

STORIES OF U. S. SENATORS

Many of the Old War Horses Were Oddities.

They Had Convictions and the Courage to Uphold Them Even When Force Was Required.

The retirement of William E. Chandler from congress at the end of his present term on March 4, 1901, will leave about the same sort of a void in the national legislature as was left when Matthew Lyon and John Randolph stepped down, with this difference that Lyon and Randolph had more than one entrance and exit, while the coming retirement of Chandler stands a chance to be final. The New Hampshire senator is in his 66th year of age, and though he is physically and mentally as active as most of the members of the senate or house who are a half a dozen or half a score years younger than he is, he seems to have accumulated a sufficient number of enemies powerful in one field and another to keep him out of prominent political station during the remainder of his life. All three of these personages were (dealing with Chandler in the past tense) among the most picturesque characters of their time. All possessed a certain sort of ability. Randolph, indeed, was one of the most scholarly men of the day. But all were singular, erratic and uncertain. All were strikingly individual, and all were effective in repartee, in impromptu speeches, and excelled in the rough and tumble of excited and promiscuous debate. Chandler was prominent in the creation of the new navy, however, for it was during the days, back in the presidency of Chester A. Arthur, when Chandler held the navy portfolio, that the foundation was laid of the splendid fighting fleets, which, 15 years later, under Dewey and Sampson, won the victories which recalled the exploits of Paul Jones, Perry, Decatur and Farragut. This particular episode, which is the most creditable in all of the New Hampshire senator's career, appears to have been forgotten, and he is remembered at the present time merely by his 14 years of service in the senate.

Lyon, who was one of the extreme anti-Federalists and Democrats of his time, had the distinction of figuring in the earliest fracas which ever disgraced the halls of congress, that in which in 1795 Roger Griswold, of Connecticut, an almost equally radical and angular Federalist, was the other principal. For this brawl a motion was made to expel Lyon, but although the house was controlled by the Federalists, the motion failed. Lyon also had the distinction of being the first man punished under the sedition law, which, as coupled with the alien act, passed by a Federalist congress and signed by a Federalist president, John Adams, did much toward driving the Federalist party out of power in the election of 1800, and toward putting Jefferson and the Republicans, the political progenitors of the Democrats, in office. The charge against Lyon was that he attempted to "stir up sedition and bring the government into contempt," and for this he was fined \$1000, and imprisoned four months. Forty years afterward, during Van Buren's presidency, congress refunded the money to his heirs, with interests. Lyon, who at the outset in his career was from Vermont, represented a district in Kentucky, from 1803 to 1811, and was the first delegate chosen to congress from the new territory of Arkansas, but he died in 1821 before taking his seat.

John Randolph, who was a cousin of the Edmund Randolph who was a member of the convention which framed the constitution and the first attorney general of the United States, entered the house of representatives in 1799, as an opponent of Patrick Henry, then in the last days of his life. The old revolutionary orator was among the most popular men in Virginia in his latter days, and lost all fear of the oppression of the states by the central government which he had at the time the constitution was first framed, but Randolph was against Henry, and at one time and another in the third of a century of his career, his hand was against every prominent personage in the country. He started out by being an ardent Jeffersonian, but he turned against Jefferson not long after his entrance into congress. He was bitter and pug-nacious, yet he was against war, and opposed Madison on account of his connection with the war policy, although, according to a report at the time, it was Clay, Calhoun and the rest of the young warhawks of the day who

coerced Madison into the war attitude. While he proposed an embargo against England and France at first, he antagonized the embargo when put into operation through the influence of Jefferson over congress. At first the ardent friend of Monroe, in devotion to whom he fought Madison, and did much toward constraining Madison to put Monroe into the cabinet as secretary of state, Randolph turned against Monroe when the latter was president, and helped to organize some of the hostility toward him which disturbed the so-called "era of good feeling." A slaveholder himself, he hated slavery, and emancipated his own slaves in his will. Although a gambler, he detested gamblers. An aristocrat in his traditions and earlier affiliations, he was a democrat in his personal conduct and prepossessions. When challenged by Clay for insulting language in congress, he refused to fire at Clay, although Clay fired at him. Clay, John Adams, John Quincy Adams and Calhoun were special objects of ill-will to him, and once when he appeared to be on the point of death he effected a reconciliation with Clay, but he particularly stipulated that the truce was not to hold good if he should recover, which he did. No other man ever hated the Federalists with such a blind, persistent and vindictive hatred as did Randolph, but one of the very few men for whom Randolph had a devoted friendship was Josiah Quincy, who was the leader of the Federalists in the house during part of his service in that body.

On Jefferson's secret proposal to get \$2,000,000 for the purpose of buying the Floridas from Spain; although the ostensible purpose was to prepare for war against that country, Randolph in 1806 broke with the president and his party. Randolph declared that Jefferson should not be allowed to have two sets of principles—he should not be permitted to urge war in public messages and recommend surrender in his private communications. He denounced Jefferson, and protested against the "back stairs influence" by "men who bring messages to this house which govern its decisions, although they do not appear on its journals." This schism in Jefferson's party produced what was called the Quids, a bolting faction of Republicans, or Democrats, who, following Randolph, affiliated with their old time enemies, the Federalists, and made all sorts of combinations which could hamper Jefferson and his successor, Madison.

Although he dealt some hard blows to England for England's attacks on American commerce during the period from 1803 to 1812, while the Napoleonic wars were under way, he usually took England's side when there was any talk in congress about going to war with that country. "What," he exclaimed, "shall this great mammoth of the American forest leave his native element and plunge into the water in a mad contest with the shark. Let him beware that his proboscis be not bitten off in the engagement. Let him stay on shore and not be excited by the muscels and periwinkles on the strand." Then he turned with savage ferocity on the warhawks, all of whom belonged to his own party, and demanded, "After shrinking from the Spanish jackal, do you presume to bully the British lion?" "Strange," he exclaimed, on another occasion, "that we should have no objection to any other people, civilized or savage. The great autocrat of all the Russias receives the homage of our high consideration. The Dey of Algiers and his divan of pirates are very civil, good sort of people, with whom we find no difficulty in maintaining relations of peace and amity. Turks, Jews and infidels; Melimelli, Prince of Tripoli; Little Turtle, chief of the Miamis; barbarians and savages of every clime and color, are welcome to our arms. With chiefs of banditti, negro or mulatto, we can treat and trade. Name, however, but England, and all our antipathies are up in arms against her; against those whose blood runs in our veins; those in common with whom we claim Shakespeare and Newton and Chatham for our countrymen; against our fellow Protestants, identified in blood, in language, in religion with ourselves, whose form of government is the freest on earth, our own only excepted, and from whom all the valuable parts of even our own are borrowed—representation, trial by jury, voting the supplies, writ of habeas corpus, our whole civil and criminal jurisprudence."

Lawrence M. Keitt, of South Carolina; Lewis T. Wigfall, of Texas; Robbin Toombs, of Georgia, and Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, were among the most picturesque personages in the most public life of their day. Keitt, an ultra states rights man, who served in congress many years until his state seceded in 1860, and who, as colonel of a Confederate regiment, was killed early in the war of secession, was engaged in

several of the fracas which were frequent in congress in the latter 50s, and was knocked down by Grow, of Pennsylvania, in one melee. Like Keitt, Wigfall took part in the war on the Southern side, Wigfall, indeed, being present at the capture of Fort Sumter in April, 1861. Toombs was more impetuous and intolerant than either Keitt or Wigfall. According to Forney, who was clerk of the house of representatives in the decade immediately preceding the civil war, Toombs was as violent and dogmatic when he was a Unionist, which he was at the outset before he left the Whig party, as he afterward became as a secessionist. Toombs served in the army and in the civil government of the Confederacy, was an exile for a few years after the close of the war, was never "reconstructed," and remained, in the language of the day, an "unrepentant rebel" to the end of his life, 1885.

Wise had a far more variegated career than any of the distinguished Southern men who have been mentioned. First as a Jackson Democrat, afterward as an anti-Jackson man, and Whig, then as a Tylerite and later on as a Democrat again he served in congress was minister to Brazil, was governor of Virginia at the time of the John Brown raid, subsequently commanded a brigade in the Confederate army, and after the war wrote a book of considerable interest and merit named "Seven Decades of the Union." While in congress after the beginning of the feud between President Tyler and his party, the Whigs, he was one of the small band of Whigs who clung to Tyler after the larger end of the Whigs, the Clay faction, had read Tyler out of the party, and thus belonged to the element which Clay stigmatized as the "corporal's guard." During his service in congress he was a principal in one or two duels, and assisted in bringing about the conflict between William J. Graves, of Kentucky, and Jonathan Cilley, of Maine, in 1838, in which Cilley was killed.

Wise conducted one of the most exciting and important canvasses for governor which was ever waged in any state, the canvass of 1855, in which he was the Democratic candidate for governor of Virginia against the Know Nothings, who at that time had swept many of the New England and other Northern states, had made inroads on the Democrats in the border states and in some parts of the South, and appeared to be on the point of capturing the entire country. The Know Nothings had a powerful hold in Virginia, and comprised most of the Whig party, which had been swept away in the Kansas-Nebraska cyclone of the previous year (1854), and now was without any recognized organization, and these were leagued with many of the nativist Democrats. It looked during the most of the canvass of 1855 as if the Know Nothings were going to repeat in Virginia their triumphs in Massachusetts, New Hampshire and other states. Wise, who was called the John Randolph of his day, took the stump against the wave of nativism which seemed to be surging all over the country, and some of his speeches against it are among the most original and effective specimens of campaign oratory.

After declaring in one of his speeches, that the Know Nothings were determined to capture the South, as they already had captured much of the North, he said they were going to operate through the "Protestant bigotry and fanaticism, for Protestants, gentlemen, sometimes have their religious zeal with knowledge, as well as the Catholics. They are going to appeal to the 303,000 Presbyterians to the 300,000 Baptists, to the 300,000 Methodists of Virginia. Well, how are they going to reach them? Why, by raising a fuss about the pope. The pope, now so poor that none will do him reverence, so poor that Louis Napoleon, who requires every soldier in his kingdom to be at Sebastopol, has to leave a guard of muskets at Rome. Gentlemen, the pope is here. Priestcraft at home is what you have to dread more than all the popes in world. I believe, intellectually, in my heart as well as in my head, in evangelical Christianity. I believe that there is no other certain foundation for this republic but the pure and undefiled religion of Christ. But the priest who deserts the spiritual kingdom for the carnal kingdom he is of the earth earthy. Whoever he may be—Episcopalian, Baptist, Methodist—who leaves the pulpit to join a dark-lantern secret political society, in order that he may become a Protestant pope by seizing on political power, he is a hypocrite, whoever he may be. And I tell you that if I stood alone in the state of Virginia, and if priestcraft—if the priests of my own mother church—dared to lay their hands on the political influence, I would stand—in feeble imitation, it may be, but I would stand, even if I stood alone—as Patrick

Henry stood in the revolution, between the parsons and the people."

Wise stumped the entire state, ridiculing mercilessly the men who, as he declared, were "never known before to take any interest in religion of any sort, who were the devil's own, belonging to the devil's church, but who, all of a sudden, are deeply interested to save the word of God from the pope." He was interrupted at all of his gatherings, was mobbed at some of them, and his life was often endangered, but he continued until physically exhausted, and won a brilliant victory. He stigmatized the Know Nothings as abolitionists, who were conspiring to incite a rising among the slaves, and thus utilized the prejudices of his locality against the new party. Wise's victory in the governorship election of 1855 checked the conquering career of the Know Nothings in their southward march, and thus his canvass had an influence on national politics. Nevertheless, in the presidential canvass of the following year, that of 1856, Fillmore, the candidate of the Know Nothing (then called the American) party, carried one Southern state, Maryland, and was, instead of Fremont, the real opponent of Buchanan, the Democratic nominee; throughout the whole South. Were it not for Wise's victorious campaign of 1855, however, it is possible that Fillmore would have won Virginia, the two Carolinas, Louisiana, Kentucky, Tennessee and other slave states in which he polled a big vote, and in which the "third" party was powerful until the opening of the war which swept all of the Southern ex-Know Nothings into the Democracy.

CHARLES M. HARVEY.

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Notice is hereby given that on and after March 1st, 1901, grants for all applications for relocation will be issued at the time the application is made, wherever the claim applied for appears open for relocation upon the records. The allowance of two weeks which has hitherto been made for holders of claims to take out a certificate of work will cease on and after March 1st. Holders of claims are warned, in order to avoid trouble with relocators, to take out a renewal of their claims on or before the expiration of their former lease. (Signed) J. LANGLOIS BELL, Assistant Gold Commissioner.

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