

self with the "practical men" in politics by joining political associations of his party and sitting at the polls and acting as inspector of election on election day. A far higher class of men then served as inspectors at most of the polls in New York City on election days than do now in any part of the city. They were regularly elected each year, and prominent citizens then were willing to serve. For many years Mr. Arthur served as an inspector of elections at a polling-place in a carpenter's shop at Broadway and Twenty-third Street, New York, the Hippodrome being on the lower corner of the same block. The carpenter's shop and the Hippodrome were removed to give place to the present Fifth Avenue Hotel. In the formation of the Republican Party Mr. Arthur took a very prominent part. His name can be found appended to many calls like the fo-

llowing which was printed in the *New York Herald* at the opening of the campaign of 1856 :

Eighteenth Ward Young Men's Fremont Vigilance Committee. Grand rally. The first public meeting under the auspices of the Eighteenth Ward Young Men's Fremont Vigilance Committee will be held at the Demilt Dispensary, corner of Twenty-third Street and Second Avenue, on Wednesday evening, the 8th inst., at 7.30, which will be addressed by A. Oakley Hall, Esq., of this city, and Joseph J. Couch, Esq., of Brooklyn. The Fremont and Dayton Glee Club will be in attendance. All are invited to attend. *Executive Committee*: John H. Burleson, William D. Chase, George T. Strong, Henry D. Sedgwick, Joseph Wales, Samuel Brown, Chester A. Arthur, Richard T. Deming, John A. Foster, Henry G. Hallock, Curtis Beane, Benjamin F. Manierre, Peter T. Woodbury, Charles E. Strong."

He was a delegate to the convention at Saratoga that founded the Republican Party. During these political labors he became acquainted with Edwin D. Morgan and gained his ardent friendship. Mr. Morgan, when re-elected Governor in 1860, testified to his high esteem for Mr. Arthur by making him En-

gineer-in-Chief on his staff. Mr. Arthur had for several years previously taken a great interest in the militia organization of the State and had been appointed Judge Advocate General of the Second Brigade. In this position he was associated with many men who took part in the War of the Rebellion afterward and held high positions. Brigadier-General Yates, who commanded the Second Brigade, was a very thorough disciplinarian, and for several years required all the brigade and staff officers to meet every week for instruction. They in this manner became very proficient in military tactics and regulations, and the instruction proved to be of inestimable advantage to General Arthur in the great and exceedingly responsible duties to which he was soon to be called.

CHAPTER IV.

NEW YORK'S SECRETARY OF WAR.

THE breaking out of the War of the Rebellion in April, 1861, found him still Engineer-in-Chief. It was a merely ornamental office, and he probably never imagined he would do a day's duty in the position. The day after Fort Sumter was fired upon, while on his way to his law office, he received a dispatch from Governor Morgan summoning him to Albany. Upon reaching there Governor Morgan directed him to open a branch Quartermaster's Department in New York City, and to fulfil all the duties there of Quartermaster General. General Arthur was young, strong, and as Governor Morgan saw, of a vigorous nature. The Governor put in his hands the duty of quartering, subsisting, uniforming, equipping, and arming New York's soldiers for the war. It was not only a herculean task, but was one of special difficulty, for there was no broad road of experience to guide the young man. There had been no war

for many years, and moreover, this one was palpably to be prosecuted on a scale, in regard to the number of men engaged in it, of which no American could have a conception who had not been an eye-witness of some recent European war. Men who had been trained in the small regular army, or in the still smaller State militia regiments, were staggered by the enormous tasks set before them in the equipment and forwarding of several hundred thousand men to the seat of war. There was nothing for which General Arthur afterward received higher praise than the way he rose to the height of the occasion in all difficulties that beset him in the toilsome years which followed. He was the brains, the organizing force, that took the raw levies of New York, put uniforms on their backs, muskets in their hands, and sent them on to the war. Governor Morgan practically made him the War Minister of the State, shifting him from place to place on his staff, and from time to time transferring to him the duties of other military officers of the State, in order that the work might be properly done. He was virtually the centre round which all the military operations of the State revolved. He did not go near his law office during the first two years of the war. It was the creation of a great department for the provision of an army, out of nothing; but he succeeded and had the proud satisfaction of seeing that New York had sent one-fifth of all the soldiers that marched to subdue the Rebellion—a splendid contingent of 600,000 men.

It is well to relate what he did in detail. When he began in New York, in April, 1861, to perform the work of Quartermaster General, there were thousands of enlisted men in the city to be fed and equipped, the militia regiments were departing for the war from this State, and New England regiments were passing through the city. All these regiments had to be fed and quarters provided for them—where none existed. Wealthy citizens of New York aided General Arthur generously; giving him the right to occupy their buildings. Mr. Astor, Mr. Devlin, and

Mr. Goelet were conspicuous in this service. The number of troops passing through the city finally became so great that it was found necessary to provide more quarters for them. Then it was that barracks were erected in the City Hall Park. To get them ready for the troops, workmen under General Arthur's direction worked night and day. The populace thought that the war would be over in thirty days, and the barracks be removed. But the barracks remained there four years, or till the end of the war, the latter part of the time being used as a hospital. Meanwhile the work of creating a Quartermaster's Department went on. General Arthur advertised for proposals for subsistence for the troops, and succeeded in making a contract at rates one-third lower than those of the United States Government. This saved the State many thousands of dollars. Everything was done in a business-like way; the quartermaster's stores were issued on regular army requisitions and receipts were demanded for everything. The result of his care was that although the accounts of the State of New York with the United States Government were very much greater than those of any other State, his accounts were the first audited and allowed at Washington. Not a dollar was deducted from them, whereas the accounts of some other States were cut down from \$1,000,000 to \$10,000,000. It was natural that contractors should seek to ingratiate themselves with a man who was buying such enormous quantities of supplies. But every present that reached him with this motive was at once returned to the sender. A great clothing firm proffered him a costly saddle and trappings—they were contemptuously returned. He was a comparatively poor man when he became Quartermaster General—he was far poorer when he gave up the office. Some of the greatest contracts ever made in America were under his direction and control. The interests of the Government, however, were treated as though they were his interests. A friend describing his course at this period says: "So jealous was he

of his integrity that I have known instances where he could have made thousands of dollars legitimately, and yet he refused to do it on the ground that he was a public officer and meant to be like Cæsar's wife, 'above suspicion.' "

CHAPTER V.

WAR DIFFICULTIES MASTERED.

The troops poured into New York by the thousand, and it was found necessary every day to provide additional quarters. General Arthur built more barracks at various places on Long Island, on Staten Island, and Riker's Island. The first quota of the State, outside of the militia regiments, was for thirty-eight regiments. These regiments were organized in different parts of the State in the spring of 1861. The work of quartering, subsisting, uniforming, equipping, and arming these regiments went on without regard to Sunday or the hours of sleep. For several months General Arthur did not sleep over three hours a night. Whoever had any business connected with the army came to the State headquarters in Elm Street (afterward in Walker Street), and consequently General Arthur's office was constantly besieged by crowds. All sorts of adventurers went on to Washington, obtained commissions to raise troops, and returning to New York, began their work. All these classes required supervision from General Arthur, as they would endeavor to act independently of his office. His ability to deal with these men, many of whom were of a very rough character, was highly praised at the time. Several instances of his energetic action are remembered to this day. One of the adventurers was "Billy" Wilson, who had been the representative in the New York Board of Aldermen of the roughest element of the city population, and who had been authorized at Washington to raise

a regiment from this class. The regiment at one time refused to eat the Government rations and supported itself by raiding on the restaurants in the vicinity of its barracks. General Arthur, hearing of these outrages, sent for Wilson, and told him that he must put an end to them. Wilson thereupon said, in an impudent manner :

“ Neither you nor the Governor has anything to do with me. I am a colonel in the United States service, and you’ve got no right to order me.”

“ You are not a colonel,” indignantly replied General Arthur, “ and you will not be until you have raised your regiment to its quota of men and received your commission.”

“ Well, I’ve got my shoulder-straps, anyway,” said Wilson, “ and as long as I wear them, I don’t want no orders from any of you fellows.”

He had scarcely made this insolent reply, when General Arthur, who is a very strong man, sprang toward him, saying :

“ We’ll make short work of your shoulder-straps,” and tearing the straps from Wilson’s shoulders, put him under arrest.

General Arthur had a similar experience with Colonel Ellsworth’s Fire Zouaves, who were quartered in Devlin’s building on Canal Street. One day the members of the regiment refused to unpack their muskets. General Arthur having been applied to by Colonel Ellsworth, went among the throng with several policemen, had the ringleaders in the revolt pointed out to him, and said : “ Arrest that man, and that one, and that one.” His orders were obeyed, the regiment was cowed, and there were no more revolts of that nature. The regiment had an amusing experience on starting for the war. It was organized on the very original plan of having attached to it a battery of light artillery and a troop of cavalry. Furthermore, it had 120 men to the company, being more than the regulation complement. The War Department sent orders to Governor Morgan that the regiment should not be mustered into the ser-

vice or leave the city until it had equalized or reduced its companies. But that very day the regiment, 1800 strong, had received a stand of colors from Mrs. Astor, in Canal Street, and was on its way to the Baltic steamer to take passage for the South. General Wool had reviewed the regiment, and induced by the persuasion of the officers of the regiment, had rescinded the order for its detention. The regiment had then marched proudly to the troop-ship, which soon afterward steamed down the harbor. An hour after the steamer had sailed an officer strolled into the Elm Street headquarters and said accidentally :

“ Well, the Fire Zouaves have got off at last.”

“ Get off !” said General Arthur, in amazement ; “ that’s not possible. Orders have been received from Washington, forbidding them to leave, and there is not a pound of provisions of any sort on the troop-ship, as I countermanded the order which had been given.”

It was clear that the regiment must be fed at short notice. General Arthur jumped into a carriage, drove to an army contractor, and ordered the rations. “ Impossible to supply them at such short notice,” said the contractor. “ It is not impossible, and you must do it. I will pay you fifty cents, instead of the usual rate of thirty-five cents a ration, and will have them transported myself to the Baltic.” Stimulated by this reward, the contractor got together five days’ rations for 1800 men in two hours. General Arthur, meanwhile, had hired every tug he could obtain. He put the rations on these tugs, caught up with the Baltic at the Narrows—where the regimental officers had discovered the deficiency, and stopped the ship—and provisioned the ship. The ship sailed the same night. The regiment was again insubordinate, when it was encamped at Washington after the battle of Bull Run, and was ordered back to New York, and quartered in tents on the Battery. There the men refused to obey the officers, and wandered

about the city like marauders, stealing food in the restaurants, as had Wilson's Zouaves. General Arthur (then Inspector General) was directed to disband them ; but he thought something could yet be done with them. With the aid of the police he arrested every soldier of the regiment found wandering about the city and had him taken on board a transport ship which he had procured to be placed in the harbor, and imprisoned. When he had thus "hived" four hundred of them, the ship sailed for Hampton Roads. There the regiment was consolidated with another and put under the strict discipline of General Wool, and subsequently did good service in the war.

The "Ulster County Guards," in which the present General George H. Sharpe was a captain, was a regiment of far higher character. It was composed of men from the finest families of Ulster County. On their way to Washington they occupied the Park Barracks on the night they were completed. They had hardly got possession before orders came from the War Department to Governor Morgan that the regiment should return home, as no more three-months regiments were to be accepted. The regiment was almost beside itself with rage and disappointment. Thereupon General Arthur took a night train for Albany, described to Governor Morgan the martial character of the regiment, and the damaging effect of its being compelled to return home, and insisted upon its being sent on to Washington. He obtained the necessary permission and returned to New York by a special train. He reached the barracks at one A.M. and told the good news. The joy of the regiment was indescribable. A volunteer regiment was thus saved the service, for nearly all re-enlisted for three years at the end of their three months' service. The regiment, throughout the war, named its camps "Camp Arthur" in gratitude for this service of General Arthur. It was his readiness to deal with such matters that led Governor Morgan to intrust General Arthur with the management of the war affairs of the State. As the immediate repre-

representative of Governor Morgan he became known to army officers from every section and this was the foundation of his large personal acquaintance in the State.

In the fall of 1861, after 38 regiments had been furnished, it was seen that the Government would be glad to accept troops without limit ; and as the State had furnished the full quota of those regularly called for through the Governor, numbers of men of desperate fortunes, adventurers, went on to Washington and obtained authority to raise regiments. They came to New York and began to raise troops, claiming to be independent of State authority. There were parts of over a hundred regiments being raised at one time. General Arthur made an investigation as to the character of these adventurers, and found that many of them were men of bad antecedents. One of them who afterward adorned Ludlow Street Jail, advertised for "young gentlemen of pious character" for his regiment, and sold commissions in the regiment. Another hired the old New York Club House, then vacant—ordered a service of plate, furnished the house handsomely, and ran into debt to tradesmen all over the city, ostensibly in behalf of the regiment. These men defied the authority of the State officers. General Arthur advised Governor Morgan to claim from the United States Government supervision over all the troops raised in New York ; and for this purpose to obtain the office of major-general in the United States service. Governor Morgan, accompanied by General Arthur, went on to Washington. There General Arthur depicted to the War Department officials the character of the men they had commissioned. The officials were amazed and readily consented to the suggestion that Governor Morgan should be made a major-general, that a Department of New York should be established, and that all the independent organizations should be put under Governor Morgan's authority. Thenceforth there were no more disputes as to authority in New York ; and the example set by this State was followed by all the other

loyal States in raising troops for the war. At this time General Arthur was acting Adjutant-General of New York ; and was also actually doing the work of the Engineer-in-Chief, Inspector General, and Quartermaster-General. As Inspector General, he afterward consolidated the odds and ends of regiments spoken of before.

CHAPTER VI.

TERRORS OF WAR TIMES.

It was while Inspector General that he had an exciting and amusing experience. One Sunday in March, 1862, there came hurrying into his office, almost breathless, and flushed a deep red, General Gustavus Loomis, the oldest regular infantry officer in the service.

“What in the world has happened, General?” said General Arthur, offering the aged officer a chair.

“The rebel ram Merrimac ! the rebel ram Merrimac,” faintly said General Loomis.

“Well, what about her?”

“I have a despatch from General McClellan saying that she has sunk two United States ships—that she is coming to New York to shell the city—may be expected at any moment—I’m so out of breath running to tell you the news I can hardly speak.”

“Running to tell me the news ! Why on earth didn’t you hire a carriage ?”

“Hire a carriage,” answered Loomis with apparent horror ; “hire a carriage ! why that would cost me \$2.50. I can’t afford to spend so much out of my own pocket, and if I made such an extraordinary expenditure on account of the Government it would take all the rest of my official life to explain why I did so.”

General Arthur thought that General Loomis did not realize "that time was worth a million an hour at such a time," and sent out for several carriages while reading the following dispatch from General M'Clellan :

"WAR DEPARTMENT, Washington, March 9, 1862.

"*Commanding Officer, New York Harbor :*

"The rebel iron-clad steamer Merrimac has destroyed two of our frigates near Fortress Monroe, and finally retired last night to Craney Island. She may succeed in passing the batteries and go to sea. It is necessary that you at once place your post in the best possible condition for defence and do your best to stop her should she endeavor to run by. Anything that can be effected in the way of temporary batteries should be done at once.

"G. B. McCLELLAN, Major-General."

He then took a carriage and speeding to General Sandford, got him to detail artillerists from the militia regiments in the city who had been trained to the use of heavy guns to the forts in the harbor, General Loomis having reported that the forts were filled with recruits who didn't know how to handle the guns. It was reported also that there was no powder in the forts ; but fortunately a schooner arrived from Connecticut loaded with powder that day, and General Arthur sent it down the harbor to the forts. He also went to the house of Mayor Opdyke, to inform him of the situation. As General Arthur drove up Fifth Avenue to the Mayor's residence on that pleasant Sunday afternoon and saw the gayly-dressed throngs going to church, he thought with horror of what might be their fate if the city should be bombarded by the Merrimac. Mayor Opdyke, on receiving General Arthur's alarming news, summoned to his house many eminent citizens. They proposed to sink ships loaded with stone in the Narrows, and thus bar the approach of the Merrimac to the city. General Arthur protested that he would have nothing to do with such a scheme. The council

broke up without adopting any plan for the protection of the city. Fortunately for New York, news came during the night that the Monitor had reached Hampton Roads that day and had sunk the Merrimac.

This was not the first occasion when General Arthur had to do with the defence of the seaport of New York during the war. When Mason and Slidell were taken from the Trent by Captain Wilkes, and war seemed imminent with England, one day in December, 1861, General Arthur was summoned to Albany in his capacity of Engineer-in-Chief. He knew that he had been summoned to receive orders regarding the defence of New York. He also knew that the forts of masonry in New York harbor were practically obsolete before modern naval cannon; that most of the cannon in them were "shell guns," *i.e.*, unsafe to fire. On reaching Albany he stated to Governor Morgan that, not being an engineer, he came to resign his position in order that some eminent engineer might be appointed. Governor Morgan replied that there were plenty of engineers, but that for the present duty he preferred to keep a man of the energy, skill, and executive ability of his present Engineer-in-Chief. Governor Morgan insisting upon his keeping the office, General Arthur set about his task. On December 24th, 1861, he summoned together a Board of the most eminent engineers in the State; requesting them to meet him in New York two days later to consult about the defences of the harbor. For two months this board, of which General Arthur was a member, labored constantly, and at the end of that time produced a plan for the defence of the harbor which won universal praise. The plan is still in existence and may be of great value to New York in some emergency. Before its completion, war with England seeming at hand, the erection of a temporary barrier across the harbor was proposed. Colonel Delafield, of the United States Engineers, had suggested that it would be practicable to construct a barrier consisting of floats loaded with stone, and con-

needed and held in place by chain cables. An immense amount of timber was needed for such a barrier and there was no State appropriation with which to buy it. General Arthur took upon himself the responsibility of buying it. He went to Albany and in a day had the refusal of all the timber there and along the river. The purchase was made so quietly and secretly that the price of lumber did not advance. He also made a contract for the timber being rafted down the Hudson. Unluckily, the day after the purchase was made the Hudson froze up, and it was therefore plain that it would be impossible to deliver it before spring. Undaunted, General Arthur returned immediately to New York and bought up most of the timber there. Before the barrier could be erected, however, Mason and Slidell were surrendered to England and all danger of war passed away. But the State had upon its hands the immense quantity of timber General Arthur had bought, and grumblers severely criticised the purchase in the State Senate. General Arthur having been sent for by the Governor to advise about the disposition of the timber, went to Albany and had a bill then before the Legislature in regard to war expenditures amended so as to provide for the sale of unused war material. The bill passed, was at once signed by Governor Morgan, and the timber was sold soon afterward at a profit to the State.

Immediately after his convening of the Board of Engineers to consider the defence of the harbor of New York, General Arthur made a thorough, while rapid, inspection of all the forts and defences in the State, both on the seacoast and inland border. He wrote an admirable report to the Legislature of this inspection, which was submitted to that body January 18th, 1862, or a little more than three weeks after his attention was called to the subject by Governor Morgan. In this report the armament of every fort is described, and its condition for defence stated with the minutest details. The *New York Herald*, of January 25th, 1862, says editorially: "The report of the Engineer-in-Chief,

General Arthur, which appeared in yesterday's *Herald*, is one of the most important and valuable documents that has been this year presented to our Legislature. It deserves perusal, not only an account of the careful analysis it contains of the condition of the forts, but because the recommendations with which it closes coincide precisely with the wishes of the administration with respect to securing a full and complete defence of the entire Northern coast.

In February, 1862, General Arthur was appointed Inspector General, there being duty to do in the army. In May, 1862, he went to Fredericksburg, and inspected the New York troops there under the command of General McDowell. From there he went to the Army of the Potomac, then on the Chickahominy, and carefully inspected the New York troops there, with a view of having the depleted regiments then in service filled by enlistments to their proper strength, instead of having new regiments raised. As an advance on Richmond was then daily expected, General Arthur volunteered for duty on the staff of his friend, Major-General Hunt, commander of the reserve artillery. It is well to state here that shortly after the commencement of the war General Arthur was elected Colonel of the Ninth New York Militia, which enlisted in the United States service for two years, and desired to accept the post, but Governor Morgan would not release him from the more important work. The year afterward, when four regiments had been formed through the efforts of the Metropolitan Police Commissioners of the City of New York, in which they were largely aided by General Arthur, the colonels of the regiments offered him the command of the brigade, known as the "Metropolitan Brigade." He thereupon made formal application to the Governor for permission to accept the command, saying that it had long been his desire to have active service in the field. Governor Morgan replied that he could not be spared from the service of the State, and that while he appreciated

General Arthur's desire for war service, he knew he would do far more valuable service for the country by continuing at his post of duty in New York State.

CHAPTER VII.

ARMING SIXTY THOUSAND MEN.

In June, 1862, the affairs of the country looked desperate. There had been defeats, regiments were getting thinned out, and it was evident a great levy would have to be made. Governor Morgan telegraphed General Arthur, then with the Army of the Potomac, to return to New York. He did so, and was immediately requested to act as secretary at a secret meeting of the Governors of loyal States, held at the Astor House on July 28th, 1862. At this meeting President Lincoln was requested by the Governors to call for more men. President Lincoln, on July 1st, issued a proclamation thanking the Governors for their patriotism and calling for 300,000 volunteers and 300,000 militia for nine months' service. Private knowledge that such a call was to be issued would have enabled contractors to have made millions. General Arthur was approached by one of these men, and an interest offered him in immense contracts if he would reveal what had been done. The secret was kept by all, however, till the proclamation was issued. The quota of New York under the call for 300,000 volunteers was 59,705. It was desired that these sixty regiments should be recruited and got to the seat of war at the earliest possible moment. In view of the fact that the greater part of the labor would fall upon the Quartermaster's Department, the request was made by Governor Morgan to General Arthur that he should take his old post as Quartermaster General. General Arthur complied on July 7th, 1862, and set energetically to work. He devised

a new system for enlisting and caring for the troops, which was found to work very successfully. He established a camp in each one of the thirty-two Senatorial districts of the State. The Governor had provided for the appointment of committees of prominent citizens from both political parties, in each district, to stimulate recruiting. This the committees did by holding public meetings. The State fairly resounded with the din of war-meetings. At this time a new system for the recruiting and organization of the regiments enlisted at the several camps was suggested to the War Department by General Arthur, which was approved and put in operation. All previous regiments recruited had been for months during the enlistment, a disorganized body of men dressed in civilian garb—until mustered into the United States service. General Arthur now changed all this. He recommended that the executive officers of each regiment being raised—the adjutant, quartermaster, and surgeon—be at the outset mustered into the service of the United States, and so have complete authority and control in their respective departments to enforce military regulations, order, and discipline in the camp. The men, as soon as enlisted were put in uniform and subjected to the restraint and drill of military life. The camps immediately had a military appearance and became attractive places of resort to the population surrounding them for miles. So attractive were they to young men that in many cases half a second regiment was enlisted before the first left the camp. The quartermasters of all regiments, as soon as appointed, were required by General Arthur to come to New York and were there, at the office of the Quartermaster General, taught their duties. They were informed of their great responsibilities and shown how to keep their accounts. Large amounts were thus saved the State, for in other States the accounts of the uninstructed quartermasters were so badly prepared that there was great loss. General Arthur also had many of the barrack buildings at the various camps constructed by the enlisted

amounts of money were saved to the Government, and great economy of time secured in carrying out the details of the same.

* * * * *

“ [Signed.] S. V. TALCOTT,
“ *Quartermaster-General.*”

CHAPTER VIII.

COLLECTOR OF NEW YORK.

UPON his retirement from office General Arthur resumed the active duties of his profession. His partnership with Mr. Gardiner ceased only with that gentleman's death in 1866. Alone for over five years he carried on his business. It then became so large that he formed, in 1871, the now well-known firm of Arthur, Phelps, Knevals & Ransom. He became counsel to the Department of Taxes and Assessment, at a salary of \$10,000 yearly; but abruptly resigned the position when the Tammany Hall officials at the head of the New York departments attempted to coerce the Republicans connected with those departments.

Gradually he was drawn into political life again. He was very much interested in promoting the first election of President Grant, being chairman of the Central Grant Club of New York. He also served as chairman of the Executive Committee of the Republican State Committee of New York. He re-entered official life on November 20th, 1871, being appointed Collector of the Port of New York by President Grant. The post of Collector came to him unsought and unexpectedly, and was accepted with much hesitation.

The appointment met with the general approval of the business community, many of the merchants having become personally acquainted with General Arthur during the war. He instituted many reforms in the management of the Custom House,

all calculated to render contact with the institution less vexatious than it ordinarily is to the mercantile classes. He also executed the work of a Collector in the matter of appointments and removals in the Custom House in such a manner as to cause less than the usual amount of commotion among politicians. The number of removals during his administration was far less than during the rule of any other Collector, since 1857. New appointees were put in the lowest grades of Custom House service and compelled to work their way up to higher positions. So satisfactory was his work that upon the close of his term of office, in December, 1875, he was renominated by President Grant. The nomination was unanimously confirmed by the Senate without referring it to a committee—a compliment never given before except to ex-Senators. He was the first Collector of the Port ever reappointed for a second term, and was, with only one or two exceptions, the only one who in fifty years ever held the office for more than the whole term of four years. The administration of President Hayes was deeply interested in civil service reform, and sent a commission headed by John Jay to learn the operation of the principle in the New York Custom House. Commenting upon their report in a letter to John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury, Collector Arthur said :

“ The essential elements of a correct civil service I understand to be : First, permanence in office, which, of course, prevents removals, except for cause. Second, promotion from the lower to the higher grades, based upon good conduct and efficiency. Third, prompt and thorough investigation of all complaints and prompt punishment of all misconduct. In this respect I challenge comparison with any department of the Government, either under the present or under any past national administration. I am prepared to demonstrate the truth of this statement on any fair investigation.” In a table which was appended to this letter, Collector Arthur showed that during the six years he had managed the office the yearly per-

centage of removals for all causes had been only 24 per cent, against an annual average of 28 per cent under his three immediate predecessors, and an annual average of about 24 per cent. since 1857, when Collector Schell took office. Out of 923 persons who held office when he became Collector on December 1st, 1871, there were 531 still in office on May 1st, 1877, having been retained during his entire term. Concerning promotions, the statistics of the office show that during his entire term the uniform practice was to advance men from the lower to the higher grades, and almost without exception on the recommendation of heads of departments. All the appointments, except two, to the 100 persons receiving over \$2,000 salary a year, were made on this method. The expense of collecting the revenue was also kept low. Under Collector Schell, from 1857 to 1861, the expense was an average of about .59 per cent. ; under Mr. Barney, from 1861 to 1865, about .87½ per cent. ; under Mr. Draper, in 1864 and 1865, 1.30 per cent. ; under Mr. Smythe, from 1866 to 1869, about .74 per cent. ; under Mr. Grinnell, in 1869 and 1870, about .85 per cent. ; under Mr. Murphy, in 1870 and 1871, about .60 per cent. ; under Mr. Arthur, from 1871 to 1877, about .62 per cent. Mr. Arthur was succeeded as Collector in 1878 by General E. A. Merritt, and has since been engaged in the practice of law. In the fall of 1879 he was elected chairman of the Republican State Committee, and conducted the victorious campaign which ended in the election of all but one of the candidates of the Republican Party for six State offices.

In June, 1880, he was nominated for Vice-President by the National Republican Convention, held at Chicago. General Stewart L. Woodford proposed his name in the convention ; and the nomination was seconded by ex-Governor Dennison, of Ohio ; General Kilpatrick, of New Jersey ; Emery A. Storrs, of Illinois ; Denis McCarthy, of New York, and many others. Vice-President Wheeler in a speech afterward

said : " It is my good fortune to know well General Arthur, the nominee for Vice-President. In unsullied character and in devotion to the principles of the Republican Party no man in the organization surpasses him. No man has contributed more of time and means to advance the just interests of the Republican Party than he."

General Arthur was married in 1859 to Ellen Lewis Herndon, of Fredericksburg, Virginia. She was a daughter of Captain William Lewis Herndon, U. S. N., whose heroic death, in command of the ill-fated *Central America* in 1857, is remembered as one of the deeds of which the American Navy is proud. Captain Herndon discovered that his ship was sinking, loaded his boats with women and children, and calmly went down with his ship. Over three hundred lives were lost. Mrs. Arthur became the mother of two children : Chester Alan Arthur, now aged 15, and Ellen Herndon Arthur, now aged 8. It was few women's fortune to inspire such ardent friendships. She had a winning manner, a charming voice, and a finely-cultivated mind. She was the centre of a refined circle of friends in New York when, to the great grief of her husband, she died in the early part of January, 1880. Her funeral in New York was attended by some of the most distinguished men in the nation.

GENERAL ARTHUR'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

NEW YORK, July 15, 1880.

DEAR SIR : I accept the position assigned me by the great party whose action you announce. This acceptance implies approval of the principles declared by the convention, but recent usage permits me to add some expression of my own views. The right and duty to secure honesty and order in popular elections is a matter so vital that it must stand in front. The authority of the National Government to preserve from fraud and force elections at which its own officers are chosen is a chief point on which the two parties are plainly and intensely opposed. Acts of Congress for ten years have, in New York and elsewhere, done much to curb the violence and wrong to which the ballot and the count have been again and again subjected—sometimes despoiling great cities, sometimes stilling the voice of a whole State, often seating, not only in Congress, but on the Bench and in Legislatures, numbers of men never chosen by the people. The Democratic Party, since gaining possession of the two houses of Congress, has made these just laws the object of bitter, ceaseless assault, and, despite all resistance, has hedged them with restrictions cunningly contrived to baffle and paralyze them. This aggressive majority boldly attempted to extort from the Executive his approval of various enactments destructive of these election laws by revolutionary threats that a constitutional exercise of the veto power would be punished by withholding the appropriations necessary to carry on the Government. And these threats were actually carried out by refusing the needed appropriations, and by forcing an extra session of Congress, lasting for months and resulting in concessions to this usurping demand which are likely, in many States, to subject the majority to the lawless will of a minority. Omi-

nous signs of public disapproval alone subdued this arrogant power into a sullen surrender for the time being of a part of its demands. The Republican Party has strongly approved the stern refusal of its representatives to suffer the overthrow of statutes believed to be salutary and just. It has always insisted, and now insists, that the Government of the United States of America is empowered and in duty bound to effectually protect the elections denoted by the Constitution as national.

More than this, the Republican Party holds, as a cardinal point in its creed, that the Government should, by every means known to the Constitution, protect all American citizens everywhere in the full enjoyment of their civil and political rights. As a great part of its work of reconstruction, the Republican Party gave the ballot to the emancipated slave as his right and defence. A large increase in the number of members of Congress and of the Electoral College, from the former slaveholding States, was the immediate result. The history of recent years abounds in evidence that in many ways and in many places—especially where their number has been great enough to endanger Democratic control—the very men by whose elevation to citizenship this increase of representation was effected have been debarred and robbed of their voice and their vote. It is true that no State statute or Constitution in so many words denies or abridges the exercise of their political rights; but the modes employed to bar their way are no less effectual. It is a suggestive and startling thought that the increased power derived from the enfranchisement of a race now denied its share in governing the country—wielded by those who lately sought the overthrow of the Government—is now the sole reliance to defeat the party which represented the sovereignty and nationality of the American people in the greatest crisis of our history. Republicans cherish none of the resentments which may have animated them during the actual conflict of arms. They long for a full and real reconciliation between the sections which

were needlessly and lamentably at strife ; they sincerely offer the hand of good-will, but they ask in return a pledge of good faith. They deeply feel that the party whose career is so illustrious in great and patriotic achievement will not fulfil its destiny until peace and prosperity are established in all the land, nor until liberty of thought, conscience and action, and equality of opportunity shall be not merely cold formalities of statute, but living birthrights, which the humble may confidently claim and the powerful dare not deny.

The resolution referring to the public service seems to me deserving of approval. Surely, no man should be the encumbent of an office the duties of which he is, for any cause, unfit to perform, who is lacking in the ability, fidelity, or integrity which a proper administration of such office demands. This sentiment would doubtless meet with general acquiescence, but opinion has been widely divided upon the wisdom and practicability of the various reformatory schemes which have been suggested, and of certain proposed regulations governing appointments to public office. The efficiency of such regulations has been distrusted, mainly because they have seemed to exalt mere educational and abstract tests above general business capacity, and even special fitness for the particular work in hand. It seems to me that the rules which should be applied to the management of the public service may properly conform, in the main, to such as regulate the conduct of successful private business. Original appointments should be based upon ascertained fitness. The tenure of office should be stable. Positions of responsibility should, so far as practicable, be filled by the promotion of worthy and efficient officers. The investigation of all complaints, and the punishment of all official misconduct, should be prompt and thorough. These views, which I have long held, repeatedly declared, and uniformly applied when called upon to act, I find embodied in the resolution, which, of course, I approve. I will add that by the acceptance

of public office, whether high or low, one does not, in my judgment, escape any of his responsibilities as a citizen, or lose or impair any of his rights as a citizen, and that he should enjoy absolute liberty to think and speak and act in political matters according to his own will and conscience, provided only that he honorably, faithfully, and fully discharges all his official duties.

The resumption of specie payments—one of the fruits of Republican policy—has brought the return of abundant prosperity, and the settlement of many distracting questions. The restoration of sound money, the large reduction of our public debt and of the burden of interest, the high advancement of the public credit, all attest the ability and courage of the Republican Party to deal with such financial problems as may hereafter demand solution. Our paper currency is now as good as gold, and silver is performing its legitimate function for the purpose of change. The principle which should govern the relations of these elements of the currency are simple and clear. There must be no deteriorated coin, no depreciated paper. And every dollar, whether of metal or paper, should stand the test of the world's fixed standard.

The value of popular education can hardly be overstated. Although its interests must of necessity be chiefly confided to voluntary effort and the individual action of the several States, they should be encouraged, so far as the Constitution permits, by the generous co-operation of the National Government. The interests of the whole country demand that the advantages of our common school system should be brought within the reach of every citizen, and that no revenues of the nation or of the States should be devoted to the support of sectarian schools.

Such changes should be made in the present tariff and system of taxation as will relieve any overburdened industry or class, and enable our manufacturers and artisans to compete successfully with those of other lands.

The Government should aid works of internal improvement

national in their character, and should promote the development of our water-courses and harbors wherever the general interests of commerce require.

Four years ago, as now, the nation stood at the threshold of a Presidential election, and the Republican Party, in soliciting a continuance of its ascendancy, founded its hope of success, not upon its promises, but upon its history. Its subsequent course has been such as to strengthen the claims which it then made to the confidence and support of the country. On the other hand, considerations more urgent than have ever before existed forbid the accession of its opponents to power. Their success, if success attends them, must chiefly come from the united support of that section which sought the forcible disruption of the Union, and which, according to all the teachings of our past history, will demand ascendancy in the councils of the party to whose triumph it will have made by far the largest contribution.

There is the gravest reason for apprehension that exorbitant claims upon the public Treasury, by no means limited to the hundreds of millions already covered by bills introduced in Congress within the past four years, would be successfully urged if the Democratic Party should succeed in supplementing its present control of the National Legislature by electing the Executive also.

There is danger in intrusting the control of the whole law-making power of the Government to a party which has in almost every Southern State repudiated obligations quite as sacred as those to which the faith of the nation now stands pledged.

I do not doubt that success awaits the Republican Party, and that its triumph will assure a just, economical, and patriotic administration. I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,

C. A. ARTHUR.

“To the Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, President of the Republican National Convention.”

APPENDIX.

ABANDONED

DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES,

SELECTED FROM THE

National Platforms of the Democratic Party

SINCE 1856.

**FROM THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1850 ; RE-
ADOPTED IN 1860.**

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS UNCONSTITUTIONAL.

THE Constitution does not confer upon the General Government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

SLAVERY NOT TO BE INTERFERED WITH.

That all efforts of the Abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people and endanger the stability and permanence of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

THE FUGITIVE-SLAVE LAW NOT TO BE REPEALED OR CHANGED.

The foregoing proposition covers and was intended to embrace the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress, and therefore the Democratic Party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the Compromise Measures, settled by the Congress of 1850, " the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor " included, which act being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

NOTHING TO BE SAID AGAINST SLAVERY.

The Democratic Party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

EXTREME STATE RIGHTS DOCTRINE ENDORSED.

The Democratic Party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798 and 1799, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia Legislature in 1799—that it adopts these principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import. [NOTE.—The Kentucky and Virginia resolutions affirmed the right of each State to judge for itself of the constitutionality of the acts of the General Government, and to refuse to submit if it deems those acts unconstitutional. These resolutions formed the basis of the doctrine of secession.]

SLAVERY IN THE TERRITORIES AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The American Democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the slavery question upon which the great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservation of the Union; and non-interference of Congress with slavery in the District of Columbia.

FROM BOTH DEMOCRATIC PLATFORMS OF 1860.

LAWS AGAINST KIDNAPPING DENOUNCED.

THE enactments of State Legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the fugitive-slave law are hostile in character,

subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect. [NOTE.—This refers to laws passed by several Northern States to protect persons from being captured on their soil by slave-hunters, and carried to the South without a trial by jury to determine whether they were slaves or not.]

PROTECTION TO CITIZENS.

It is the duty of the United States to afford ample and complete protection to all its citizens, whether at home or abroad, and whether native or foreign. [NOTE.—The Democracy never applied this principle to colored people or to white people who opposed human slavery. Of late years it has abandoned it altogether, and has vehemently resisted the enactment and enforcement of laws to protect the civil rights of citizens.]

FROM THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1864.

THE WAR A FAILURE.

This convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretext of a military necessity of a war power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public and private liberty alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired, justice, humanity, liberty and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of all the States or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States.

FROM THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1868.

TAXATION OF GOVERNMENT BONDS, IN VIOLATION OF THE CONTRACT.

EQUAL taxation of every species of property including Government bonds and other public securities.

PAYMENT OF THE BONDS IN GREENBACKS.

Where the obligations of the Government do not expressly state upon their face, or the law under which they were issued does not provide, that they shall be paid in coin, they ought in right and justice to be paid in the lawful money of the United States.

A DISMAL PROPHECY.

Under its [the Republican Party's] repeated assaults the pillars of the Government are rocking on their base, and should it succeed in November next and inaugurate its President, we will meet as a subjected and conquered people amid the ruins of liberty and the scattered fragments of the Constitution.

THE RECONSTRUCTION ACTS DENOUNCED AS REVOLUTIONARY AND VOID.

We regard the reconstruction acts (so-called) of Congress, as such, as usurpations and as unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY FALSELY ACCUSED.

In demanding these measures and reforms, we arraign the Radical Party for its disregard of right and the unparalleled oppression and tyranny which have marked its career.

FROM THE PLATFORM OF 1876.**THE RESUMPTION LAW DENOUNCED.**

We denounce the resumption clause of the Act of 1875, and demand its repeal.

THE PROTECTIVE TARIFF CONDEMNED.

We denounce the present tariff levied upon nearly 4,000 articles, as a masterpiece of injustice, inequality and fraud. [NOTE.—This is probably the only one of the doctrines here quoted which the Democratic Party avows to-day. Its present platform demands a tariff for revenue only.]