In the letters which follow will be found a touch of the political feeling which existed shortly after the war between the States. The authors of the letters and Mr. Doolittle, to whom they were addressed, played an important part in the political drama of the time. They were all prominent public characters, and their patriotism was always beyond question.

The originals of the letters are in the possession of the contributor, and they have never appeared in print. The student of Indiana history will, it is believed, be glad to know of these letters and to peruse them.

Indianapolis, Aug. 31, 1871.

Hon. James R. Doolittle,
My Dear Sir:

Your kind note of the 29th is rec’d. I was gratified at your flattering nomination, & that you promptly accepted. Our paper publishes your speech this morning, & I will have the pleasure of reading it this evening.

How far we will be able, from this State, to help in your canvass, I can not now say. Ohio has made demands upon us, which must be respected, too. I will advise you. Indiana owes you all the help she can give.

I fear you will feel an adverse wind from the charges made by the New York Times against the City & County officers, but I feel sure you will achieve much in this contest. You will have the heart of the Indiana democracy with you.

With warmest wishes,

Truly yours,

T. A. Hendricks.
[Note.—This letter refers to the nomination of Judge Doolittle by the Democratic party of Wisconsin as its candidate for governor. And the speech mentioned was Mr. Doolittle's acceptance of the nomination. The reputation of ex-Senator Doolittle as a campaign orator was well known throughout the country, and was essentially national in its scope and character. It was recognition of this fact that induced Mr. Hendricks to say that the democracy of Indiana owed Mr. Doolittle all the help it could give him. Reciprocal political assistance was due him.]

Private.

Indianapolis, January 27, 1877.

Hon. James R. Doolittle,

My Dear Sir:

Your favor of the 25th is rec'd. I take it for granted that Judge Davis will not resign before the 4th March. I think he will favor Drummond as his successor—but do not know. He is a good judge but an ultra opponent of the Democrats. Mr. Senator McDonald will have a good deal of influence in the opposition. You had better write to him at once. Should Gov. Tilden & myself be declared elected I cannot yet say what will be my position towards the administration touching appointments. It has heretofore been held that the V. President can have nothing to say. I do not see any reason for that, and I am sure no such rule ought to apply to myself, nominated as I was. I will be very glad to see you appointed. I will drop a note to Senator McDonald, that he may not commit himself. In ten or twelve days we will know who is to control the appointment. Should Judge Swayne be the 5th man of the Court, I will feel that the result is very doubtful. He is an intensely bitter partisan.

Truly yrs,

T. A. Hendricks.

[Note.—This letter deals with questions growing out of the campaign when it was claimed that Samuel J. Tilden and Thomas A. Hendricks were elected President and Vice-President, respectively, of the United States. Judge David Davis had recently been elected United States Senator from Illinois. This would cause a vacancy on the United States circuit court bench.]
Evidently, Mr. Doolittle was seeking to have this appointment go to him. And he was interesting Mr. Hendricks in his behalf, in case the Democratic candidates for President and Vice-President were given the certificates of election. Subsequent events, however, established the success of the Republican candidates, Hayes and Wheeler, and with it went the hopes and ambitions of Judge Doolittle. This letter has some interest as giving some estimate of officers in the public eye at the time of its writing. It shows, too, a warm place in Mr. Hendricks's bosom for his political friend and associate, ex-Senator Doolittle, of Wisconsin.]

Governor's Island, N. Y.,
September 14, 1880.

Hon. James R. Doolittle,
Chicago, Ill.,
My Dear Sir:

This morning brings in the good news from Maine where you have rendered such valuable service.

I have requested that your Indianapolis speech be distributed throughout the country: I believe it treats nearly all the leading questions; but if on revision you find that you did not cover all the vital issues, I take the liberty of suggesting that you seize an opportunity to do so, in order that the record of this campaign may be valuable in history. I am aware of the extent and thoroughness of your labors: I intend in the foregoing remark not to depreciate them, but to indicate the obligations you are under by your ability and your relation to parties, to treat the great governmental questions at issue, for the benefit of our countrymen now and hereafter.

I am,
Very truly yours,
Winf'd S. Hancock.

[Note.—General Hancock's reference to a speech which Judge Doolittle delivered in Indianapolis during the presidential campaign makes this letter a bit of interesting political history. It also emphasizes the great influence and power of Mr. Doolittle as an effective campaigner. The speech, of course, was delivered some time during the fall of 1880, and prior to the date of the letter of General Hancock.]
The subjoined letter from Judge Doolittle to Mr. Hendricks is valuable from several points of view. It deals with interesting data connected with President Johnson's administration, with which, of course, Judge Doolittle was very familiar. What he says about that administration may be regarded as authoritative, because his confidential relations with it are matters of history. He was a confidential adviser of Mr. Johnson, and he had been previously of Mr. Lincoln. Mr. Doolittle's discussion of the political outlook with his political friend is interesting, if not altogether convincing. He was right in predicting the nomination of Mr. Cleveland for President. But it seems that Mr. Hendricks was to be his running mate. However, those of us who knew Judge Doolittle, believe his letter was entirely honest and sincere. He thought here was the opportunity to win a State and a national victory at the same time.

It is difficult to find many letters prepared by Judge Doolittle in his private correspondence. It was not his practice to keep copies of his letters, but this seems to be an exception to the rule. A diligent search has been made to find, if possible, Mr. Hendricks's reply, but it has not been discovered. It would be interesting to know what was his answer to Mr. Doolittle's suggestion to stand for governor.

The readers of your quarterly are to be congratulated to have the opportunity to read this interesting letter. It has never been offered for publication before.

Duane Mowry.

Milwaukee, Wis., October 18, 1909.
Hon. Thos. A. Hendricks.

Racine, Wis., June 19, 1884.

My Dear Sir—Upon conference with Mr. Kimball, one of my intimate friends, I have determined to write you upon a matter of great personal interest to you, and to our cause.

After I saw Mr. Tilden, at his home, at Graystone, last November, I knew his candidacy was simply impossible. Your name was so associated with his upon the "old ticket," in the memories, affections, and, if you please, in the patriotic indignation of the whole Democratic party of the country, that a separation of the
two names, and a breach of the "old ticket" was also impossible, as it seemed to me.

I was also led to think, that in the existing state of things, neither your name with Mr. Tilden's, nor separate from it, would this year, be likely to be placed in nomination upon the "Ticket," for President, or, for Vice President.

The action of the convention in New York, yesterday, makes it almost morally certain, that Gov. Cleveland will be our candidate for President; and, from all that has been said by other conventions, and by the press, as well as from private correspondence, it seems likely that Col. McDonald will be placed in nomination for Vice President, if our friends outside of Indiana are satisfied that it meets with your approval.

And now my dear sir, allow me as one of your sincere friends to say, in all frankness, I hope it will accord with your best judgment, and the good of our cause, to allow our friends in Indiana, to place your name, in nomination for Governor. Not that it will add any honor to those already conferred upon you, by your great state; but that it can give the whole country the assurance, that New York and Indiana will give their votes for Cleveland and McDonald, for President and Vice President, in the coming election.

For myself, I have no aspirations for any place, whatever. I look for my reward, not in official position, but in my vindication. I have fought the good fight of faith. I have fought for principle; whether that led me to act with, or against, the Democratic party, or, with, or against, the Republican party.

In 1847, when, by treaty, we had acquired the Free Territories from Mexico, and Gen'l Cass proposed by "diffusion of slavery" to spread it out so thin in the Territories that it would die out of itself, I was severed from the Democratic party, under his lead, and helped to organize the Free Soil party.

Then a young man, from Western New York, I offered in the Democratic Convention, A Resolution "declaring the uncompromising hostility of the Democracy of New York against the extension of slavery into the Free Territories recently acquired of Mexico by any act of the General Government."

That resolution was rejected, or laid on the table by one ma-
jority. Upon that vote, Robert Morris, of New York city, the president of the Convention of Syracuse, of February, 1847, angrily tore the resolution in pieces, and threw them on the floor. The idea was not destroyed. A copy of the resolution was preserved. On that rejected resolution, called the “Corner Stone Resolution,” the Free Soil party was organized. It sent a Delegation to Baltimore, was refused admission except they come in with their votes neutralized by a hostile Delegation. They withdrew from the Convention, (I among them). We nominated Martin Van Buren. Then followed the Buffalo convention; which also nominated Van Buren, and Chas. Francis Adams. The result was, that Corner Stone Resolution, wrecked Gen'l Cass with his diffusion of slavery theory. Taylor was elected, and California came in as a Free State.

Then came a truce. Both parties pledged themselves anew, not to agitate the slavery question, and that the statu quo in the Territories, including the Mexican law of Freedom in the new ones, and the Missouri Compromise in the old ones, should remain.

My war against the Democratic party then ceased; and I supported Pierce, in 1852.

But as if the Devil had control of things, in 1853-4, Dixon, a whig senator from Kentucky, introduced a bill to repeal the Missouri Compromise. In vain Houston and Benton raised their warning voices against it. In vain Douglas first reported against it. In vain President Pierce and the Washington Union opposed it. The infernal measure once before the Senate, began its work of mischief; till at last, Douglas gave way,—hoping that with the Squatter Sovereignty panacea, he could get rid of the question. The result was, it only opened wide the Territory of Kansas for the extremes to challenge each other to mortal combat. It, in fact, began, right then and there, the Civil War, which, afterwards, led hundreds of thousands of brothers, with hands stained in brother's blood, to battle and to death.

The establishment of the Slave Code of Kansas, as the result of the Border Ruffian invasion and subjugation of that territory, and the vote of the Democrats in Congress to sustain that Code by the Federal Army, again severed me from that party; and I
joined to help organize the Republican party of 1856. In 1857 I entered the Senate. You know all the rest. I will not repeat what is so familiar to you.

The Republican party was organized as a states rights party. While it opposed slavery extension into the Free Territories, it denounced any invasion of the rights of the states as among the gravest of crimes. It was born of a protest against Federal usurpation; a protest against the Fugitive Slave Law; a protest against the Slave Code of Kansas; and, especially, a protest against using the Federal Army to enforce that Code; and to force upon a people, a Constitution which they had rejected, but which was declared adopted upon a false return of more than 5,000 votes of men, whose names were never found in Kansas, but found in an old Cincinnati Directory.

In saying that the Republican party was organized as a states rights party, I speak only of what I know, for I drew the very call upon which the Republican party, the People's party of Pennsylvania, and the Union party of New Jersey, were brought together in the convention at Chicago, in 1860, which nominated Mr. Lincoln.

The rights of the states were recognized in the strongest terms, not only in the platform on which Mr. Lincoln was elected, but especially, in that resolution of July, 1861, after the war had begun, passed unanimously by Congress, two days after the disaster at Bull Run,—the most solemn declaration a nation could make, before God and the civilized world.

But after Lincoln's assassination, the control of the Republican party passed into the hands of Thad. Stevens; who really had more power than ever Robespierre had in the French Convention, and in all its ideas it was revolutionized, and carried right over and entirely outside of the Constitution.

His great genius, indomitable will, and his great passions, inflamed into an intensity of hate, by the destruction of his Iron Works by the rebel forces at Gettysburg, made him burn and flame like an electric light, so intense and fierce that lesser lights were dim; and the Blaines and Logans were boys under him.

Unfortunately, President Johnson, as true a patriot as ever lived, by his want of tact and by his mistakes in extemporé
speeches in which he would indulge, in spite of the advice and counsel of his best friends, lost control, and the power to hold on to the policy of Lincoln. Johnson refused to appoint Morton in his Cabinet, which place Morton was ready to accept, after his Richmond speech. Had Johnson done so, Morton had sufficient organizing power, with Johnson's aid, to resist Stevens and his followers in their radical revolution. But he did not appoint him Secretary of War. He kept Stanton to betray and to ruin him; to betray and to ruin Lincoln's policy, of Reconstruction under the Constitution. Though Stanton himself drew the very Reconstruction Proclamation, and though it was unanimously approved by all Lincoln's Cabinet, twice read over in presence of Gen'l Grant himself, yet Stanton betrayed it under Stevens' lead.

Then came the rejection of Sherman's terms of Capitulation by Johnson's army, because it seemed to recognize the States of the South as being still states in the Union.

To cut this letter short, Stevens and his followers got complete control of the Republican party, and revolutionized it. He boldly declared that we were "outside" the Constitution, in dealing with all the States South of the Potomac.

Then, under Stevens, the Republican party did, what the Rebellion could not do; it broke the Union. It expelled ten States. It reduced them to Five Military Provinces. It subjugated 10,000,000 of people to military law. It abolished all civil law from the Potomac to the Rio Grande; and, (to quote Garfield), "with a steel pen made of a bayonet," two years after the war was over and peace proclaimed, erased from the Constitution the sacred words, "Habeas Corpus," and "Right of Trial by Jury," and wrote in their places "Martial Law," and "Drum Head Courts Martial."

Time fails me to tell you of all its great crimes; of the degradation and corruption of the South; of Disfranchising by Test Oaths the intelligence and character of the South; of filling their Legislatures with ignorance and stupidity; of the robbery by carpet-bag thieves of those states by the fraudulent issue of bonds, to $126,000,000; of the degradation of the suffrage of the South, instead of qualifying and elevating it, and with it elevating the enfranchised race; of all these things, which make the
heart sick to recall. Add to all this the nepotism, corruption, whiskey thief jobbing of Grant's administrations, and both of them, which show that great as he was as a soldier, he never had any more fitness for the civil duties of President, than he has lately shown himself fit to be the head of a great Banking House in Wall Street.

Add to that, the great unpunished fraud and outrage of 1876. The bribery, by which half a million stolen from the Treasury by Star Route thieves under Dorsey, was spent to buy votes in Indiana in 1880; and more humiliating, even, than Bribery itself, the fact that Arthur, the present President of the United States, without blushing, at a public dinner, when an ex-president sat by his side, openly, as if honors were being given to some great, conquering hero, boasted of the achievement of Carrying Indiana by wholesale Bribery, as if it were a great victory.

O, my friend! when I think of this party in power, having thus proved faithless to the Idea upon which it was elected, upon which I helped to form and organize it, how, instead of being a states rights party, maintaining the Union to be sovereign in all national affairs, and that the States are still sovereign in all their domestic affairs, it has now become the party of Centralization; —substantially denying the obligations and limitations of a Written Constitution, and maintaining that Congress can do any thing and every thing which it is not expressly forbidden to do; —and, that it is all honey-combed through and through with corruption; when I call all these things to mind, words fail to express the necessity to overthrow that party; and to place the administration in the hands of the true Democratic Republican party, regenerated as it now seems to be, and to bring true and genuine reform with it, into every branch of the government.

Let me therefore, knowing as I do your devoted love for the country for which you have labored and sacrificed so much, notwithstanding your personal disinclination to do so, ask you once more, to consent to put on your armor; once more, to become the candidate for Governor of Indiana. By that act, close up the ranks in New York and Indiana, unite all our forces, divide our adversaries, everywhere, and make victory sure.
Excuse this long and hastily written letter, for which the deepest solicitude is my only apology.

As ever,
Sincerely yours,
J. R. DOOLITTLE.

The following letter from Mr. John Bigelow confirms what Judge Doolittle had written about the availability of Mr. Samuel J. Tilden as a presidential candidate:

July 6, 1884.

Hon. J. R. Doolittle:
My Dear Sir—Though Governor Tilden has never been sick in bed a day since I have known him, now more than forty years, nor ever so ill as not to attend to current affairs, he is not strong and has no expectation of being ever any stronger. He does not feel that if elected to the Presidency he could realise the reasonable expectations of his friends or of the country. It was this apprehension which led him to decline the nomination in 1880 and there is no reason operating now, except the greater apparent unanimity of the party and the deduction of four years from the working balance of his life, that was not operative then.

I take no responsibility in saying, not only that the Governor does not wish the office but he does wish not to assume the burdens which it would impose upon him.

From a conviction that the anxieties of a canvass and the labor incident to a regeneration of our administrative system would interfere with the regularity of life and the repose which are indispensable to his health and comfort, I approved entirely of his course in 1880 and I am very reluctantly constrained to approve of the course which he now seems determined to pursue.

I regret that from the very nature of the situation I can not give a more explicit answer to your favor of the 2d inst., nor one more in harmony with what I suppose to be your feelings.

Yours very truly,
JOHN BIGELOW.

As a contribution to the discussion mentioned in Judge Doolittle's letter, Mr. Bigelow's statement is valuable. D. M.