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C. R. Williams

# LIVES OF BLAINE AND LOGAN



JAMES G. BLAINE.



JOHN A. LOGAN.

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## THE PEOPLE'S EDITION---BOOK OF REFERENCE.

JAMES G. BLAINE—HIS BIRTHPLACE AT WEST BROWNSVILLE, PA.—BOYHOOD—COLLEGE LIFE—TWO YEARS AT THE PHILADELPHIA BLIND INSTITUTION—EDITOR IN MAINE—THE HOMESTEAD AT AUGUSTA, ME.—RELIGION—CAREER IN CONGRESS—SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE—INGERSOLL'S SPEECH NOMINATING HIM FOR PRESIDENT IN 1876—ORIGIN OF THE TERM "PLUMED KNIGHT"—WASHINGTON RESIDENCE—SENATOR FROM MAINE—SECRETARY OF STATE—GARFIELD'S FRIEND—EULOGY ON THE DEATH OF GARFIELD—AS AN HISTORIAN—"TWENTY YEARS OF CONGRESS"—THE CONVENTION OF 1884—BALLOTS IN DETAIL—THE ELECTORAL VOTES—JUDGE WEST'S SPEECH—NOTIFICATION BY CHAIRMAN HENDERSON—ETC.  
JOHN A. LOGAN—WAR RECORD—PUBLIC LIFE—GRANT ON LOGAN—SKETCH OF MRS. LOGAN—THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1884.

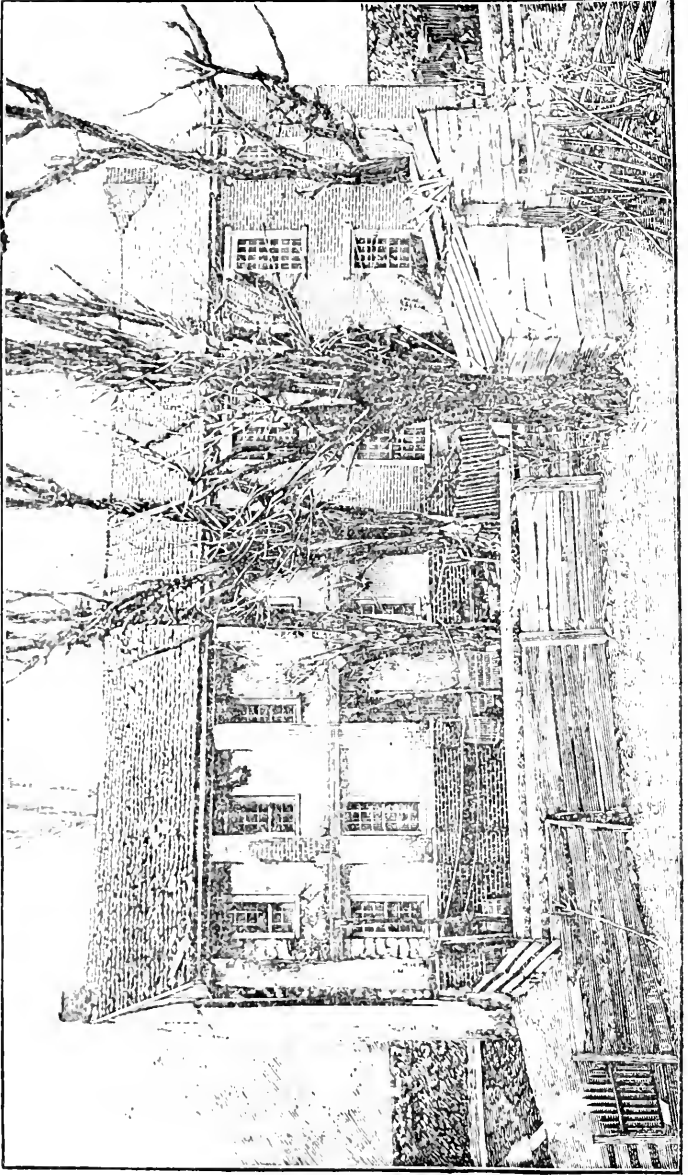
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1884.



JAMES G. BLAINE'S BIRTHPLACE, WEST BROWNSVILLE, PA.

# LIFE OF JAMES G. BLAINE.

## HIS BOYHOOD.

JAMES G. BLAINE was born on the old Indian Hill Farm, in Washington County, Pennsylvania, January 31, 1830. On this farm his great grandfather, the elder Neal Gillespie, had settled before the outbreak of the Revolution.

The paternal great-grandfather of Mr. Blaine was a Pennsylvania colonel in the revolution. His home was in that settlement of the Scotch-Irish people—the Cumberland Valley. It followed that the Blaines were all Presbyterians. It is told of Colonel Blaine that he was a friend of General Washington, who attributed the preservation of the ragged continentals from starving while at Valley Forge to the generous act of Colonel Blaine, while commissary-general of the Northern department of the army, in contributing and collecting large sums of money for the purchase of supplies. Ephraim L. Blaine, the grandson of the revolutionary hero, lived in Washington County before 1842, at West Brownsville. In that year, as a Whig, he was elected to the office of prothonotary of the courts, and moved to Washington. Tradition says he lived in good style, held his head rather high, was much respected, and was loved more for a generosity and hospitality from which no one but himself felt any ill effects. The son of the prothonotary, now the Republican candidate for President of the United States, a few years ago, after a long absence, paid a visit to his birthplace, recognized the house at a glance, and promptly answered the salutations of his old friends—calling by their names or nicknames persons whom he had not seen for many years. In his youth Blaine was tall and thin, and, on account of his shyness and reticence in their society, was not a general favorite with the village belles. He was quick, intelligent, read a good deal, and was fond of fun.

A gentleman who recently visited Blaine's birthplace at West Brownsville, thus writes of it:—

“See how the ivy climbs and expands  
Over this humble hermitage,  
And seems to cover with its little hands  
The rough gray stones, as a child that stands  
Caressing the wrinkled cheeks of age.”

Longfellow wrote these lines in his charming description of quaint "Old Saint Davids at Radnor," but how well do they apply to the ancient church in this village; the little limestone pile among the graves that hold so many of those who make the town worth writing about. It is the same "image of peace and rest" that the poet so well describes, and its surroundings are as striking and lonely as the poetical imagination could desire.

I stood beside two old graves to-day in this village that are in the shadow of the little church that so quickly recalled to me Longfellow's beautiful lines. The marble that marked them was much newer than the mounds, and the surroundings impressed me with the thought that a dutiful and reverent son had years after, when means and opportunity came that were wanting when death called father and mother, placed a fitting monument to mark the spot where they slept. It is a plain, unpretentious stone that marks these graves, and it was the names only that attracted my attention. They were those of Ephraim L. Blaine and Maria Gillespie Blaine.

"Who were these two people in life?" I asked of an old gentleman, who had wandered along with me to this quiet city where the dead sleep.

"Why, they were the father and mother of James G. Blaine. I knew them both well. Eph Blaine and I went to school together. He was one of the founders of this town, and was 'squire here for many a year. He was elected prothonotary of the county in 1842, and moved to Washington, the county seat. He married Maria, a daughter of old Neal Gillespie, the smartest man in this whole section, and from his people James Gillespie Blaine derives his middle name. The Gillespies were among the most prominent families in the State. The seal of nature's nobility was stamped upon them, one and all. The men were brave and stalwart; as strong in character, too, as they were stout of limb. The women were very handsome, and carried themselves as proudly as though the blood of a hundred earls were coursing through their veins. The beauty of old Mrs. Blaine, James' mother, passed into a proverb. Even in her decrepit age she preserved much of her early attractiveness, and her eye was like a hawk's, as clear and flashing then as in the days of her budding womanhood. This was a peculiarity of her family, and she transmitted it to all her children. Neal Gillespie owned a good deal of land about here, and Eph Blaine built the brick house you see yonder on a portion of it, after his marriage with Miss Gillespie. There their first child, James, was born in 1830. I remember him very well when he was a lad and used to paddle about on the river and make mud pies along its banks. He was a bright lad.

## NEVER TURNED HIS BACK ON FRIEND OR FOE.

“I remember one little story about him, which I often heard in those days, and which is interesting as showing how truly, in his case, the child was father to the man. When he was but a little toddler, so to speak, some laborers were engaged digging a well on his father’s premises. The future statesman was caught one morning peering down into the excavation, and one of the men, with the idea of frightening him and thus preventing him from again putting himself in danger, thrust his shovel toward him, and made all sorts of ugly faces. Jim ran away, but only to nurse his anger and await an opportunity for revenge. Venturing to the well a day or two after he had been driven away, he found the men working away at the bottom. Improving the opportunity, he seized a clod of earth and hurled it with all his little might full at the head of his unsuspecting enemy, with the consolatory remark, ‘There, take that.’ Clod followed clod in fast succession, with accompanying expletives, until the men were fairly beside themselves with rage and the fear that the desperate child might take it into his head to use some of the stones lying about him as messengers of wrath more effective than mere lumps of earth. Their shouts, however, brought his mother to the scene, and the little avenger was unceremoniously hustled off to the house. That was the old blood asserting itself. A Gillespie or a Blaine never turned his back upon friend or foe.”

## MEMORIES.

“Do the Blaines or any of the relatives own the old homestead?”

“No, indeed. It’s long since passed into strange hands. There was little of either the Blaine or the Gillespie estate left when the settlement day came. The children all had to begin new. None of either family live about here now.”

There is much that is strange in the story that the old man told me, and much more that is interesting. We finished the talk beside the restless waters of the Monongahela, near which Mr. Blaine was born and his family lived for years. The little brick house doesn’t stand more than forty rods from the river, and the old path which leads from the doorway that Blaine helped to make in childhood, is still there. The best boat on the river now bears his name, and the plain people love to talk of his having been born in their midst. It is a queer section of country in which to have found the homes of two such families as the Blaines and the Gillespies. Both strong houses—both fond of the best things of this life. Both educated and brainy. Blaine sprang from Revolutionary stock. His great-grandfather

was a distinguished officer in the Revolution. He was a rich man, and lived in Cumberland County, above Carlisle. He left James Blaine, the grandfather, and Ephraim Blaine, the father of the man of whom I am now writing, rich. The story goes that both spent their money in having a good time. The grandfather spent many years in Europe, and returned to this country only when he had become penniless. The first history he made in this country began early in the present century. After he was poor he left the rich and populous section of Carlisle, and moved into the then wilderness of the Youghiogheny region, and established a country store at the mouth of Ten Mile Run, in Greene County. He lived here but a short time when he came to Brownsville, with his wagon load of goods, and established a store, which he kept the remainder of his life. The Gillespie family was then a rich and powerful family in the region. The strength of mind and character for which all the family were noted, is still a proverb in the region. The Monongahela river at this point separates the two counties of Fayette and Washington. Brownsville is on the Fayette side and West Brownsville is on the Washington side. They are both quaint old towns, and wear the mark of many years. I don't suppose there are fifteen hundred people in both, and the houses straggle along the banks of the river on the lowlands, which are just high enough to keep them out of the reach of the overflow. This country was new—I might say wild—when the Blaines and the Gillespies came here. The rich treasures of the Youghiogheny region were floated down the Ohio river in rude keel boats, and the untold wealth in the rugged mountains was then unknown. Albert Gallatin used to live in this country then, and his residence was but a few miles up the river from this point. But mighty changes have taken place since those days, when he so left his impress upon the finances and credit of this country that it can never be effaced.

#### TWO STRONG FAMILIES.

There seems to have been good feeling from the first between the Blaine and Gillespie families, and there seems to have been a special care to intermingle the family names as each son was born. The old man, whom I encountered in the first part of this story, told me that nearly every son in the Blaine family, as in the Gillespies, wore the family name or some part of his autograph. The Gillespie family seemed to run more to girls than boys, and it seemed to be their good fortune to link their fortunes with strong men. The daughter who was next in age to Maria, who married Ephraim L. Blaine, was wedded to the famous Tom Ewing, of Ohio, when he was a poor lawyer in Lancaster, Pa. That's how he became an uncle of James G. Blaine, and the names of Blaine and Ewing became joined.



There is a tradition here that when old Tom Ewing was Secretary of the Interior, Blaine applied to him for a clerkship, and the old man sent him to Kentucky to earn an honest living teaching school. This association of the name of Ewing with that of Blaine has given rise to the story that the Ewing family of Ohio helped James G. Blaine to an education. I might as well destroy this fiction by telling the facts.

A short drive brought me to Washington, the county seat of this county, and one of the first men I met was Major John H. Ewing, an old veteran now past four-score years.

"I married the sister of Ephraim L. Blaine. He and I went to school together over in yonder college, and I knew him nearly all his life. He was a leader in the mischief of the school, and fond of all the good things of this life. He was the handsomest man I ever saw, and he had a wife that was a match for him. She was one of the noblest women I ever knew. She inherited all the sterling traits of character and strength of mind for which the Gillespies were noted. So, you see, Blaine sprang from the best of stock on both sides. His father was justice of the peace over in West Brownville for a number of years, and afterwards prothonotary of the county. He was elected in 1842 and came here to live. James G. was only about twelve years old then, and almost every middle aged man you meet on the streets here remembers all about him."

#### BLAINE'S COLLEGE CAREER.

Young Blaine was thirteen when, in 1843, he entered Washington College. His college mates say he was easily leader of the three hundred students from all parts of the country. He became active in athletic sports, and, with exercise, his figure gained fullness and firmness. He was kind to the new boys and the youngsters, considerate of their freshness, and generous in giving them assistance and smoothing the rough places in their path. He became the arbiter of their disputes, and before the close of his college days he was universally looked up to and loved.

During the campaign of 1844, when the Whigs had a "log cabin" near the college for headquarters, he was especially aggressive in his defense of Whig policy, and in active work. He was a brilliant student, and excelled alike in the sciences and mathematics. He was always looked upon as very smart. The leading and preponderating quality of his mind was a remarkable memory. In this he far excelled every other member of his class. He was a great reader of history, and was so methodical in his arrangement of facts that he could in an instant present an array of them that would overwhelm any opponent. An

incident illustrating strongly this power is told of him when a little boy. His sister challenged him to a contest in naming the counties of the State of Pennsylvania. She named them all, and he immediately named them and every county seat besides.

#### ON THE ROAD TO FAME.

Mr. A. M. Gow, of Washington, Pa., who was Blaine's classmate, speaks thus of his school-days:—

“Yes, Blaine graduated in the class of '47, when he was only seventeen years old. I graduated in the same class. We were thrown a great deal together, not only in school, but in society. He was a great favorite in the best social circles in the town. He was not noted as a leader in his class. He could learn his lessons too easily. He had the most remarkable memory of any boy in school, and could commit and retain his lessons without difficulty. He never demonstrated in his youth, except by his wonderful memory, any of the great powers as a debater and thinker that he has since given evidence of.”

Dr. J. C. Cooper, of Philadelphia, another graduate of Washington College, in the class of '47, speaks of his classmate James G. Blaine, in terms of the highest praise. Dr. Cooper states that “in his college-days, young Blaine was a careful, thorough and conscientious student, though he had a gift of acquiring knowledge without much effort. He was ambitious, and there was one place where he could always be found, that was, at the head of his class.”

When a man has filled so large a place in the public eye as Mr. Blaine has, his early life seems a great way off. When you get where every other man you meet can tell you all about it, then you seem to see it in a different light and it leaves a far different impression upon your mind. Here, what seems to be to you when away traditions far in the distant past, appears like the recollections of yesterday. People cannot only tell you of his father and his grandfather, but of almost every phase of his life from boyhood up. The stories of his early struggles and triumphs are as vivid as those of his later years, and his name is closely associated with the lore of the country side. He left here soon after he graduated, but how little did he then think that his home would be made in the Northland and his fame and fortune won many miles away from the quaint old town where he grew up. It is a nice place for peace and rest. The people are contented and happy with their splendid educational institutions, their rich acres and plenty of money. He had close alliances here then that were likely to bring him back to stay.

## HIS RECOLLECTIONS OF YOUTH.

In 1847, at the age of seventeen, he graduated at the head of a large class, many of whose members have also acquired wide renown. Mr. Blaine has always retained a warm affection for his alma mater and his native county. He has said that his pride and affection for both increase with years and reflection, and he recalls with pleasure the memory of the hardy pioneers of the county, their zealous celebrations on the Fourth of July and Washington's Birthday, and, speaking of one Fourth of July celebration in Brownsville in 1840, which was attended by 200 Revolutionary veterans, Mr. Blaine has said that the modern cant and criticism which we sometimes hear about Washington not being a very great man would have been dangerous talk on that day and in that assemblage. Of this college he has said: "During my service of eighteen years in Congress I met a larger number of the alumni of Washington and Jefferson than of any single college in the Union." With Blaine's college life his immediate connection with Pennsylvania, except for a short time spent as a teacher in Philadelphia, and a few years devoted to the study of Law, was ended, but his affection for his native State did not grow less with distance or time.

After his graduation, Mr. Blaine went to Blue Lick Springs, Ky., as a professor in the Western Military Institute. Nothing tests a man's back-bone more than the control of 450 half-grown boys. If he can maintain discipline and the regard and respect of his pupils, combine the instructor and the friend, he has succeeded as few beside the master at Rugby have done. Mr. Blaine even yet knows the boys of the Western Military Institute—their given names, their shortcomings and strong points. An officer of the Confederate service has narrated how coolly and bravely Mr. Blaine behaved during a bloody conflict between the faculty of the school and the owners of Blue Lick Springs—when knives and revolvers were drawn. At Millersburg, twenty-nine miles away, was a young ladies' school, and here Blaine met Miss Harriet Stanwood, who belonged to an excellent Massachusetts family, and subsequently she became Mrs. Blaine. Miss Stanwood, for some romantic reason, refused to tell her future husband anything about her parentage or circumstances. When the school broke up she returned to her home in Maine. Mr. Blaine followed her; they were married, and the husband, to oblige his wife, became "Blaine, of Maine," though a more correct title would be Blaine, of Maine and of Pennsylvania.

## BLAINE AND THE BLIND.

After leaving Blue Lick Springs, Mr. Blaine spent two years in the City of Philadelphia, teaching at The Pennsylvania Insti-

tution for the Instruction of the Blind. Mr. William Chapin, a genial old gentleman of over four score years, and the principal of the institution since 1849, when recently interrogated as to his recollection of Mr. Blaine, replied:

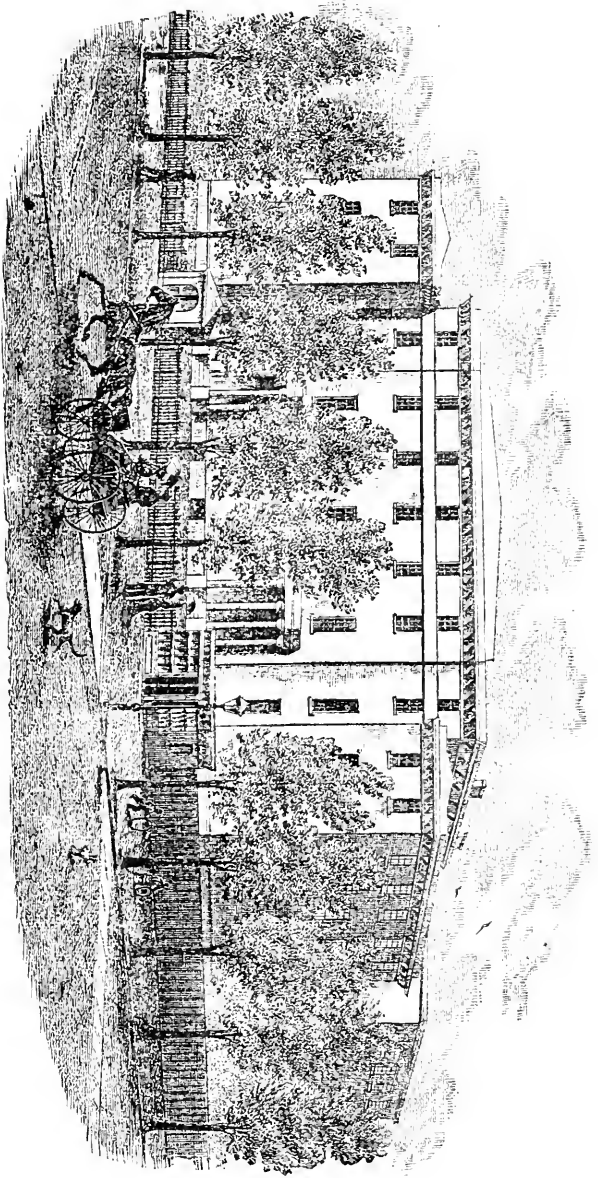
“Yes, I remember young James G. Blaine distinctly. He was principal teacher here on the boys’ side for two years, and when he departed he left behind him not only universal regret at a serious loss to the institution, but an impression of his personal force upon the work and methods, which survives the lapse of twenty years.”

The Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind, at Twentieth and Race Streets, is the second place in which Mr. Blaine taught after his graduation from Washington College. He rang the bell at the front door of the building one summer afternoon, in 1852, in answer to an advertisement for a teacher. “There were thirty or forty other applicants,” said Mr. Chapin, “but his manner was so winning, and he possessed so many manifestly valuable qualities that I closed an engagement with him at once. He was married, and his wife and little son Walker came here with him. His qualities, which impressed me most deeply, were his culture, the thoroughness of his education and his unfailing self-possession. He was also a man of very decided will, and was very much disposed to argument. He was young then—only twenty-two—and was rather impulsive, leaping to a conclusion very quickly. But he was always ready to defend his conclusions, however suddenly he seemed to have reached them. We had many a familiar discussion in this very room, and his arguments always astonished me by the knowledge they displayed of facts in history and politics. His memory was remarkable, and seemed to retain details which ordinary men would forget.

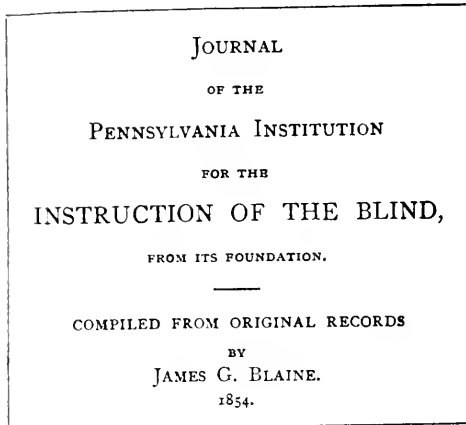
#### BLAINE’S FIRST BOOK.

“Now I will show you something that illustrates how thoroughly Mr. Blaine mastered anything he took hold of,” said Mr. Chapin, as he took from a desk in the corner of the room a thick quarto manuscript book, bound in dark, brown leather, and lettered “Journal” on the corner. “This book Mr. Blaine compiled with great labor from the minute books of the Board of Managers. It gives an historical view of the institution from the time of its foundation up to the time of Mr. Blaine’s departure. He did all the work in his own room, telling no one of it till he left. Then he presented it, through me, to the Board of Managers, who were both surprised and gratified. I believe they made him a present of \$100 as a thank-offering for an invaluable work.”

BLIND ASYLUM, PHILADELPHIA.



Indeed, this book, the first historical work of Mr. Blaine, is a model of its kind. On the title page, in ornamental pen-work, executed at that time by Mr. Chapin, is the inscription:



A MODEL OF METHOD.

The methodical character of the work is most remarkable. On the first page every abbreviation used in the book is entered alphabetically. The first entry reads: "On this and the four following pages will be found some notes in regard to the origin of the Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind, furnished by I. Francis Fisher, Esq." From this page to the 188th, in which is the last entry made by Mr. Blaine, every line is a model of neatness and accuracy. On every page is a wide margin. At the top of the margin is the year, in ornamental figures. Below it is a brief statement of what the text contains opposite that portion of the marginal entry. Every year's record closes with an elaborate table, giving the attendance of members of the board. The last pages of the book are filled with alphabetical lists of officers of the institution and statistical tables, compiled by the same patient and untiring hand. One of the lists is that of the "principal teachers." No. 13 is followed by the signature "James G. Blaine, from August 5, 1852, to"—and then, in an other hand, the record is completed with the date November 23, 1854.

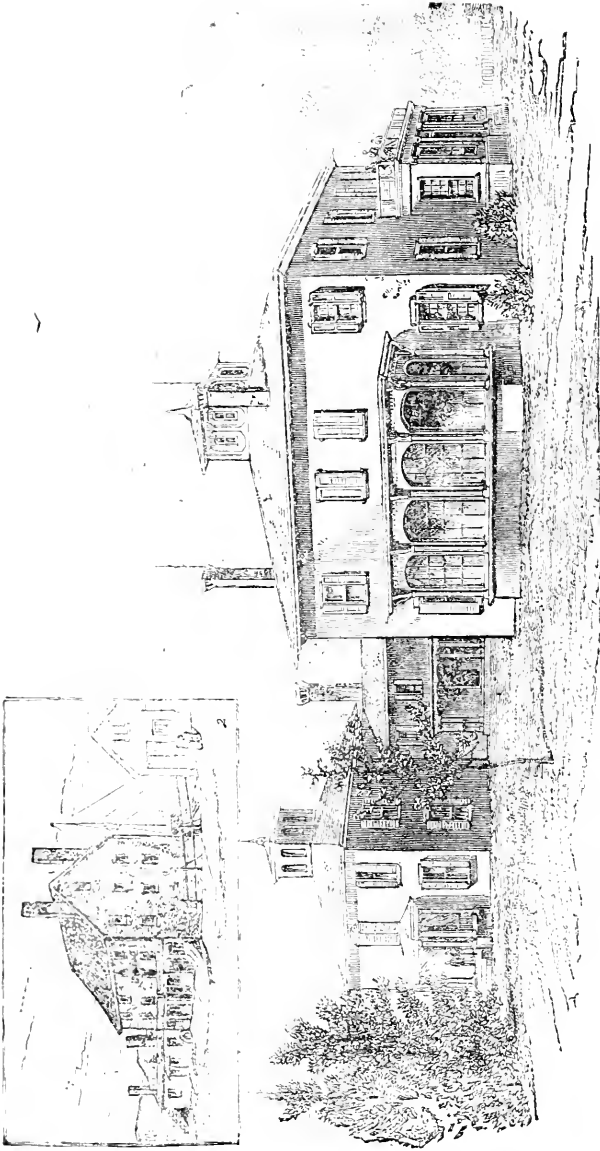
"I think that the book," remarked Mr. Chapin, "illustrates the character of the man in accurate mastery of facts and orderly presentation of details. We still use it for reference, and Mr. Frank Battles, the assistant principal, is bringing the record down to the present time."

"I recall one incident," Mr. Chapin continued, "which indicates Mr. Blaine's mode of discipline, and shows, too, that he was in those days somewhat impulsive. It was one of his duties to take charge of the boys at breakfast, and sometimes there would be a few sleepy laggards. One morning a whole room full of boys, five or six of them, failed to appear. Mr. Blaine quietly walked up stairs and locked them in. The boys had a screw-driver and they unfastened the lock; but by the time they reached the breakfast room the tables had been cleared. 'You can have no breakfast,' was the teacher's announcement. The boys thereupon declared that they wouldn't go into Mr. Blaine's classes. He reported them to me. Although I thought it perhaps a little severe to deprive them of breakfast, I felt obliged to sustain Mr. Blaine, and told them to go to their class rooms as usual. They still refused, and I suspended them for the day. The next morning they rose in time for breakfast, attended classes, and the little rebellion was over.

"Mr. Blaine taught mathematics, in which he excelled, and the higher branches. His wife was universally beloved, and often read aloud to the pupils. When he went away to become editor of the *Kennebec Journal*, we felt that we had lost a man of large parts and we watched his upward career with great interest. Yes, indeed, we're all for Blaine here. He has called here a number of times when he stopped in the city on his way to and from Washington. The last time he was here he heard with great interest of the progress of D. D. Wood, the blind organist at St. Stephen's Church, who was one of his pupils, and recalled Mr. Wood's proficiency in mathematics."

#### A PUPIL'S RECOLLECTIONS.

Three persons now holding positions in the institution, Michael M. Williams, William McMillan and Miss Maria Cormany, were pupils under Mr. Blaine. Mr. Williams said: "Everybody loved Mr. Blaine and his wife. Both were always ready to do anything for our amusement in leisure hours, and we had a great deal of fun, into which they entered heartily. I think that Mrs. Blaine read nearly all of Dicken's works aloud to us, and Mr. Blaine used to make us roar with laughter by reading out of a book entitled 'Charcoal Sketches.'" Mr. Williams led the visitor to a large room at the right of the main entrance to the building, separated by folding doors from another room, and added: "In the evenings he used to throw those doors open and sit there under the gaslight, reading aloud to both the boys and girls. Then we would wind up with a spelling bee. Sometimes Mr. Blaine would give out the words and sometimes one of the big boys would do it, while Mr. Blaine stood up among the boys. Then we would have great fun trying to 'spell the teacher down.'"



RESIDENCE OF JAMES G. BLAINE, ON STATE STREET, AUGUSTA, ME.



## THE MAINE EDITOR AND POLITICIAN.

It was in 1853 that Mr. Blaine went to Portland, Me., and became editor of the *Portland Advertiser* and the *Kennebec Journal*. A great journalist was lost when he entered public life. He has himself said that he never hoped to attain in his writing anything like the excellence of style reached by him in the intense excitement of public speaking. The truth is, he is a master of both arts. His first reputation as a public speaker was acquired in the Fremont campaign of 1856. In 1858 he was elected a member of the Maine Legislature. He was re-elected three times, and in 1861 and 1862 he was chosen speaker of the House. In 1863, at the height of the civil war, he was elected to Congress, beginning a service in the National House of Representatives which lasted fourteen years. He became the leader of the Republican side of the House as he became the leader of men wherever he went. It was in the beginning of his second term that he began to make himself felt. None of the younger members had been on more cordial or confidential terms with Mr. Lincoln than the new member from Maine. Towards the expiration of Mr. Lincoln's first term, Mr. Blaine was the person with whom the President constantly conferred in regard to political movements in Maine. Ward H. Lamon, Lincoln's law partner, was present at a conference when Mr. Lincoln requested Mr. Blaine to go to Maine and watch the movements of the President's opponents. The acquaintance between Lincoln and Blaine had begun in Illinois, during the Douglas campaign in 1858, and at that early time the Maine editor had predicted in the columns of his paper that Lincoln would be defeated for senator by Douglas, but that he would beat Douglas for president in 1860. A copy of this prophecy Mr. Lincoln carried in his memorandum book long after he had been inaugurated as president. In 1860, as delegate to the Chicago Convention, Mr. Blaine had been almost the only New England man who had supported Mr. Lincoln from the start, and it is not too much to say that it was Mr. Blaine's early and firm stand for Lincoln which opened the way to the first nomination of the first martyr President.

## HIS CONGRESSIONAL CAREER.

Mr. Blaine had been a representative hardly three years before he had won an equal rank with the ablest of the members. It was a body strong in strong men—Thad. Stevens, Ben. Butler, Bingham, Boutwell, Conkling, Dawes, George N. Julian, R. B. Hayes and others made the Republican delegation a tower of strength. In the National House of Representatives Mr. Blaine followed the same even and upward path of progress which he

had trodden from his entrance in college to his last day of service in the Maine Legislature. He was a member of the Thirty-eighth, Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, Forty-first, Forty-second, Forty-third and Forty-fourth Congresses. He was Speaker of the House during the Forty-first, Forty-second and Forty-third Congresses.

Upon assuming the chair as Speaker of the House in 1869, Mr. Blaine made the following address:

*Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:* I thank you profoundly for the great honor which you have just conferred upon me. The gratification which this signal mark of your confidence brings to me finds its only drawback in the diffidence with which I assume the weighty duties devolved upon me. Succeeding to a chair made illustrious by the services of such eminent statesmen and skilled parliamentarians as Clay, and Stevenson, and Polk, and Winthrop, and Banks, and Grow, and Colfax, I may well distrust my ability to meet the just expectations of those who have shown me such marked partiality. But relying, gentlemen, on my honest purpose to perform all my duties faithfully and fearlessly, and trusting in a large measure to the indulgence which I am sure you will always extend to me, I shall hope to retain, as I have secured your confidence, your kindly regard and your generous support.

The Forty-first Congress assembles at an auspicious period in the history of our Government. The splendid and impressive ceremonial which we have just witnessed in another part of the Capitol appropriately symbolizes the triumphs of the past and the hopes of the future. A great chieftain, whose sword at the head of gallant and victorious armies saved the republic from dismemberment and ruin, has been fitly called to the highest civic honor which a grateful people can bestow. Sustained by a Congress that so ably represents the loyalty, the patriotism, and the personal worth of the nation, the President this day inaugurated will assure to the country an administration of purity, fidelity and prosperity; an era of liberty regulated by law, and of law thoroughly inspired with liberty.

Congratulating you, gentlemen, upon the happy auguries of the day, and invoking the gracious blessing of Almighty God on the arduous and responsible duties before you, I am now ready to take the oath of office and enter upon the discharge of the duties to which you have called me.

For the speakership he had nearly every requirement that can be demanded. Before he took up the gavel he had long parliamentary experience, and, before experience, he had quickness, firmness, knowledge of the rules, of men and affairs. His assumption of the office was merely another trial of the powers which had been equal to every occasion, and they did not fail him now. On July 10, 1876, Mr. Blaine was appointed United States Senator from Maine, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Lott M. Morrill, who had been appointed Secretary of the Treasury, and he was subsequently elected for the unexpired term, and for the ensuing term which expired March 3, 1883.

His congressional career embraced the most trying period of his country's history, the sombre years of the rebellion, the reconstruction period and the perilous time when the election

of President Hayes aroused an apparently triumphant Democratic party almost to the verge of madness. A good example of Mr. Blaine's powers as a debater is found in a speech delivered in the Senate, April 14, 1879, when an effort was made by the Democrats to strike out the words from a section of the Revised Statutes, which provided for the use of soldiers to keep peace at the polls. In reply to the charge that the soldiers were used to intimidate Southern voters, Mr. Blaine said:

"And the entire South has one thousand one hundred and fifty-five soldiers to intimidate, overrun, oppress and destroy the liberties of fifteen million people! In the Southern States there are one thousand two hundred and three counties. If you distribute the soldiers there is not quite one for each county. If you distribute them territorially there is one for every seven hundred square miles of territory, so that if you make a territorial distribution I would remind the honorable Senator from Delaware, if I saw him in his seat, that the quota for his state would be three, 'One ragged sergeant and two abreast,' as the old song has it. That is the force ready to destroy the liberties of Delaware."

#### BLAINE, THE STATESMAN.

An examination of the *Congressional Record* will show how far astray is the popular idea of Mr. Blaine's congressional career and how much greater he was as a statesman than as a politician. His debates covered a wide range of the most complicated subjects, and show him to have been sound in his financial views, practical always and liberal in his political views. When, in December, 1864, Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania, introduced a bill in the House to determine the value of legal tender notes, and to compel all persons to take the notes at their face value, Mr. Blaine was the member to expose the absurdity of the attempt. "The bill," he said, "aims at the impossible. You cannot make a gold dollar worth less than it is by congressional declaration."

Mr. Blaine invented the word "Stalwart," but no one was quicker than he to advise keeping hands off the South after the close of the war.

In a speech upon the financial condition of the country, delivered in the House, in March, 1868, Mr. Blaine said:

"Nor do I see how any gentleman can consistently propose an inflation of the currency in the face of an express and solemn pledge to the contrary by Congress \* \* \* If we were ever so eager to pay off our five-twenty's in greenbacks we are actually stopped by the four hundred million dollars pledge. If we disregard that pledge we might just as well trample upon others and

take a short cut at once to repudiation and national bankruptcy. The policy which I advocate is to bring our entire currency in due season, without haste, without rashness, without contraction, without financial convulsion, up to the specie standard."

June 23, 1868, Mr. Blaine made an elaborate argument in opposition to the proposition to impose a tax upon Government bonds. He was one of the most conspicuous and able of the opponents of the importation of Chinese labor. His ablest speeches in the Senate were, probably, those made during the Geneva award debate, when he successfully crossed arms with the great legal athletes of the Senate Chamber.

In the meantime, Mr. Blaine's popularity and prominence had made him a formidable candidate for the presidency. At the Republican National Convention, held at Cincinnati in 1876, he was by far the most popular candidate, but, as is so often the case, under such circumstances, the combinations effected by the opposition were too strong to be withstood, and Rutherford B. Hayes received the nomination on the seventh ballot.

The following is Col. Ingersoll's speech, nominating Mr. Blaine:

The Republicans of the United States demand, as their leader in the great contest of 1876, a man of intelligence, a man of integrity, a man of well known and approved political opinions. They demand a statesman. They demand a reformer after, as well as before, the election. They demand a politician in the highest, broadest, best sense—a man of superb moral courage. They demand a man acquainted with public affairs; with the wants of the people; with not only the requirements of the hour, but with the demands of the future. They demand a man broad enough to comprehend the relations of this Government to the other nations of the earth. They demand a man well versed in the powers, duties and prerogatives of each and every department of this Government. They demand a man who will sacredly preserve the financial honor of the United States; one who knows enough to know that the national debt must be paid through the prosperity of its people; one who knows enough to know that all the financial theories in the world cannot redeem a single dollar; one who knows enough to know that all the money must be made, not by law, but by labor; one who knows enough to know that the people of the United States have the industry to make the money and have the honor to pay it over just as fast as they make it.

The Republicans of the United States demand a man who knows that prosperity and resumption, when they come, must come together; that when they come, they will come hand in hand through the golden harvest fields; hand in hand by the whirling spindles and the turning wheel; hand in hand past the open furnace doors; hand in hand by the flaming forges; hand in hand by the chimneys filled with eager fire; greeted and grasped by the countless sons of toil.

This money has to be dug out of the earth. You cannot make it by passing resolutions in a political convention. The Republicans of the United States want a man who knows that this Government should protect every citizen at home and abroad; who knows that any Government that will not defend its defenders, and protect its protectors is a disgrace to the map of the world. They demand a man who believes in the eternal separation and divorcement

of church and school. They demand a man whose political reputation is spotless as a star; but they do not demand that their candidate shall have a certificate of moral character signed by a Confederate Congress. The man who has, in full, heaped, and rounded measure, all these splendid qualifications, is the present grand and gallant leader of the Republican party—James G. Blaine.

Our country, crowned with the vast and marvelous achievements of its first century, asks for a man worthy of the past and prophetic of the future; asks for a man who has the audacity of genius; asks for a man who has the grandest combination of heart, conscience and brain beneath her flag—such a man is James G. Blaine. For the Republican host led by this intrepid man, there can be no defeat. This is a grand year—a year filled with the recollections of the Revolution; filled with proud and tender memories of the past—with the sacred legends of Liberty—a year in which the sons of Freedom will drink from the fountains of enthusiasm—a year in which the people call for a man who has preserved in Congress what our soldiers won upon the field—a year in which they call for the man who has torn from the throat of treason the tongue of slander; for the man who has snatched the mask of Democracy from the hideous face of Rebellion; for the man who, like an intellectual athlete, has stood in the arena of debate and challenged all comers, and who is still a total stranger to defeat. Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen foreheads of the defamers of his country and the maligners of his honor. For the Republican party to desert this gallant leader now is as though an army should desert their general upon the field of battle. James G. Blaine is now and has been for years the bearer of the sacred standard of the Republican party. I call it sacred, because no human being can stand beneath its folds without becoming and without remaining free.

Gentlemen of the Convention: In the name of the great Republic, the only Republic that ever existed upon this earth; in the name of all her defenders and of all her supporters; in the name of all her soldiers living; in the name of all her soldiers dead upon the field of battle, and in the name of those who perished in the skeleton clutch of famine at Andersonville and Libby, whose sufferings he so vividly remembers, Illinois—Illinois nominates for the next President of this Country, that prince of parliamentarians, that leader of leaders, James G. Blaine.

#### THE BALLOTS IN DETAIL IN 1876.

Candidates.	1st Ballot.	2d Ballot.	3d Ballot.	4th Ballot.	5th Ballot.	6th Ballot.	7th Ballot.
Blaine.....	298	296	293	292	286	308	351
Bristow.....	114	113	121	126	114	111	21
Conkling.....	93	99	90	84	82	81	
Morton.....	111	124	113	108	95	85	
Hartmanft.....	63	58	68	71	69	50	
Hayes.....	64	61	67	68	104	113	384
Jewell.....	11	11					
Wheeler.....	3	3	2	2	2	2	
Washburne.....	1	1	1	3	3	4	

Again, in the National Republican Convention of 1880, James G. Blaine was one of the popular candidates, ranking

second to General Grant in the first thirty-five ballots of the convention; in the thirty-sixth the Blaine votes were transferred to James A. Garfield, who received at that ballot 399 votes, and was declared the candidate of his party.

## THE BALLOTS IN DETAIL IN 1880.

BALLOTS.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Washburne.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Garfield.	Hayes.	Harrison.	McCrary.	Davis, Texas.	Hartranft.
Monday-Afternoon, June 7	1st.....	304	284	93	30	34	10					
	2d.....	305	282	94	31	32	10	1				
	3d.....	305	282	93	31	32	10	1	1			
	4th.....	305	281	95	31	32	10	1				
	5th.....	305	281	95	31	32	10	1				
	6th.....	305	280	95	31	32	10	2				
	7th.....	305	281	94	31	32	10	2				
	8th.....	306	284	91	32	31	10	1				
	9th.....	308	282	90	32	31	10	2				
	10th.....	305	282	92	33	31	10	1	1			
	11th.....	305	281	93	32	31	10	2	1			
	12th.....	304	283	92	33	31	10	1	1			
	13th.....	305	285	89	33	31	10	1		1		
	14th.....	305	285	89	35	31	10					
	15th.....	309	281	88	36	31	10					
	16th.....	306	283	88	36	31	10					
	17th.....	303	284	90	36	31	10				1	
	18th.....	305	283	91	35	31	10					
Monday Ev'g, June 7	19th.....	305	279	96	32	31	10	1				1
	20th.....	308	276	93	35	31	10	1				1
	21st.....	305	276	96	35	31	10	1				1
	22d.....	305	275	97	35	31	10	1				1
	23d.....	304	275	97	36	31	10	2				
	24th.....	305	279	93	35	31	10	2				
	25th.....	302	281	94	35	31	10	2				
	26th.....	303	280	93	36	31	10	2				
	27th.....	306	277	93	36	31	10	2				
	28th.....	307	279	91	35	31	10	2				
Tue-day, June 8	29th.....	305	278	116	35	12	7	2				
	30th.....	306	279	120	33	11	4	2				
	31st.....	308	276	118	37	11	3	1				
	32d.....	309	270	117	44	11	3	1				
	33d.....	309	276	110	44	11	4	1				
	34th.....	312	275	107	30	11	4	17				
	35th.....	313	257	99	23	11	3	50				
	36th.....	306	42	3	5			399				

## HIS RELATIONS WITH GARFIELD.

Again Mr. Blaine was to perform the second martyr President a service greater in degree than that which he had done for Lincoln at the second National Convention of the Republican party, but similar to it. In Lincoln's case, he opened the way to the nomination. He made the nomination of Garfield possible by throwing his strength to him at the proper moment. And his relations with Garfield were to be closer than his relations with Lincoln, confidential as they had been, in proportion as his services to Garfield in 1880 were made greater than his services to Lincoln in 1860 by his increased influence and prominence. It remained for Mr. Blaine to do almost as much to elect Garfield as he had done to nominate him by his appreciation of the importance of the tariff question, and by exposing upon the stump the dangers of Free Trade at a moment in the campaign when the Republican horizon was darkest with clouds. Mr. Garfield was elected in November. Before the first of December he had invited Mr. Blaine to enter his Cabinet as Secretary of State. Mr. Blaine, after due consideration, signified his acceptance. He wrote that he accepted not for the honor of the promotion, but because he might be useful to the country, the party and to the President, the responsible leader of the party and the great head of the Government. "Your administration," he said, "must be made brilliantly successful and strong in the confidence and pride of the people," and he concluded as follows:

"I accept it as one of the happiest circumstances connected with this affair that in allying my political fortunes with yours—or rather, for the time, merging mine in yours—my heart goes with my head, and that I carry to you not only political support, but personal and devoted friendship. I can but regard it as somewhat remarkable that two men of the same age, entering Congress at the same time, influenced by the same aims and cherishing the same ambitions, should never for a single moment in eighteen years of close intimacy have had a misunderstanding or a coolness, and that our friendship has steadily grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength.

"It is this fact which has led me to the conclusion embodied in this letter, for, however much, my dear Garfield, I might advise you as a statesman, I would not enter your Cabinet if I did not believe in you as a man and love you as a friend."

BLAINE, SECRETARY OF STATE.

The brief administration of President Garfield was remarkable for its promise of broad statesmanship. For many years Congress and the entire Government had been busy in making

war, in restoring peace, and in paying the immense war debt. It was all the United States could do to preserve the Union, and other nations were profiting by the neglect of this country to properly cultivate its foreign relations. England had absorbed our commerce and directed into her own coffers the trade of the South American countries. And now, under the auspices of the French Republic, under the direction of a citizen of France and backed by continental capitalists, active preparations had been made to construct an interoceanic canal across the Isthmus of Panama, while, under the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850, the United States was practically powerless to take any steps for the protection of her own interests. At the same time at home a more sagacious Southern policy was demanded—a policy which would promote the material reconstruction of the South, theretofore neglected for the sake of political reconstruction.

For some of the acts of Garfield's administration his Secretary of State has been unjustly held accountable. Mr. Murat Halstead narrates that President Garfield told him Blaine had remained scrupulously within the line of his duties as Secretary of State; that he, the President, was responsible for the appointment of Judge Robertson as collector of New York. But with the hearty co-operation and support of the President, Mr. Blaine outlined that "spirited foreign policy" which was to be cut short by the President's death. The Southern policy of the Administration would have been to cultivate cordial relations between the different sections of the country, and, by thus promoting the flow southward of Northern capital, to assist the development of the Southern States. Mr. Blaine had great faith in the future of the South. On one occasion he said:

"In reconstructing the South we made the same mistake the British Government is making with the Irish. If we had made a Government donation of fifty million dollars for the purpose of constructing a railway from Charleston to the southern end of California, and spent every dollar of it between Charleston and the Mississippi River in the first three years following the war, the problem of reconstruction would have solved itself; the people would have had business interests, instead of politics, to occupy their attention. I believe that within ten years the material increase in the Southern States, east of the Mississippi, will equal, if it does not surpass, that of the Northwestern States, west of the Mississippi."

In Virginia Mr. Blaine has invested twenty-eight thousand dollars in one railway, and inside of one year sold his interest for one hundred thousand dollars, and besides he owned coal and lumber lands in Georgia and Alabama.



## THE SPIRITED FOREIGN POLICY.

Mr. Blaine has defined the intent of the foreign policy of President Garfield's administration to be, first, to bring about peace and prevent future wars in North and South America; second, to cultivate such friendly commercial relations with all American countries as would lead to a large increase in the export trade of the United States by supplying those fabrics in which we are abundantly able to compete with the manufacturing nations of Europe. It was for the purpose of promoting peace on the Western Hemisphere that it was determined to invite all the independent governments of North and South America to meet in a peace conference at Washington on March 15, 1882. The project met with cordial approval in South America, and, had it been carried out, would have raised the standard of civilization, and possibly, by opening South American markets to our manufactures, would have wiped out one hundred and twenty million dollars balance of trade which Spanish America brings against us every year. The invitations to this important conference were subsequently sent out by President Arthur, but in a short time they were recalled, after some of the countries had actually accepted them. It was to pave the way toward a peace conference that Wm. Henry Trescott was sent as a special envoy to Peru, and, under instructions approved by President Arthur in the hope of obtaining an amicable settlement of the differences between the belligerents. Secretary Blaine's instructions to General Hurlbut, United States Minister to Peru, specially cautioned the minister against committing his government to any line of action in regard to the Cochet and Landreau claims against the Peruvian Government by the citizens of this country, and, again he wrote warning Mr. Hurlbut against lending his legation's influence to the Credit Industriel of France, the Peruvian Company of New York or any other schemes for reorganizing the finances of Peru. In Secretary Blaine's correspondence with Lord Granville in the early Summer of 1881, he set forth the position of the United States as holding the right to feel and express deep interest in the distressed condition of Peru, with which this country had maintained cordial relations for many years, and while with equal friendliness to Chili, the United States would not interpose to deprive her of fair advantages of military success, this country could not regard with unconcern the destruction of Peruvian nationality, a movement which threatened the liberal civilization of all America.

Of equal importance with the cultivation of friendly and commercial relations with the South American countries was and still is the necessity of taking some steps toward protecting the interests of the United States involved in the construction of a

canal across the Isthmus of Panama. In Secretary Blaine's instructions to Mr. James Russell Lowell, Minister to England, is the following summary of the changes in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850 necessary to meet the views of the United States Government :

“*First.* Every part of the treaty which forbids the United States fortifying the canal and holding the political control of it in conjunction with the country in which it is located to be cancelled.

“*Second.* Every part of the treaty in which Great Britain and the United States agree to make no acquisition of territory in Central America to remain in full force.”

The admirable and forcible chain of reasoning by which Mr. Blaine led to these conclusions forced the English newspapers to admit that he had made out a good case upon British precedents, and that the right of the United States to control the Panama Canal was stronger and the necessity of such control greater than the right and necessity of England to control the Suez Canal.

The shooting of President Garfield interrupted the plans of his administration. His death put an end to them for the time. The succession of President Arthur was followed by the retirement of Mr. Blaine and other members of the Garfield Cabinet. Mr. Blaine retired to Augusta, to devote himself to the preparation of “Twenty Years of Congress,” the first volume of which has since been given to the public, and evidences the fairness, justness and impartiality of his mind, his vast and profound acquaintance with men and affairs and his ability as a master of the English language. His great eulogy upon President Garfield, delivered in the hall of the House of Representatives at Washington, March 1, 1882, has already taken its proper place in American literature. The Arthur administration proceeded quietly and slowly to undo the work of its predecessor and reverse the policy which it first adopted, and the necessity of a spirited foreign policy, which only means a policy that will protect the interests of the United States, still exists.

#### EULOGY ON GARFIELD.

Mr. Blaine's oration on the death of President Garfield was delivered on the twenty-seventh day of February, 1882, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, at Washington, before President Arthur, the Judges of the Supreme Court, the members of the House and Senate, and many distinguished guests. Our limited space will permit us to give but a brief extract :

MR. PRESIDENT: For the second time in this generation the great departments of the Government of the United States are assembled in the Hall of Representatives to do honor to the memory of a murdered President.

Lincoln fell at the close of a mighty struggle in which the passions of men had been deeply stirred. The tragical termination of his great life added but another to the lengthened succession of horrors which had marked so many lintels with the blood of the first born. Garfield was slain in a day of peace, when brother had been reconciled to brother, and when anger and hate had been banished from the land. Whoever shall hereafter draw the portrait of murder, if he will show it as as it has been exhibited where such example was last to have been looked for, let him not give it the grim visage of Moloch, the brow knitted by revenge, the face black with settled hate. Let him draw, rather, a decorous, smooth-faced, bloodless demon; not so much an example of human nature in its depravity and in its paroxysms of crime, as an infernal being, a fiend in the ordinary display and development of his character.

\* \* \* \* \*

On the morning of Saturday, July second, the President was a contented and happy man—not in an ordinary degree, but joyfully, almost boyishly happy. On his way to the railroad station, to which he drove slowly, in conscious enjoyment of the beautiful morning, with an unwonted sense of leisure and a keen anticipation of pleasure, his talk was all in the grateful and gratulatory vein. He felt that after four months of trial his administration was strong in its grasp of affairs, strong in popular favor and destined to grow stronger; that grave difficulties confronting him at his inauguration had been safely passed; that trouble lay behind him and not before him; that he was soon to meet the wife whom he loved, now recovering from an illness which had but lately disquieted and at times almost unnerved him; that he was going to his alma mater to renew the most cherished associations of his young manhood, and to exchange greetings with those whose deepening interests had followed every step of his upward progress from the day he entered upon his college course until he had attained the loftiest elevation in the gift of his countrymen.

Surely if happiness can ever come from the honors or triumphs of this world, on that quiet July morning James A. Garfield may well have been a happy man. No foreboding of evil haunted him; no slightest premonition of danger clouded his sky. His terrible fate was upon him in an instant. One moment he stood erect, strong, confident in the years stretching peacefully out before him. The next he lay wounded, bleeding, helpless, doomed to weary weeks of torture, to silence, and the grave.

Great in life, he was surpassingly great in death. For no cause, in the very frenzy of wantonness and wickedness, by the red hand of murder, he was thrust from the full tide of this world's interest, from its hopes, its aspirations, its victories, into the visible presence of death—and he did not quail. Not alone for the one short moment in which, stunned and dazed, he could give up life, hardly aware of its relinquishment, but through days of deadly languor, through weeks of agony, that was not less agony because silently borne, with clear sight and calm courage, he looked into his open grave. What blight and ruin met his anguished eyes, whose lips may tell—what brilliant, broken plans, what baffled, high ambitions, what sundering of strong, warm, manhood's friendships, what bitter rending of sweet household ties! Behind him a proud, expectant nation, a great host of sustaining friends, a cherished and happy mother, wearing the full, rich honors of her early toil and tears; the wife of his youth, whose whole life lay in his; the little boys not yet emerged from childhood's day of frolic; the fair, young daughter; the sturdy sons just springing into closest companionship, claiming every day and every day rewarding a father's love and care; and in his heart the eager, rejoicing power to meet all demand. Before him, desolation and great dark-

ness! And his soul was not shaken. His countrymen were thrilled with instant, profound, and universal sympathy.

Masterful in his mortal weakness, he became the centre of a nation's love, enshrined in the prayers of a world. But all the love and all the sympathy could not share with him his suffering. He trod the wine-press alone. With unfaltering front he faced death. With unfailing tenderness he took leave of life. Above the demoniac hiss of the assassin's bullet he heard the voice of God. With simple resignation he bowed to the Divine decree.

As the end drew near, his early craving for the sea returned. The stately mansion of power had been to him the wearisome hospital of pain, and he begged to be taken from its prison walls; from its oppressive, stifling air; from its homelessness and hopelessness. Gently, silently, the love of a great nation bore the pale sufferer to the longed-for healing of the sea, to live or to die, as God should will, within sight of its heaving billows, within sound of its manifold voices. With wan, fevered face tenderly lifted to the cooling breeze, he looked out wistfully upon the ocean's changing wonders; on its fair sails, whitening in the morning light; on its restless waves, rolling shoreward to break and die beneath the noonday sun; on the red cloud of evening, arching low to the horizon; on the serene and shining pathway of the stars. Let us think that his dying eyes read a mystic meaning which only the rapt and parting soul may know. Let us believe that in the silence of the receding world he heard the great waves breaking on a further shore, and felt already upon his wasted brow the breath of the eternal morning.

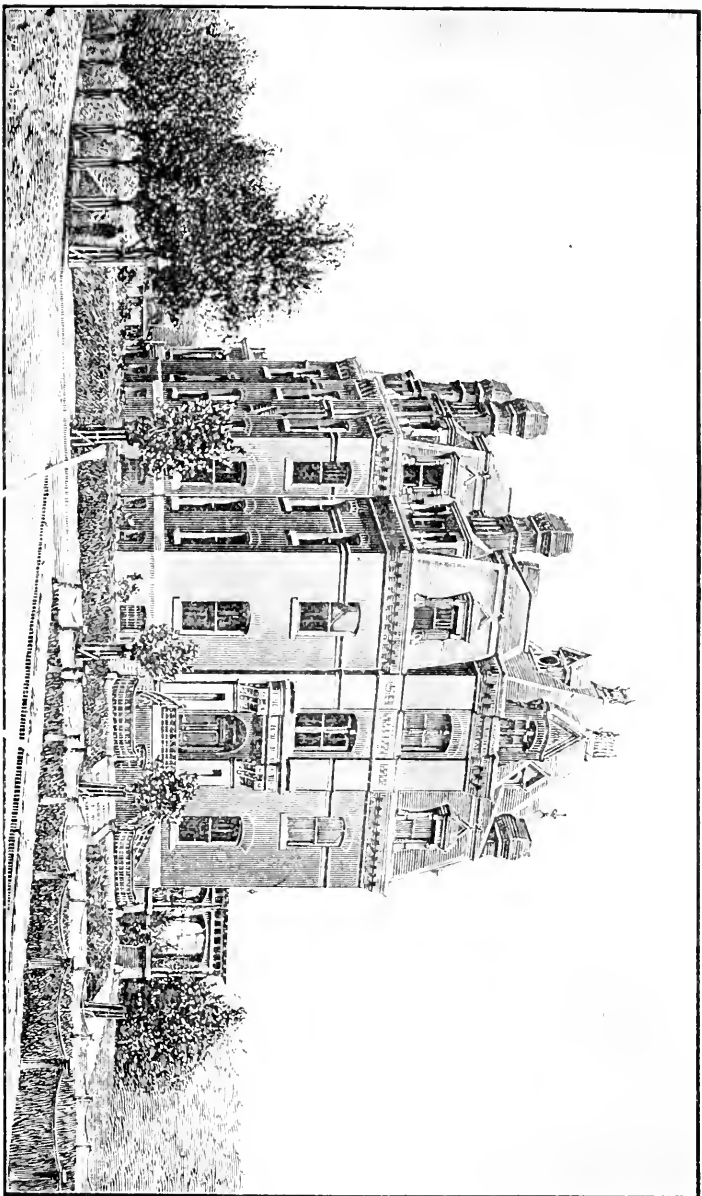
#### BLAINE'S REGARD FOR HIS ADOPTED STATE.

Mr. Blaine's regard for his adopted State—Maine—is shown by his answer to reflections cast upon her by Mr. S. S. Cox, in the House, June 2, 1864:

If there be a State in this Union that can say with truth that her Federal connection confers no special benefit of a material character, that State is Maine. And yet, sir, no State is more attached to the Federal Union than Maine. Her affection and her pride are centered in the Union, and God knows she has contributed her best blood and treasure without stint in supporting the war for the Union; and she will do so to the end. But she resents, and I, speaking for her, resent the insinuation that she derives any undue advantage from Federal legislation, or that she gets a single dollar that she does not pay back \* \* \* I have spoken in vindication of a State that is as independent and as proud as any within the limits of the Union. I have spoken for a people as high-toned and as honorable as can be found in the wide world—many of them my constituents who are as manly and as brave as ever faced the ocean's storms. So long, sir, as I have a seat on this floor, the State of Maine shall not be slandered by the gentleman from New York, or by gentlemen from any other State.

#### HIS REMARKABLE MEMORY.

Mr. Blaine's knowledge of facts, dates, events, men in our history, is not only remarkable but almost unprecedented. In his college days, he was noted for his early love of American history, and for his intimate knowledge of its details. That field of reading has been enlarged and cultivated, in all his subsequent years, until it would be difficult to find a man in the United States who can, on the instant, without reference to books or



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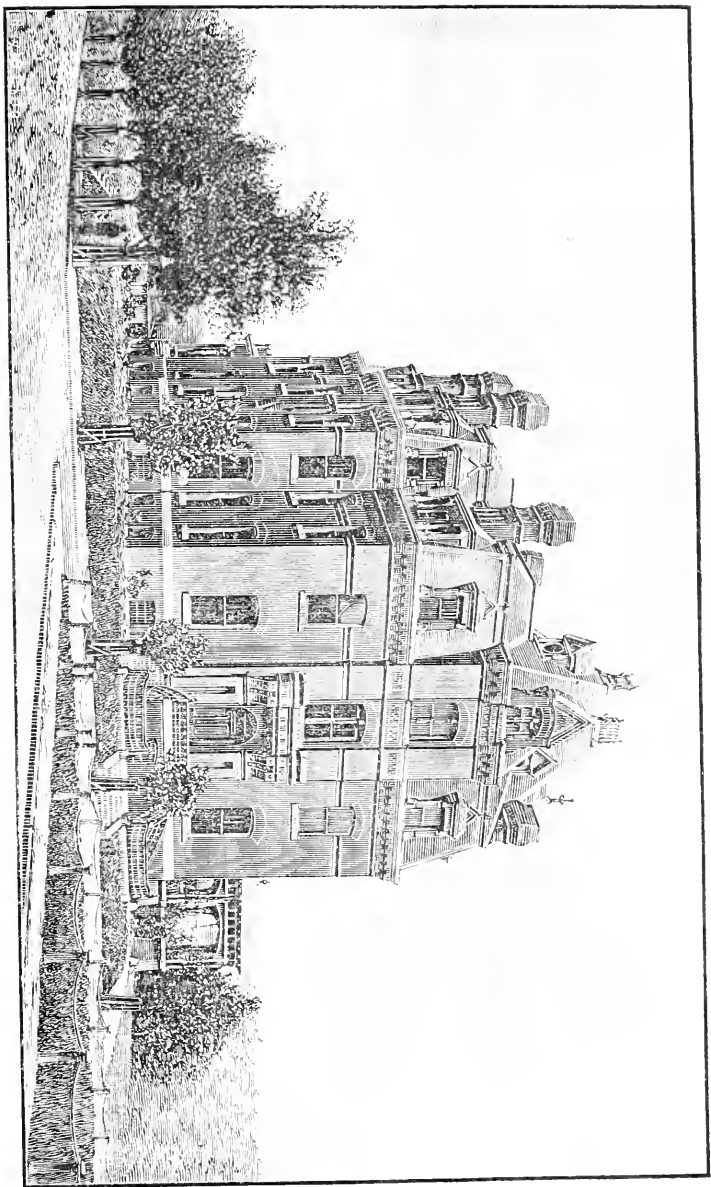
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JAMES G. BLAINE'S WASHINGTON RESIDENCE.

note, give so many facts and statistics relating to current interests, to our financial and revenue system, to our manufacturing interests of all kinds, to our river and harbor improvements, to our public lands, to our railway system, to our mines and minerals, to our agricultural interests; in fact, to everything that constitutes and includes the development, enrichment and success of the United States.

This has been the study of his life, and his memory is like an encyclopedia. He remembers because, for him, it is easier to remember than to forget.

#### PECULIAR TRAITS.

Mr. Blaine is a man of good temper and temperament, though with a certain intellectual vehemence that might sometimes be taken for anger; of strong physique, wonderful powers of endurance and of recuperation, of great activity and industry, kindly and frank, easily approachable, and ready to aid all good causes with tongue, pen and purse.

His studies have been largely on political questions and political history. Everything connected with the development of the country interests him, and he is a dangerous antagonist in any matter of American history—especially of the United States—since the adoption of the Federal Constitution. He is an intense believer in the American Republic, one and indivisible; zealous and watchful for her honor, her dignity, and her right of eminent domain; ready to brave the wrath of the East for the welfare of the West, as in the Chinese question; ready to brave the wrath of the radicals, rather than permit the indefinite suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*; ready to brave the wrath of the conservatives, for the rights of the Southern blacks, as in his opposition to President Hayes' Southern policy, and perfectly ready to give the British lion's mane a tweak when that fine old king of beasts crashes too clumsily among our fishing flakes.

#### AS AN HISTORIAN.

Since Mr. Blaine's withdrawal from the Cabinet, upon the death of President Garfield, he has devoted all of his time and energies to the preparation of a book of American history called "Twenty Years of Congress," upon which is destined to rest his future fame.

The work is to be complete in two volumes, the first of which is already out, and the second was in process of completion when his labors were interrupted by the action of the Chicago Convention in nominating him for President. He has treated his theme elaborately and exhaustively. His book is in no sense



a party manifesto; it is a careful narrative; popular, but not undignified in style, and remarkably fair and moderate in tone. He has expressed a decided opinion on all the issues involved in the civil war; but he is able to appreciate the arguments and respect the motives of those whom he holds to have been most widely mistaken.

Mr. Blaine writes dispassionately, but critically reviews the characters of the leaders of both parties, and the men who have made the history of the American people during the past quarter of a century. His style is vigorous and clear; with keen perception he has grasped the material facts and separated them from unimportant events. His thoroughness for details and his great learning have enabled him to write a history which will rank the author with Bancroft and Macaulay, Mommsen and Guizot.

As an illustration of the style of the book, we append a portion of the eighth chapter of the first volume, in which he speaks of John Brown at Harper's Ferry:

The South was unnaturally and unjustifiably excited. The people of the Slave States could not see the situation accurately, but, like a man with disordered nerves, they exaggerated everything. Their sense of proportion seemed to be destroyed, so that they could no longer perceive the extrinsic relation which one incident had to another. In this condition of mind, when the most ordinary events were misapprehended and mismeasured, they were startled and alarmed by an occurrence of extraordinary and exceptional character. On the quiet morning of October, 1859, with no warning whatever to the inhabitants, the United States arsenal, at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, was found to be in possession of an invading mob. The town was besieged, many of its citizens made prisoners, telegraph wires cut, railway-trains stopped by a force which the people, as they were aroused from sleep, had no means of estimating.

A resisting body was soon organized, militia came in from the surrounding country, regular troops were hurried up from Washington. By the opening of the second day, a force of fifteen hundred men surrounded the arsenal, and, when the insurgents surrendered, it was found that there had been but twenty-two in all. Four were still alive, including their leader, John Brown.

Brown was a man of singular courage, perseverance and zeal, but was entirely misguided and misinformed. He had conceived the utterly impracticable scheme of liberating the slaves of the South by calling on them to rise, putting arms in their hands and aiding them to gain their freedom. He had borne a very conspicuous and courageous part in the Kansas struggles, and had been a terror to the slaveholders on the Missouri border. His bravery was of a rare type. He had no sense of fear. Governor Wise stated that during the fight, while Brown held the arsenal with one of his sons lying dead beside him, another gasping with a mortal wound, he felt the pulse of the dying boy, used his own musket and coolly commanded his men, all amid a shower of bullets from the attacking force. While of sound mind on most subjects, Brown had evidently lost his mental balance on the one topic of slavery. His scheme miscarried the moment its execution was attempted, as any one not blinded by fanaticism could have from the first foreseen. The matter was taken up in hot wrath by the South, with Governor Wise in the lead. The design was not known to or approved by any body of men in the

North; but an investigation was moved in the Senate, by Mr. Mason, of Virginia, with the evident view of fixing the responsibility on the Northern people, or at least upon the Republican party. These men affected to see in John Brown and his handful of followers, only the advance guard of another irruption of Goths and Vandals from the North, bent on exciting servile insurrection, on plunder, pillage and devastation. Mr. Mason's committee found no sentiment in the North justifying Brown, but the irritating and offensive course of the Virginia Senator called forth a great deal of defiant anti-slavery expression which in his judgment was tantamount to treason. Brown was tried and executed. He would not permit the plea of unsound mind to be made on his behalf, and to the end behaved with that calm courage which always attracts respect and admiration. Much was made of the deliverance of the South from a great peril, and everything indicated that the John Brown episode was to be drawn into the political campaign as an indictment against anti-slavery men. It was loudly charged by the South and by their partisans throughout the North that such insurrections were the legitimate outgrowth of Republican teaching, and that the national safety demanded the defeat and dissolution of the Republican party. Thus challenged, the Republican party did not stand on the defensive. Many of its members openly expressed their pity for the zealot, whose rashness had led him to indefensible deeds and thence to the scaffold. On the day of his execution, bells were tolled in many Northern towns—not in approval of what Brown had done, but from compassion for the fate of an old man whose mind had become distempered by suffering and by morbid reflection on the suffering of others; from a feeling that his sentence, in view of this fact, was severe, and lastly, and more markedly as a Northern rebuke to the attempt on the part of the South to make a political issue from an occurrence which was as unforeseen and exceptional as it was deplorable.

The fear and agitation in the South were not feigned, but real. Instead of injuring the Republican party, this very fact increased its strength in the North. The terror of the South at the bare prospect of a negro insurrection led many who had not before studied the slavery question to give serious heed to this phase of it. The least reflection led men to see that a domestic institution must be very undesirable which could keep an entire community of brave men in dread of some indefinable tragedy. Mobs and riots of much greater magnitude than the John Brown uprising had frequently occurred in the Free States, and they were put down by the firm authority of law, without the dread hand of a spectre behind, which might in a moment light the horizon with the conflagration of homes, and subject wives and daughters to a fate of nameless horror. Instead, therefore, of arresting the spread of Republican principles, the mad scheme of John Brown tended to develop and strengthen them. The conviction grew rapidly that if slavery could produce such alarm and such demoralization in a strong State like Virginia, inhabited by a race of white men whose courage was never surpassed, it was not an institution to be encouraged, but that its growth should be prohibited in the new communities where its weakening and baleful influence was not yet felt. Sentiment of this kind could not be properly comprehended in the South. It was honestly misinterpreted by some, wilfully misrepresented by others. All construed it into a belief, on the part of a large proportion of the Northern people, that John Brown was entirely justifiable. His wild invasion of the South, they apprehended, would be repeated as opportunity offered on a larger scale and with more deadly purpose. This opinion was stimulated and developed for political ends by many whose intelligence should have led them to more enlightened views. False charges being constantly repeated and plied with incessant zeal, the most radical misconception became fixed in the Southern mind. It was idle for the Republican party to declare that their aim was only to prevent the extension of slavery to free territory, and that

they were pledged not to interfere with its existence in the States. Such distinctions were not accepted by the Southern people. Their leaders had taught them that the one necessarily involved the other, and that a man who was in favor of the Wilmot Proviso was as bitter an enemy to the South as one who incited a servile insurrection. These views were unceasingly pressed upon the South by the Northern Democracy, who, in their zeal to defeat the Republicans at home, did not scruple to misrepresent their aims in the most reckless manner. They were constantly misleading the public opinion of the Slave States, until at last the South recognized no difference between the creed of Seward and the creed of Gerrit Smith, and held Lincoln responsible for all the views and expressions of William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips. The calling of a National Republican Convention was to their disordered imagination a threat of destruction. The success of its candidates would, in their view, be just cause for resistance outside the pale of the Constitution.

#### MR. BLAINE'S RELIGION.

What the religious views of a presidential candidate may be is a question which, in this country, ought not to be asked. Nevertheless, many well-meaning people do ask it, and since the nomination of Mr. Blaine many inquiries have been made as to his religion.

With the complete divorce of Church and State which obtains in this country, we do not conceive that a man's private views of the relation of man to his Maker in any way affect his capacity or fitness for high public station, or that it can be of any public concern whether the President of the United States, or a candidate for that office, belongs to a particular Church or not. As, however, many good people do ask this question about Mr. Blaine with entire good faith, we answer them as we have answered similar inquiries before, that Mr. Blaine and his wife are both members of the Congregational Church in Augusta, Me. On his father's side, Mr. Blaine's ancestors were always identified with the Presbyterian Church, and when in Washington Mr. Blaine and his family are attendants at a Presbyterian church. Mr. Blaine was educated at Washington College, Pennsylvania, which was then, and is now, when consolidated with Jefferson College, one of the staunchest of Presbyterian institutions.

Mr. Blaine's former pastor, Dr. Ecob, in an interview published in the Albany *Evening Journal*, says of Mr. Blaine:

I have been very near to Mr. Blaine, not only in the most trying political crises, but in the sharper trial of great grief in the household, and have never yet detected a false note. I would not be understood as avowing too much for human nature, but I mean that as I have known him he has stood loyally by his convictions, that his word has always had back of it a clear purpose, and that purpose has always been worthy of the highest manhood.

In his house he was always the soul of geniality and good heart; there was always summer in that house, whatever the Maine winter might be without, and not only his rich neighbors and kinsmen welcomed him home, but a long line of the poor hailed the return of that family as a special providence. In the church he is honored and beloved. The good old New England custom

of church-going with all the guests is enforced strictly in the Blaine household. Whoever is under his roof, from the President down, is expected to be with the family at church. Fair weather or foul, those pews were always well filled. Not only his presence, but his influence, his wise counsels, and his purse are freely devoted to the interests of the noble old South Church of Augusta.

The hold which Mr. Blaine has maintained upon the hearts of such great numbers of his countrymen is not sufficiently explained by brilliant gifts or magnetism. The secret lies in his generous, manly, Christian character. Those who have known him best are not surprised that his friends all over the country have been determined that he should secure the highest honor within their gift. It is because they believe in him. The office has sought the man, the political papers to the contrary notwithstanding.

Mr. Blaine's pastor in Augusta, when written to upon this subject, replied as follows :

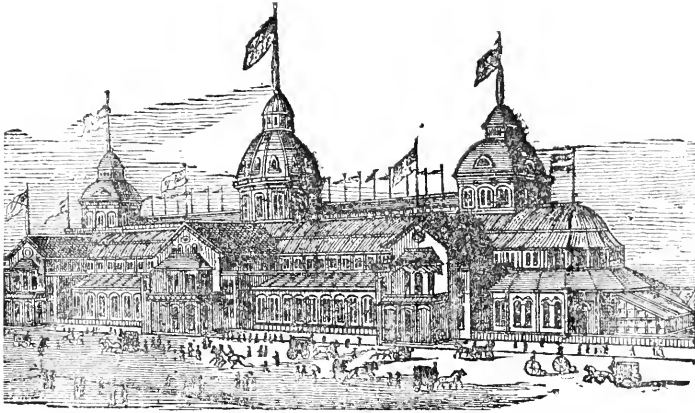
AUGUSTA, ME., June 16, 1884.

*Dear Sir :* Your inquiry of June 13th is received. Hon. J. G. Blaine united with the South Congregational Church of Augusta in 1858, and has been from that time, and is to-day, a member in good and regular standing.

Respectfully yours,

A. F. SKEELE,  
*Pastor South Cong. Church.*

Months before the assembling of the convention in 1884 it was apparent that James G. Blaine would be the popular choice, yet the fear existed that combinations would be formed against him just as had been done in 1876 and in 1880, and that the will of the people would again be thwarted. However, his popularity had increased to such an extent by the time of the assembling of the convention, that his nomination, in that the third attempt, seemed almost certain. Pennsylvania had led off months before in declaring for him. State after State followed her example, the press generally endorsed him, his friends of 1876 and 1880 rallied for one final effort, and on the sixth day of June he was nominated by the convention at Chicago, on the fourth ballot, amid the wildest enthusiasm.



THE CONVENTION HALL.

The accompanying cut of the Chicago Exposition Building is taken from a recent photograph, and shows the front of the massive structure on Adams Street. The space allotted to spectators is not as large as that four years ago; but the National Committee has in this respect profited by experience. The interior of the building has been repainted, the trusses being bright red, and the remainder of the woodwork about the galleries blue. Two high white sounding boards at the end of the hall perfect its acoustic properties. The superintendent estimates that the floor alone will accommodate seven thousand people with seats, while the galleries will hold eighteen hundred more. The stage is in the north end of the building—reversing the plan of four years ago. Immediately behind and on either side of it, rising in amphitheatrical form, are seats for one thousand distinguished guests. The stage itself will accommodate the Chairman, the Secretaries and the National Committee—one hundred and fifty people at most. The middle and rear tiers of seats and the galleries will be for the use of the general public, to which seven thousand and five hundred coupon tickets have been issued.

#### NOMINATING THE PRESIDENT.

The convention was organized with ex-Senator John B. Henderson, of Missouri, as permanent chairman. The usual routine work took much time. The contesting delegations were admitted with satisfaction to all concerned, and the platform was received with enthusiasm. The report of the Committee on Rules was discussed at length. Thursday evening nomina-

tions were in order, and Judge West, of Ohio, proceeded to nominate Mr. Blaine, after the name of Senator Hawley, of Connecticut, was presented by Mr. Brandagee.

"Maine," the chairman shouted and sank back into his seat, knowing full well the response that would follow. There was an instant, clear, loud, wild burst of applause that seemed to come from the throat of every man in the hall. To describe, in its fullness of enthusiasm, in its spontaneity of sentiment, in its fervor of devotion, the scene that followed—a scene such as was never before witnessed in a national convention—is well nigh impossible.

First came the cheer rattling through the hall like a volley of infantry; then deepening as it grew in force, like the roar of cannon, and swelling as it progressed like the crash of a thunderbolt across the skies. From the stage to the end of the hall, a distance of the eighth of a mile, the cheering, rolling in dense waves of sound, hoarse and shrill, sharp and clear, commingling in a wild tumult of applause, which, in the minds of all who heard it and of those who witnessed the great scene, meant the nomination of James G. Blaine.

#### HOW BLAINE IS IDOLIZED.

With common impulse the audience, delegates and spectators jumped to their feet. Staid old politicians on the platform, venerable senators and representatives, long tried in Congress, new delegates, who were never before in a National Convention, were drawn into the whirlpool of excitement as straws are sucked into the eddies of the Delaware. Every delegate, save a bare patch here and there on the floor, where the friends of Arthur and of Edmunds sat, mounted his chair and took part in the demonstration.

Looking over the human sea from the stage to the balconies, there was a surging mob of men and women waving hats, umbrellas, parasols and flags. Against the dark background a thousand white handkerchiefs swung over the heads of the excited audience, dotted the hall with specks of white, like the caps of the breakers on a stormy sea. Men put their hats on the tops of canes and waved them high over their heads. Women tore their bright fichus and laces from around their snowy necks, and, leaning far forward over the galleries, frantically swung them to and fro to give emphasis to their shrill screams of joy.

From outside the glass windows under the dome of the hall, where an adventurous crowd of men and boys had gathered to witness the proceedings, loud cat-calls and screams were heard above the roar beneath. Men hung dangerously over the front of the galleries and waved the ends of the banners that had been fastened there as decorations to the hall.

## AMONG THE OPPOSITION.

The Arthur delegates from New York and the Edmunds delegates, who had at first refused to leave their seats, were compelled by natural impulses and curiosity to mount their chairs, and soon many a well-known anti-Blaine delegate was seen waving his hat and cheering as loudly as any supporter of the Plumed Knight.

When, tired with cheering and lung-exhausted, the din ceased in one part of the hall, it would be taken up in another part, and the tumult renewed. Senator Warner Miller, usually impressive and never flustered, advanced from a seat in the rear of the chairman to the front of the stage, and, waving his arms wildly over his head, shouted his loudest, and then, as if realizing the undignified character of his deportment, beckoned a messenger and directed him to hurry Judge West to the platform.

Mr. Henderson vainly pounded his gavel for order. Its dull beats upon the hollow desk were no more audible to the wild crowd in the hall than were the strains of the band in the rear to the cheering spectators on the platform. The applause echoed blocks away along the streets leading to the Exposition Building, and the engineers of the locomotives on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, in the rear of the hall, added to the din by pulling loud shrieks from the whistles of their engines. At last, exhausted, the tumult ceased, not on the instant, but by degrees, fitful cheers being given long after Judge West reached the platform and was escorted to his seat.

The man selected to present Blaine's name to the convention is blind. He was helped to the platform by two sturdy young men, who carefully guarded his progress up the steep steps and along the tortuous aisles to the seat provided for him on the left of the presiding officer's chair.

## THE ELOQUENT BLIND ORATOR.

Judge West seems to be nearing the goal of three score and ten. His silver gray hair was smoothly brushed away from a noble forehead. Time has implanted deep wrinkles and furrows around the sharp features of an intelligent face. White chin whiskers and a white, close-cut mustache hide his mouth and resolute, square-cut chin. A prominent nose and bushy eyebrows give character if they do not add beauty to his countenance. Dressed plainly in black, wearing no ornament save a blue Blaine badge on the lappel of his coat and a small watch chain, the old man leaned back in his arm chair and faced the surging mob, as, though blind, he felt himself its master.

For the last time the applause rolled through the hall and ended in a wild roar as the Ohio orator rose to his feet and, lift-

ing his right hand above his head, by gesture compelled silence. Ten minutes of uproar and storm was followed by stillness in which a whisper could be heard at the first clear, distinct, sharp tones of the speaker rolled through the building. The clean-cut sentences, brilliant delivery and confident manner of the speaker captivated the crowd. They were in sympathy with him from the start, and he retained his grasp upon their feelings to the finish.

As he made point after point in the opening of his speech, roar after roar of applause echoed through the hall. "Shall the Republican party triumph again?" exclaimed the orator, after alluding to its victories in the past. "Yes, with James G. Blaine" yelled one of the delegates on the front row, and the audience again leaped forward and gave a tremendous cheer.

"Who shall be our candidate?" shouted Judge West as leaning back in the chair from which he delivered the greatest part of his speech, he brought a big palm leaf fan high above his head and seemingly awaited a reply. "Blaine!" "Blaine!" "Blaine!" was the stentorian reply, and another burst of applause put a temporary end to Judge West's speech.

At last the supreme moment came. When Judge West formally put Blaine in nomination a scene followed of a description never equalled and utterly indescribable. Compared to the first outburst, the second ovation to Blaine was as the full burst of a storm after the grumblings of early thunder have passed.

The audience rose to its feet, impelled by an irresistible impulse to testify their admiration for the great Republican candidate. Grave men acted as though mad. Newspapers were torn into bits, and scattered high in the air, active boys clambered along the high rafters over the hall, and, detaching the flags, passed them down to men in the front row of the galleries, who waved them frantically over the heads of those below, and the bands three times essayed to drown the noise by playing their loudest air.

#### A CYCLONE OF ENTHUSIASM.

It was futile. Men drew off their coats and shook them in the air. Umbrellas were hoisted and waved over the heads of their owners. Again handkerchiefs were brought forth and swung to and fro like snowflakes in a hurricane. Those too tired to shout gave shrill whistles, and pandemonium universal and all-pervading seemed to have broken forth.

In the violent and intense excitement of the hour, men forgot appearances and all sense of decorum and dignity. In spite of the sultriness of the atmosphere and the deafening sounds from the bands of music, each trying to out-tire the other in



their mutual contributions to the common din, the California delegation, which has done some of Blaine's best work here, was on its feet cheering as loudly as Rocky Mountain throats could swell. Congressman Tom Bayne, of Pennsylvania, another of the Blaine managers, formed one of the loudest crowd of shouters.

George William Curtis sat in his seat at the head of the New York delegation, blushing and paling by turns, astounded by the demonstration and unable to quell it. A faint smile overspread his genial countenance as the uproar continued, but it was not a smile of satisfaction. Young Roosevelt, of New York, and Lodge, of Massachusetts, sat in their places uneasy and disconsolate. Not so Senator Hoar. The excitement was too much for him, and he mounted his chair and looked over the thousands of people who were shouting and screaming like madmen. The negroes from the South joined in the furor, and were the noisiest of the delegates.

#### THE HELMET OF NAVARRE.

When at last there seemed a prospect that the cheering would end, some enthusiastic friend of Blaine brought into the hall, before the Chairman's desk, a huge American flag and placed on the top of the staff a helmet of flowers, surmounted by a long white plume, the helmet of Navarre. Again did the audience cheer, until it seemed as though the throats of men would burst. The flag and helmet were raised to the stage, and again a deeper, longer, louder cheer arose. Ladies took flowers from their belts and threw them in the air. The atmosphere was fanned by the waving of innumerable banners.

The decorations were stripped from the wall by the excited audience and shaken madly in the air. Full fifteen minutes, that seemed like hours, were consumed in this unprecedented demonstration.

"James G. Blaine," closed Judge West, and another great roar went up like the noise of many waters, sweeping in great waves of sound around the hall, and the crowd without, by this time aware of what was under way, answered in a muffled roar, which echoed within. The old man ceased, with the echo of his eloquence still filling all the air, ten thousand people swaying like reeds in the wind under his voice, and feebly groped to leave the platform. A friend was at his side in an instant, and Edward McPherson laid about the old man's shoulders his long blue, old-fashioned cloak, and, drawing it closer to him, its folds falling straight, the speaker took a seat behind. By contrast with the wild tempest of sound just before, the rustling movement and stir and talk which fill this great house of sounds with

perpetual murmurs, seemed silence itself as Governor Davis, of Minnesota, a full, round man, with a bulging frock coat, strong face and black mustache, arose. For once, and for the first time in the three times in which James G. Blaine has been put before a national convention in nomination, the work had been well and skillfully planned, and performed as well. The voice of Governor Davis is none of the best by contrast with the resonant tones with which Judge West had filled the great house of sounds.

Judge West's speech in full was as follows :

As a delegate in the Chicago Convention in 1860, the proudest service of my life was performed by voting for the nomination of that inspired emancipator, the first Republican President of the United States. [Applause.] Four and twenty years of the grandest history of recorded times has distinguished the ascendancy of the Republican party. The skies have lowered and reverses threatened; but our old flag is still there, waving above the mansion of the presidency; not a stain on its folds, not a cloud on its glory. Whether it shall maintain that grand ascendancy depends upon the action of this great council. With bated breath a nation awaits the result. On it are fixed the eyes of twenty millions of Republican freemen in the North. On it, or to it, rather, are stretched forth the imploring hands of ten millions of political bondmen of the South [applause], while above, from the portals of light, is looking down the spirit of the immortal martyr who first bore it to victory, bidding to us hail and God speed! [Applause.]

Six times, in six campaigns, has that banner triumphed; that symbol of Union, freedom, humanity and progress; some time by that silent man of destiny, the Wellington of American arms [wild applause]; last by him at whose untimely taking off a nation swelled the funeral cries and wept above great Garfield's grave. [Cheers and applause.]

#### THE NATION'S CHIEF.

Shall that banner triumph again? Commit it to the bearing of that chief [a voice: "James G. Blaine, of Maine." Cheers.]—commit it to the bearing of that chief, the inspiration of whose illustrious character and great name will fire the hearts of our young men, stir the blood of our manhood, and redouble the fervor of the veteran, and the closing of the seventh campaign will see that holy ensign spanning the sky like a bow of promise. [Cheers.] Political conditions have changed since the accession of the Republican party to power. The mighty issues of struggling freedom and bleeding humanity which convulsed the continent and aroused the republic, rallied, united and inspired the forces of patriotism and the forces of humanity in one consolidated phalanx—these great issues have ceased their contentions. The subordinate issues resulting therefrom are settled and buried away with the dead issues of the past.

The arms of the solid South are against us; not an electoral gain can be expected from that section. If triumph comes, the Republican States of the North must furnish the conquering battalions from the farm, the anvil, the loom, from the mines, the workshop and the desk, from the hut of the trapper on the snowy Sierras, from the hut of the fisherman on the banks of the Hudson. The Republican States must furnish these conquering battalions of triumph. Come! Does not sound political wisdom declare and demand that a leader shall be given to them whom our people will follow, not as conscripts advancing by funeral marches to certain defeat, but a grand civic hero whom the souls of the people desire and whom they will follow with all the enthusiasm of volunteers as they sweep on and onward to certain victory.

A representative of American manhood, a representative of that living Republicanism that demands the amplest industrial protection and opportunity whereby labor shall be enabled to earn and eat the bread of independent employment, relieved of mendicant competition with pauper Europe or Pagan China. [Loud applause.] In this contention of forces, to whose candidate shall be entrusted our battle flag, citizens? I am not here to do it, and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I do abate one tithe from the just fame, integrity and public honor of Chester A. Arthur, our president. [Applause.] I abate not one tithe from the just fame and public integrity of George F. Edmunds [applause], of Joseph R. Hawley [applause], of John Sherman [applause], of that grand old black eagle of Illinois, and I am proud to know that these distinguished senators whom I have named have borne like testimony to the public life, the public character and public integrity of him whose confirmation brought him to the highest office—second in dignity to the office of the President himself—the first premiership in the administration of James A. Garfield—a man for whom the senators and rivals will vote.

#### SECRETARY OF STATE.

The Secretary of State of the United States is good enough for a plain flesh and blood, God's people to vote for, for President. Who shall be our candidate? [Cries of Blaine.] Not the representative of a particular interest or a particular class. Send the great proclamation to the country labeled "the Doctors' candidate," the "Lawyers' candidate," the "Wall Street candidate," and the hand of resurrection would not fathom his November grave. Gentlemen, he must be a representative of the Republicanism that demands the absolute political as well as personal emancipation and enfranchisement of mankind. A representative of that Republicanism which recognizes the stamp of American citizenship as the passport to every right, privilege and consideration at home or abroad, whether under the sky of Bismarck under the palmetto, under the pelican or the banks of the Mohawk—that Republicanism that regards with dissatisfaction a despotism which, under the *sic semper tyrannis* of the old Dominion, emulates by slaughter popular majorities in the name of democracy and state, a Republicanism as embodied in the platform of principles this day adopted by your Convention.

Gentlemen, such a representative Republican is James G. Blaine, of Maine. It has been averred that in making this nomination, every other consideration should merge, every other interest be sacrificed, in order and with a view exclusively to secure the Republican vote and carry the State of New York.

#### A STRONG MAN WANTED.

Gentlemen, the Republican party demands of this Convention a nominee whose inspiration and glorious prestige shall carry the presidency, with or without the State of New York; that will carry the legislatures of the several States and avert the sacrifice of the United States Senate; that shall sweep into the tide the congressional districts to recover the House of Representatives and restore it to the Republican party. Three millions of Republicans believe that the man, who from the baptism of blood on the plains of Kansas to the fall of the immortal Garfield, in all that struggle of humanity and progress, wherever humanity desired succor, where love for freedom called for protection, wherever the country called for a defender, wherever blows fell thickest and fastest, there, in the forefront of the battle, were seen to wave the white plumes of James G. Blaine, our Henry of Navarre.

Nominate him, and the shouts of September victory in Maine will be re-echoed back by the thunders of the October victory in Ohio. Nominate him, and the camp fires and beacon lights will illuminate the continent from

the Golden Gate to Cleopatra's needle. Nominate him, and the millions who are now in waiting will rally to swell the column of victory that is sweeping on.

In the name of the majority of the delegates from the Republican States and of our glorious constituency which must constitute this battle, I nominate James G. Blaine, of Maine.

#### FEATURES OF THE SESSION.

It did not take later than the hour of meeting for the anti-Blaine men to find out that the Blaine managers had not fought off a ballot the night before because they feared it. Another recess had been spent in hopeless attempts to make a winning combination, and morning found Arthur making no headway, Edmunds supported by a forlorn hope, Sherman surely shrinking, and nobody else within the longest range of the nominating lightning. The inevitable ballot was approached by the Blaine men hopefully and by the opposition sullenly.

It was a surprise in that it showed Blaine to have a larger first ballot strength than his managers had claimed, and Arthur less than anybody, even the most enthusiastic of his opponents, had suspected. The weakness of the Administration cause being thus exposed, the nomination of Blaine might have been effected without further delay, but the Convention resolved itself into a mob, and the Edmunds and Arthur people made up in noise what they lacked in numbers, so that it was really economic of time to stick to the prearranged Blaine schedule of four ballots.

On the second and third Blaine sped along as rapidly as was consistent with other engagements made by the delegates, and when the fourth began it was understood all around that the end was at hand. As a matter of fact it was there. Senator Logan's prompt telegram, asking his friends to turn for the evident choice of the people, was the finishing stroke. Before this announcement was made it was whispered about, and, anticipating the slow process of a roll call, the news was flashed over the country that Blaine was the nominee.

The third ballot began. The tired reading-clerk gave way to a fresh man. Poor Henderson, who buffeted in vain the great surf of Blaine applause which periodically swept the Convention, called Governor Long to the chair, and his vigor and powerful voice showed that something might be done, even in a national convention, to preserve order and maintain dignity. The aisles were cleared, men were forced back to their seats, open spaces for a moment showed themselves in the rush of men which makes the narrow passageways like the crowded streets of a city.

Everywhere the lines were drawn and tightened. The managing centre of the Blaine boom gathered on the platform, and

on its very edge Elkins sat down—big-framed, bulky, thin-haired, of the type of full, smooth-skinned men. The luckless Arthur managers gathered for a last conference, and then spread out to see to the wavering Southern delegations, Burleigh and Dutcher threading the seats and aisles, whispering to one colored delegate and another.

Nine States pass in monotonous succession without a change. Such tremor as the shouts for Blaine had raised passes away. The Convention stills down to a comparative calm. The uproar has filled the air with dust, and, as it is now nearly two o'clock, the standing sun throws great beams across the broad hall. Kansas and Kentucky bring changes for Blaine, and the Convention is astir. Four States damp the interest with the monotonous recurrence of earlier votes. New York adds a single tally to Arthur's vote, and half the delegation is on its feet with a cheer brought up by Arthur's Southern supporters.

Two or three of Blaine's managers gather in the aisle for an instant. Dutcher, with his hand to his mouth, shouts an angry charge of lobbying. Anson McCook rises on the instant and pounces on Burleigh doing rapid missionary work in the Alabama delegation. Burleigh retorts. Barney Biglin yells at McCook. The two men lean toward each other and shout in dumb show until some peace returns and Burleigh goes to his seat. Pennsylvania is to make its change on this ballot. The alteration is so managed, first when Stewart, his arm extended and his dark face all aglow, gives the added number, and next, when a call of the roll raises it to a round fifty, and the Convention is again swept away in the rising tide. Over and over in the remaining States the noise of the shouting turns the Convention into a swaying mass of sound, until at last, a pause renewed by infinite pains, the ballot is announced.

#### THE FINAL FIGURES.

When the vote was officially declared the uproar was so great that the figures were not caught. The audience only heard the words "five hundred" after the name of the favorite, and shouted itself hoarse, as it had done half a dozen times before, the band meanwhile playing and artillery on the lake shore firing a salute.

The figures were: Blaine, 541; Arthur, 207; Edmunds, 41; Logan, 7; Hawley, 15; Lincoln, 2.

#### THE SECOND PLACE.

It was thought best not to be in a hurry about the nomination for Vice-President. Mistakes have been made in that way,

and conventions have at last learned that the tail of the ticket deserves some attention. A recess was taken until eight o'clock in the evening. Meanwhile there was an active and considerate canvass of names. Logan, Lincoln, Foraker and Gresham were most talked about, but the drift all the while was toward Logan, the only question being whether the black eagle of Illinois, as he was called by his nominator last night, would consent to the use of his name for the second place on the ticket.

He was plied with importuning telegrams, and at last it was posted on the bulletins at the hotels, where the delegates most congregate, that he placed himself in the hands of his friends. That settled it. The Convention was an army of his friends, largely under the leadership of men who had served with him in the late war. Those who were not already convinced of the propriety of the nomination had been brought to it by the argument that, for the first time since the war, a civilian had been nominated for President, and that the soldier element must have a place on the ticket. The other candidates disappeared from the field as if by magic, and when the Convention assembled again the name of John A. Logan was the only one presented.

It was seconded by men from every section of the country, the only trouble being to put an end to the speech-making. But the really notable speech was that of General Robinson, of Ohio, who is the head of the Republican ticket to be voted for in that State in October. With Blaine and Logan, he said that State was secure.

It was moved that the nomination be made by acclamation, but, on the appeal of the Illinois delegation, there was a call of the roll, and, except a few dissenters in New York and Massachusetts, the whole Convention voted for Logan.

#### SCENES IN THE CONVENTION.

In utter weariness the convention separated at 2 o'clock on the morning of the 6th. Eight hours later the great hall was crowded, and by 11 o'clock the convention was in its place. The air was full of the sense of rapid work and swift action. The audience sat, rank on rank, in the stir and confusion of this tremendous claque, which leaves so little of the stage to piece or players.

The groups upon whom the work pivots hurried to their places. George William Curtis came in with Carl Shurz, and the sinister German and benignant American separated, one to watch defeat from the stage, and the other to endure it on the floor. Roosevelt, Curtis and Lodge stood together for a moment to talk over the last failure at combination. Burleigh and Dutcher, Arthur's delegate hunters, one thin and nervous and

the other full and phlegmatic, passed from point to point among the dark cloud of Southern delegates which ran from Alabama to Louisiana on the left of the convention.

In this frame and setting of constant, assiduous conference, the work went on for awhile. Debate, there is none in these convulsive political tempests. The convention is in stir and motion each moment, with men conferring by groups and passing from point to point in this swaying line of battle, this mad wrestle between opposing parties, in whom applause and yell and shout has set every nerve tingling, and left no drop of blood at rest.

Through the long hours in which the tall reading clerk stood, the tally sheet in his hand, and shouted over the roll of States, to one sitting just at the front of the convention, facing its long ranks, there was perpetual sight of the swift work by which these battles are decided.

Now it was John Stewart and McKinley who stood, their arms locked about each other, as they whispered; now sturdy, wholesome-faced John Long, of Massachusetts, was closeted, in the silence which this tempest of sound gives men who talk side by side within its tumult, with Roosevelt, Curtis and Lodge. And now the group of New Yorkers who stand for Arthur gathered, and again the two men on whose shoulders this great work has chiefly rested, Stephen B. Elkins and Thomas Donaldson, stood together and watched the storm shape to the harvest the fruit for which they had planned and labored.

The scene was not then merely rows upon rows of seated delegates, shouting their votes in the din of the galleries. The real picture is such a ranked concourse of circling, seated thousands as only one imperial republic has ever gathered, and as our Republican party only now gathers. Sitting about the narrow arena, half the size of a small church, in which eight hundred men are seething and surging with excitement, rushing here and there, knotting in groups and tangling in long lines, shouting message and warning and advice as men shout upon a ship's deck when a gale is at its height, and the uttered voice is blown away from the very lips—through all this, to save it from the mere madness of a mob, there is sense and presence of the arching fact that history is making here, and the world's greatest civic prize is set in the list.

Across the rustle the band played "Dixie," and the first shrill shout of the day came at its note, but the audience, back at its work with the short gap of a few hours, was utterly weary, and the contest this year has brought none of the tension which calls out applause at the appearance of a familiar face. Tally sheets were in every hand, and the strained, expectant watchfulness for every vote laid silence on the listening thousands.

The figures have been known for moments. There has been active rushing to and fro. Men have been passing between New York, Ohio and Massachusetts. Barely forty votes separate Blaine from victory. Whatever is done needs instant action. The gavel gains a quiet moment at last and the vote, climbing from the lesser numbers, and passing through Logan's fifty-three, Edmunds' sixty-nine and Arthur's two hundred and seventy-four, reaches Blaine's three hundred and seventy-five.

Then comes a crash that ends all comparison with what has gone before. Seats empty, aisles fill, the air is one shaking mass of handkerchiefs, canes and umbrellas. The entire Blaine vote is on its feet shouting, cheering, yelling in all forms and shapes—whistles, cat-calls and hurrahs. By word and inarticulate yell, the human voice of ten thousand people empties itself into the air.

The moustached reading clerk stepped to the edge of the platform and, stiffening his broad tally sheet, shouted in a long cadence Ala-a-bam-ma. The tap of Henderson's gavel, the sh! sh! of the whole audience, stilled the morning air, yet free from dust, as a dark man with graying, reddish beard, shouted, syllable by syllable: "Alabama casts seventeen votes for Chester A. Arthur, one vote for James G. Blaine and one vote for John A. Logan." A New York "Hi! hi! hi!" sprang in among the boys, and was straightway strangled in hisses. The vote went on, State by State.

The first Blaine storm of the day breaks when Maine is called, and then seated thousands spring to their feet and the hall blossoms white with waving handkerchiefs and fills with shouting.

The roll is over at last. The clerks bend over the tally sheets, innumerable pencils pass up and down the thousands of tally sheets, which carry through the convention the advertisement of a Philadelphia paper, and then, as Henderson rises to give the result, there is a wild sway and raid of telegraph boys about the correspondents' desk. All over the land men are putting up before listening thousands the tally: Blaine, 334½; Arthur, 278; Edmunds, 93; Logan, 63½; John Sherman, 30; Hawley, 13; Lincoln, 3; General Sherman, 2. The first ballot ends in another Blaine storm, checked as the second ballot opens.

#### THE SECOND BALLOT.

Changes begin. Arkansas adds three votes to Blaine. A dozen states pass, and the vote stands unchanged. The second ballot goes on and Blaine is gaining. Every vote is watched with breathless interest followed by tumults of applause. The Blaine men feel that they are gaining ground. The Arthur men



know that they are losing. The Edmunds men are disconsolate. The ballot ends, and Blaine is further to the front.

Votes must nominate. Enthusiasm, yell and cry will not. Again and again the votes of states for Blaine unloose the uproar, and again and again it dies away to leave the result to go on in its steady, unchanging fashion. The air is tremulous with excitement. There is abroad the shadow of sudden changes, the certainty that the steadily growing pressure must end in some outburst of utter disorder, but when the scenes of last night are repeated, when the whole place goes wild in delirious cries of Blaine, and hats dot the air and shaking handkerchiefs fill it, the convention gets to its feet and looks on, like one too often under fire to take more than the interest of spectators in the firing.

With Blaine at 349 and Arthur at 276, however, the gap was widened past repair between the candidates, and it was plain when order came again, such order as this restless mob gives, that the next ballot must make or mar all the plans of the past or assure all the hopes of the future.

#### A FRUITLESS RECESS EFFORT.

In the midst of it, his lips vainly forming sentence after sentence, stands Foraker, slender, well-built, his face shining with the effort, and his voice carried away by the Blaine gale. Minute by minute passes before a lull comes, and then it becomes known, rather by men passing the word along than by any hearing of his words, that he moves a recess until 7.30 o'clock.

It was the last uncertain chance to defeat Blaine, the bare possibility that five hours of cabal might bring the candidate, in place of Blaine, whom five months of popular agitation and discussion had not evolved.

Straightway Stewart, steadying himself, shouts in the storm that breaks on Foraker's motion that the opposing forces have passed the skirmish line and the battle must join. For the first time in the frequent popular calls for Blaine his cause has had good management before the convention. For the first time it had now a leader in the convention. There is in the stress and storm of these conflicts the shock, if not the danger, of battle, and Stewart, by voice and manner, by look and gesture, standing erect, his face aflame and his arm extended, threw into his manner all that a leader in the forefront needed. This may not be the best way to decide momentous issues; but, given these conditions, by such leadership is victory won, and won it was.

For twenty long, shouting, swaying, struggling minutes these words of Stewart, this call to battle were the last articulate sounds men heard. The deliberative body, in the heat of its

excitement, dissolved into an utter mob. Within twenty square feet stood the dozen men at work trying to carry to some issue the work before them, and about were ten thousand howling human beings. The unfortunate chairman, with a brain bigger at the top than the base, utterly unfitted by experience for the stormy work, passed utterly out of all influence, and nervously handled his gavel, while the Sergeant-at-Arms feebly waved a gilt baton at the surging crowd. He had begun, McPherson at his shoulder, by putting the motion to take a recess. The motion of his lips and the turns of his hands had given a hint of his act, and the thousands before him bellowed together a long "No," in whose echoing thunders Dutcher, of New York, was vainly endeavoring to secure a roll-call by states—breathing time for the broken anti-Blaine line to form.

Foraker, at every pause in the storm, which rose and fell as tempests will, was shouting the same demand. Meanwhile the chairman, shut off from these men by the great wall of sound raised by the Blaine cheers, declared the question lost, and directed the roll-call to begin on the next ballot. In any case, it proved that this meant Blaine's nomination, with no chance for the opposition to act together. It could mean nothing else. Foraker, Dutcher, Roosevelt, a distant man in North Carolina and a score more stood shouting. By their sides were Stewart, Phelps, of New Jersey; Burrows, Bayne, Sheard and Husted, of New York, calling for the exact right Henderson's weak act gave them. Of the technical accuracy of their position no possible doubt could exist. Parliamentary right was all on their side.

One of those dangerous crises had come on which turn the fortunes of great events. It would have been easy (for this turmoil began in nothing and continued in the inefficiency of the presiding officer) to soil the fairness of Blaine's nomination. William McKinley, of Ohio, had been known as the Blaine leader in Ohio, and when he mounted his chair there was pause on both sides. The issue which had worked to the surface through twenty yeasting moments was whether the demand for a roll call had been made in technical season before the chairman announced the result on the motion to adjourn. "Let us raise no technical objections," said McKinley. "As a friend of Mr. Blaine, I insist on having the roll-call and then vote the motion down." Air and manner, voice and attitude in the strong-featured, dark-faced, full-voiced man who spoke for fair play and justice carried both parties with him.

#### THE TEST VOTE OF THE DAY.

The first pause came over Illinois. There was an instant's question, and then Logan remained in the field. The state voted for the recess. The last great shout of the opposition went

up over the result. On down through New York and Ohio the roll passed with minor changes, both states holding their old vote. The Pennsylvanians added two more to the Blaine column. Virginia brought in a handful, and long before the territories were reached the motion was lost by almost 100 majority—364 yeas to 450 nays. The vote nominated Blaine.

The rest was mere surplusage of cheer and shout. The fourth ballot gave him all but a third of the votes cast, placing his total on the deciding ballot at 554 to 207 for Arthur, whose champion, Burleigh, took the stage and pledged New York to the candidate, while the convention rocked with the last great cheer of the day.

For ten minutes together one long, continuous shout filled the air, and shut in each man to silence as far as his own voice was concerned.

#### A FOREGONE CONCLUSION.

The result was now so far a foregone conclusion that Foraker moved to make it unanimous, but the New York Independents, led by Roosevelt, the Arthur men led by Dutcher, and Massachusetts, led by Long, objected. Dutcher could do no less. Not half an hour before he had been passing about badges marked "Arthur, if it takes all Summer," and they were already hanging limp and chilly on every New York Arthur man.

So the vote started, Edward McPherson, who began eight years ago in the struggle which ended to-day, standing on the front of the platform and calling the roll. Behind him was Warner Miller, of New York, aglow with satisfaction, and the little circle which three weeks ago organized in Washington to do the work here. Now, the greatest of these in all his beaming presence, was Tom Donaldson.

#### WITHDRAWING LOGAN.

The roll-call was a long, triumphal progress for Blaine, of Maine. When Shelby M. Collum mounted his chair and with a slip of paper in his hand, withdrew Logan, the result was certain, and the great total of votes ended in another dissolution of all order. Kansas came down the aisle with a great banner spread with corn and grain and decked with Blaine's picture. Colorado's eagle was carried up and down the aisle, and the banner which has accompanied the California delegation in its trip from California to Maine, "Through Iowa All for Blaine," triumphantly paraded the convention.

The remnants of the Arthur support clung to their sinking ship, and men have rarely put more of heroism into their parting words than did the Edmunds men in their last vote. It was over at last. The gavel rose, and when it fell James G. Blaine had been declared the candidate of the party to which he has given the labors of a lifetime.

STATES.	FIRST BALLOT.						SECOND BALLOT					
	Electoral Vote	Total Vote in Convention.	BLAINE.	ARTHUR.	EDMUNDS.	LOGAN.	SHERMAN.	BLAINE.	ARTHUR.	EDMUNDS.	LOGAN.	SHERMAN.
Alabama.....	10	20	1	17	.....	1	.....	2	17	.....	1	.....
Arkansas.....	7	14	8	4	2	.....	.....	11	3	.....	.....	.....
California.....	8	16	16	.....	.....	.....	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	3	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut*.....	6	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Delaware.....	3	6	5	1	.....	.....	.....	5	1	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	4	8	1	7	.....	.....	.....	1	7	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	12	24	.....	24	.....	.....	.....	.....	24	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	22	44	3	1	40	.....	.....	3	1	40	.....	.....
Indiana.....	15	30	18	9	1	2	.....	18	9	1	2	.....
Iowa.....	13	26	26	.....	.....	.....	.....	26	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas*.....	9	18	12	4	1	.....	.....	13	2	.....	2	.....
Kentucky†.....	13	26	5½	16	2½	1	.....	5	17	.....	2	1
Louisiana.....	8	16	2	10	3	.....	.....	4	9	.....	2	.....
Maine.....	6	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	8	16	10	6	.....	.....	.....	12	4	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	14	28	1	2	25	.....	.....	1	3	24	.....	.....
Michigan.....	13	26	15	2	7	.....	.....	15	4	5	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	7	14	7	1	6	.....	.....	7	1	6	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	9	18	1	17	.....	.....	.....	1	17	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	16	32	5	10	6	10	1	7	10	5	8	1
Nebraska.....	5	10	8	2	.....	.....	.....	8	2	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	3	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire..	4	8	.....	4	4	.....	.....	.....	5	3	.....	.....
New Jersey††.....	9	18	9	.....	6	.....	1	9	.....	6	.....	1
New York †.....	36	72	28	31	12	.....	.....	28	31	12	.....	.....
North Carolina..	11	22	2	19	.....	1	.....	3	18	.....	1	.....
Ohio.....	23	46	21	.....	.....	.....	25	23	.....	.....	.....	23
Oregon.....	3	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	30	60	47	11	1	1	.....	47	11	1	1	.....
Rhode Island....	4	8	.....	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	.....	.....
South Carolina..	9	18	1	17	.....	.....	.....	1	17	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	12	24	7	16	.....	1	.....	7	16	.....	1	.....
Texas.....	13	26	13	11	.....	2	.....	13	11	.....	2	.....
Vermont.....	4	8	.....	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	.....	.....
Virginia.....	12	24	2	21	.....	1	.....	2	21	.....	1	.....
West Virginia....	6	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	11	22	10	6	6	.....	.....	11	6	5	.....	.....
Arizona.....	.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	.....	2	1	.....	1	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Dist. of Columbia	.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	401	820	334½	278	93	63½	30	349	276	85	61	28

\* Hawley, 12 and 1. †Lincoln, 1 and 2. †W. T. Sherman, 2.

Hawley, 13. Lincoln, 4. W. T. Sherman, 2.

THE BALLOTS IN FULL.

THIRD BALLOT.

FOURTH BALLOT

STATES.	THIRD BALLOT.					FOURTH BALLOT				
	BLAINE.	ARTHUR.	EDMUNDS.	LOGAN.	SHERMAN.	BLAINE.	ARTHUR.	EDMUNDS.	LOGAN.	SHERMAN.
Alabama.....	2	17		1		8	12			
Arkansas.....	11	3				11	3			
California.....	16					16				
Colorado.....	6					6				
Connecticut*.....										
Delaware.....	5	1				5	1			
Florida.....	1	7				3	5			
Georgia.....		24					24			
Illinois.....	3	1		40		34	3		6	
Indiana.....	18	10			2	30				
Iowa.....	26					24	2			
Kansas*.....	15			2		18				
Kentucky† ..	6	16		2	1	9	15		1	
Louisiana.....	4	9		2		9	7			
Maine.....	12					12				
Maryland.....	12	4				15	1			
Massachusetts.....	1	3	24			3	7	18		
Michigan†.....	18	4	3		1	26				
Minnesota.....	7	2	5			14				
Mississippi†.....	1	16				2	16			
Missouri.....	12	11	4	4		32				
Nebraska.....	10					10				
Nevada.....	6					6				
New Hampshire.....		5	3			3	2	3		
New Jersey †.....	11	1				17		1		
New York.....	28	32	12			29	30	9		
North Carolina.....	4	18				8	12			
Ohio.....	25				21	46				
Oregon.....	6					6				
Pennsylvania.....	50	8	1	1		51	8	1		
Rhode Island.....			8			7	1			
South Carolina.....	2	16				2	15	1		
Tennessee.....	7	17				11	12			
Texas.....	14	11		1		15	8			
Vermont.....			8					8		
Virginia.....	4	20				4	20			
West Virginia.....	12					12				
Wisconsin †.....	11	10				22				
Arizona.....	2					2				
Dakota.....	2					2				
Idaho.....	1	1				2				
Montana.....	1		1			2				
New Mexico.....		2					2			
Utah.....		2				2				
Washington.....	2					2				
Wyoming.....		2				2				
District of Columbia.....	1	1				1	1			
Totals.....	375	274	69	53	25	541	207	41	7	.....

\* Hawley, 12, 1. † Lincoln, 1, 1, 6. ‡ W. T. Sherman, 1, 1. Hawley, 15. Lincoln, 2

## NOTIFICATION BY CHAIRMAN HENDERSON.

The committee appointed by the National Convention to notify Mr. Blaine of his nomination, arrived at the residence of the candidate on the twenty-first day of June, and upon the lawn surrounding his house, the committee, through their chairman, Mr. Henderson, delivered its message in the following address:

MR. BLAINE:—Your nomination for the office of the President of the United States, by the National Republican Convention recently assembled at Chicago, is already known to you. The gentlemen before you, constituting the committee, composed of one member from each State and Territory of the country, and one from the District of Columbia, now come as the accredited organ of that Convention to give you formal notice of your nomination and to request your acceptance thereof.

It is, of course, known to you that, beside your own, several other names among the most honored in the councils of the Republican party were presented by their friends as candidates for this nomination. Between your friends and friends of gentlemen so justly entitled to the respect and confidence of their political associates the contest was one of generous rivalry, free from any taint of bitterness, and equally free from the reproach of injustice. At an early stage of the proceedings of the Convention it became manifest that the Republican States whose aid must be invoked at last to insure success to the ticket earnestly desired your nomination. It was equally manifest that the desire so earnestly expressed by delegates from those States was but a truthful reflection of an irresistible popular demand. It was not thought nor pretended that the demand had origin in any ambitious desires of your own, or any organized work of your friends, but it was recognized to be, what it truthfully is, a spontaneous expression by free people of love and admiration of a chosen leader.

No nomination would have given satisfaction to every member of the party. This is not to be expected in a country so extended in area and so varied in interests. The nomination of Mr. Lincoln, in 1860, disappointed so many hopes and overthrew so many cherished ambitions that for a short time disaffection threatened to ripen in open revolt. In 1872 the discontent was so pronounced as to impel large masses of the party to organized opposition to its nominees. For many weeks after the nomination of General Garfield, in 1880, defeat seemed almost inevitable. In each case the shock of disappointment was followed by the sober second thought; individual preferences gradually yielded to convictions of public duty; the promptings of patriotism finally arose superior to the irritations and animosities of the hour. The party in every trial has grown stronger in the face of threatened danger.

In tendering you the nomination, it gives us pleasure to remember that those great measures which furnished causes for party congratulations by the late convention at Chicago, and which are now crystalized into the legislation of the country—measures which have strengthened and dignified the nation, while they have elevated and advanced the people—at all times and on all proper occasions received your earnest and valuable support. It was your good fortune to aid in protecting the nation against the assaults of armed treasons. You were present and helped to unloose the shackles of the slave, you assisted in placing new guarantees of freedom in the Federal Constitution, your voice was potent in preserving national faith when false theories of finance would have blasted national and individual prosperity. We kindly remember you as the fast friend of honest money and commercial integrity.

In all that pertains to security and repose of capital, dignity of labor, manhood, elevation and freedom of the people, the right of the oppressed to demand, and the duty of the Government to afford protection, your public acts have received the unqualified endorsement of popular approval. But we are not unmindful of the fact that parties, like individuals, cannot live entirely on the past, however splendid the record. The present is ever charged with its immediate cares, and the future presses on with its new duties, its perplexing responsibilities. Parties, like individuals, however, that are free from stain of violated faith in the past, are fairly entitled to the presumption of sincerity in their promises for the future.

Among the promises made by the party in its late Convention at Chicago, are economy and purity of administration; protection of the citizen, native and naturalized, at home and abroad; prompt restoration of the navy; wise reduction of the surplus revenue; the relieving of the taxpayers without injuring the laborer; the preservation of the public lands for actual settlers; that all import duties, when necessary at all, be levied not for revenue only, but for the double purpose of revenue and protection; the regulation of international commerce, the settlement of international differences by peaceful arbitration, but coupled with the reassertion and maintenance of the Monroe doctrine as interpreted by the fathers of the Republic; perseverance in the good work of civil service reform to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectually avoided; an honest currency, based on coin of intrinsic value, adding strength to the public credit and giving renewed vitality to every branch of American industry.

Mr. Blaine, during the last twenty-three years the Republican party has builded a new republic, a republic far more splendid than that originally designed by our fathers. Its proportions, already grand, may yet be enlarged, its foundations may yet be strengthened, and its columns be adorned with beauty more resplendent still. To you, as its architect in chief, will soon be assigned this grateful work.

#### MR. BLAINE'S REPLY.

Mr. Blaine never looked better than when listening to these remarks, except when he replied to them. During the delivery he stood erect, with his arms folded. His countenance was clear, his eye bright, his posture superb, and he seemed the picture of health. Now and then he would throw a glance over the committee in front of him, as if searching for a familiar face, but this seemed to be done to rest the eye from looking constantly at one object, for there was no sign of recognition upon his strongly-marked features. He was in striking contrast to the man who was delivering to him the commission of party leader voted by the Convention.

Mr. Henderson looked thinner and taller than ever by the side of the perfect figure of the man who waited upon his words. He seemed to grow as he read. When he had finished, Mr. Blaine turned about and took from his son's hand the roll of paper upon which was written his reply, and said:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE:— I receive, not without deep sensibility, your official notice of the action of the National Convention already brought to my knowledge through the public

press. I appreciate more profoundly than I can express the honor which is implied in the nomination for the presidency by the Republican party of the nation, speaking through the authoritative voice of duly accredited delegates. To be selected as a candidate by such an assemblage, from a list of eminent statesmen whose names were presented, fills me with embarrassment. I can only express my gratitude for so signal an honor and my desire to prove worthy of the great trust reposed in me.

In accepting the nomination, as I now do, I am impressed—I am also oppressed—with a sense of the labor and responsibility which attach to my position. The burden is lightened, however, by the host of earnest men who support my candidacy, many of whom add, as does your honorable committee, cheer of personal friendship to pledge of political fealty. A more formal acceptance will naturally be expected, and will, in due season, be communicated. It may, however, not be inappropriate at this time to say I have already made a careful study of the principles announced by the National Convention, and that, in whole and in detail, they have my heartiest sympathy and meet my unqualified approval.

Apart from your official errand, gentlemen, I am extremely happy to welcome you all to my house. With many of you I have already shared duties of public service and enjoyed most cordial friendship. I trust your journey from all parts of the great republic has been agreeable, and that during your stay in Maine you will feel you are not among strangers, but with friends. Invoking blessings of God upon the great cause which we jointly represent, let us turn to the future without fear and with manly hearts.

## “THE WOODS ARE FULL OF THEM!”

Many campaigns in the past have had popular symbols or watchwords with which to decorate the banners, transparencies and other paraphernalia used in parades. The log cabin was the symbol in an early campaign; in 1860 the candidate figured as the rail splitter from Illinois; a saying of the famous soldier candidate, “We’ll fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer,” became the watchword of a later campaign; in 1880 it was the canal boat and the boy from the towpath. The local committee from Augusta, Me., taking the hint from the name of their State, the Pine Tree State, have adopted as the symbol of this campaign a pine cone, and the legend “The woods are full of them”; and before the November election we predict that thousands of banners will bristle with pine cones, and the legend will be familiar household words.



## JOHN ALEXANDER LOGAN.

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GENERAL JOHN ALEXANDER LOGAN is equally distinguished as soldier and statesman. His father, Dr. John Logan, emigrated from Ireland in 1822, and settled as a country practitioner near Murphysboro, Ill. He prospered in what was then a wild country, and in 1824 married Elizabeth Jenkins, a native of Tennessee, who, two years later, on the night of February 9, 1826, became the mother of the present Republican candidate for Vice-President.

The child was taught to read and write by his father and mother. There were no schools in those days. At nineteen he enlisted as a private in the Mexican war, and he was chosen Lieutenant in the First Illinois Regiment. He served with distinction throughout the war, and at its close, in the Fall of 1848, he returned to his home to begin the study of the law under the guidance of his uncle, Alexander M. Jenkins, formerly Lieutenant Governor of the state. After serving as clerk of the county court, he received his diploma and took up his position at the bar in 1851. He also immediately entered into politics, and the same Fall was nominated and elected to the State Legislature. From that time until the outbreak of the war, he figured prominently, not only in the State but also in the National Councils of the Democratic party, and served two terms in Congress as its representative. Immediately on the outbreak of the war, however, he was among the first to enlist in the defense of the Union. He was in the first battle of Bull Run, and among the last to leave the field. Returning to his home September 1, he assisted in raising troops, and September 13, the Thirty-first Regiment of Illinois Infantry was organized with Logan commissioned as colonel. The first engagement in which he and his command participated was the battle of Belmont, in November of the same year, when his ability as a commander, and his dash and intrepidity, foreshadowed the fact that he was to play a conspicuous part in the operations of the army. He participated in the movements at Fort Henry, and was present at the battle of Fort Donelson, where he received a severe wound, and did not rejoin his command until some weeks afterward, on the evening of the last day of the battle of Shiloh. On March 3,

1862, he was made Brigadier General and participated in the siege of Corinth as commander of the First Brigade in General Judah's division of the right wing of the army, and for his valiant services was publicly thanked by General Sherman in his official report.

In the movements about Vicksburg from February, 1863, until July 4, when General Pemberton surrendered, General Logan, with his command, was actively engaged, and he was ordered to take the lead in the march into Vicksburg, July 4, after which he was given the command of that post, which he retained until placed in command of the Fifteenth Corps, November 14, 1863.

On July 22, 1864, Logan, as commander of the Fifteenth Army Corps, was ordered in pursuit of the enemy south of Atlanta. In the hard-fought battle that followed, General McPherson was killed, and General Logan succeeded him in command of the Army of the Tennessee. The success of the battle was accorded to Logan by General Sherman's official report. The battle of July 28, which followed, was another hotly contested fight, in which Logan's command was equally as conspicuous and successful.

During the war Gen. Logan was ordered to Nashville to supersede Gen. G. H. Thomas, of whose slowness the War Department was weary. On reaching there, and going about with his predecessor, he found that his delay had been the result of admirable planning and complete preparation for a victory. General Logan might easily have stepped in and reaped the fruit of that wise provision, winning laurels for himself at the expense of his displaced and chagrined brother in arms. This he could not and would not do, and he withheld the military order which would have justified him in so doing; and General Thomas was permitted to win and enjoy his well-earned fame. When Gen. Logan was thanked for that chivalrous act, he said briefly that no man of honor could have done otherwise; but this standard of honor did not always prevail among our Eastern generals.

After the close of the war General Logan was offered the position of Minister to Mexico, but declined. In 1866 he was elected to Congress from the state at large in Illinois by a majority of 55,987. In the next, the Forty-first Congress, Logan began to make his mark, and in 1870 was elected by the Illinois Legislature to the United States Senate. After serving his term he was defeated by the Independents, who united upon the Hon. David Davis as his successor; but he was again elected to succeed Oglesby in 1876. He has always taken an active part in the legislation of the Senate, and has introduced many useful bills.

## GENERAL GRANT'S OPINION OF LOGAN.

*Harper's Weekly* in June, 1872, published the following: "When some one said to President Grant that Senator Logan seemed rather inclined to complain of the administration, the President smiled, and answered that he knew Logan well. 'He is critical by nature,' he said, 'and always speaks his opinion.' 'During the war,' said General Grant, 'while we lay in camp, nobody commented more sharply upon the little slips and blunders than John Logan; but when the order came to march, no corps was in more perfect order, none moved more promptly, and none was more bravely led than John Logan's. He will criticise the administration just as often and as sharply as he chooses; but he will give no aid or comfort to the enemy.'"

## THE WIFE OF GENERAL LOGAN.

This simple narrative presents many lessons which the younger generations of American women might apply with profit to themselves and the happiness of the world at large. We do not think it a violation of the confidences of a private conversation to give them the benefit of the example of this true type of American womanhood. The American ancestry of Mrs. Logan goes back to a sturdy Irish settler of Virginia and a French pioneer of Louisiana. Her great-grandfather, Robert Cunningham, of Virginia, was a soldier of the war for Independence, after which he removed to Tennessee, thence to Alabama and thence to Illinois, when still a Territory, and there manumitted his slaves. Her father, Captain John M. Cunningham, served in the fierce Black Hawk war. He was a member of the Legislature of Illinois in 1845 and '46 and served in the Mexican war. Her mother was Miss Elizabeth Fontaine, of a distinguished family of that name which had arrived in Louisiana during the French occupancy of that country, and had thence journeyed up the Mississippi River and settled in Missouri. It was here that John Cunningham met his bride and it was near the present village of Sturgeon, then known as Petersburg, in Boone county, Mo., that Mary Simmerson Logan was born, on August 15, 1838. When she was one year old her parents removed to Illinois, and settled at Marion, in Williamson county. It was here that the mother and her oldest daughter, then but nine years old, shared the dangers of a frontier home and the cares and solicitude of a growing family, when the husband and father went forth to fight the battles of his country upon the parched plains of Mexico, and braved the trials and privations of a miner's life in the Sierras of California.

This courageous and dutiful little girl relieved her mother, who was not strong, of most of the household work, and still

found time to attend the primitive school of the neighborhood and train herself in useful needle work.

#### HER CHILDHOOD.

The father felt a just pride in his eldest daughter. The assistance which she had rendered her mother during his long absence in Mexico and California had even more closely endeared her to his heart, and her love of study had prompted him to give part of his income to her proper education. Accordingly, in 1853, the daughter was sent to the Convent St. Vincent, near Morganfield, Ky., a branch of the Nazareth Institute, the oldest institution of the kind in the country. This was the nearest educational establishment of sufficient advancement in the higher branches of knowledge. The young lady was reared a Baptist; after her marriage she joined the Methodist Church, the Church of the Logan family.

Having graduated in 1855, Miss Cunningham returned to her father's home at Shawneetown. In her younger days, when a mere child, she had aided her father as Sheriff of the county, Clerk of the Court and Register of the Land Office in preparing his papers. Those were not the days of blank forms for legal documents. Accordingly the father depended upon the daughter to make copies for him. While Mary Cunningham was thus aiding her father in his official duties, John Logan was Prosecuting Attorney of the district. He had known father Cunningham and was his warm friend. He had known the daughter as a little girl. In 1855 they were married, and at once went to the young attorney's home at Benton, Franklin county. The bride was sixteen years of age, but her young life had already been one of usefulness to her mother and of great service to her father.

#### THE MARRIAGE.

The young wife immediately installed herself in the place of companion and helpmate to her husband. She accompanied him on all his professional journeys, an undertaking in those days of wilderness and no roads often requiring great endurance and privation. In 1856 the devoted wife saw her husband triumphantly elected a member of the Legislature, and in the famous Douglas and Lincoln Senatorial contest he was elected as a Douglas Democrat to Congress. In all these hard-fought political campaigns the noble wife went with her husband, assisting in much of his work of correspondence and copying, and frequently receiving his friends and conferring with them on the details of the campaign. When Mr. Logan came to Congress as a Representative Mrs. Logan came with him. She remained with him in Washington until the outbreak of the Rebellion,

when he resigned his seat in Congress to return to Illinois to go into the service of his country.

The war having commenced, and Mr. Logan having raised and been assigned to the command of the Thirty-first Illinois Volunteers, Mrs. Logan, with her only living child, then three years old (now Mrs. Tucker), returned to her father's home at Marion. The Illinois troops having been ordered into camp at Cairo, Mrs. Logan joined her husband there. During the fierce battle of Belmont, Mrs. Logan heard the booming of the guns across the turgid flood of the Mississippi. In the midst of painful and anxious suspense for the safety of her own, of whom she felt that he was in the thickest of the conflict, she gave a helping hand to the care of the wounded and suffering soldiers as they were brought back from that bloody field.

#### DURING THE WAR.

When the army entered upon the Tennessee River campaign, Mrs. Logan again returned to her home, but was soon shocked by the news from Donelson that her husband had fallen at the head of his charging columns dangerously wounded. She hastened to the scene to care for her husband. For days it was a struggle between life and death.

At Memphis, in the Winter of 1862-3, Mrs. Logan again joined her husband, now a general, and remained there until he led his troops in the campaign which ended the surrender of Vicksburg.

During this time, and to the end of the war, Mrs. Logan remained at Carbondale, where, out of the General's salary, they had bought an unpretentious home. Upon his return from the war General Logan was nominated by acclamation for Congressman-at-Large. After his election, Mrs. Logan returned to Washington and has been one of the prominent figures in Washington society ever since.

The arduous work of the approaching campaign will find Mrs. Logan again exerting all her genius for the success of her husband, and with that the success of the Republican ticket. The mass of correspondence pouring in from day to day, she dispatches with her own hands and the aid of a stenographer. She also lends her presence to the numerous visits of congratulation from committees and individuals from all parts of the country. The most zealous person for the ticket in Washington and also one of the persons who will work most earnestly for its success will be Mrs. John A. Logan.

#### NOMINATING LOGAN.

Hardly had the nomination of Blaine been announced when the friends of the Illinois Senator began an active canvass in

favor of his nomination for second place on the ticket. As if by magic, men appeared on the streets with blue silk badges printed "Blaine and Logan," affixed to the lappels of their coats, frequent cheers were heard around the hotel lobbies for "Blaine and Logan," and it was evident that at short notice a boom of large proportions was well under way.

The Blaine delegates, as a rule, had a very kindly feeling for Logan, not only because the vote of Illinois was cast solidly for Blaine on the fourth ballot, but because it was understood that in the event of an emergency Logan's supporters from the outset of the contest could be relied upon to go to Blaine as soon as Logan was out of the fight.

#### AFTER THE RECESS IN THE EVENING.

As the delegates slowly entered the hall and took their seats, the expressions heard upon every hand indicated Logan's nomination. The Senator, after first declining to accept, telegraphed Senator Collum that he was in the hands of his friends. A movement of some proportions was started in favor of Gresham, but his supporters were disappointed by the circulation of a report that he would not serve if elected.

The Convention was called to order at 8.15 P. M. At that hour many of the seats in the rear of the hall were unoccupied. Chairman Henderson invited the states to complete the list of members of the National Committee, and, after a few minutes of wrangling, Senator Plumb, of Kansas, jumped on a chair and demanded the regular order. Nominations for Vice-President were at once announced as in order. The Convention wisely adopted a resolution limiting the time of making speeches to ten minutes, but put no limit to the number of addresses.

When, in the call of states, Kansas was reached, Senator Plumb took the chair and advanced rapidly towards the stage.

#### PRESENTING THE NAME.

Facing the large audience, twirling his watch-chain with the fingers of his left hand and thrusting his right hand under the tails of his sack coat, Mr. Plumb began his speech. It was a Western popular, ringing address in support of the Illinois candidate, and when, at the climax, the name of Logan was uttered, the Convention rose and gave three rousing yells for Illinois' favorite son.

The Pennsylvania delegation rose to its feet as enthusiastically as the delegation from Illinois and cheered as long and as loudly as the delegates from any of the other States. The conduct of the Convention, the warm reception given Logan's

name, pointed unerringly to his success. Houck, of Tennessee, seconded the nomination.

#### NAMED BY STATE AFTER STATE.

As the talking progressed it was made apparent that Logan would be nominated, and the Convention from time to time impatiently manifested its demand for a vote. Robinson, of Ohio, on behalf of the Ohio delegation, seconded Logan's nomination, and moved that the rules be suspended and the nomination made by acclamation.

The delegates shouted for a vote; the Chair put the question and declared it carried in a tone of voice so low that not one-half the delegates knew that it had been put. Those who heard the decision of the Chair supposed the nomination had been made, but afterwards the roll was called. State after State registered its solid vote for Logan until Massachusetts was reached, when the delegation cast nineteen votes for Logan and three for Fairchild, of Wisconsin. The announcement of a division in this finicky delegation was greeted with loud hisses. When New York was reached, George William Curtis asked for time for conference. Pennsylvania cast fifty-nine votes for Logan, one delegate being absent. So the roll continued, every State giving its united vote to the candidate for Vice-President.

After the call of territories had been completed, New York was again called. Curtis cast sixty votes for Logan, one for Foraker, and ten for Gresham. Logan received 779 votes, and the nomination was made unanimous.

#### NOTIFYING GENERAL LOGAN.

The committee to notify General Logan of his nomination for the second place on the Republican national ticket met in Washington, the twenty-fourth day of June, for the performance of their duty. They were received by the Senator and Mrs. Logan, and after pleasant greetings the formal address of notification was read by Mr. Henderson, as follows:

SENATOR LOGAN: The gentlemen present constitute a committee of the Republican convention recently assembled at Chicago, charged with the duty of communicating to you the formal notice of your nomination by that convention as a candidate for Vice-President of the United States.

You are not unaware of the fact that your name was presented to the convention and urged by a large number of the delegates as a candidate for President. So soon, however, as it became apparent that Mr. Blaine, your colleague on the ticket, was the choice of the party for that high office, your friends, with those of other competitors, promptly yielded their individual preferences to this manifest wish of the majority.

In tendering you this nomination we are able to assure you it was made without opposition, and with an enthusiasm seldom witnessed in the history of nominating conventions.

We are gratified to know that in a career of great usefulness and distinction you have most efficiently aided in the enactment of those measures of legislation and of constitutional reform which the convention found special cause for party congratulation.

The principles enumerated in the platform adopted will be recognized by you as the same which have so long governed and controlled your political conduct.

The pledges made by the party find guarantee of performance in the fidelity with which you have heretofore discharged every trust confided to your keeping. In your election the people of this country will furnish new proof of the excellency of our institutions. Without wealth, without help from others, without any resources except those of heart, conscience, intellect, energy and courage, you have won a high place in the world's history, and secured the confidence and affections of your countrymen. Being one of the people, your sympathies are with the people. In civil life your chief care has been to better their condition, to secure their rights and perpetuate their liberties.

When the government was threatened by armed treason you entered the service as a private, became the commander of armies, and are now the idol of the citizen soldiery of the republic. Such, in the judgment of your party, is the candidate it has selected, and in behalf of that party we ask you to accept its nomination.

At the conclusion of the address, General Logan read from sheets of manuscript the following brief formal acceptance of the nomination, promising, as will be seen, a reply at length in the near future :

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE: I receive your visit with pleasure, and accept with gratitude the sentiments you have so generously expressed in the discharge of the duty with which you have been intrusted by the national Republican convention.

Intending to address you a formal communication shortly, in accordance with the recognized usage, it would be out of place to detain you at this time with remarks which properly belong to the official utterances of a letter of acceptance.

I may be permitted to say, however, that though I did not seek the nomination of Vice-President, I accept it as a trust reposed in me by the Republican party, to the advancement of whose broad policy upon all questions connected with the progress of our government and our people I have dedicated my best energies; and with this acceptance I may properly signify my approval of the platform of principles adopted by the convention.

I am deeply sensible of the honor conferred upon me by my friends in so unanimously tendering me this nomination, and I sincerely thank them for this tribute.

I am mindful of the great responsibilities attaching to the office, and if elected I shall enter upon the performance of its duties with the firm conviction that he who has such an unanimous support of his party friends as the circumstances connected with the nomination and your own words, Mr. Chairman, indicate, and consequently such a wealth of counsel to draw upon, cannot fail in the proper discharge of the duties committed to him. I tender you my thanks, Mr. Chairman, for the kind expressions you have made, and I offer you and your fellow-committeemen my most cordial greeting.



## THE PLATFORM.

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In the following manner the platform of the Republican party was read in the Convention at Chicago :

Mr. Bayne, of Pennsylvania—I would like to inquire from the Chair whether the Committee on Resolutions is ready to report?

The Chair—The Committee on Resolutions is now ready to report, and if Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania, will take the chair I will read the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. Grow then took the chair, and Mr. McKinley read the report of the Committee on Resolutions, as follows :

The Republicans of the United States, in Convention assembled, renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive presidential elections, and congratulate the American people on the attainment of so many results in legislation and administration by which the Republican party has, after saving the Union, done so much to render its institutions just, equal and beneficent—the safeguard of liberty and the embodiment of the best thought and highest purposes of our citizens. The Republican party has gained its strength by quick and faithful response to the demands of the people for the freedom and the equality of all men; for a united nation, assuring the rights of all citizens; for the elevation of labor; for an honest currency; for purity in legislation, and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the Government, and it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform.

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

In the administration of President Arthur we recognize a wise, conservative and patriotic policy, under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity, and we believe his eminent services are entitled to and will receive the hearty approval of every citizen. It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people; the largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity and of the comfort and independence of the people.

### THE TARIFF PLANK.

We, therefore, demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, not for "revenue only," but that, in raising the requisite reve-

nues for the Government, such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity.

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

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

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

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

The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the States is one of the most important prerogatives of the general Government, and the Republican party distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the constitutional power of Congress over inter-state commerce. The principle of the public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people, and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall secure to the people and to the railroads alike the fair and equal protection of the laws.

#### PROTECTION TO LABOR.

We favor the establishment of a national bureau of labor, the enforcement of the eight-hour law, a wise and judicious system of general education by adequate appropriation from the national revenues wherever the same is needed.

We believe that everywhere the protection to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption, and we favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

The Republican party, having its birth in a hatred of slave labor and in a desire that all men may be free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our workmen in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit we denounce the importation of contract labor,

whether from Europe or Asia, as an offense against the spirit of American institutions, and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration, and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

#### CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

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

The public lands are a heritage of the people of the United States and should be reserved as far as possible for small holdings by actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-resident aliens, and we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil.

We demand of Congress the speedy forfeiture of all land grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with acts of incorporation, in all cases where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the conditions of such grants.

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

#### REGARDING A FOREIGN POLICY.

The Republican party favors a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations, and which shall give the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in America, and the policy which seeks peace can trade with all powers, but especially with those of the Western Hemisphere. We demand the restoration of our navy to its old-time strength and efficiency, that it may in any sea protect the rights of American citizens and the interest of American commerce, and we call upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no sea unexplored, and a navy which takes no law from superior force.

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

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

The people of the United States, in their organized capacity constitute a nation and not a mere confederacy of states. The National Government is supreme within the sphere of its national duty, but the states have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained; each should be guarded with jealous care, so that the harmony of our system of government may be preserved and the Union kept inviolate. The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count and a correct return. We denounce the fraud and violence practised by the Democratic party in the Southern States, by which the will of the voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions, and we solemnly arraign the Democratic party as being the guilty recipient of the fruit of such fraud and violence.

We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy, and pledge to them our most earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race and color, the full and complete recognition, possession and exercise of all civil and political rights.

Mr. Bush, of California—I move the adoption of the resolutions

The Chair—The gentleman from California moves the adoption of the resolutions. The question is upon the adoption. Those in favor of the same will say yea, and contrary, nay.

The resolutions were adopted unanimously.

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# LIVES OF BLAINE AND LOGAN



JAMES G. BLAINE.



JOHN A. LOGAN.

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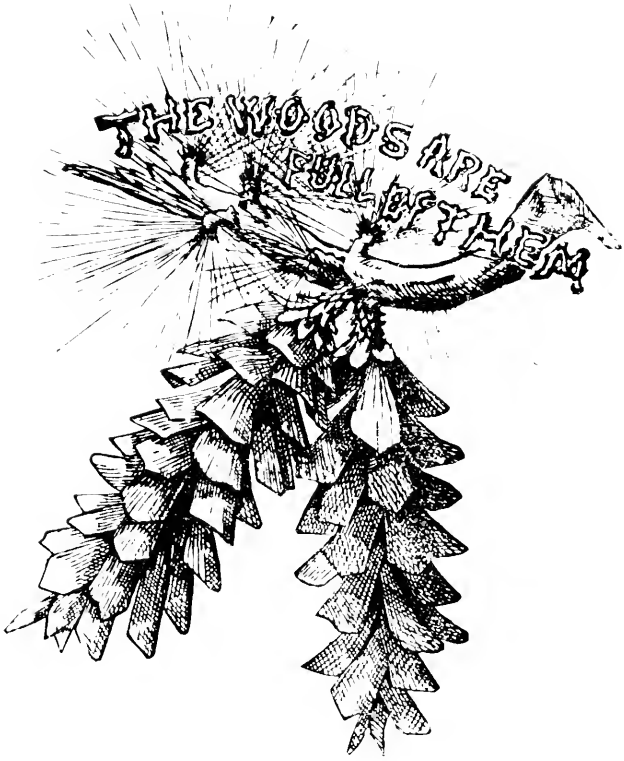
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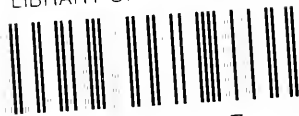


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