

*Lincoln and the Territorial Patronage:
The Ascendancy of the Radicals
in the West*

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“How pleasant to think of, and how delightful to enjoy are those nice fat offices that our generous Uncle has provided.” In these words Jared Benson, an influential Minnesota Republican, alluded in 1859 to the interest of his party in the federal patronage.¹ The Republican victory of 1860 placed the selection of a host of officials in the hands of triumphant party leaders; they were now afforded an opportunity to appoint the various territorial governors, secretaries, judges, land agents, revenue officials, and officers of the Indian service. Since the days of Jackson, except when the Whigs were victorious, Democrats had controlled the distribution of territorial appointments. Success in 1860 gave the new Republicans opportunity to distribute these lush positions as they might desire.

President Lincoln, however, was faced with a complex problem when he began to distribute the spoils of victory. The Republican party of 1860 contained former Whigs, old Free-Soilers, antislavery Democrats, eastern protariff manufacturers, western free-trade farmers, hardened machine politicians, and visionary reformers in its ill-assorted ranks. Already, too, a division of the party into moderates and radicals had appeared. The President-elect, Orville H. Browning, James R. Doolittle, and Jacob Collamer represented the moderate wing; Benjamin F. Wade, George W. Julian, Charles Sumner, Zachariah Chandler, Thaddeus Stevens, and Owen Lovejoy led the radicals. Although these two segments of the Republican party diverged in opinion about the treatment of the southern

¹Jared Benson to Alexander Ramsey, April 6, 1859, Alexander Ramsey Papers (Minnesota Historical Library, St. Paul).

"slaveocracy," a common attitude toward the West provided a bond of unity during the election of 1860. Moderates and radicals alike favored northern control of the territories, and endorsed subsidies for railroads, free access to the rich resources of the public domain, free homesteads, and federal aid for internal improvements.² No matter whom Lincoln appointed to offices in the West, the radicals could expect genuine support for their program.

In attempting to carry out his maxim, "Justice to all,"³ Lincoln gave reasonable attention to the demands of the radicals for a share in the territorial patronage. His appointments in the Interior Department favored their western interests. The officials of this department, including the General Land Office, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Bureau of Mines, controlled the operation of the territorial system.

The position of secretary of the interior was awarded to Caleb B. Smith, one of the key advocates of Lincoln's nomination at Chicago in 1860. As the leader of the Indiana delegation, Smith promised Judge David Davis that he would support Lincoln's candidacy in return for a cabinet position.⁴ Even though Smith was not closely affiliated with the radicals, he shared the common Republican interest in keeping slavery out of the territories and in fostering internal improvements. While in Congress during the forties he had served as a member of the Committee on Territories, succeeded Stephen A. Douglas as its chairman in 1847, and stamped himself as an advocate of federal aid for the construction of railroads and canals. During the fifties he attained the presidency of the Cincinnati and Chicago Railroad Company.⁵

Smith retained his cabinet post until December, 1862, when he persuaded Lincoln to grant him a lifetime judgeship in Indiana and to appoint the assistant secretary, John P. Usher, a fellow Indiana politician, as his successor.⁶ Usher was entirely satisfactory to Lincoln for they had ridden the Illinois circuit together and Usher had

² T. Harry Williams, *Lincoln and the Radicals* (Madison, 1941), 9-15.

³ John G. Nicolay and John Hay (eds.), *Abraham Lincoln; Complete Works*, 2 vols. (New York, 1894), I, 657.

⁴ Newton D. Mereness, "Caleb Blood Smith," Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Harris E. Starr (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography*, 21 vols. and index. (New York, 1928-1944), XVII, 244-45.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 245.

⁶ Thomas L. Harris, "John Palmer Usher," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIX, 134-35.

campaigns vigorously for Lincoln during the 1860 contest in the critical middle western states.⁷ Although Usher, too, was not a radical, he was interested in opportunities for Northerners in the West. As a member of the Indiana legislature in the early fifties he had supported railroad interests, and as secretary of the interior he became closely identified with the movement to amend the Pacific Railroad Act of July 1, 1862, and promoted the passage of the revised bill of July 2, 1864.⁸ In 1865 he resigned his cabinet position to become general solicitor of the Eastern Division, Union Pacific Railroad Company. In this capacity Usher worked to complete the branch line of the Union Pacific from Kansas City via Denver to Cheyenne, Wyoming, and defended the company in its various land controversies during the Reconstruction era.⁹

The radicals had even greater reason to rejoice when Lincoln appointed one of their number, James M. Edmunds of Detroit, as commissioner of the General Land Office, a key position in the Interior Department.¹⁰ Besides being an "astute politician," Edmunds was known as Chandler's "right-hand man."¹¹ The Michigan radicals with the aid of the Lincoln-appointed surveyor general, George D. Hill of Ann Arbor,¹² also a political ally of Commissioner Edmunds, reaped many advantages in the exploitation of Dakota territory by nonresident northern groups. Hill imported Michigan residents and granted them choice surveying contracts.¹³

The radicals gained another territorial position in the appointment of William Jayne of Springfield, Illinois, as governor of Dakota territory. Brother-in-law of Senator Lyman Trumbull and one of Lincoln's key supporters in 1860,¹⁴ Jayne had been mayor of Springfield and state senator. He readily pleased the radicals by calling for the passage of an antislavery law and a memorial for a Pacific railroad in his first message to the Dakota territorial legis-

⁷ *President Lincoln's Cabinet*, by Honorable John P. Usher, Secretary of the Interior January 7, 1863—May 15, 1865, foreword and sketch of the life of the author by Nelson H. Loomis (Omaha, 1925), 6-7.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁰ "James M. Edmunds," *Michigan Biographies*, 2 vols. (Lansing, 1924), I, 266.

¹¹ Wilmer C. Harris, *Public Life of Zachariah Chandler, 1851-1875* (Lansing, 1917), 112.

¹² James M. Edmunds to George D. Hill, March 27, 1861, Letters to and from the Surveyor Generals, Division of the Interior Department, National Archives.

¹³ Yankton *Weekly Dakotian*, August 11, 1863.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, July 22, 1862.

lature.¹⁵ The radicals also attempted to profit from his ambition to become the Republican congressional delegate from Dakota. Already in 1862 the Michigan appointees, such as Hill and his associates, supported Jayne in preference to the successful candidate, General John B. S. Todd, a cousin of Mary Todd Lincoln.¹⁶ Between 1856 and 1861 Todd had been one of the leading promoters in the creation of Dakota territory. While serving as captain of a United States infantry force which was located at Fort Pierre, he became interested in the possibilities of the upper Missouri region. In 1856 he resigned his commission to enter business with Daniel M. Frost, a merchant and trader in St. Louis. They carried on trade with the Yankton Indians, won their confidence, organized the Upper Missouri Townsite Company in 1858, and during the next year lobbied for ratification of the Yankton Treaty in Washington. Their next step was to promote the creation of Dakota territory, and, notwithstanding the fact that the new territory contained only 2,600 settlers, achieved their objective by 1861.¹⁷ In 1862 Todd and his supporters were unwilling to relinquish political and economic control of Dakota territory to the Michigan radicals. They organized the People's Union party and campaigned on a platform which condemned the evils of the nonresident territorial rule which the Jayne and Hill forces fostered.¹⁸

Governor Jayne and the radicals encountered much difficulty in their attempt to curb Todd's influence in Dakota's affairs. Even though the Governor obtained a certificate of election from the territorial board of canvassers, he failed to persuade Congress to seat him as delegate from Dakota.¹⁹ Not until the fall of 1864 did the radicals succeed in ousting Todd and in electing their own candidate, Walter A. Burleigh.²⁰ Meanwhile, however, the Jayne-Todd controversy produced one important result for the radicals. In order to defend his case better in Washington, Governor Jayne resigned his position. The Michigan radicals, Chandler and James Edmunds, immediately petitioned Lincoln to appoint Newton Ed-

¹⁵ Annual Message of Governor William Jayne, March 17, 1862, Territorial Papers of Dakota, I, 62, Division of the State Department, National Archives.

¹⁶ Yankton *Weekly Dakotian*, July 22, 1862.

¹⁷ Clement A. Lounsberry, *Early History of North Dakota* (Washington, 1919), 218, 225, 263-64.

¹⁸ Yankton *Weekly Dakotian*, July 29, 1862.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, March 1, 1864.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, October 16, 1864.

munds, brother of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, as the new governor of Dakota.²¹ Samuel C. Pomeroy, Henry S. Lane, James Harlan, Trumbull, and Doolittle increased the Republican pressure on the President.²² Lincoln heeded the appeal, and sent Newton Edmunds as the new governor of the territory.²³ By the close of 1863 the radicals enjoyed a favored position in the territory with a brother of the Commissioner of the General Land Office as governor and the control of surveying activities by Michigan residents under the direction of Surveyor General Hill.

In Nebraska territory the radicals also obtained friendly appointees. Lincoln's governor, Alvin Saunders of Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, became a staunch antislavery politician and promoted the growth of the Republican party.²⁴ As a candidate for the Nebraska appointment, he enjoyed the unqualified support of John P. Hale, Harlan, and Sumner.²⁵ Saunders had hardly entered upon his new duties when he identified himself with the development of the Union Pacific Railroad project by encouraging the construction of the line across Nebraska.²⁶ The radicals likewise approved of Lincoln's appointment of an old political friend, Mark Delahay, as surveyor general of the Kansas-Nebraska land district. During the Kansas struggle of the 1850's, his antislavery vigor as editor of a Republican newspaper in Leavenworth had provoked the proslavery forces to raid his office and hurl his press into the Missouri River.²⁷

In nearby Colorado territory Lincoln's first appointee for the governor's post was William Gilpin, who had cooperated with Francis P. Blair, Jr., and B. Gratz Brown in organizing the Republican party in Missouri and in opposing the proslavery maneuvers of Senator David R. Atchison and his associates.²⁸ Between

²¹ James M. Edmunds to Abraham Lincoln, February 9, 1863; Zachariah Chandler to Lincoln, February 24, 1863, Application and Recommendation Papers of the State Department, National Archives.

²² Republican Congressmen to Lincoln, June 21, 1863, *ibid.*

²³ Territorial Papers of Dakota, I, 93.

²⁴ Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century*, 4 vols. (New York, 1903), IV, 233.

²⁵ John P. Hale, Charles Sumner, and James Harlan, Petition to Lincoln in favor of Alvin Saunders, 1861, Application and Recommendation Papers of the State Department, National Archives.

²⁶ Gue, *History of Iowa*, IV, 233.

²⁷ James H. Lane and others to the Senate Judiciary Committee, December 23, 1863, Records of Executive Proceedings: Nomination Papers, National Archives.

²⁸ Omaha *Daily Nebraska Republican*, April 16, 1861.

1840 and 1860 he had also done much exploring in the West and had written a book on the central gold regions of the Rocky Mountains. He especially favored the construction of a central trans-continental railroad.²⁹ Two of the leading radicals, Wade and Julian, supported him for the Colorado governorship.³⁰ Gilpin's political career as governor, however, was cut short in the early days of the Civil War when the people of Colorado discovered that the Secretary of the Treasury would not honor his drafts on the United States government to defray the expenses for outfitting the First Colorado regiment. Although the issue involved was only technical, the Lincoln administration abandoned Gilpin in 1862 and sent a new governor, John Evans, a Chicago friend of the President.³¹

The new appointee was approved by such radicals as Pomeroy, James H. Lane, and Schuyler Colfax.³² Evans' desire to promote the rapid development of the West and to make Colorado a strong Republican outpost fitted in well with the radical program. Although a prominent medical man in Chicago, he had exhibited greater interest in railroad, townsite, and real estate ventures than in practicing his profession. During the ante-bellum era he had promoted the growth of the Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad project, and had served for many years as the director of the Chicago terminal.³³ Dr. Evans collaborated with Lincoln and the radicals in their attempt to make Colorado a state when they needed more votes in Congress to assure the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment.³⁴ He enthusiastically supported western railroad undertakings, and in 1868 became president of the Denver Pacific Railroad and Telegraph Company. During the next year his aid helped the passage of the Denver Pacific land grant bill.³⁵

The radicals closely watched Lincoln's appointments in New Mexico territory. Their supporters in Kansas, such as Charles Rob-

²⁹ *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, August 21, 1862.

³⁰ Petition in favor of William Gilpin to Lincoln, 1861, Application and Recommendation Papers of the State Department, National Archives.

³¹ Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming* (San Francisco, 1890), 426-29; W. B. Vickers, *History of the City of Denver, Arapahoe County, and Colorado* (Chicago, 1880), 413.

³² John Evans, Senate group to Lincoln, February 19, 1862, Application and Recommendation Papers of the State Department, National Archives.

³³ Vickers, *History of the City of Denver*, 413.

³⁴ *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, August 30, 1864.

³⁵ Vickers, *History of the City of Denver*, 414.

inson, Thomas Ewing, Jr., and William F. M. Arny, wanted to reap the benefits of the rich Santa Fe trade and to gain possession of railroad land grants.³⁶ The radicals vigorously opposed Lincoln's nomination of Miguel A. Otero, member of a prominent Spanish family in New Mexico and a stalwart Democrat, as territorial secretary. They looked upon him as a proslavery man and a representative of those who labored to preserve local control of territorial affairs. While in Congress as territorial delegate during the fifties, Otero had championed statehood for New Mexico. The radicals feared that if such action were permitted at this time, New Mexico would come into the Union as a slave state and they would lose opportunity for the political and economic exploitation of the Southwest. Nor were they ready to forgive the New Mexican territorial legislators for having passed, in 1859, an act to protect slavery, and they denounced Otero as the chief supporter of the bill.³⁷

Further, the New Mexican delegate incurred the displeasure of the Republican party in January of 1861 when he answered Horace Greeley's charges of December 31, 1860, in the *New York Tribune*. "Uncle Horace" attempted to prove that New Mexico was not a fit territory for statehood, for the slave power was in complete control. In his reply Otero denied Greeley's assertion and condemned the program of the Republican party in no uncertain terms. This party, he charged,

represented a minority of the American people, and had succeeded in gaining control of the federal government — "if any Government exists at all" — by concentrating its whole strength in one section of the country. By nurturing the prejudices, inflaming the passions, exciting the animosities, and bribing the interests of the free states, the Republican party has so strengthened itself that it could now attack the rights, the character, and the interests of the South.³⁸

In July, 1861, the Senate rejected Otero's nomination by a decisive vote. Greeley, on receipt of this announcement, headed his report, "Rejection of a Traitor's Nomination."³⁹ Faced with the

³⁶ Daniel W. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1886), 305.

³⁷ Ralph E. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, 5 vols. (Cedar Rapids, 1911-1917), II, 309-10.

³⁸ Loomis M. Ganaway, *New Mexico and the Sectional Controversy, 1846-1861*, Historical Society of New Mexico, *Publications in History*, XII (Albuquerque, 1944), 83.

³⁹ *Santa Fe Gazette*, August 17, 1861.

necessity of proposing another nominee, Lincoln this time favored the interests of the Kansas politicians and the radicals, and appointed James H. Holmes, a rabid New York Republican whom Lane and Sumner recommended.⁴⁰ The local politicians denounced the appointment, and soon petitioned the President for his removal on grounds that Holmes delayed his arrival in the territory, slandered local officials, used federal funds for his own advantage, and promoted abolitionist fury in New Mexico.⁴¹ Lincoln thereupon named Arny to succeed Holmes. The new Secretary was a thoroughgoing radical who had led the Kansas antislavery movement of the fifties and favored the interests of northern railroad groups and other nonresident outsiders in the Southwest. As secretary he promoted the aims of the Leavenworth merchants, the Topeka railroad group, and New York mining companies.⁴²

The radicals were less pleased with the President's retention of Chief Justice Kirby Benedict in New Mexico. Lincoln had become acquainted with him as a member of the Illinois bar during the forties. Benedict, however, had supported Stephen A. Douglas in 1860. Nevertheless, Lincoln, who was willing to use Unionist Democratic leaders in New Mexico in an effort to hold the territory against the secessionists,⁴³ reappointed him over radical protests. The President explained that he knew Benedict "too well, and had spent many pleasant hours with him."⁴⁴ Later Judge Benedict clashed with General James H. Carleton, the Union commander who inaugurated military rule in New Mexico during the summer of 1862 after the departure of the Confederate general, Henry H. Sibley. Arny and his associates, who were using military force to gain control of New Mexico's political and economic development, made a determined effort to have Benedict ousted. They sent a protest to Lincoln, charging the Judge presided in court while under the influence of liquor. New Mexico's territorial delegate and some army officers in Washington transmitted the message to the President. He replied: "Well, gentlemen, I know Benedict. We have been friends for thirty years. He may imbibe

⁴⁰ James H. Holmes, Congressional Petition to Lincoln, July 15, 1861, Application and Recommendation Papers of the State Department, National Archives.

⁴¹ John S. Watts to Lincoln, February 17, 1862, *ibid.*

⁴² *Santa Fe Gazette*, February 6, 1864.

⁴³ Ganaway, *New Mexico and the Sectional Controversy*, 86-87.

⁴⁴ Ralph E. Twitchell, "Chief Justice Kirby Benedict," *Old Santa Fe; The Story of New Mexico's Ancient Capital* (Santa Fe, 1925), 83.

to excess, but Benedict drunk knows more law than all the others on the bench in New Mexico sober. I shall not disturb him." Judge Benedict's position remained secure during Lincoln's administration.⁴⁶

The President's appointee as governor of New Mexico, Henry Connelly, another Democrat, proved less obnoxious to the radicals. In his first message to the territorial legislature, Governor Connelly recommended that capitalists be encouraged to invest in the mines of New Mexico.⁴⁶ He approved of a severe policy toward the Navajo Indians, and later collaborated with Secretary Army and General Carleton in the Bosque Redondo reservation venture in an attempt to benefit the miners by ridding the mountains of Indians.⁴⁷

For Nevada Territory, much to the disgust of the western settlers, Lincoln chose James W. Nye, a friend of William H. Seward, as the first territorial governor.⁴⁸ "The president," one western editor complained, "has also followed the beaten track in appointing a Governor for Nevada Territory. He floats a man from the State of New York into the Territory for Governor, instead of appointing a citizen of the Territory, as he should have done."⁴⁹ When Lincoln and the radicals later showed great concern about having Nevada admitted as a state to assure passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, they found Governor Nye a very effective agent. He foresaw the possibility of obtaining a Senate seat, and was elected to that position in the fall of 1864.⁵⁰ The radicals obtained favored men in other territorial offices. For the position of secretary, Lincoln selected Orion M. Clemens of Missouri, whom Attorney General Edward Bates recommended for an office. Clemens, who had studied law in Bates's office in St. Louis, was an active antislavery politician in Missouri.⁵¹

The radicals could also expect cooperation from Lincoln's judicial appointees. In Nevada territory these positions were especially

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁴⁶ Territorial Papers of New Mexico, Division of the State Department, National Archives, II, 93.

⁴⁷ Henry Connelly to William H. Seward, September 13, 1863, *ibid.*

⁴⁸ Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming*, 157.

⁴⁹ *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 5, 1861.

⁵⁰ Effie M. Mack, *Nevada; A History of the State from the Earliest Times through the Civil War* (Glendale, 1936), 248.

⁵¹ Edward Bates to Seward, March 12, 1861, Application and Recommendation Papers of the State Department, National Archives.

important, for territorial courts had the final decision in cases involving miners' claims. With the approval of Wade and the Ohio radicals, the President appointed George Turner chief justice.⁵² As associate justices Lincoln selected Horatio Jones of Missouri and Gordon N. Mott of California. Such radical Republicans of California as Leland Stanford, Charles C. Washburn, and Ira P. Rankin petitioned the President to make Mott a judicial official in Nevada in the hope that California mining interests would be more secure.⁵³ The judges evidently served the outside patrons well, for by 1864 thousands of Nevada residents were ready to petition Lincoln for a change in the territorial judiciary. They complained "that the prevailing want of confidence in our highest judicial officers is operating most injuriously upon all interests and classes in our Territory, and is a prominent cause of the present distressing depression in all kinds of business, and particularly of the ruinous stagnation in mining enterprises and the consequent loss of employment by our laboring population."⁵⁴

John W. North, the surveyor general of Nevada territory, was unanimously endorsed by the Minnesota congressional delegation. Cyrus Aldrich, Morton S. Wilkinson, and William Windom told Lincoln that North was "a Republican of long standing, who had done good service in the Republican cause" in Minnesota.⁵⁵

The radicals likewise sought to install sympathetic officials in Utah territory. Lincoln declared that he intended to leave the Mormons alone, and he compared the problem "to a knotty, green hemlock log on a newly cleared frontier farm. The log being too heavy to remove, too knotty to split, too wet to burn, he proposed like a wise farmer to plow around it."⁵⁶

Lincoln's intentions may have been good, but his first appointees, especially the governor, John W. Dawson, and two of the judges, Robert P. Flenniken and Henry R. Crosby, left their posts before a year elapsed.⁵⁷ Governor Dawson, who came from Indiana, ar-

⁵² Benjamin F. Wade recommendation in favor of George Turner, n.d., Application Papers of the Justice Department, No. 16, National Archives.

⁵³ Petition in favor of Gordon Mott, n.d., *ibid.*

⁵⁴ Petition of the Citizens of Storey County, August 19, 1864, Nevada Territory, *ibid.*

⁵⁵ Minnesota delegation, Petition in favor of John W. North, n.d., Application and Recommendation Papers of the State Department, National Archives.

⁵⁶ Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1892-1904), II, 25.

⁵⁷ Brigham H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ*

rived in Utah in December, 1861. He had hardly taken up his new duties when he fell into public disrepute and on the last day of the month made a hurried exit from the territory.⁵⁸ Lincoln was relieved when the Senate refused to confirm Dawson's nomination.⁵⁹ Even before the Dawson episode the Indiana radicals, Colfax and Julian, urged the appointment of their friend, Stephen S. Harding, as governor of the territory.⁶⁰ Julian described Harding to Lincoln as an "old free soiler,"⁶¹ and other Indiana Republicans pictured him as a vigorous antislavery politician who had labored long and hard to break the Democratic power in one of Lincoln's supporting states.⁶² Writing to Lincoln early in 1862, Harding reminded him of a visit the preceding December, along with Lane and Julian, and that Lincoln had promised, after hearing that Dawson's nomination "had been brought about by some unfair means," to give Harding the post if the Senate rejected Dawson.⁶³

After the Dawson fiasco Lane and Julian again joined Harding in urging Lincoln to honor his promise, and in March, 1862, Harding received the governorship of Utah. Lincoln also named Thomas J. Drake of Michigan and Charles B. Waite of Illinois as the new associate justices to fill the positions which Flennikin and Crosby had vacated.⁶⁴ Both these appointees proved staunch supporters of Harding and the radicals in their attempt to gain control of the affairs in Utah.

The newly appointed Governor went to the territory posing as a friend of the Mormons. He claimed to have known Joseph Smith, and to have preserved the title page of the *Book of Mormon* from destruction. In 1847, by his own assertion he presented the sheet to Robert Campbell, who deposited it in the Mormon church historian's office. He also boasted that he had entertained Mormon elders in his Indiana home.⁶⁵ Harding, therefore, expected a kind

of Latter-Day Saints, Century One, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1930), V, 14. Roberts is a Mormon apologist.

⁵⁸ Whitney, *History of Utah*, II, 25.

⁵⁹ Roberts, *Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, V, 14.

⁶⁰ Indiana Delegation to Lincoln, July 16, 1861, Application and Recommendation Papers of the State Department, National Archives.

⁶¹ Julian to Lincoln, n.d., *ibid.*

⁶² Morton C. Hunter to Lincoln, March 4, 1861; Miles J. Fletcher to Lincoln, March 5, 1861, *ibid.*

⁶³ Stephen Harding to Lincoln, February 16, 1862, *ibid.*

⁶⁴ Roberts, *Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, V, 14.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 15.

reception in Utah. A Mormon elder related an interview with the new Governor and recorded his impression of the man:

The governor tells me he hopes we would take as good care of him as he did that paper [the title page of the *Book of Mormon*]. I told him we should certainly do it for he had placed it in a box where the rats could get access to it, and we would not do worse than that. He appears to be a pleasant fellow, a thorough-going black Republican; a dyed-in-the-wool abolitionist; but has some faint glimmerings that "Mormonism" is to rule the destinies of nations, and that there was a great miracle in the preservation of the title page.⁶⁶

The Mormon leaders, however, were soon irked by Harding's conduct. In December, 1862, they became especially incensed when his first message to the territorial legislature indicated that he intended to work with the radicals to destroy Mormon supremacy in Utah. On this occasion he defended the antipolygamy act which Congress had just passed, accused the Mormons of a lack of loyalty to the federal government in wartime, criticized the territorial laws, and suggested wholesale changes in the management of Utah. The legislators were so vexed that they refused to have the governor's message printed.⁶⁷ Harding provoked additional popular opposition by launching a movement in Congress to amend Utah's organic act of 1850 by limiting the jurisdiction of the probate courts which the Mormons controlled. In this endeavor he was supported by Associate Justices Drake and Waite. He also recommended the complete control of the militia by the governor.⁶⁸ These changes were necessary if the radicals were to break the strength of the Mormon power. By March, 1863, Brigham Young and his followers became so dissatisfied that at a mass meeting in Salt Lake City they dispatched a petition to Lincoln demanding the instant removal of the governor and his judicial supporters.⁶⁹ The President, attempting to appease both the Mormons and the radicals, transferred Harding to Colorado territory as chief justice, and removed Secretary Frank Fuller and Chief Justice John F. Kinney, both of whom had been accused of pro-Mormon sympathies.⁷⁰ The Mormons ex-

⁶⁶ George A. Smith to Hosea Stout, July 30, 1862, quoted *ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁶⁹ Petitions of Utah Citizens to Lincoln, March 10, 1863, Applications and Recommendation Papers of the State Department, National Archives.

⁷⁰ Roberts, *Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, V, 24-25.

pressed their esteem for Judge Kinney in the fall of 1863 by electing him Utah's congressional delegate.⁷¹

For governor of the territory, Lincoln selected James D. Doty, a Michigan and Wisconsin politician and land speculator, who had been superintendent of Indian affairs in Utah since 1861. Even though Doty improved federal relations with the Mormons, the radicals also benefitted by his rule. Secretly he wrote to Secretary Seward about the unwholesome state of affairs in Utah and sent the new territorial secretary, Amos Reed, to Washington to report actual conditions in the territory. Doty ordered this action without applying for an explicit leave of absence from the State Department for Reed in order to prevent the mission from becoming known to the "so-called authorities" in Utah.⁷² The Governor also wrote at length to Seward concerning the immense power the Mormons possessed in the territory. He made it clear that Young and his associates were not content to confine their activities to religious matters, that they exercised complete direction of territorial politics, and that there was little hope for improvement until the power of the Mormon church was curbed.⁷³ Doty thus furnished propaganda for the radicals in their nation-wide campaign against the residents of Utah.

In Washington territory the gubernatorial appointees of Lincoln readily supported the efforts of the radicals to organize the new territories of Idaho and Montana and to develop the Northern Pacific Railroad⁷⁴ in which Stevens was especially interested.⁷⁵ William H. Wallace, Lincoln's first selection for governor of Washington territory, early resigned to campaign as the Republican candidate for territorial delegate. After his election he spent much time working with the radicals in Washington to organize the territory of Idaho.⁷⁶ For Wallace's successor Lincoln chose William Pickering, another Illinois friend of long standing.⁷⁷ In his first

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁷² James D. Doty to Seward, January 30, 1865, Territorial Papers of Utah, National Archives, II, 618.

⁷³ Doty to Seward, January 28, 1865, *ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Congressional Globe*, 38 Cong., 1 Sess., 2349.

⁷⁵ Hill to J. H. Hawes, January 26, 1864, Letters to and from the Surveyor Generals, Division of the Interior Department, National Archives.

⁷⁶ Thomas C. Donaldson, *Idaho of Yesterday* (Caldwell, 1941), 230.

⁷⁷ Clinton A. Snowden, *History of Washington; The Rise and Progress of an American State*, 4 vols. (New York, 1909), IV, 144.

message to the territorial legislature he advocated federal aid for the construction of a transcontinental railroad from Lake Superior to Puget Sound.⁷⁸

The position of collector of customs at Port Townsend in Washington territory was awarded the ardent abolitionist Victor Smith, a close political associate and Ohio friend of Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase.⁷⁹ Smith worked with Chase to have the port of entry changed to Port Angeles, where they had mutual interests in a townsite development. The completion of this transfer and other forceful measures on Smith's part evoked much opposition in the Puget Sound district. When Lincoln attempted to remove Smith, Chase threatened to resign but finally approved of a change on the condition that Smith remain as a special agent of the Treasury Department.⁸⁰

The disposition of the territorial patronage by the Lincoln administration resulted in placing numerous staunch supporters of the radical program in important positions. With favorable governors in every one of the territories, well-disposed secretaries, amenable judges, a speculator as customs collector in Washington territory, and sharp surveyor generals, the radicals were prepared to reconstruct the West for their own benefit and the northern interests which they represented. The radicals could use their territorial allies to promote the supremacy of the Republican party in the West, to create new territories and states for their political and economic advantage, to control the disposition of the public domain, and to foster the domination of the trans-Mississippi region by northern political, mining, railroad, and other economic interests. In many of their activities the radicals used the territories as "pilot plants" for the later reconstruction of the South.

⁷⁸ Charles M. Gates (ed.), *Messages of the Governors of the Territory of Washington to the Legislative Assembly, 1854-1889* (Seattle, 1940), 106.

⁷⁹ Snowden, *History of Washington*, IV, 168-69.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 170-76.