292
Champ Clark announces	701	Cockrell, Francis Marion, 211, 216; re-elected in 1881	216
Champ Clark for President	305	Cockrell's opposition to Cleveland	260
Champ Clark on Jackson	72	Cockrell, Simon	589
Chappell, Philip E.	201	Cole County	601
Charlton County	582	Collier, Henry A.	523
Charles, Joseph, Jr.	435	Colman, Norman J.	178, 206, 271, 443
Charles, Joseph, Sr.	435	Columbia Herald	445
Charless, Edward	435	Columbia Statesman	445
Chicago convention of 1896	246	Combs, Geo. Hamilton, Jr.	363
Child, Jesse	523	Comigo, Abram	178, 189, 221
Child, J. T.	450	Commission at Chase Hotel	477
Chiles, Henry C.	658	Committee on permanent organization (editors)	410
Chiles, William H.	658	Committee responsible for pilgrimage	417
Chilton, George F.	178	Committee to secure Platte country	97
Chilton, J. J.	579	Committees, Democratic Editorial Association	409
Chilton, Joshua	120	Completeness at expense of clarity	395
Cholera epidemic in 1833	96	Conant, Major F. A.	153
Chorn, Walter K.	523	Conditions in 1933 like in 1829	71
Chouteau, Auguste, Jr.	13	Congress, 1845, 139; 1847, 1849, 140; 1851, 1853, 1855, 141; 1857, 1859, 142; 1863, 1865, 170; 1867, 1869, 171; 1871, 189; 1875, 222; 1877, 1879, 225; 1881, 1883, 226; 1887, 228; 1889, 262; 1891, 263; 1893, 264; 1895, 1897, 265; 1899, 266; 1901, 269; 1903, 270; 1905, 297; 1913, 1915, 333; 1917, 1919, 334; 1921, 1923, 359; 1925, 1927, 1929, 1931, 360; 1933	361
Christian County	584	Congress authorized movement	457
Christy, William	44	Congress in extraordinary session	6
Circuit clerks, Scott County	803	Congressional districts changed in 1873	221
Circuit judges, Scott County	803	Congressional elections, 1904-6-8	297
Citing misleading data	399	Congressmen elected at large, 1932	361
"Citizen" was revived	748	Congressmen in 1843	107
City becomes Separated from County	770	Conklin, Newlin	242
City of St. Louis, Democracy of	765	Conclusion—1933-34	367
Claiborne, James R.	364	Consolidation of School Districts	253
Claiborne, Nathaniel C.	178, 184	Constitution amended in 1890	391
Claiborne, Gov. William	7, 8	Constitutional convention of 1861	124
Clark, Bennett Champ	349, 356, 792	Constitutions of 1865 and 1875	391
Clark, Senator Bennett Champ	35	Continuance of Democratic Supremacy	237
Clark's campaign for U. S. Senator	793	Cook, G. B.	523
Clardy, Martin Linn	225, 231	Cook, John Dillard	47
Clark, Champ	73, 79, 246, 256, 481, 556, 562, 582, 634, 726, 740	Cook, Sam B.	258, 445
Clark, Champ (James Beauchamp)	273	Coolidge carried state over Davis	342
Clark in maiden speech	264	Cooney, James	274
Clark (Champ) on first legislature, 81; on Benton and presidency, 82; on Camp Jackson, 159; on Frank Blair, 187; on William Joel Stone, 242; sat on Mann, 298; for President movement, 306; on Stone's support, 309; showed up Bryan, 311; -Kiel vote, Senator, 350; ran newspaper, taught school	728	Coontz, Admiral Robert E.	690
Clark County	585	Cooper County	602
Clark, Gen. Geo. Rogers, 479; memorial	492	Corbin & Watson	436
Clark, John Bullock	60, 148, 169		
Clark, John Bullock, Jr.	229		

Correspondents, prominent	454	Dean of Correspondents	454
Cosgrove, John	234	DeArmond, David Albaugh	201, 273
Costs of legislatures compared	376	DeArmond perished in burning residence	297
Cottey, Louis F.	201	Decade of civil war, radicalism and oppression	151
Counties' representatives (1828)	70	Decker, Perl D.	335, 650
Country belonged to Spain	480	Deigel, George	195
Country Press, The	445	DeKalb County	609
County clerks, Scott County	805	DeLassus' order	7
County committees	539 et seq.	Delegates from Missouri to Chicago convention, 1932	349
County Histories, alphabetical	539	Delegates from Missouri to national convention, 1924	340
County judges, Scott County	804	Delegates to national convention at Houston	345
County officers	539 et seq.	Denounced all misdeeds of monopoly	88
County officers, 1845, Macon County	680	Dent County	610
County officials, Macon County	683	Detached from Indiana Territory	13
County representatives to convention, 1828	70	Detchemendy, Pascal	8
Coulter, Jim	260	Democrat-Forum	451
Court critics pay no heed to recent decisions	400	Democracy assumes control of state and nation in world crisis	305
Courts generally right	559	Democracy at low ebb	777
Courts of Appeal	391	Democratic accomplishments	375
Courts of Quarter Sessions	13	Democratic Central Committee, 1877	764
Cousin and Lorimier	7	Democratic Clubs, see Counties	587
Couzins, Phoebe	424	Democratic county histories	539
Covered several "hangings"	449	Democratic Editorial Association	409
Cowgill, James	287	Democratic Editorial Association of Missouri	409
Cowherd, William Strother	274	Democratic editors present	410
Cox, James Middleton	321, 327	Democratic house-cleaning, A	774
Craig, James	142, 148	Democratic officials, St. Louis County	763
Crane, Capt. A. T.	426	Democratic Press meet of 1923	411
Crawford County	605	Democratic state ticket in 1920	321
Crisp, John T.	436	Democratic Supremacy	191
Criticised mayor, but worked against him	796	Democratic ticket, 1928	347
Critics of court ignore facts	404	Democratic ticket elected in 1932	350
Crittenden administration, The	200	Democrats, by counties	539 et seq.
Crittenden, Thomas Theodore	229	Democrats disfranchised	784
Crook, Lee E.	758	Democrats in Assembly, 1913-15	313
Crooks didn't succeed	260	Democrats in 1917-19 Sessions, General Assembly	317
Crooks tried to rent Yellowstone Park	259	Democrats in the House, 1881	201
Cross, John A.	523	Democrats in the House, 1885	205
Crossley, Wallace	326	Democrats in the House, 1905	284
Crow, Edward C.	250	Democrats in the House, 1915	314
Cummins, James C.	435	Democrats in the House, 1921	338
Cundiff, J. H. R.	440	Democrats in State Senate, 1881	201
Cunningham, DeWitt C.	453	Democrats in Senate in 1885	205
Cuppaidge, G. O.	523	Democrats in Senate, 1905	283
D			
Dabb, Hugh	523	Dickinson, Clement Cabell	303, 449
Dade County	606	Dickmann, Bernard F.	786
Daily Mail, The	446	Dickmann, Mayor Bernard	457 et seq.
Daily Times	436	Dickmann put forward for mayor	794
Dallas County	607	Didier, Peter	44
Dallas, George M.	135	Dinner meeting under auspices of Industrial Club of St. Louis	500
Dalton Farm School	432	Dinning, Louis F.	524
Dalton, Col. Richard	740	Disastrous policies of Hoover	385
Dameron, W. T.	744	Disfranchisement data	177
Daniel, C. G.	140	Dispatch	439
Darby, John Fletcher	146	"District of Louisiana"	10
D'Arcy, W. C.	458	Dobyns, Benjamin F.	201
Dark hour before the dawn	792	Dobyns, Edward	71
Daugherty, James Alexander	303	Dockery administration, The	250
Daughters of American Revolution	39	Dockery, Alexander Monroe	227, 233, 673
Davess County	608	Dockery made third assistant postmaster general	253
Davis and Bryan named	341	Dockery's associates in Statehouse	250
Davis, Ivan	654	Dr. Linn, "The Model Senator"	96
Davis, J. Lionberger	457 et seq.	Dodge, Israel	7
Davis, Mrs. J. Lionberger	483	Dominant leaders, Ralls County	737
Davis, Lowndes Henry	231	Donan, D. Pat.	461
Davis, Samuel	199, 524	Donelan, Edmond A.	199, 201
Davis, Senator James J.	457 et seq.	Doniphan, A. W.	97
Davis, Thomas Terry	13	Double headed convention	729
Davis, Wallace J.	453	Dougherty, John	276
Dawson, William	235	Dougherty, Ralph	106
Deadlock in Congress	22		
Deal, Edwin P.	325		
Deal, H. J.	199		
Dean, Henry Clay	524		

Douglas, A. J.	524	Eubank, Jerome D.	525
Douglas County	611	Eversole, Edmond T.	253
Douglas, Stephen Arnold	129	Evils of territorial government	21
Dowell, Emert A.	250	Ewing, Ashley W.	199
Dowell, James	725	Ewing, Ephraim B.	116, 124, 128, 450
Downing, William G.	205	Ewing, Rev. Finis	113
Drabell, John W.	250	Ewing, Henry	450
Draconian Code foisted upon us	738	Ewings on opposite tickets	113
Drake, Charles Daniel	159	Expunged censure resolution	88
Drake came from Ohio	153		
Drake law described by Vest	124	F	
Dramatic chapter in United States history	428	Facts about Gardner's administration	314
Dramatic pilgrimage	417	"Failed through stubbornness and incompetence"	371
Drastic bill against duelling	48	Famous guests at National Hotel	499
Dred Scott a clean-cut citizen	434	Famous night in history of Senate	88
Dred Scott, why declared free	432	Fanning, Michael Angelo	440
"Driving the Money Changers from the Temples"	377	Farris, Frank H.	525
Drum and Fife Corps	416	Farris, James L.	199
Drum, Robert	201	Farris, John Wesley	525
Drunert, W. H.	820	Farris, Judge, An opinion by	392
Dryden, John D. S.	160	"Father of Kansas City"	635
Duane's Aurora	435	Father of the University	238
Duel, Foster and Edwards	439	Fayette Advertiser	446
Dueling Record, Benton's	91	Federal Soldiers' Home, St. James	249
Dumm, Arthur T.	524	Federalists opposed treaty	4
Duncan, A. B.	558	Feldkamp, Frances B.	415
Duncan, Richard M.	364	Fenwick-Crittenden duel	762
Dunklin County	612	Ferguson, Charles L.	753
Dunklin, Daniel	48 et seq.	Ferguson, Geo. W.	44
Dunklin elected governor	57	Ferris, Alice Moss	543
Dunklin quoted	51	Feud left bad feeling	726
Dwyer, Fred J.	524	Fewell, Zachariah	554
Dysart, Benjamin R.	525	Field, Eugene	449
		Field, Eugene, on Visit to Berlin Zoo	455
E		Fields, Emmett B.	241
Eads, Capt. James B.	38	Fiftieth General Assembly of grateful memory	429
Eads Jetty Bill, The	172	Fifth Epoch—1871-2	177
Early Settlers, see Counties		"54-40 or fight"	623
Eastin, Lucien J.	525	Fight benefits Hutton	723
Easton, Rufus	14, 436	Financing of pilgrimage	417
Editor of Leader	620	Fireworks incident	725
Editor of The World	432	First big battle of Jefferson Club	420
Editor Stephens	250	First constitutional convention	43
Editors, owners, publishers	435-456	First Epoch—1804-1820	1
Editors reorganized, 1902	410	First legislature	47
Edmonds, George R.	525	First Masonic lodge in territory	96
Edwards elected governor	115	First officials	14
Edwards, Governor, data on, by his son	125	First Settlers, see Counties	
Edwards, John C.	48, 59, 107	First state election	44
Edwards, J. Harry	454	First year of the New Deal	379
Edwards, Maj. John N.	439	First Young Men's Democratic Club of Missouri	456
Edwards, Paul R.	125	Fitzsimmons, Arthur J.	525
Edwards, Paul R., f. n. 2	125	Fitzsimmons, John T.	389
Edwards, Waller	443	Five appointed to West Point	13
"Efforts cast in pattern of outworn tradition"	371	Florida purchase	5
Eight new counties organized	18	Fogle, C. C.	526
Eighteenth General Assembly	131	Folk administration, The	283
Elghth Epoch—1905-1912	279	Folk, governor still fought graft	775
Elected to Congress over all opposition	85	Folk, Joseph Wingate	287
Election in 1828, The	70	Footnotes, Jackson County	648
Election of 1864	154	Footnotes, Old Newspapers of St. Louis	444
Election of 1872, Facts about	182	Ford, Bob	201
Election in 1924	341	Fordyce heads state committee	782
Election of 1926	342	Fordyce, Samuel W.	782
Election in 1928	347	Fort Sam Carlos	498
Election of 1932	348, 367	Foster, Col. Emory S.	439
Ellison, George Robb	348, 355	Founded first state University	39
Ellison, William C.	525	Founders of Springfield	621
Ely, Thomas R. R.	512	Fourth Epoch—1861-1870	151
Emmons, Ben	18	Fox, James D.	288
"End speculation with other people's money"	372	Francis administration, The	237
Englehart, Melvin	684	Francis, David R.	205, 254, 770
Epoch of state history lost sight of	162	Francis Quadrangle	38
Equal Suffrage Association	424	Francis' term as mayor	770
Estes made concluding address	420	Franklin, Ben	526

Franklin, Benj. J.	225, 230
Franklin County	616
Free coinage question	595
Free Silver meeting, 1895	410
"Free Soil"	114
Freeman, Charles Leslie	255
Fremont, John C., son-in-law of Benton,	90, 92, 101, 154, 515
Frost, Richard Graham	226, 231
Fulbright, James F.	359, 363
Fulton Telegraph	450
Fundamental error	407
Futile balloting continued	722
Fyan, Robert Washington	234

G

Gallatin Democrat	450
Gamble followed Pettus	48
Gamble, Governor	153
Gamble, Hamilton Rowan	119, 127
Game, fish, flowers, attract	215
Gardenhire, James B.	119
Garesche, Alexander J. P.	526
Gantt, Ernest S.	354
Gantt, James B.	288
Gardner administration, The	314
Gardner chosen governor	775
Gardner, Frederick Dozier	314, 326
Garner, John Nance	348, 355, 386
Garner of Texas named by acclamation	348
Garth, Dabney C.	745
Gasconade County	617
Gass, Howard A.	325
Gates, Elijah	199, 208
Gazette Herald Editor	586
Gene Field Abroad	455
General Assembly in 1860	124
General Assembly—1917-1919	317
General Assembly (Jackson County)	639
"General Cass, Sir, don't know how he'll vote"	92
General election of 1930	791
Genesis of "Bloody Ninth"	721
Gentry County	618
Gentry, Oliver P.	595
Gentry, Col. Richard	59
Geographical position of Missouri	170
George Vest knew his English	715
Germans returned to Republican party	177
Geyer, Henry S.	22, 51
Geyer, Whig, elected	90
Gibbons, Wm. J.	458
Giesler, Val H.	526
Gill, McCune	458 et seq.
Gill, Patrick Francis	302
Gillespy, James C.	242
Gilliam, Madison, on voting in 1864	160
Gilmartin, Tom	458
Gladden, C. W.	814
Glenn, Edward A.	322
Globe—Globe-Democrat	436
Glover, John Milton	222, 229
Glover, Peter G.	59
Goddin, Glenn	454, 752
Goddin, Capt. Thomas Irvin	454
Gonter, Charles G.	440
Goode, Richard Livingston	322, 327
Goodnight, Charles G.	526
Goodwin, J. West	446
Gordon, John P.	289
Government House, The	7
Governor Gardner signed suffrage bill	428
Governor Gardner's official family	314
Governor Jackson's message	120
Governor King's administration	116
Governor Park's address, Feb. 23, 1934	375
Governor Park's recommendations	368
Governor Park's stewardship	375

Graff, Albert J.	712
Graft and favoritism	163
Graham, Joseph A.	440
Grandfather of the University	238
"Grand Old Missouri"	644
Granite shaft made	419
Grant and Whiskey Scandal	196
Grant, Ulysses S.	155, 161
Grasty, Charles A.	445
Gratiot, Charles	13
Gratitude!	310
Graves, Alexander	234
Great trio of pioneers	518
Great Whiskey Scandal	196
Greeley, Horace	178, 184
Green City Press	452
Green, Duff	69
Green, James Stephen	120, 128
Greene County	618
Greer, Allen M.	526
Griffin, John	13
Griffith, Lawrence M.	526
Grossman, Mrs. E. M.	458
Grow, Galusha A.	91
Grundy County	624

H

Hackney, Thomas	302
Had Jefferson and Lincoln moved in reverse	513
Hadley administration, The	284
Haines, Robert L.	242
Hale, John Blackwell	227, 234
Hall became governor	153
Hall, Uriel Sebree	273
Hall, Willard P.	169, 526
Hall, William Augustus	172
Hall, William Preble	145
Hamilton against Bill of Rights	65
Hamilton, the plutocrat	33
Hamlin, Courtney Walker	276
Hammond, Samuel	44
Hancock, Winfield Scott	209
Hannay, John	453
Hannibal Journal	446
Hardin administration, The	192
Hardin, Charles Henry	206
Harding, James	199
Harding, Warren Gamaliel	327
Hardy, C. R.	629
Harper, Thomas L.	250
Harper's Magazine on Courts	395
Harris, David H.	526
Harris, Elza	666
Harris, Frank G.	350, 356
Harrison, Albert G.	106, 108
Harrison County	627
Harrison, William Henry	13, 505
Harty, Alfred L.	527
Harvard Law Review's twisted ideas	396
Harvey, Thomas B.	527
Hatch, William Henry	178, 226, 232
Hatch, William Henry, f. n. 1	270
Hatcher, Robert A.	120, 228
Hawes, Harry B.	280, 359, 361
Hawes defeated Cockrell and Meredith	842
Hawes elected to Congress	776
Hawes resigned as club president	420
Hawes responded to welcome	420
Hawes retired from politics	420
Hay, Charles M.	355
Hays, Charles Thomas	350, 357
Head, Dr. Waller	745
Heard, John Thaddeus	201, 227, 235
Hempstead, Edward	18
Henderson, John B.	33
Henderson, Mrs. W. W.	409
Hendricks, Thomas A.	199, 208

Hennings, Thomas, Chairman.....	773
Hennings, Thomas C., Jr.....	390
Henry County.....	628
Henry, Isaac N.....	436
Henry, Patrick.....	504
Hensley, Walter Lewis.....	303
Hereford, William.....	201
Hermann Ledger.....	454
"Hermitage," The.....	74
Hewitt, W. C.....	806
Hickok, Wild Bill.....	619
Hickory County.....	629
"Hickory nut brigade".....	200
Higginbotham, George H.....	527
Higgins, Joseph C.....	215
Hiller, J. C. A.....	763, 765
Historical Data Committee.....	496
Historical resumé.....	796
Hockaday, John A.....	195, 207
Hodnett, John.....	436
Hogan, John.....	171, 172
Holladay, Thomas.....	195, 207
Hollister, William Rufus.....	527
Holt County.....	630
Home Press, The.....	446
"Home with our folks".....	432
Hook, Zadok Walter.....	527
Hoover wanted again!.....	385
Hoover's disastrous policies.....	385
Hopkins, Edward N.....	527
Hostetter, Jefferson D.....	390, 719
Houchin, James A.....	527
Houck's History of Missouri quoted.....	1, 13, 96
Hough, Warwick.....	195, 207
House, 1923.....	348
House Democrats, 1889.....	238
House Democrats, 1909.....	287
House Members, 1893.....	242
House of Representatives, 1876.....	199
Houston, Clarence O.....	527
Houston, Texas, National Convention.....	345
How, John.....	767
"How loathsome," wrote Jackson.....	73
Howard, Benjamin.....	17
Howard County.....	631
Howell, Charles M.....	349
Howell County.....	632
Howell County Gazette.....	450
Hubbell, Platt.....	624
Huck, Peter H.....	242
Hudson, J. A.....	446
Hughes, James M.....	109
Hughlett, Sol.....	201
Hunt, John Thomas.....	276
Hunt, Wilson P.....	436
Hunter, Abraham.....	120
Hunter, Joseph.....	704
Huntsville Herald.....	450
Hurley, Otho J.....	527
Hurst, Peyton.....	199
Hutchins, Stilson.....	436
Hutt, James W.....	431, 434
Hutton, John Edward.....	227, 235, 445
Hyde inaugurated governor.....	337
Hyde on Geyer's election.....	136
Hyde's "History of St. Louis" quoted.....	82, 158, 200
Hyde, William, quoted.....	82, 100, 435

I

"I don't mind being a grandfather".....	512
Igoe almost wins mayoralty.....	781
Igoe, William L.....	335
In city election of 1933, St. Louis.....	789
In conclusion, St. Louis.....	799
In Congress, Randolph County.....	747
"Independent" politics.....	809
Indifference almost criminal.....	71

Inscription on Jefferson monument.....	419
Interesting epoch.....	305
Interstate Women's Conference.....	424
In the House, 1874.....	195
In the House, 1925.....	342
In the House, 1874.....	195
In the Senate, 1925.....	342
Iowa boundary question settled.....	115
Iron County.....	633
Iron County Register.....	451
"I shall be found in the right place".....	90

J

Jacks, John W.....	445, 451
Jackson, Andrew.....	51, 59, 65, 91, 686
Jackson and his Missouri following.....	43
Jackson and the lamb.....	66
Jackson, Claiborne F., elected governor.....	122
Jackson, Claiborne F., favored slavery.....	89
Jackson County.....	634
Jackson did the unexpected.....	88
Jackson enters St. Louis politics.....	779
Jackson, Hancock.....	745
Jackson, Hancock Lee.....	120, 127
Jackson in farewell address.....	72
Jackson letter to Blair.....	72
Jackson was for allotment of lands to settlers.....	65
Jacksonian policies popular.....	65
Jacksonian principles continue.....	71
Jackson's inaugural address.....	151
Jackson's reply to call for troops.....	152
James, Frank, 201; made town famous.....	450
James, Jesse.....	201
Jameson, John.....	107
Janis, LeClere.....	760
Jasper County.....	650
Jefferson a member of Congress.....	36
"Jefferson and the Pioneers Who Gave Us National Expansion".....	473
Jefferson City Tribune.....	450
Jefferson Club, The.....	415
Jefferson Club Association.....	416
Jefferson Club in Campaign of 1930.....	785
Jefferson County.....	652
Jefferson Day Dinner.....	784
Jefferson, Marie, letter of father.....	36
Jefferson monument at University of Missouri.....	37
Jefferson National-Expansion Memorial Association.....	459
Jefferson, Thomas.....	1 et seq.
Jefferson was startled.....	3
Jeffersonian followers in St. Louis.....	798
Jeffersonian influence.....	29
Jeffersonian Spirit and Influence.....	1
Jefferson's birthday a state holiday.....	38
Jefferson's domestic life.....	35
Jefferson's religious beliefs.....	41
Jeffries, John Biggs.....	527
Jenkins, Herbert C.....	585
Jewett, David F.....	166
Jewett, W. O. L.....	453
Jewish branch, Jefferson Club.....	416
Jobs committee fell down.....	795
Johnson, Andrew.....	162
Johnson, Charles Philip.....	185, 443
Johnson County.....	653
Johnson, James T. M.....	527
Johnson, Ralph.....	756
Johnson, Robert Davis.....	364
Johnson, Waldo P., 165; elected Senator.....	152, 756
Johnson, William D.....	528
Johnson, William F.....	452
Johnson, William Tell.....	528
Johnston, Gale F.....	458, 478

Johnston, T. A.	528	Lane, George W.	733
Joint balloting began January 10, 1851	137	Lane, Thomas F.	753
Joint Resolution Jefferson Memorial Association	460	Lane, Dr. William Carr	496
Jones, Col. Charles H.	440	Langford, James K.	754
Jones, John Rice	47	Last state convention	380
Jordan, Leo, quoted	432	Latshaw, Ralph S.	528
Jost, Henry Lee	359, 362	Laussat, M.	7
Jourdan, Morton	528	La Vallee, Don Juan	7
Judge Ragland quoted	399	Lawrence County	664
Judges refused to take "Test Oath"	122	Lawrence County abolished	18
Judges, see Counties		Lay, Alfred Morrison	226, 232
Judicial election of 1863	153	Lay, James H.	528
Judiciary, The, Ralls County	744	Lazarus, Samuel	245, 528
Jurors must not be intelligent	403	Lazarus' Story (re Stone)	245
Just and liberal views	9	Leader-Press	446
K			
Kane, Joseph	350, 528	LeBeaume, Louis	464 et seq.
Kansas City Journal on Dockery	253	Led in liberalizing constructions	396
Kansas City Times	443	Leduc, Philip	81
Kansas City Times, Journal, at James' trial	202	Lee, Charles A.	345, 353
Kavanaugh's Disregard of facts	396	Lee, Frank Hood	364
Kean, Gen. Jefferson Randolph	459 et seq.	Lee, John A.	529
Kean, Mrs. Jefferson R.	485	Lee, William G.	529
"Keep the faith of Jefferson, Jackson, Wilson and Roosevelt"	377	Leedy appointed to vacancy	353
Kehr, Edward Charles	222, 230	Leedy, Judge C. A.	389
Keithly, Edwin W.	743	Leedy, C. A., Jr.	353
Keller, Rep. Kent E.	457 et seq.	Legislative Council	17
Kelsoe, William A.	443	Legislature disregarded recommendations	404
Kemper, Wm. T.	457 et seq.	Legislatures of 1929, 1931, 1933, Costs of	376
Kennedy, Dan C.	446	Lehr, A. S. J.	253
Kennedy, D. E.	714	Lennon nominated, but resigned	390
Kennedy, Robert	446	Leonard, Abiel	120, 127
Kennett Democrat	453	Lesueur, Alexander A.	241, 254, 451
Kennett, Luther Martin	147	Letter from Gene Field to Colonel Phipps	449
Kennett, Martin	113	Letters from Senators Cockrell and Vest read	420
Kern as president of club	420	Levy, Hon. Jefferson M.	420
Kickham, John L.	765, 799	Lewis, Capt. Meriwether	7, 17, 55, 515
King, Andrew	189	Lewis County	665
King, Austin A.	116, 127	Lewis, Edward A.	195
King, Lloyd W.	389	Lexington Intelligencer	451
King, Miles	41	Liberty Tribune and Advance	451
King, William R.	135	"Lige, you've lost"	724
"Kingdom of Callaway"	106, 450, 565	Lightholder, William P.	253
Kirby, J. C.	450	Liles, Robert P.	201
Kit Carson down Santa Fe trail	515	Lincoln, Abraham	159
Kitchen, Cortez	440	Lincoln County	666
Kitchen, George W.	178	Lindley, James Johnson	146
Knapp, Charles W.	435	Lindsay, James D.	529
Knapp, George	435	Linn County	671
Knapp, John	435	Linn, Lewis Fields, Senator	60, 96, 102, 131
Knapp was first president	416	Linn, the "Model Senator"	96
Kneisley, James W.	201	Lisa, Manuel de	7
Knott, James Proctor	128	Litton, Thomas J.	690, 692
Knott, John A.	446	Livingston County	675
Knott, Proctor	123	Livingston, Robert	1, 5, 481
"Know Nothings" organized	113	Lloyd, James Tilghman	274
"Know Nothings," see Counties		L. V. S.	250
Knox County	654	Long service	597
Kouns, C. F.	692	Longan, George F.	529
L			
Laclede came up in 1765	430	Lonsdale, John G.	458
Laclede County	657	Lorimier, Auguste Bonganville	13
Ladies served at Chase Hotel	477	Lorimier and Cousin	7
Lafayette County	658	Lorimier, Louis, Jr.	13
Lafayette County Campaign Committees, 1884-1932	663	Lost their heads	653
La Grange Democrat	451	Louisiana Gazette	435
Lamar, James Robert	277	Louisiana Purchase Exposition	249
Lamb, Alfred William	146	Louisiana Territory transferred to U. S.	6
Lamb, Fred	528	"Love me, love my dog"	728
Lamm, Henry, on Vest	212	Low salary party	564
Lancaster, Richard D.	178	Lozier, Ralph F.	359, 362
		Lucas, Charles	77, 98
		Lucas, James B. C.	14
		Lucas, John (Uncle John)	529
		Luncheon at Chase Hotel	477
		Lyles, Pleasant L. B.	529
		Lyon, General	153

M

Mabrey, Pinky	178	McNairy, Judge, on Jackson	73
Mabrey, Pinkney	754	McNatt, A. R.	241
Mabrey, Thomas W.	754	McNeill, Gen. John	212
Macon County	677	McPike, James	178
Macon Times	446	Meeting at Hotel Jefferson	458
Made no nominations	156	Meeting of United States Territorial Expansion Memorial Commission	458
Madden, Thomas	8	Megown, Benton B.	736, 743
Madison County	684	Members General Assembly, by Counties	539 et seq.
Madison, James	1	Members U. S. Ter. Expansion Com.	457 et seq.
Maestre, Sidney	458	Memorial Plaza	498
Magazines attacked courts	392	Memorial to Congress	14
Magers, Roy V. quoted	94	Mercer County	690
Major administration, The	313	Mercer, Joseph W.	195, 207
Major, Elliott Woolfolk	313, 325	Mercury graduated newspaper men	451
Major, Samuel Collier	326, 361	Meredith, Willis H.	354
Major, Sam C., Jr.	199	Merriam, Dr. Charles E.	457 et seq.
Mansion House hotel	44	Mexico Intelligencer	445
Mantz, Charles	436	Mexico Ledger	445
Mansur, Charles Harley	235	Meyer, Carl F. G.	458
Manufactured telegrams	165	Middlekamp, Geo. H.	327
Marauding bands	816	Migration hurt	656
Marbois, Barbé	2	Miller County	692
Maries County	685	Miller, John	48 et seq.; 106, 108
Marion County	685	Miller, John Gaines	146
Marmaduke, John Sappington	209	Milligan, Jacob Le Roy	359, 362
Marmaduke, Meredith M.	60	Mills, Senator, on Jackson	73
Marmaduke-Morehouse administration	202	Minor, James L.	59, 60
Marshall Democrat-News	451	Minor, Mrs. Virginia L.	423
Marshall, Thomas Riley	314, 326	Mississippi County	695
Marshall, William Champe	288	Missouri Argus	436
Martin, Faulkland M.	115	Missouri Cash Book	568
Martin, John I.	178, 184	Missouri Compromise, The	22
Martin, Mrs. W. W.	530	Missouri 'Coon in Berlin, Germany	455
Maryville Democrat	451	'Missouri Crime Survey, The'	403
Maryville Forum	451	Missouri Democrat	436
Masonic lodge organized	96	Missouri enters statehood	43
Massey, Benjamin	123	Missouri Gazette	435
May, Morton	458	Missouri Historical Review quoted 94, 132,	270
Mayhall, Ed	451	'Missouri is home to me'	432
Mayors of Hannibal	689	Missouri Manual—Blue Book	451
Mayors of Kansas City	648	Missouri Reporter	436
McAfee, E. C.	618	Missouri representatives, 1861	169
McAllister, Frank W.	327	Missouri representatives, 1921	359
McAninch, Charles W.	529	Missouri Republican, The	70, 122, 435, 439
McArthur, John	47	'Missouri, the Mother of the West'	13
McBride, Pressley H.	48, 115	Missouri towns represented at Suffrage meet	424
McClanahan, R. H.	452	Missouri's able representatives in Congress	93
McClellan, Gen. Geo. B.	160, 593	Missouri's early representatives in Congress	105
McClelland, Abraham	60	Missouri's representation in Congress	131
McClurg, Joseph W.	171	Missouri's representation in Congress 1873	211, 221
McCormick, James Robinson	175	Missouri's representation in Congress, 1891	259
McCormick, John R.	171	Missouri's representation in Congress, 1905	291
McCulloch, Robert	201	Missouri's representation in Congress, 1913	329
McCullum, Andrew J.	253	Missouri's representatives in Congress 1861	165
McDaniel, Benj. F.	199	Missouri's representatives in Congress 1871	187
McDaniels elected city attorney	776	Mitchell, Oliver W.	520
McDaniels' race for mayor	791	Moberly Democrat	451
McDavid, Frank M.	242	Moberly Index	451
McDearmon, Jas. R.	115	Moberly Monitor	449
McDonald County	676	Mockler, George F.	443
McDonald, Jesse	458	'Model Senator, The'	96
McDowell, Col. James	93	Moley, Prof. Raymond	404
McElhiney, A. P.	735	Moll, Justus R.	622
McGirk, Mathias	47	Moneyed interests against the people	70
McGrath, Michael K.	159, 195, 207, 452	Moniteau County	696
McGregor, W. B.	671	Monitor, The	446
McGuffin family, The	439	Monroe County	697
McHenry, James E.	199, 208	Monroe, James	1, 5, 21, 24, 43, 481
McIntyre, D. H.	199, 209		
McKinney, Thomas E.	530		
McKittrick, Roy	350, 357		
McKnight's Suffrage bill	428		
McLean, James Henry	226, 233		
McMullin, R. W.	652		
McMurry, Wesley M.	530		
McNair, Alexander	44		
McNair, Governor	21		

Monroe, William	115
Montgomery County, in old "Bloody Ninth"	699
Montgomery Standard	451
Montieth, John	181
Monument to Senator Linn	97
Moore, O'Brien	440
Moreau, Edward A.	760
Morehouse, Albert P.	199, 210
"More Jacksonian than Jackson himself"	82
More liberal construction of rules	392
More republicans than democrats indicted	411
Morgan, Charles H.	222, 230
Morgan County	702
Morley, W. S.	123
Morrison, Alfred W.	116
Morrow, Kate S.	354
Morse, John T. Jr. on Jackson and Adams	73
Moss, Luella St. Clair	359
Most hated man	212
Mullikin, Mrs. Charles	477
Mumford, Dean F. B.	270
Munford, Morrison	643
Munson, George	439
Murphy, Russell	458

N

Nacy, Richard R.	350, 357
Nagel, Charles	458 et seq.
Name of person charged with crime	407
Names on Suffrage tablet	429
Naming of early St. Louis streets	496
Naming of the Democratic party	51
Napoleon, Louis	2
Napton, William B.	60, 195
Nardin, W. T.	500
National convention at Chicago, 1932	348
National convention delegates from Mo., 1932	349
National convention of 1924	780
National Democratic Convention of 1916	314
National Hotel	499
National Suffrage Convention, St. Louis, 1869	424
Needed legislation (1933)	368
Nefarious transaction	163
Negro branch, Jefferson Club	416
Negro in Missouri, The	431
Negro leaders in Kansas City	433
Negro leaders in St. Louis	433
Negro teachers supplied	433
Nelson, Arthur W.	353
Nelson, David	530
Nelson, Hugh	43
Nelson, William Lester	336
Nesbit, F. C.	199
Nevada Daily Mail	451
"Never deserted one from policy"	73
Never in "Kitchen Cabinet"	89
Newberry, John B.	199
"New Deal" hopes were strong	70
New Era for Negro	432
New Madrid County	703
New Madrid Record	451
New Madrid transfer	7
Newman, Stephen A.	530
New recruits for Jefferson Club	421
New State Capitol built	59
Newspaper appointments, 1933 State administration	412
Newspaper history of Cooper County	604
Newspaper men	435-456, 439
Newspapers handicapped court	392
Newspapers, Lafayette County	661
Newspapers, see Counties	568
Newton County	705

Ninth Epoch—1913-1920	305
Noah's Ark sprung a leak!	513
Nodaway County	707
Nodaway Democrat, The	205
Noell, John William	149
Noell, Thomas Estes	759
No excuse for not finding fifteen-year-old decisions	403
Noland, Edward T.	254
Nominees for Congress 1934	383
Noonan, Edward A.	530
Noonan succeeds Francis	771
Norton, Elijah Hise	170, 172, 208
Norton, Judge Elijah H.	140
Norton, Richard Henry	272
Not a back slapper	727
Not as others would interpret it	87
Noteworthy presidential elections	693
Notorious whiskey ring, The	207

O

Objects of primary education	40
O'Fallon, Benjamin	106
"Off with his head" proper course	407
Officers (1872) and Civil war affiliations	181
Officers, Democratic Editorial Ass'n	409
Officials elected (Editors)	411
Old courthouse at Warrensburg	715
Old Courthouse building	498
Old Hickory deserved "hurrahs"	73, 74, 88, 368, 517
Old Newspapers of St. Louis	435
Old Trails out of St. Louis	474
Oliver, Mordecai	123, 146
Oliver, Robert Burret	567
O'Meara, John B.	241, 255
1,048 newspapers in Missouri	410
O'Neil, Frank R.	201
O'Neill, John J.	199, 227, 234
One of original Districts	755
"On what small things!"	66
Opinions of obstructionists	4
Opposed extension of slavery	34
Orchard, James	250
Oregon County	708
Organization of counties	539 et seq.
Organization of Jefferson Club	783
Organize to throw out radicals	155
Organized first Masonic lodge in territory	96
Origin of Missouri's Public Schools	59
Orr, Isaac H.	458
Orr, Sample	624
Osage County	709
Osborn, D. Boone	565
Our state government of this epoch	97
"Ouster ordinance" adopted	153
Outstanding Democrats	539 et seq.
Outstanding Negro Democrats, Three	433
Overstolz, Mayor	770
Ozark County	710

P

Painter, William R.	313, 325
Palmyra Massacre	212
Palmyra Spectator	452
Paris Mercury	450
Park, Guy B.	350, 356
Park inaugurated governor	368
Park, Tom W.	453
Parker, Alton B.	280
Parks, Payton	449
Paschall, Nathaniel	435
Patronage problem, The	795
Pearson, Archibald A.	530
Pemiscot County	710
Pence, John S.	757

Pendergast, James	645	Price, Thomas L.	116, 127
Penitentiary built	51	Priest, H. H.	199
Penn, Shadrack	436	Priest, Henry J.	530
People for Jackson, against Senate crowd	88	Priest, Henry S.	530
People vindicated Jackson again	89	Priest sued for right to vote	614
People's Party, The	255	Primary vote for U. S. Senator, 1932	350
Perkins, Col. A. T.	458	Probate judges, Scott Co.	804
Permanent officers, Editorial Association	409	Professor of Law Waite like others	399
Perry County	712	Progress was made (Court)	392
Perry, Samuel	48	Progressive administration of State Affairs	237
Pertinent illustration (court)	407	Prominent Characters, Some	640
Pertle Springs meeting	409	Prominent correspondents	454
Petitions pray for statehood	18	"Promoters" would have cut up Yellowstone Park	259
Pettibone, Rufus	48	Prosecuted Buehrman	570
Pettis County	714	Prospect-News	453
Pettis-Biddle duel	106	Provenchere, J. B.	14
Pettis, Spencer	105, 108	Pruitt, J. Allen	530
Pettus, William G.	44, 48	Public Service Commission	325
Pettus succeeded Barton	48	Public Service Commission created	313
Phelps administration, The	196	Publishers, Editors, Newspapers	435-456
Phelps County	716	Pulaski County	733
Phelps, John Smith	145, 170	Pulitzer, Joseph	439
Philippines	5	Purcell, Edwin L.	531
Phillips, John Finis	152, 158	Purchase of Louisiana Territory	1
Phipps, Col Alex	446	Putnam County	735
Pickering, Lorenzo	436		
Pierce, Franklin	85, 100, 135	R	
Pike County	719	Rader, Perry S.	531
Pike County Post	453	Ragland, William T.	353
Pike, Zebulon	504	Ralls County	736
Pilgrimage to tomb of Jefferson	417	Ralls County Record	450
Pilot Grove Leader	452	Ralls' vote for Benton	81
Pinckney, Charles	4, 22	Rand, Frank C.	458
Pioneer families, see Counties		Randolph, Anne Carey	36
Pitts, Frank L.	258	Randolph County	744
Placed by Mo. League of Women Voters	429	Randolph, Mrs. Thos. Mann	36
Plaint of Missouri 'Coon in Berlin Zoo	455	Ratification of treaty, opposed by Federalists	4
Plan and Scope Committee	465	Ray County	750
Platforms, Liberal and Radical Republican	156	Ray, Charles	452, 521
Platte City Landmark	453	Ray, Robert D.	201
Platte County	731	Rea, David	225, 230
Platte Purchase	102	Real empire builders	734
Pledge continued cooperation	386	Reavis, Hollis	443
Political issues of the day (1845)	111	Reavis, John R.	443
Political Renaissance of America	367	Reavis, L. U.	171
Polk County	732	Rector, Elias	436
Polk, James K.	76	Rector kills Barton in duel	47
Polk, Trusten	113, 138	Rector, W. V., f. n. 12	56
Polk resigns as governor to become Senator	120	Reed, James A.	280, 296, 348
Polk crowd's attempt to get Globe	73	Reed fought government policies	318
Pollard, Henry M.	225, 231	Reed's fight for renomination	778
Pollock, Charles A.	199	Reed's vindication	346
Pope, W. S.	199	Reedy's history of pilgrimage	419
Porter, Gilchrist	146	Reeves, Benjamin H.	48
Porterfield, Edward E.	530	Refused to split party	91
Porto Rico	5	Rehabilitation of state finances	191
Postal Savings Bank growth	254	Reid, John William	170, 172
Post-Dispatch	201, 440	Relfe, James Hugh	109
Post-Dispatch on first year of New Deal	379	Religious opinions and civil rights	41
Poultry Bill was passed	283	Remember Persecution	615
Pratt, George C.	201	Representatives, see Counties	
Preamble to Platform declaration	367	Republican employes "ardent democrats"	796
Precluded better element	545	Republican leaders satisfied with doing nothing policy	385
Prentiss, Henning W.	419	Republicans and Greenbacks	576
President Roosevelt dedicated Monument	492	Republicans carried state, first time since 1868	280
President Wilson made plea to Congress	428	Resolution censuring President Jackson	88
Presidential election of 1824	60	Resolution re Banks	71
Presidential Suffrage bill	428	Results of the election of 1934	op. 390
Presidents of Mo. Woman Suffrage Ass'n	429	Returned to fold	807
Presidents of The Young Democracy	416	Reynolds a suicide	60
Press Correspondents of the State Capital	454	Reynolds County	751
Preston, A. L.	451	Reynolds, Thomas	60 et seq.; 123, 128
Preston, Sanford J.	452	Reynolds' administration	145

Richardson, James M.	120	Scarritt, Edward L.	532
Richmond Conservator	450	Schmoll, Hon. John	498
Ricketts, Claude B.	458	Schoenlaub, William J.	532
Riddick, Thomas F.	44	Schofield, Madison C.	532
Righter, Col. W. H.	754	School of Journalism Students	38
Riot at Mine à Breton	8	Schurz, Carl 154; 166; reviews four years	181
Ripley County	752	Schuyler County	802
Ripley County Democrat	453	Scotland County	802
Rippey, John R.	201	Scott and family sold to Sandford	433
Ritchie, Gov. Albert C.	348	Scott loved Harriet	433
Rixey, Thomas P.	531	Scott on "The right to instruct"	112
Roach, Cornelius	289	Scott was slave of Dr. Emerson	433
Roach, Sidney C.	360	Scott County	803
Robards, Wm. A.	119	Scott, Felix	48
Robb, Edward	275	Scott, John	18, 51, 105, 760
Robertson, Wes L.	450	Scott, William	119
Robinson, Joseph T.	347	Scott, Gen. Winfield	111
Robinson-Norton compromise	723	Scruton, George	452
Rockport Mall	450	Scruton's suggestion	411
Rodman, Francis	155	Sears, Walker S.	201
Rogers on Benton	86; on Jackson, 89	Sebree, John P.	120
Rollins, James S.	116, 169	Secret compact with Napoleon	481
Rollins, John S.	127	Second Epoch—1821-1844	43
Romjue, Milton A.	334, 335, 359	Sedalia Bazar	446
Roosevelt, Franklin D. 71 et seq.; 321, 348,	355	Sedalia Democrat	449, 452
Roosevelt (F. D.) said:	268	Seibert, James Monroe	205, 210, 532
Roosevelt-Hoover vote	350	Selph, Colin M.	242, 440, 532
Roosevelt inaugurated 100 years after		Senate Democrats, 1909	287
Andrew Jackson	268	Senate, In the	131
Roosevelt on fourth ballot	348	Senate of 1893	241
Roosevelt telegram	500	Senate, 1929, 348; 1932	349
Roosevelt, Theodore	280, 694	Senatorial Districts, see Counties	
Rose, R. H.	181	Senatorial primary, 1922	338
Roster of Drum and Fife Corps	416	Senators by popular vote	329
Roster of Jefferson Club	421	Senators of Barton and Benton lines	262
Roster of presidents, Mo. Woman Suffrage Association	429	Senators, Representatives, see Counties	
Rothwell, Gideon Frank	232	Senators who opposed Presidents' policies	329
Rothwell, Rolla R.	452	Sent for Buchanan	90
"Round-up" of legislators	428	Sentiment drifting away from Benton	89
Roy, Sidney J.	531	Seventh Epoch—1889-1904	237
Rubey, Harry M.	532	Seymour, Horatio	155, 162
Rubey, Thomas L.	250, 303	Shackleford, Dorsey W.	276
Rubey, Web M.	199, 532	Shain, Hopkins B.	350
Rucker, William Waller	275	Shannon County	805
Ruffin, James Edward	364	Shannon, Joseph B., 39; address by, 40;	364
Rule of Reason, Restoration of Civil Liberty and Revival of Democracy	177	Shannon's tribute to Jefferson	29
Rumbles of World war	411	Shannon, Richard D.	195
Rumsey elected president	420	Shelbina Democrat	453
Rural World was influential	178; 453	Shelby County	806
Rush, Benjamin	42	Shelby, General Jo	439
Russell, Joseph James	302	Shelby, Maj.-Gen. Joseph Orville	532
Ryland, John F.	119, 127	Shelton, Nathaniel M.	535
		Shepherd, Charles S.	242
		Shepherd, Nehemiah J.	535
		Sheppard, Jesse B.	754
		Sheriffs, Scott Co.	804
		Sherwood, Thomas A.	181, 185
		Shields, Gen. James	200, 219
		Shoemaker's History quoted 17, 18, 22, 65,	
		93, 122, 154, 182, 195,	238
		Short sketches of Jackson County men	648
		Shurlds, Henry	63
		Signed by Vice President Marshall	428
		Silly excuses for charging "bad" decisions	400
		Similarity of Conditions, 1828 and 1932, f. n. 10a	76
		Simmons, H. J.	242
		Simpson, Dr. Robert	436
		Sims, Leonard	139, 145
		Sims, Sode	432
		Sixth Epoch—1873-1888	191
		Slavery question	590
		Slavery the troublesome issue	22
		Smith, Alfred Emanuel	347, 348, 354
		Smith, Forrest	350, 357
		Smith, Jackson L.	199, 208
		Smith-Lever act	318

S

St. Charles County	755
St. Clair County	756
St. Francois County	759
Ste. Genevieve County	760
Ste. Genevieve transfer	7
St. Joseph Gazette at James' trial	202
St. Louis County	763
St. Louis Enquirer	24; quoted, 44; 436
St. Louis Star-Times on the Early West	259
"St. Louis, The Fourth City"	171
St. Louis Republic	440
St. Louis Republic, Globe-Democrat and Post-Dispatch at James' trial	202
Sale, Moses N.	532
Saline County	800
Salmon, Harvey Wallis	181, 185, 449
Salomon, Frederick	181
Salvaged wreck of Republicanism	163
Samuel, Edward M.	97
Sandlin, Rep. John N.	457 et seq.
Sartorius' sacrifice	782
Sawyer, Samuel Locke	226, 232

Smith, Luther Ely	457 et seq.	Stoddard County	808
Smith, Mrs. Luther Ely	482	Stoddard's address to citizens of Upper Louisiana	8
Smith, Madison Roswell	301	Stone administration, The	241
Smith, R. McD. illustrates conditions	155	Stone, analysis of character of	242
Snead, Col. Thos. L.	153	Stone County	811
Sneed, Miss Sallie	215	Stone, John H.	354
Sombre mud-colored khaki	484	Stone passed on, April 14, 1918	318
Some able leaders	579	Stone, William Joel	228, 235
Some distinguished Democrats	636	Stone worked for Clark	309
Sosey, Frank	452	Stone's message to Assembly	241
Sosey, Frank H.	453	Stone, William Henry	222, 228
Sosey, John	452	Stover, John H.	171, 175
Sought riches through Congress	70	Stratton, B. P.	452
Spaulding, Josiah	435	Strother, Sam B.	536
Speakers at "first annual meeting"	411	Stringfellow, Benj. F.	115
Speaker's comment on the result	312	Stufflebam, F. L.	732
Speaker's reply to Bryan	311	Sturgis, H. S.	705
Spectator, The	443	Suffrage in legislature in 1867	423
Speculation run riot	71	Suffrage plank in Democratic platform	427
Speed, Dick	446	Suffrage recommended by Gardner	428
Spencer, Selden P.	322	Suffrage suffered partial eclipse	427
Squelched Calhoun's "States' Rights" movement	98	Sullivan County	812
Springfield Leader	446	Sullivan, John L.	327
Springfield Record	451	Supporters of Woman Suffrage	424
Stanley, Anthony D.	535	Supposed defect in Criminal procedure	403
Staple, H. F.	450	Supreme Court (1889)	241; 391
Staple, John C.	450	Supreme Court reversed Scott decision	434
State administration, 1845	115	Swan song of Liberal Republicans	183
State administration	151	"Sweet triumph of Benton's career"	88
State administration, 1889	237	Swift, William H.	439
State administration, Folk's	279	Switzler, William F. 51; sketch of, 57; 60, 106, 181 155,	445
State administration, 1921	337	Sylvester, Major	436
State bank founded	59		
State convention at Joplin	306		
State convention of 1920	318		
State convention of 1924	340		
State convention of 1928	345		
State convention of 1932	348		
State debt refunded	206		
State Democratic Platform, 1934	385		
State Economy	191		
State Fair at Sedalia	249		
State government, The	47		
Statehood achieved	43		
State officers, 1852	120		
State officers elected with Stephens	249		
State officials, Newspaper men, 1933	412		
State platform convention, 1932	350		
State redistricted, 1891	264		
State Representatives, 1852	120		
State Seal adopted	47		
State Senate, 1876	199		
State Senate, 1889	238		
State Senators, 1852	120		
State ticket elected in 1880	200		
State ticket elected in 1884	202		
State ticket for 1924	341		
State's financial condition good in 1921	322		
States' first constitution	44		
States from Louisiana purchase	1		
Status of negro servant	431		
Stephens administration, The	246		
Stephens, Edwin W.	445, 535		
Stephens, Joseph L.	178		
Stephens, Lon Vest	237, 249, 257		
Stephens, William A.	536		
Sterling Price becomes governor	119		
Stevens, Walter B. quoted 82, 91, 106, 113, 171, 221, 225, 237, 261, 310, 312, 551, 554, 583, 631,	767		
Stewart, Alexander	48		
Stewart elected governor at special election	121		
Stewart, O. J.	605		
Stewart, Robert M.	128		
Stewart's valedictory message	122		
Stoddard, Captain	7		
		T	
		Taft, William Howard	694
		Talleyrand	3
		Tandy, John F.	250
		Taney County	813
		Tariff myth, The	792
		Tarsney, John Charles	272
		Taylor, Zachary	82, 99, 132
		Teasdale, Kenneth	784
		Technical obstructions disregarded	407
		Tenth Epoch—1921-1932	337
		Territorial government	17
		Territory of Indiana	10
		Terry, J. H.	199
		Test Oath, The	128
		Texas County	814
		The Negro in Missouri	431
		"The people of the United States have not failed"	375
		The Scheme and the Charter	768
		The Senate, 1871	187; 1873, 211
		"There aint but one Democracy"	660
		"There is the East"	78
		"There lies the East"	499
		"They have no vision"	371
		Third Epoch—1845-1860	111
		Thomas, Augustus	536
		Thomas, Judge Richard S.	44
		Thompson, in St. Louis Times, on Hardin	196
		Thompson, James B.	446
		Thompson, Robert P. 435, 445, 456, 539 et seq.; 600 et seq.; 702 et seq.; 801 et seq.	
		Thompson, William A.	439
		"Though dark, I am a man"	432
		Three-corned contest for President	713
		Three Episodes	636
		Three outstanding negroes of Missouri	433
		Three state officers	670
		Throttling the country	70
		Thurman, Berry G.	536
		Thurmond, Nicholas D.	536
		Thurston, Mrs.	483
		Thurston, Rep. Lloyd	457 et seq.

Ticket elected in 1874.....	192; in 1876, 196
Tilden, Samuel J.....	199, 207, 593
Tilden and Hendricks.....	208
Tilden-Hayes contest.....	196
Timmons, Scott R.....	574
Tipton, Ernest M.....	350, 357
Toastmaster Nagel's address.....	500
Todd, David.....	48, 668
Todd, James.....	451
Tompkins, George.....	48
Trails out of St. Louis.....	473
Transportation needs of the '60s.....	162
Traylor, Melvin A.....	348
Treaty of Cession.....	10
Treaty of St. Ildefonso.....	6
Tremendous Democratic success.....	367
Trigg, George W.....	450
Triumphant Democracy despite political instability.....	111
Truitt, Max O'Rell.....	458
Truman, Judge Harry S.....	383, 389
Turner, J. Milton.....	432
Turner voted too.....	160
Twenty-year-old decisions mouthed about.....	395

U

Unable to grasp facts before him.....	404
"Uncrowned king of American municipal politics".....	287
Under influence of ideas of past generation.....	399
Unemployment amazing.....	71
Union, The.....	436
United States Telegram.....	69
University of Missouri Bulletin.....	37
University of Missouri established.....	59
University students honor Jefferson.....	39
Unveiling new marker.....	39
Unveiling of statues to Benton and Blair.....	78

V

Valle, Louis.....	13
Valliant, Leroy B.....	288
Van Buren, Martin.....	99
Van Buren helped defeat Cass as revenge.....	82
VanCleve, William.....	451
Vanderberg, Henry.....	13
Vandiver, Willard Duncan.....	275
Van Nuys, Senator Frederick.....	457 et seq.
Van Nuys, Mrs. Frederick.....	483
Vashon, George B.....	432
Vernon County.....	815
Versailles Leader.....	453
"Very fortunate he was not born a woman".....	92
Vest, Senator George G. 38; on Benton, 78; on "test oath," 124; on Gov. Hardin, 195; 196; elected in 1879, 212; 219; not moved by "pressure" of racketeers, 260; reelected to 1897, 261; 614; famous dog speech.....	715
Veterans still carrying on.....	560 et seq.
Vicious influences at work.....	796
Vicious "Interests" said "this is Presidential year".....	165
Vicious unconcern.....	71
Vile, malicious slanders.....	312
Violation of constitution acquiesced in.....	5
Visit of Commission to Site of Proposed Expansion Memorial.....	496
"Viva Gifferson".....	8
"Vive l' Empereur!".....	73
Vories, Henry M.....	181
Vote for governor, 1932.....	353
Voted locally for "our home folks".....	432
Vote in 1928.....	348
Vote of confidence in 1933.....	794

W

Waddill, James R.....	226, 231
Wahl, James S.....	712
Waite used case of 1902 rather than one of 1926.....	399
Walbridge, Cyrus P.....	280
Walden, Charles J.....	446
Walker Herald.....	452
Walker, James Peter.....	236
Walker, John.....	199, 209
Walker, Robert Franklin.....	255
Walkless-Talkless Parade.....	427
Wall, William A.....	536
Waller, Alexander H.....	536
Walsh, Thomas J.....	367, 386
Wammack, Ralph.....	808
War record counted.....	720
"Warm courage of National unity".....	375
Warren County.....	820
Warrenton Banner.....	446
Was Atchison really president?.....	132
Washing away blot of servitude.....	432
Washington County.....	821
Waters, Edward C.....	537
Watkins, Nathaniel W.....	120
Watson, E. M.....	556
Watson, Jean McCluer.....	436, 604
Watson, Thomas.....	436
Wayne County.....	822
Webster County.....	824
Webster-Hayne controversy.....	95
Weigel, Eugene F.....	181
Wells, Erastus.....	171, 175
Wells, Robert W.....	48
Wells, Rolla.....	105; 457 et seq.
Wells, William C.....	199
Wells' administration most progressive.....	771
Wells' "Episodes of my Life".....	772
Wendorff, John D.....	634
Western Emigrant.....	436
Western Journal.....	436
Western Monitor, The.....	70
Wet and dry issues.....	410
Wetmore, Moses C.....	537
What Jefferson had in mind.....	481
What would have been Missouri's fate but for Kentucky.....	512
Whigs.....	51; 556 et seq.
Whigs answered by "Hurrah for Jackson".....	72
Whig electoral ticket (1833).....	106
Whiskey Frauds.....	207
White, James F.....	199
White, John Turner.....	353, 391
White, Robert M.....	537
White, William Allen.....	457 et seq.
Whitcotton, James H.....	253
Whitelaw, Robert Henry.....	272
Whiteside, Josiah.....	537
Why Federal courts get convictions more easily.....	400
Wight, Sheldon A.....	178
Wiley, Frank P.....	201
Willey, Xenophon P.....	318, 330
Wilkerson, John W.....	537
Wilkinson, Gen. James.....	7, 14
Williams, Abraham J.....	48
Williams, Chas. P.....	453
Williams, Clyde.....	363
Williams, Geo. H.....	342
Williams, John F.....	199
Williams, Porter E.....	538
Williams, Robert P.....	258
Williams, Roy D.....	249, 602
Williams, Samuel.....	443
Williams, Wallace.....	450
Williams, Dr. Walter.....	38, 445
Williams, William Muir.....	249
Williams and Shoemaker's History.....	13

