GRAPHIC SKETCHES

FROM THE HISTORY OF THE

BALTIMORE & OHIO RAILROAD

BY

PAUL WINCHESTER

VOLUME I

De Mortuis Vivisque, Non Semper Bonum, sed Verum

THE BALTIMORE & OHIO RAILROAD

Sketches from the history of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Including much heretofore unpublished matter regarding the work and life of the late John Work Garrett, as well as other facts concerning that great enterprise, and a detailed account of the tragic contest between John K. Cowen, General Counsel and later President of the Company, also member of the National House of Representatives, and Arthur Pue Gorman, Senator of the United States from Maryland

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I

By PAUL WINCHESTER

Author of "Newspapers and Newspapermen of Maryland," (1905). "Around the Throne; or Sketches of Washington Society," (1902), and "Men of Maryland Since the Civil War," (1923).

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DEDICATION

TO THE MEMORY OF

JOHN K. COWEN

WHOSE LIFE WAS SACRIFICED IN THE PERFORMANCE OF HIS DUTY

As General Counsel and President of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company, Member of the National House of Representatives, his life was devoted to the service of his adopted State, and the great transportation company, which his energy and ability preserved from spoliation, for many years

This story is dedicated as a memorial from his friend the author to whom he was ever courteous and kind.

The Second Volume of these sketches will be issued in the near future. It will contain matter of personal and historic value from the year 1895, until the present time. In addition it will contain a large number of sketches of men who have been connected with the history of the Baltimore and Ohio, officially and otherwise, with events of interest connected with the history of Marylanders and the railroad, ever since the beginning of the Civil War in 1861— up to the present time.

PREFACE

THESE sketches, which together make up much of the dramatic, and, at times tragic, history of the great pioneer railway system of the United States, are largely personal reminiscences, based on manuscript notes and newspaper stories, written by the author from time to time, as the events occurred from the beginning of the great war between the states in 1861. The short amount of the text dealing with happenings prior to 1861, was made up from recorded and published matter, together with traditional tales told to the author, by people who lived during the period of time, between the granting of the charter of the company, up to the date of the Civil War, when the recollections of the writer take the place of all other sources of information used in the compilation of the story. Among those who were contemporaries of the men who had a part in the promotion and construction of the great work, in its early days, that is from 1827 up to 1861, several lived for many years after that time, and the author was privileged to know some of them with a greater or less degree of intimacy, chief among whom were the late John H. B. Latrobe, Mrs. John H. B. Latrobe, and Mr. Charles Latrobe—these members of that honored, historic family, survived the great war of 1861-65 several years, and Mrs. Latrobe lived several years into the present century, with all her faculties unimpaired when she had passed her ninetieth birthday. Nothing pleased this venerable and highly accomplished lady of the olden

time more than to have an appreciative listener—she knew everything connected with the history of Maryland and Baltimore from the time she came, as a bride, in 1832, from her home in Louisiana. She was the intimate friend of all the prominent men and women of those days, extending through three-quarters of a century. She also knew all the great figures in the public life of the Nation at Washington prior to the war, also those who were active in public life for years after the war, and, often had entertained at her hospitable home in Baltimore, Presidents of the United States, cabinet officers, Judges of the Supreme Court, Senators of the United States, and members of the House of Representatives, of all parties and of all political creeds,—and in her declining years, she would talk by the hour of the really great people she had known, and in her brilliant and fascinating manner, would describe their manners, laugh at their idiosyncrasies, repeat their stories—her memory never failed her, and she would describe a reception at the White House which took place during the administration of Andrew Jackson or Martin Van-Buren, or a President of later years, as she would describe an event of a week or a month just passed away.

She was a friend of John W. Garrett, and his family, and she was also a friend of Johns Hopkins. She knew all about the Baltimore and Ohio Railway, and all those connected with it, clear up to the time its troubles began, after the death of the elder Garrett. She had lived in a Baltimore and Ohio atmosphere, as well as in the political atmosphere of more than two generations, and a volume could be made up of the interesting stories she told from time to time up to a few months before she died.

It was the author's privilege to have the friendship of this wonderful old grand lady of the olden days of Baltimore, and from her he learned much about the events narrated in these sketches.

The matter herein published, that is practically all of it relating to the time from the death of Mr. Garrett, in 1884, is made up of reminiscences and data, much of which the writer personally knew. This is particularly the case with all that relates to Mr. Cowen and Mr. Gorman, and those who were allied with them in the great contest for the control of the railway system. The quotations from the discussions which took place, and the speeches which were made, were taken down by the author at the time they were uttered, and they are accurate. All

the other matter has been carefully revised and is correctly and truthfully reported, and together forms a picture of certain phases of that old-time political and corporation struggle, which has never before been given in the same sort of detail, in print. Together, it forms a long chapter in the lives of Maryland, which is really unique in the history of the country. And that this somewhat Machiavellian affair lasted for years, with varying fortune, adds not a little to its interest. It was thrilling at times, as the battle between these two really great men had the centre of the stage, now out in front before the footlights in full view of the public, and again behind the scenes—going on practically without cessation for years.

Mr. Cowen is dead, Mr. Gorman is dead, and few of those who were taking part with them, are left to tell the tale as it really should be told—and today the great railway company, free from all its troubles of the past half century, is powerful, efficient, and is serving the public probably better than any transportation system in the country. Those efficient and highly capable gentlemen who have brought it up, after the wracking and wrecking which it underwent for a quarter of a century, to its present high degree of efficiency, deserve the commendation of all; but it must not be forgotten, in these days of its power and prosperity, that for half a century it was entirely the child of Maryland, that Maryland built it and cherished it during all that time, and that today it stands as the greatest achievement of the old line state, and that to the old line state it owes its birth, and a long period of years of nursing care and protection.

The second volume will continue the story up to the present time—and will include short biographic and character sketches of the men who were prominently connected with this greatest of Maryland achievements, and who have passed away. It will also contain sketches of the men who are so ably and efficiently continuing the work at the present time, and, while the author makes no claim that these volumes will be a complete history of the Baltimore and Ohio, they are really history, and bring out many heretofore unpublished facts in connection with the stirring and dramatic events of this century-old system of transportation. It is undoubtedly a fact that the history of this enterprise which had its origin, and the greater part of its growth, in and through Maryland and Marylanders, later on becoming one of the most important nation-wide arteries of trade and transpor-

tation, in the really thrilling and exciting interest of its history, excels all others. Almost from its first year, it has been in the vivid limelight, and while at the present time it is to all outward appearances, resting in peace, and enjoying its greatest era of prosperity, there are indications, slight it is true, that its rivals, including its old hereditary enemy of the last half century, are not idle—that at any time there may occur an outbreak of jealous hostility, which will renew a contest which was supposed to have ceased several years ago. Fortunately, the company is occupying a position of such advantage, it is so well-managed and so abundantly equipped in all respects, that a contest with its rivals, in all likelihood would result in a crushing defeat for those who would have the hardihood to attempt to bar its way, in its onward progress to greater success than it has ever before attained in the century of its history.

As a contribution to the history of Maryland, the author believes that these, at times somewhat random sketches, have some value, and for that reason, more than any other, they are submitted to the public.

PAUL WINCHESTER.

Baltimore, June, 1, 1927.

CHAPTER I.

THE dominant factors in the History of Maryland for a great part of the past century have been the Baltimore & Ohio Railway and the men who made it what it was during its long history. And the men who have made it what it now is, and who are continuing to add to it as the greatest force in the industrial and commercial development of Baltimore City and the entire state, are worthy of every consideration from the people.

This great enterprise was inaugurated, planned and carried out by Marylanders, and for the first three-quarters of a century was managed, owned, developed and controlled by Maryland men. The engineers who planned and surveyed it, the men who furnished the money to pay for it, the men who attended to the vast amount of business connected with its construction, extension and maintenance, were all Marylanders (most of them native to the state,) and not the least important is the fact that the men who ran the trains, manned the engines, and in other capacities looked after the affairs of the company, throughout its entire line, were practically all Marylanders,—men who were born, and brought up along the line of the road, and who learned the business, as the work was developed—for they had to learn all they ever knew by actual experience, as there were no other railways to learn from—it was a new business in the world and had to be literally picked up as the work progressed over the hills, valleys and mountains, across the streams and through the forests, as the iron rails made their way to open up the mines and fields of the great West to the commerce of the world.

As the work went on, in its slow way, the boys and men from the farms, villages and towns, took up the labor in turn, and in time the trains rolled along, and the first great railway was climbing the Alleghanies, across the mountains to the Ohio River and rich fields of the Central Valleys and plains, and the vast produce of the mines and farms was pouring into the cities of the sea coast, sailing in ships to foreign lands, and the manufactures of the East and Europe were going to the West, to sup-

ply the needs of the great population which was rapidly settling up the rich lands of the central valleys of the Continent. The mines and farms of the rich states of the Ohio Valley, were pouring their produce into Baltimore, and the great Maryland harbor was filled with ships from all the Seven Seas of the earth, carrying away coal, iron, lumber, grain, and all sorts of foodstuffs to feed and supply the less fortunate peoples of the world.

And all this was the result of the construction of the great iron highway, built by the untiring energy and zeal of a few heroic and far-seeing Marylanders, who, backed by the state and the City of Baltimore, staked their all on the hazard, and a new era was opened up for the extension of the commerce of the world, and the benefit of the human race.

After more than twenty years of trial and struggle, during which all sorts of desperate and at times frantic expedients were resorted to in order to secure money to keep the work going on, the construction of the grades and tracks was slowly, and almost foot by foot the Ohio River was reached in 1853. It was a great event, not only in the history of Maryland, but also in the history of the development of the country. The vast produce of the Ohio Valley, from Pittsburg clear down to the Mississippi, was then open to the eastern seaboard. Steamboats and barges brought to Wheeling literally millions of tons of all sorts of foodstuffs and other raw materials, where they were transhipped to the trains and thence taken over the Alleganies down to tide water at Baltimore, and the ports of the world were then open to the great fleets which were soon carrying the riches of the West across the seas.

And the commerce of the Maryland harbor in a short time increased to such an extent that it became second only to New York in the amount of its exports and imports with the great commercial nations of the world.

CHAPTER II.

IT has, no doubt, become nothing more than a legend with older people, and has never been brought to the attention of the later generations, but it is a fact that Maryland was the first state in the Union to take up actively and energetically railroad building, in the way of loaning money for the purpose of aiding in the construction of railways throughout the counties, connecting various sections with Baltimore City, and by means of the Baltimore & Ohio reaching out to the great West beyond the Alleghanies and the Ohio River, and in all this great scheme of aiding in the development of mechanical transportation. Baltimore city and many of the counties have generously done their part with a liberal hand.

The first and greatest contributors to the construction of the Baltimore & Ohio, were the state of Maryland and the City of Baltimore, and up to a recent date the state and the city were represented on the Board of Directors and had voices in the management of the property. The Western Maryland Railway was practically built by the City of Baltimore and the counties through which it passed, and was really controlled by the city up to 1904, when it was sold to a syndicate which later on transferred it to its present owners.

The Northern Central received aid from the state when it was constructed, and the whole system of steam railways on the Eastern Shore was built largely by state aid, and Maryland at one time was on the verge of bankruptcy, through its liberality in granting financial assistance to all sorts of public service corporations, and for a long period of years, the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal was such a drain on the State Treasury, that under the administration of the late Senator Arthur P. Gorman, who was its president for several years, it became a public scandal and was a byword of scorn and reproach from one end of Maryland to the other.

In all these years, when the state and city had much to do with the policy of the Baltimore & Ohio, through their ownership of

stocks and bonds of that corporation, there was a constant and at times bitter struggle between the politicians and the executive management of the road, for supremacy. During the stormy and vigorous management of the late John W. Garrett, one of the really great railway men who was developed between the opening of the Civil War in 1861, and the early eighties of the last century the Baltimore & Ohio dominated Maryland and the City of Baltimore with an iron hand, controlled all the great business enterprises of the city and state, and Mr. Garrett made his will law to the politicians of both parties. Up to the time of his death, he was, to all intents and purposes, the absolute Czar of Maryland. So great was his influence, that at one time, when he had some difficulty in controlling the Board of Directors of the Railway Company, several of whom differed from him in regard to certain important matters of policy, he appeared in the State House at Annapolis, one morning, about 10 o'clock, during a regular session of the legislature. He went up stairs to the Governor's office, sent for the officers and leaders of both houses and told them he wanted them to pass, at once, a bill giving him as President of the Railway Company, certain powers not granted by the charter. The bill was in the form of an amendment to the charter. As soon as the House of Delegates met, the bill was introduced, reported out of Committee at once under a suspension of the rules. The rules were suspended again, the bill read a second time, without debate or discussion. The rules were suspended a third time and the bill passed by an unanimous vote on a call of the roll. The same proceeding then took place in the Senate, all the necessary red-tape preliminaries were gone through with, and the bill properly engrossed was presented to the Governor, who promptly signed it, and it thus became law. It was then duly and legally filed with the clerk of the Court of Appeals, a certified copy was given to Mr. Garrett, and he returned to Baltimore in triumph, in time for his evening meal at home. The Board of Directors met the next day, and were amazed to find that their president had stolen a march on them, and that they were rendered powerless to thwart any of his schemes. It is doubtful if any of the railway officials, in this or any other state, could have exercised such high-handed power, and gotten away with it. But then Mr. Garrett was an exceptional man in

every way. For years he was the State of Maryland, and the State of Maryland bowed down to him, from Garrett County, which was created and named to honor him, clear across the state, over the Chesapeake Bay, down to the Atlantic Ocean in Worcester County.

CHAPTER III.

DURING the Civil War, the Baltimore & Ohio became the most important single factor, next to the army, connected with the protection of Washington and the prevention of attacks by the confederates on the great commercial and manufacturing centres of the loyal states of the North.

It was the only railway which reached out from Washington to the sources of the supply of men, munitions, and other necessary equipments, in the North, eastern, northern and western sections of the country. With the Baltimore & Ohio in possession of the confederates, the Southern forces would have had the great seaboard and manufacturing cities at their mercy, for a time, at least, and Washington and Baltimore would have been in the hands of the confederate forces, and no doubt the war, instead of ending after four years of fighting, would have been prolonged for a much greater time.

But the officials and others in control of this vital system of transportation, remained loyal to the Federal government, and it was no doubt due to this loyalty that Washington did not become the capital of the Confederate States, instead of the capital of the United States, that Baltimore was not taken over by the Confederates and made their basis of supplies of all sorts, that the large amount of shipping then in the harbor of Baltimore, was not seized by the Southern forces, that the West and North were not cut off, and the Union forces were enabled to make the Potomac, and not the Delaware their first line of defense. In fact, it is a matter of history, that in the very early days of the Civil War, the loyalty of the Baltimore & Ohio saved the Union, and enabled the Government to make the long and laborious preparations, which finally helped it to end the war, and preserve, it is hoped for all time, the Union of the States.

It has always been a source of speculative surprise that the Confederate forces did not make an effort to take Washington before the war was really under way, and follow it up by the capture of Baltimore, Annapolis and Wilmington, Delaware, and thus have Philadelphia and Southern Pennsylvania at their feet,

with the great Navy Yards of the Delaware and the enormous manufacturing plants in their possession. That this could have been done before the newly raised levies of men from the North and West, could have been mobilized, and moved to the front, there is little doubt. Indeed it has been one of the puzzles confronting those who have carefully studied this matter, that it was not done.

But the fact is, the chief obstacle in the way of the execution of this plan (for that it was one of the earlier Confederate plans is ascertained beyond doubt) was the attitude of the men who were in control of the management and operation of the Baltimore & Ohio. Everything had been arranged to seize the road between Washington and Baltimore to seize and destroy the bridges over the lines leading to the West, and then to make a direct swoop in large force on Washington and Baltimore, capture both cities, take President Lincoln prisoner, and thus control the situation. There was to be an uprising of the Confederate sympathizers in Baltimore and throughout Maryland, and in Washington, where there were thousands who were ready to join in this plan, and it was understood that the Baltimore & Ohio operating forces were to aid in the movement.

But the Baltimore & Ohio officials proved, in a large majority of cases, to be loyal to the government of President Lincoln, the Confederates lacked arms and ammunition to equip the men who were to do the work, and before the measures under consideration could be carried out, the Federal Government had quietly transferred large bodies of well-armed troops to all points along the lines of the road, and the plot failed. The Confederates openly accused the railroad men of having betrayed them, and reluctantly gave up their plans, and, after scattering through the surrounding country to escape capture, a large number of them made their way down through Southern Maryland to the Potomac river, which they crossed, going over in Virginia, later on joining the Confederate forces and remaining with the Southern army to the close of the war, when those of them who were alive returned to their Maryland homes. Among those young Marylanders who were engaged in those plots were the late Congressman J. F. C. Talbott, the late Louis Victor Baughman and the late Edward Roberts of Talbot County. All these men, in

conversation in after life, did not hesitate to assert that if their plans would have succeeded, they would have captured both Washington and Baltimore, and thus have enabled the Confederates to win the war, divide the Union, and establish the Confederate States. In one of the last talks the writer ever had with Mr. Talbott, while riding with him on a Baltimore & Ohio train from Washington to Baltimore, he said:

"If it had not been for the managers of this Railway Company, we would have captured Washington and Baltimore, established the capital of the Confederacy in Washington, and made Lincoln sue for peace. But I expect that it is best for all that things turned out as they did. Many of us were young and hot-headed, and did not know what we were about."

And the late Governor Frank Brown once said, "As a very young man at the beginning of the war, I was an ardent secessionist. I was in the plot to take possession of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, and stop all communication from the North with Washington. We had everything ready to ditch a military train taking several car loads of Union soldiers to Washington early in 1861. But the railway people headed us off, and the plot failed, and Washington and the Union were saved. My father came down to where we were camped in the woods not far from Relay and took me home, as I was only a boy. Later on, I did help several men, who were going through the lines, to join the the Southern army, but that was the last I had to do with the war, except to talk and express my sympathy for the South. And now that I can look back on the whole business, when I am no longer young and have reasonable understanding of the situation, I realize what a misfortune it would have been to the whole country, and especially to Maryland, had the Union been destroyed. We all cussed and blackguarded the Baltimore & Ohio officials for what they did, but now I know that their course was one of wisdom and that their action at that critical time probably saved Maryland and the whole land from irreparable calamity, and untold misery. Had we succeeded in our foolish plot, the seat of war in its early stages would have been transferred to Maryland, and there is no estimating the devastation and damage that would have come to our own people."

CHAPTER IV.

THE Civil War period was a time of stress and trouble for the Baltimore & Ohio, to a greater extent than to that of any other railway system in the whole country. Situated as it was, through a greater part of its extent, on the border between the contending forces in the great conflict, its possesion and safeguarding was in many respects the most important duty of the Federal Government—for the side which controlled the Baltimore and Ohio, would control the lines of communication between the Northern and Southern States and eventually the seat of the Union Government itself. In fact it is now admitted that the greatest tactical blunder of which the Confederate leaders were guilty at the opening of the war, was their failure to see this. Had they concentrated their efforts on this one object, and succeeded in taking possession of Baltimore, Washington and the Baltimore & Ohio Railway, they would have had such an advantage that they might possibly have forced the Federal Government to some sort of a compromise. At any rate, they would thus have secured the recognition and possible aid of several foreign nations, who would have gladly acknowledged the government in control of the National Capital as the dominant power on this side of the Atlantic, and would have acted accordingly, in dealing with the two belligerents.

The late Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, Vice-President of the Confederacy, years after the war was over, when he had taken up his residence in Washington as an honored representative of his state in Congress, was asked to explain this blunder on the part of the Southern leaders. He said:

"It was expected by the Confederate Government, that Maryland would eventually join the Confederacy, and that the Marylanders, aided by the Virginians, would take care of Washington, Baltimore and the Baltimore & Ohio Railway, and such would have been the case had not President Lincoln, realized at once, before the war was really started, that the salvation of his government, and the real success of his forces in the war, depended on the possession and control of

the Baltimore & Ohio, and the approaches to Washington, largely controlled by those who held the operation of that line of railway. He, therefore, concentrated all his efforts, and all his first available military forces to secure and retain possession of this key to the whole situation. While the Southern leaders were expectantly waiting for Maryland and Virginia to act, Lincoln got in ahead of them, and thus saved the day for his side at the beginning. The real objective point for all the early action of the Confederate forces should have been the Baltimore & Ohio Railway, Baltimore and Washington—and there should have been no waiting for the local sympathizers to act—all the Southern forces should have been directed to this one point.

"The Virginia authorities, at the beginning, were averse to invading Maryland—expecting that state to secede, which I believe it would have done, had it not been for the quick action of President Lincoln, in cementing his alliance with the Baltimore & Ohio Railway officials. In fact the wisest stroke of policy at the beginning of the war, was this action of his in gaining control of the only railway which connected Washington with the states which were loyal to the Union. One of the first things he did after his inauguration was to gain over the Baltimore & Ohio officials, men whom the Southern States had every reason to expect would aid them in their fight.

"There is no doubt in my mind, now that I look back on the events between '61 and '65, that the real crisis was passed in those early months, after the fall of Fort Sumter, when the South was waiting for Maryland to act, and Lincoln prevented that state from seceding, largely because of the fact that the overwhelming influence exerted by the Baltimore & Ohio was exerted in favor of the Washington Government."

As soon as it was a settled fact that all hope the Confederates may have had of securing possession of this great Maryland Railway system was gone, the road continued functioning effectively and energetically in its aid of the Northern side, and before many months had passed, affairs became practically normal. Except for spasmodic raids on the lines from Washington to the west, there was no further trouble, and the lines between Washington and Baltimore continued, throughout the whole Civil War, to be the chief sources of supplies of all sorts, not only to the National Capital, but to all the armies operating east of the Alleghany Mountains.

CHAPTER V.

FOR twenty-six years John Work Garrett was the dominant figure, not only of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, but also of the State of Maryland. During the Civil War, that is from 1861 to 1865, he was also one of the most important aids to the Federal Government, in all that pertained to the national forces at work to assist President Lincoln in the preseravtion of the National Union, in the prosecution of the war to bring back into subjection, to the Washington Government, the seceding states of the South.

He was made a director of the Baltimore & Ohio Company in 1857, and on November 17th, 1858, was elected President of the Company, on the motion of the late Johns Hopkins, who was then the leading financier of Baltimore, and, next to the State of Maryland and City of Baltimore, was the largest stockholder in the organization. It is reported that he early recognized the great ability of young Mr. Garrett, who was at that time only thirty-eight years old.

From 1858, when he became President of the Baltimore & Ohio, to 1884, when he died at Deer Park, Mr. Garrett was one of the most active, energetic and able railway men in the United States. He found the road in anything but good condition, and at once proceeded to secure its rehabilitation, and was fast succeeding in his work, notwithstanding all sorts of financial, political and other handicaps, when the war between the states broke forth in all its fury, and Mr. Garrett's attention and energy were all turned toward aiding Mr. Lincoln in his efforts to save the Union of the States, and to keep the railway from utter and complete destruction—for he was literally caught between two fires, the Northern forces on one side, and the Confederates on the other, both struggling for possession of what was the most important line of communication, at that time, in the country.

There is no doubt of the fact, that the aid Mr. Garrett and the Baltimore & Ohio operating forces, under his direction, did more to prevent the capture of Washintgon by the Confederate forces, than all other things put together. Conspiracies were being

hatched by Southern sympathizers, especially among the young men, for the sentiment among all the foremost people in Baltimore City and throughout the whole state, except in certain counties in Western Maryland, was largely in favor of the secession movement for all the states south of Mason and Dixon's line. A few, a very few, of the older families in Baltimore were opposed to secession, and many of the business men favored the Union cause, but, on the whole, Maryland was secession in sentiment, and would have backed up secession and the Southern cause had that been possible. In the Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland sections, which were largely slaveholding, the sentiment was almost unanimously favorable to the South, and all sorts of conspiracies were hatched to aid their friends across the Potomac.

It will thus be seen what a hazardous position Mr. Garrett occupied, as President of the one great development in Maryland, which happened to be the one great transportation line which was, for the time at least, essential to the preservation of the National Government at Washington. This railway was largely owned by the people who favored the Southern cause, and it seemed that he was risking all to undertake what he did undertake, and, what in the end he carried through in triumph, and won the grateful thanks of President Lincoln, and all those who were anxious to see the Union of the States preserved in their original integrity.

He worked night and day. He was in Washington, in Baltimore, and out on the line in Western Maryland, day after day, and kept his eye on everything that might have any serious effect on his plans to keep the road in operation, and years afterward he said he had never really recovered from the physical and mental weariness brought on in those terribly exacting times.

CHAPTER VI.

FOR twenty-six years, that is from 1858 when he became President of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, to 1884 when he died at Deer Park, John W. Garrett was the outstanding figure in the business and political life of Maryland, and from 1861, when the Civil War burst in all its fury on the country, to the close of that great conflict in 1865, he was one of the leading advisors and supporters of the Administration of President Lincoln, and one of the closest friends and consultors of Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, and later Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

There is no doubt of the fact that Mr. Garrett was one of the great men of the country during the trying epoch of the Civil War. And there is no doubt of the further fact that his prompt and energetic action at the beginning of the war saved Maryland to the Union, and also prevented Washington and Baltimore from falling into the hands of the Confederate forces, and thus prolonging the war, and preventing Maryland from becoming the theatre of the earliest stages of the conflict. By his action, the country between Washington and Baltimore was spared the devastation brought on by the contending forces, which great misfortune fell on Virginia. As President Wilson said of another Marylander, who is now President of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, Daniel Willard, during the recent World War, "he is my good right arm," so Mr. Lincoln said of John W. Garrett in the thrilling days of 1861, when Washington and the country generally were trembling with fear and doubt about the safety of the National Capital, "his prompt and patriotic action saved the country from a great calamity."

At the time when Mr. Garrett was made President of the great Maryland Railway, and for many years thereafter, the State of Maryland really owned the road and the state and city Directors were in a majority on the board. In order therefore to maintain his influence in the management, Mr. Garrett realized that he must have a dominant influence in the State Government, and that, most important of all, he must have a Governor who would

be guided by him in all matters pertaining to the affairs of this great property, which was then, as it is now, the greatest asset Maryland possesses. To that end, his agents were busily engaged in politics from one end of the state to the other, and to the day of his death, the word of the President of the Baltimore & Ohio was law to Governors, all state officials, including senators and members of the National House of Representatives. So great was Mr. Garrett's influence, that in 1880, when the late Senator Arthur P. Gorman was in doubt as to his ability to defeat Senator Whyte for re-election to the United States Senate, and some members of the General Assembly were in doubt, a quiet word from Mr. Garrett settled the question, and Mr. Gorman won out. Senator Whyte had at one time, a few years before, offended Mr. Garrett, and he evened things up when he saw the opportunity. He was not of a forgiving disposition, and was a believer in the old Calvanistic doctrine, that it was a man's duty to smite his enemies and those who had wronged him, in order to carry out the old Covenanter theory that in so doing the will of the Almighty was enforced.

Mr. Garrett was an old-fashioned Scotch-Irish Presbyterian—a rigid Calvinist in his belief, and had a firm conviction that all things were foreordained in the Councils of God from all eternity. When discussing, with his close personal friend, the late John H. B. Latrobe, an important matter connected with the policy of the Railway Company, about which Mr. Latrobe had some doubt, Mr. Garrett said, "I firmly believe that Almighty God will take care of this as He does of all things, and I am going ahead," and he went ahead, and succeeded in his plans.

At the beginning of the Civil War, when there was grave doubt as to the proper course for the railway officials to follow, for there was no doubt as to the wishes of Maryland in the matter, a large portion of the people strongly sympathizing with the South, Mr. Garrett settled the question abruptly, and emphatically, without delay, saying, "God never intended this country should be divided up and torn to pieces. The best business is to sustain the government, and I am going to do it to the best of my ability, and when it is all over Maryland will realize that my action was best for the interests of the state, and especially for the best interests of Baltimore City. We are going to back

up President Lincoln with all our resources, and are going to begin at once." The outcome showed his wisdom, and in later years, many who had criticized his action, praised his foresight and congratulated him.

CHAPTER VII.

WHEN John W. Garrett became President of the Baltimore & Ohio, in 1858, at the age of thirty-eight years, he found the whole system practically new, for the business at that time was immature, and there was not a really well-organized railway system in the country, or for that matter, in the entire world. New inventions were produced almost daily, some of which proved useful, some worthless, but all had to be tried out. The mechanical development of the country up to that time had not been great, and very few, even the most far-seeing, realized what a great factor in the development of the vast resources of the United States, the railway was destined to become.

Mr. Garrett, however, had what is now called "vision," and he saw, perhaps better than any other of the really able men of that date, what the railways of the country would do in the future, and to that end he worked and devoted all his skill and energy. He was fairly started on his great scheme of development, and had his plans to make the Baltimore & Ohio the greatest railway system on the continent, when the Civil War burst upon an unprepared, unwilling, and thoroughly divided people. He was obliged to postpone the fulfillment of his real, practical vision of the future, until after that great conflict between the states had settled the fate of the Union, and had made, as all hoped, for the future, a real, United States, out of the non-homogeneous, but rather heterogeneous combination of semi-independent commonwealths, and had defined the powers of the Federal Government, and really created a nation. Instead of being able to devote all of his force and energy to improvements and extensions, he was obliged to devote his great ability and enormous energy to the protection of the National Capital and the preservation of the Union of the States. And while he was able to add somewhat to the proposed extensions of the system, and to add to the efficiency of the operating force, and the general equipment, his energy and skill were largely devoted to keeping the road open, and to prevent its total destruction, in its most important sections, by the hostile forces of the Confederate States of the South.

He had before him a herculean task. For practically four years the Southern forces were making almost daily efforts to break through the dividing lines between the two sections of the country, and for at least three hundred miles, this dividing line was the Baltimore & Ohio Railway. No other line of railway in the country was so situated, and it required all the really extraordinary skill and energy of Mr. Garrett, and his operating force, aided by the resources and forces of the Lincoln administration, to prevent the total destruction of the roadway, the wrecking of a great part of the equipment, and the consequent isolation of Washington. Night and day the young and vigorout railway president worked—at one time in conference with President Lincoln, the general of the army, the Secretary of War, or other officials, and later on, out on the road, encouraging and commending his men. The next day he would be in Baltimore, looking after and inspecting terminals, conferring with his assistants, or holding conferences with the state and city authorities, to prevent hostile attacks by the secret Southern sympathizers, on his bases of supplies, his connections with the states to the north, and with the shipping to and from over the seas, for a great part of the importations from abroad, especially those for the use of the Union forces, were landed in Baltimore, as the nearest open port to the capital and the seat of the war. The writer has a distinct recollection of Mr. Garrett as he appeared at that time (1863). He was in the Treasury Department as Mr. Garrett came along the corridor with Secretary Chase—arm in arm, these two eminent men walked slowly along, Mr. Garrett talking in a low tone and the great financier of the war, the man who has been known ever since as the "father of the greenbacks," and later as the great Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, listening intently to what was said. Those were nerve-racking days in Washington, and although Mr. Garrett was still a young man, his face had a tired, worried look, showing that he felt the awful strain caused by the great task imposed upon him. These two great figures of the history of the war, walked slowly down the steps of the Treasury, and crossed over to the White House.

CHAPTER VIII.

As stated in another chapter, Mr. Garrett was elected President of the Baltimore & Ohio in 1858, on the motion of Johns Hopkins, who was, next to the State of Maryland and the City of Baltimore, the largest stockholder in the corporation. And from that time to the death of Mr. Hopkins in 1873, he was the mainstay of Mr. Garrett in all his plans for the extension and improvement of this great railway system. When the company was hard up for money, when interest was due, and the treasury practically empty, Mr. Garrett, who was then practically the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, as well as the State of Maryland, would appeal to Mr. Hopkins, and his appeals were never in vain—and not the least of the obligations the people of Baltimore and Maryland owe to their great benefactor, the founder of their great university and its kindred institutions, arise from the fact that it was largely through his substantial aid, that the most important extensions were completed, and the necessary equipment was kept in fairly good condition for a period of several years, after the Civil War, when money was scarce and hard to get, and when the financial situation throughout the whole land was in a condition of semi-panic, and at times chaotic. Mr. Hopkins was, during all this period, the real financial genius of Maryland, and his aid to the Baltimore & Ohio during its times of trial and stress, was but a small part of what he did after the Civil War, to maintain the credit of everything and everybody, not only in Baltimore, but throughout the whole of his native state. This old Quaker, native of Anne Arundel County, was a thorough Marylander. He loved his native state, he loved Baltimore, and his love was shown in a thoroughly practical way when he left the bulk of his fortune to be devoted to the benefit of the people of the city and state. That his intentions have been disregarded by those left in charge of his bequests, does not in the least detract from the merit of his deed. Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Garrett were both devoted Marylanders,—and all their lives were devoted to the welfare of the state and city which they loved, and whose people they were anxious should

benefit by their lives. The love of Maryland was the predominant characteristic in Mr. Garrett's life. When one of his old friends and associates expostulated with him for his course during the Civil War, he said he was more concerned about Maryland and her people and their prosperity, than he was about all other things, and that he was convinced that the greatest calamity that could happen to the state, would result from the destruction of the Union. He was patriotic in the real sense of the word—he was a loyal and patriotic American, and he was also a loyal and patriotic Marylander in everything that he did. In those days Marylanders were the "real thing"—they loved their state, it was to them the greatest and best place in the world, and both Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Garrett were exemplars of loyalty and patriotism to their native state as an integral part of the whole Union. In all their works they thought of Maryland and of Baltimore all the time. Mr. Garrett in all his great work as a railroad builder, thought of the advantages the extension of his great system through the West would bring to Baltimore, and no man ever worked harder than he to bring prosperity and wealth to his native city and state, and it was a great misfortune to this city and state that he was taken off by death in the prime of his life and usefulness—before he had completed the great work which he had devoted his life to carry out. And today, nearly half a century after his death (he died in 1884) no matter what has been the history of this great corporation, no matter what its troubles, its misfortunes and its trials have been, it has lived and survived, and today is looked upon as the standard railway, and the most efficient and complete transportation system in the world—and it is a monument to the energy, ability and real genius of John W. Garrett, and will be his monument for all time. He was the first really great railway president—he was not only a great executive in the management of men and affairs, he was also a great constructive genius. He lived in his work, he devoted his life to it, and death came prematurely on him as a result of his devotion to that work—for he literally worked himself to death.

And if any man in the country deserves a monument in front of the great station for all the railways at Washington, it is John W. Garrett. His devotion saved the National Capital to the

Union, and his energy did more than any other one man, to give that city a transportation system worthy of the nation, in his day.

CHAPTER IX.

THE more one's attention is turned to the consideration of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway, especially during the really formative period, the twenty-six years between 1858 and 1884, when John W. Garrett was literally working himself to death to build up that great system of transportation, the more one is filled with admiration for this man, who really deserves the place in history as the greatest railway constructor in the country—and the debt of the State of Maryland, the City of Baltimore, and, in fact, the entire country, owes to his memory, has never been adequately recognized. The city has never recognized it, the State of Maryland has practically ignored it, and the Federal Government, which was for four years under more obligation to Mr. Garrett than to any other one man, except President Lincoln, has passed it by unnoticed. And the great corporation, now in the height of its greatest efficiency and prosperity,—the foundation of all of which was due to the great energy and capacity of Mr. Garrett, has shown no proper and fitting recognition of the herculean labors of its greatest President—and now that the centennial of the foundation of this, the first great railway system of the country, is about to be observed, it would be a proper and fitting part of that celebration to erect a memorial of the great man, who devoted his life to the work—A statue of collossal size at the end of the square near his old home at Monument and Cathedral Streets, and, greatest of all, most fitting of all other memorials. the Congress of the United States should provide for the erection of a great statue, in bronze, of the man who saved Washington to the Federal Union, which should stand in imposing grandeur, in the square in front of the Union Station in the National Capital, as a memorial for his work in behalf of the preservation of the Union of the States during the Civil War. And among the first bills which should be introduced in Congress, at the convening of that body in December, should be one, presented by the Maryland members of the House, to provide for this long delayed and long due memorial, as a slight recognition of the debt due his memory from the Nation which he did so much to

preserve intact, in its hours of darkest need. In fact, the two greatest events in the memorial services connected with the Baltimore & Ohio centennial, should be the unveiling of his statue by the Governor of Maryland on Mt. Vernon Place, and greatest and most fitting and appropriate of all, the unveiling of a colossal bronze memorial by the President of the United States, in front of the great Union Station at Washington. He saved the city to the Union—there is no doubt of the fact—and no man of that day and date deserves more recognition from the Federal Government, and he has never received it in the slightest degree. And it is a scathing reflection on the state of Maryland, on the City of Baltimore, on the great Railway Corporation which owes so much to his energy, his skill and his ability—that all have been derelict in their duty in this regard. The people have, at times, had spasms of enthusiasm in regard to memorials to all sorts of supposed great men of the past, and the squares and parks are filled with monstrous creations as memorials to the dead, but this one man, who did more in a practical, beneficial way, for the city, state and nation, than a large proportion of them combined, is without a fitting memorial to one of Maryland's greatest and most patriotic sons.

The influx of outsiders, of people who care not for the old time traditions of Maryland, should not be permitted to bring about a state of affairs where the great men, the great benefactors of the past should be ignored—Maryland has more reasons to be proud of John W. Garrett than any man since the great Civil War broke out in 1861 — and the neglect of the past generation should be atoned for by those of the present day.

CHAPTER X.

THE years of 1861, '62, '63 and '64 were full of excitement and thrill from one section of the Baltimore & Ohio to another, from Baltimore to Wheeling, during the four years when the Civil War was at its height— and the most interesting and important events centered in that part of the border, along the line of that great highway—which was the dividing bulwark between the contending states. Raids on one section were made by the Southern forces, the tracks were torn up, the equipment destroyed, and no sooner had Mr. Garrett's forces, aided by the Government troops, put things in order, when a raid was made on another section, and more work was necessary to keep the lines of communication open to the National Capital, and provide for the necessary transporation of supplies and troops to the front, for, as has been said before in this story, the Baltimore & Ohio furnished the only means of communication to Washington, not only from the great sources of supply in the Atlantic seaboard states, but also from the Middle, North and West, and especially from the great sources of food supplies in the Middle Western States. In fact, this great railway system was the key to the whole situation, and, President Lincoln recognizing this fact—and his official and other advisers also recognizing it, devoted a great part of the energy and skill of the government to the protection of what they considered the real bulwark for the safety of the Union cause.

And one of the most astonishing and even at this late day, inexplicable features of the events of those stirring days, is the fact that the Confederate leaders failed to take advantage of the situation which confronted them. There was no time during the first year of the war when the Union States, and the Union people, were slow to grasp the real meaning of the events as they were occurring, wherein the Southern leaders, by a rapid concentration of the forces they had under their control, could have failed to capture the Baltimore & Ohio Railway, and all the means of communication with the National Capital; could have taken possession of Baltimore and Washington, and held the

Federal Government, for a time at least, at their mercy. The sympathies of Baltimore, and that part of Maryland along the line of the road, between Baltimore, Annapolis and Washington were overwhelmingly with the South. The Southern Maryland counties contiguous to those cities were all in active sympathy with the secessionists, and if the Confederate leaders had concentrated their forces at any time in the summer of 1861, in that part of Maryland, there would have been no great difficulty in their way— they could have taken forcible possession of the railway, could have taken peaceable possession of Baltimore and Annapolis, could have seized the railway between Washington and the junction near Frederick, and Washington would have been at their mercy, and would have fallen into their hands. But while they were discussing their abstract right to invade a state which had not seceded and joined the Confederacy, President Lincoln was making frantic appeals for troops, with which he finally took possession of Maryland and, aided by Mr. Garrett's knowledge of the local situation, he kept the railway lines open, and the South lost its opportunity to make its greatest strike for its cause during the whole war. Had General Lee been less a stickler for states' rights, had President Davis been alert and less jealous of the rising popularity of that great Southern soldier, the history of the year 1861 might have been different, and Washington, instead of Richmond, might have been the capital of the Confederate States, for a time at any rate, and Maryland instead of Virginia might have been the theatre of the early devastating stages of the great war between the states.

And last, but not least in importance, had John W. Garrett been less energetic and less devoted to the Union cause, the chances are that Maryland would have seceded from the Union, joined the Confederacy and the whole course of American history changed.

CHAPTER XI.

A LEADING United States Senator, in a letter to THE MARYLANDER, commented as follows on the story of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, as it appeared from week to week in THE MARYLANDER.

"It is really remarkable that these interesting facts have not been given more publicity in years past. The story of the part John W. Garrett took in the preservation of the Union, at the opening of the Civil War, has never been presented in the way you have detailed it. He was a most remarkable man, and I agree with THE MARYLANDER that his statue ought to be placed in front of the great Union Station, in Washington.

"It may be of interest to you to hear, that at certain times during my public career, I have had occasion to look into the management of the great railways of the Country, and I have found that in recent years the only one of these corporations that shows every evidence of the strictest loyalty to the public interests, as well as the interests of the stockholders, is the Baltimore & Ohio, under its present management. So far as those in control of that company are concerned, I do not believe there is a flaw in the record and I am sure the officials of the Interstate Commerce Commission will bear out this statement."

These facts are placed here, thus early in the story, because it ought to be especially gratifying to all Marylanders to know that their greatest institution, the corporation that has done so much for the development of the State, and the City of Baltimore, is in such capable hands, and after all the trials and misfortunes which have befallen this great transportation system since the death of Mr. Garrett, in 1884, it has now risen triumphant, and ranks as one of the greatest and best of all the great arteries of trade and commerce in the world—and it is not out of place to say that this great success and the consequent prosperity, are largely due to skill, ability and conscientious honesty as well as industry, of Messrs. Willard, Shriver and Galloway, who are the executive heads of the corporation. The rise from the adversity of a quarter of a century ago, has been slow, during the late World War it became more rapid, and

since the war it has gone forward to such an extent that it is now in the front rank of the best managed, most prosperous, and certainly most efficiently operated systems in the whole world. And now, as time approaches, when the people of Baltimore and Maryland will celebrate, let it be hoped in a fitting manner, the centennial of the inception of this great and most beneficent public work, it should be made a part of that celebration, to erect both in Baltimore and Washington, adequate memorials of the really great man, who for twenty-six years, devoted his life to the work, and whose death was hastened by his devotion to his duty. From an industrial and commercial point of view Maryland owes more to John W. Garrett than to any other one man. Whatever may have been his faults, they are forgotten—and the great work he accomplished atones for any mistakes he ever made in his long career of devotion to the construction of this great enterprise. He was the first really great railway builder in the country, and his native state and the nation which his loyalty and energy helped to preserve, should honor his memory, even though the day is late and he was gathered to his fathers nearly half a century ago.

CHAPTER XII.

THE MOST loyal and practical friend the Baltimore & Ohio and Mr. John W. Garrett had during all the trying period between the years 1847, until his death in 1873, was Johns Hopkins. He was the largest individual holder of the securities of the Company, and from time to time when money was scarce, and investors and financiers timid and suspicious, he came to the rescue and furnished the funds to enable Mr. Garrett to go on with his work, and maintain the credit of the corporation. This happened several times during and after the Civil War—in the panic of 1868 and at other times, but the most striking illustration of this phase of the history of the Company, took place during the greatest panic in the history of the country, that of 1873, a few months before Mr. Hopkins' death. Banks were crashing down into ruin, in all parts of the country. All sorts of business enterprises were breaking up, railways were passing their dividends and even their interest charges and some were going into the hands of receivers, but, when the crisis reached the Baltimore & Ohio, Mr. Hopkins came bravely to the aid of the Company, he furnished $900,000 in cash to Mr. Garrett, and the credit of the great Maryland Railway Corporation came through all that period of trial and disaster unimpaired, and firm as a rock.

Mr. Hopkins died in December, 1873. He became a director of the Baltimore & Ohio in 1847, and at the same time a large investor in its securities—indeed, up to the day of his death he was as stated above the largest individual stockholder of the Company, next to the State of Maryland. He never lost faith in the great Railway. He made Mr. Garrett president of it in 1858, and he never lost faith in Mr. Garrett. These two eminent men were the greatest business products of the city and state, and together they worked for the good of the Railway, and the benefit of Baltimore and Maryland. If Maryland has produced in her whole history, two men who were better business men, better executives, and who have done more for the material advancement of the city and the commonwealth, there is no record of the fact. In all the years, from 1858, when Mr. Garrett became

president of the Railway Company, up to the death of Mr. Hopkins in 1873, they were as a unit in the plans they devised and carried out for the extension and the betterment of the Railway and its industrial and financial welfare. During all the strenuous months of the Civil War, during all the nerve-racking four years, when the section of the country through which the road extended, was the theatre for the contending armies, Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Garrett devoted their time and energy and Mr. Hopkins his money, to the safeguarding and preservation of this great work of internal improvement, and after the close of the conflict in 1865, to its rehabilitation. The road and its executives have had their serious and almost heartbreaking troubles since that time. They have had their financial and other troubles.

They have had to fight for their independent existence from time to time, and have had all sorts of dark days and months to go through since the death of Mr. Garrett. But all these trials have happened in times of peace, and have been settled in the quiet surroundings of bank offices and board rooms. But Mr. Garrett's troubles were not only financial, factional and political, they were also physical and in times of a war of devastation. The road and its executives were not only contending with straitened finances and the business panics brought on by the war, they were daily faced with the physical destruction, and almost irreparable devastation of the whole or at least the most important part, of the system and its equipment. No other railway system in the United States has ever faced what the great Maryland system faced for four years, from 1861 to 1865, and yet through the great ability, industry and wisdom of John W. Garrett, it came out in the end, triumphant. It was scarred and torn, it was broken, and in places dilapidated, but it never failed to measure up what was expected of it—and in a few short months after peace was declared, and the war was over, Mr. Garrett was able to announce to the country that his road was ready to resume its position as one of the great transportation systems, between the Western states and the ports on the coast of the sea. He had done his duty to his country, his state and his city—he had done much to help preserve the unity, and restore the harmony between the contending and belligerent states—and now he and his forces were ready to go to work, to restore the prosperity of the once devastated lands.

And he went to work, and for nineteen years, he was untiring in his energy in his efforts to restore what had been lost, and to add to the vast improvements which were taking place in all parts of the land.

CHAPTER XIII.

MR. GARRETT literally wore himself out and died before his time, working to make the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad the great and successful public work it became before his death, and what it has measurably become since it has been taken in charge by the present able management—but the foundation was laid by Mr. Garrett, and while others have carried on the work through all the years since the death of that great Marylander; the foundation was laid by him and to his zeal and foresight, the great and beneficial results, which are before the people, today are largely due.

The nerve-racking and soul-rending work done by Mr. Garrett during the Civil War, told severely on him, and this was followed by the refinancing and rehabilitating the road after the war. He worked literally all the time, and never stopped. He was tired out, and in September, 1882, when Herbert Spencer, in opinion of many people the greatest of all modern philosophers, was in the United States, he visited Mr. Garrett as his guest at Montebello. In his autobiography (page 472, vol. 2), he wrote as follows of the great Maryland Railway Builder.

"Some years before I had met in England, Mr. J. W. Garrett, President of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway. He lived in Baltimore during the winter, and in summer, at his residence, Montebello, a few miles out. We drove over and by pressure, I was induced to break through my rule of taking up my abode at an hotel. We spent at Montebello five pleasant and beneficial days; lounging in the garden, driving, and on one occasion being taken down the upper part of Chesapeake Bay, by our host, in a private steamer. As a relaxation, he had taken to breeding horses, and was proud of his stud. He had many men engaged in making a private race course, on which to test the speed of his colts.

"Mr. Garrett exhibited the results so common in America, of overwork. When I saw him in England I supposed he was ten years or more my senior but I found to my astonishment that he was my junior. To the satisfaction of his wife, I began to preach to him the gospel of relaxation—a gospel on which, a few weeks later, I enlarged in public at greater length.

"Poor man! he did not live long to carry on either work or amusement. Some three years after, Mrs. Garrett, thrown from her carriage, died in a few days, and he chronically out of health, succumbed to the shock."

Mr. Garrett had other troubles and disappointments, which wore on him, and really did much to hasten his death. The troubles and worries incident to the management of the Railway he could overcome—his energy in all matters of a purely business character were boundless, and as long as Johns Hopkins lived, he had a valuable aid in that great financier, who was always ready to work along with him in any matter, especially in all that effected the great Railway system, to the development of which both had devoted the most active years of their lives. All during the Civil War period they had stood together in their successful efforts to prevent the secession of Maryland, and the preservation of the Union, and it is a strange fact that there has been little mention in the history of that soul-stirring time, of the great services of these two able men, in behalf of the preservation of their country's unity. The writers of that time, especially those who were on the ground, were practically all of northern birth and education, and were never willing to give any one who was born south of the Mason and Dixon line, credit for the slightest service to the Union cause—in their prejudiced view of the case, no one but northerners ever were loyal to the Union, and no Marylander especially, deserved any credit for what was done to aid in the preservation of the Union. *While the real truth is that had it not been for the devotion of Mr. Garrett, Mr. Hopkins, and two or three other Marylanders, who were firm in their loyalty to the Union, the Confederates and their secession sympathizers would have secured possession of Washington, and established the southern capital there, and it is a problem to solve now as to what effect this action would have had on the progress of the war.* That it would have delayed, probably by years, the ultimate victory of the Union cause, is not a matter of doubt.

And yet, the history of that time, as it has been written by the learned historians of the north, has made practically no mention of these facts—it is silent on what was well-known at the time. No credit was to be given to any man south of the line, for any vital service to the Union cause.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE last years of Mr. Garrett's life, in fact, from the death of his lifelong friend, Johns Hopkins, in 1873, to his own death eleven years later, in 1884, were filled with sorrow and disappointment, and the impression which was made on Herbert Spencer, as to his age, was evident to all those who came in contact with him.

He had practically overcome all the difficulties incident to the results of the Civil War. The Company was in excellent financial condition. The aid rendered by Johns Hopkins, in the great panic of 1873, had placed the Baltimore & Ohio at the top of the list among financiers—it was one of the two or three great railway corporations which had met all its obligations on time, while in all parts of the country the transportation companies were passing their dividends, and, in not a few instances defaulting on the interest on their bonds, and issuing script to pay their current expenses, and the number of receiverships among the railways, was greater than at any time in the history of the country, either before or since that time of trial and hardship to all sorts and conditions of business. To all outward appearances, Mr. Garrett had reached the pinnacle of success. He had piloted his corporation through the destructive and disastrous years of the Civil War, where he was obliged to bear the brunt of the contending armies on both sides. He had earned the gratitude of the victors, for the part he had played in the protection of the national capital, and the preservation of the Union. After the great conflict was over, he had, through great difficulty, by his untiring energy and ability, rehabilitated and reorganized the almost wrecked and destroyed roadway, and had renewed the worn-out and almost useless equipment, and placed the great highway, once more at the service of the manufacturers and producers of the country.

He had piloted the Company safely through the two greatest financial panics in the history of the land, those of 1868 and 1873. He had weathered the serious labor troubles brought about by the great strikes of 1877, and his success in all that he had undertaken, since he took charge of the property as President in 1858,

had far surpassed that of any other railway official in the whole land, since the first railway track was laid out at Relay, and the first train was moved out to Ellicott's Mills. He was looked upon as one of the great railway kings of the age, and as one of the greatest of all developers of the resources of the nation.

He was the most powerful man in Maryland, and one of the most powerful men in the whole country. From the seacoast, at Baltimore, out over the Alleghanies to Pittsburgh and the Ohio Valley, out through the Middle West through Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana to Chicago, down to Cincinnati, on the Ohio, across to St. Louis, his lines and connections extended, and with its intersecting and branch roads, into West Virginia and Kentucky, his sway over the transportation of produce and people was almost absolute, in its character, over millions of acres, thousands of square miles, and hundreds of thousands of people.

He was practically absolute in Baltimore and Maryland. His word was law in his native city and state. He made and unmade Governors, United States Senators, Mayors of Baltimore, Judges of the highest courts, and held in absolute control the sessions of the legislature, when that body convened at Annapolis. It was one of the complaints, feebly voiced at times by some of the so-called reformers of that day, that no man could be elected or appointed Judge in any court, from the lowest up to the dignified occupants of the Appellate Court, at Annapolis, who had not received the approval of Mr. Garrett, and, it was common talk at that time that Mr. Garrett not only controlled all those in the ordinary administrative service of the city and state, but that his influence over the courts was equally great—and that it was a notorious fact that no important case in any of the courts of the state, was ever decided against the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company.

And yet, with all this power, derived from his long years of triumphant success, at a time when he ought to have been at his happiest and best, Mr. Garrett had become prematurely old, and, it was common knowledge among his friends, that he was a thoroughly disappointed and unhappy man.

CHAPTER XV.

MR. GARRETT and his wife were thoroughly congenial, and their devotion to each other was looked upon, by all those who knew them, as ideal in its character. Their greatest comfort in their declining years was their daughter, Mary, who was all that a loving child should be, and when her mother met with the accident which caused her death (which was referred to in a former chapter) her devotion to her father seemed to increase in its intensity, but the shock to Mr. Garrett was of such a character, and his worn-out physical and mental condition, really brought on his death.

The great disappointment in the life of this remarkable man, resulted from the failure of his sons to come up to his expectations. His one great desire for several years, was to have the railway business continued in his family—to have the work to which he had devoted twenty-six years of his life, carried on by one of his sons—to hand it down, when it had reached the high water mark of success and efficiency, to his son Robert—and to that end he had planned for years—but he realized before his death, that his plans would probably meet with failure after he had gone. He had planned far ahead—in fact had he left a successor of equal capacity and energy to himself, the Baltimore & Ohio system would easily have become, in a few years, the greatest and most powerful railway system in the world. He had planned the New York extension years before he died. He had planned a southern extension, in fact southern extensions—one of which would have formed a direct line to New Orleans, and another line down the seaboard states to Florida, and then across the gulf states to New Orleans, and on through Louisiana, and Texas, to the borders of Mexico, and then across New Mexico and Arizona, to Southern California, and up the Pacific Coast to San Francisco. And had he lived, and retained his vigor, there is no doubt but that he would have carried out all these plans. He had laid out all these ideas of what he wished to do, before certain English capitalists, by whom he was held in high esteem, and he felt sure that all that he desired could be carried out—and he left all his future work as a legacy for his son to complete, and gave him, in detail, instructions as to what he desired to be done after his death.

A few years before he died, when he began to feel the effects of overwork and worry, and realized that his health was failing, he told one of his intimate friends, with whom he was talking about what he had planned should be done, that he feared that his son would never be able to carry out this work to a conclusion. He said neither of the boys had shown any real disposition to work—they were more interested in having a good time, in devoting their energies to pleasure, than to business. He hoped, however, that when the responsibility was placed on them they might develop the old Garrett spirit, and turn out all right, but the fear that they might fail, haunted him day and night, and he could not overcome it. He had devoted his life to this great work, he had made gigantic plans for the future development of the system, and the disappointment at the prospect that it would fail, was so great that it was preying on his mind all the time. And there is no doubt that this hastened his death. He remarked once to the late Mrs. John H. B. Latrobe, who was especially fond of his daughter Mary, "if the boys were only like Mary, what a satisfaction it would be to me. I have often wished in these last few years, that Mary was a boy. I know she could carry on my work, after I am gone."

The history of the Company after Mr. Garrett's death will be given in later chapters, will show how his worst fears were realized, and the great plans which he had formulated went to ruin—and practically carried the Baltimore & Ohio down to ruin—at least to the verge of ruin, and its slow rehabilitation and its resumption of its old time prominence and efficiency, were brought about by men, and interests, to whom the name of the really great man who was the architect of it all, had become merely a tradition—and today, this really great constructive genius, who in his time, did more for his city and state, than anyone else in her history, is only a legend, except to those of us who are old enough to remember what he was and what he did, and we are few in number and are fast passing away. Statues have been raised in the public squares, and parks, to all sorts of nonentities, and almost unknown mediocrities, but none to the man who built the great railway system, and did more than all the others for the development of the business and industrial progress and

prosperity of the city and state. He is without a memorial in any part of the town, and the name of Garrett, is practically unknown and unheard of, except when brought forth by an ancient like the writer of these sketches. Here is the place where his name should be known and honored by all.

CHAPTER XVI.

MR. GARRETT died in 1884. He had completed twenty-six years of service as President of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, and had built that great system up from small beginning until it had become one of the great transportation lines of the continent. He had piloted it safely through the trying and devastating four years of the Civil War period, and had earned the gratitude of the nation for his services to the Union Government—services which were greater in many ways than those of any other one man who was not officially connected with the administration—and, with the possible exception of Secretary Chase next in value in the early days of the war to those of President Lincoln himself. And had he been from one of the Northern States, his name would have been heralded throughout the country, and have gone down in the written history of the nation as one of the saviours of American liberty. As he was a Marylander, was a native and citizen of a state south of the Mason and Dixon line, he is rarely mentioned by the historians of the period, practically all of whom have written from a biased Northern standpoint, and who have in no important instance given credit to a single citizen of any of the border or Southern States for any valuable service to the nation during all that period of time. The real truth is that a great part of the patriotic work which was done in favor of the Union cause at the beginning of the war was performed by men in the border states, and, had it not been for this work by loyal Marylanders, Virginians and Kentuckians, the war would probably have been greatly prolonged, the destructive devastation would have been much greater, and would have extended far into the states north of the line and the whole result of the war might possibly have been a compromise and a partial victory for the South.

There is no doubt but that Mr. Garrett was greatly disappointed at the utter lack of recognition his services received after the close of the war. The only really prominent men connected with the administration who gave any indication from time to time that they appreciated his work were President Lincoln and Secretaries Chase and Stanton—and these outstanding fig-

ures of the time all paid tribute to what he had done. Had Mr. Lincoln lived there is little doubt but that he would have given full credit to the great Railway Executive for all that he had done. But the assassination of the President by a Marylander, and the fact that practically all those who were supposed to be in the plot to aid the assassin were Marylanders, so embittered popular sentiment in the Northern States, that they could see nothing but treason and hostility to the Union cause and all connected with it on the part of any inhabitant of that commonwealth. All this feeling of suspicion and hostility has biased the writers who have chronicled the events of the war. And even to the present time, the historians who were not even born when the war took place, show the same feeling. Not one of them, so far as the writer has been able to discover, has given any credit to the work done by any native of this state for loyalty to the Union, and up to the time of Mr. Garrett's death in 1884, if there had been, even the merest mention, of this great and patriotic work in behalf of the Union, the writer has been unable to find it out.

All this added to his disappointment and unhappiness in the last years of his life. He often spoke of this neglect of his services to his old friend, the late John H. B. Latrobe, and bitterly resented the injustice of the writers of that time. And he once told Mrs. Latrobe that he had prevented the capture of Wash ington on three different occasions, by Marylanders and Virginians, by the promptness of his action, and the loyalty of his employees. He had worked day and night for weeks and months at times to thwart the plans of the southern sympathizers and their allies to surprise and capture the National Capital. He had prevented at one time an uprising which was planned by the Secessionists even after the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln. He had much to do with the prevention of the assassination of the President-elect while on his way through Maryland to the Capital before the inauguration, and he was one of those who did most to defeat the plot to kill Mr. Lincoln while on his way with President Buchanan up the Avenue, to take the oath of office on March 4th, 1861.

These things preyed on his mind. He realized, as many others have done that the public is usually ungrateful, and, together

with his domestic misfortunes, the untimely death of his wife, and the fear that his sons would not prove faithful to the trust he had left them to perform, he died, prematurely, a bitterly disappointed and unhappy man.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE DEATH of Mr. Garrett was the greatest calamity which happened to the Baltimore & Ohio after the rehabilitation of the system at the close of the Civil War. The effects were not immediately apparent, but it was not long before it became evident that the strong, vigorous and dominating personality, which had directed the management for twenty-six years, which had virtually built it up to its greatest efficiency and prosperity, which had piloted it through the storms and devastating stress of four years of war, was gone, and that a slow but certain decline was beginning, which, after many years, devitalized the great organization which Mr. Garrett had built up, and led it into bankruptcy and temporary ruin.

Robert Garrett succeeded his father as President of the Railway Company after his death in 1884. He was young, vigorous, highly educated (a graduate of Princeton) and there was every incentive before him, and every reason to believe, so far as the outside observer could determine, that the business of the corporation would be carried on with the same force, skill and vigor, that had characterized it during the twenty-six years of the administration of the elder Garrett. The fact is in certain quarters it was believed that the accession of the younger Garrett to the Presidency of the Company, would bring on an increased effort to enlarge the system and extend it to sections not heretofore contemplated, and make it what the elder Garrett had planned, the dominating railway system of the entire country.

The corporation was in excellent condition at that time. Its credit was at the highest point—its securities were considered gilt-edged—its operating force was organized in the best and most efficient manner, and the business was all that could be handled—and it was handled with promptness and care. In fact Mr. Garrett had left everything in the best possible condition in every respect, and the Baltimore & Ohio ranked as one of the greatest, most effective and highest classed railways in the United States, and a brilliant and successful future was predicted for it in all parts of the country, and in the markets of the world. And while the death of the elder Garrett was deplored, by those

who knew him, and knew what he had done and was capable of doing, greater things were expected of the son, and the people of Baltimore, who had a greater personal interest in the welfare of the enterprise, as well as a greater financial interest in it than all others, were filled with hopes at the prospect—they believed that under the new direction, the prosperity of the city and state would be greatly enhanced, and that the commerce of the Port of Baltimore would be developed with greater force than ever before, and, that the city would soon become the leading shipping point for exports and imports on the Atlantic Seaboard. And for a time it seemed as if all these glowing expectations would be realized. The new executive head of the Railway Company took hold of his duties with a vigor, energy, and ability, that really surprised everybody—especially those who were among his personal intimates—and it appeared as if the prebodings of his father would not be realized—that the young man would do all that his fondest hopes desired, and that the responsibility placed upon him, had brought him to a realizing sense of what was expected of him, and that he would really make good, and would prove capable, in every way, of carrying out the extensive plans mapped out for him by his father, in the last years of his life.

No man ever entered upon a great responsibility by inheritance, in this country, with more encouragement on the part of the public, than Robert Garrett. He was written up, and specialized in the newspapers, at great length from one end of the land to the other. His entry into his inheritance was hailed as the beginning of a new and progressive era, in the management of the Baltimore & Ohio, and the plans of the young executive were expected to bring to his home town and state, greater prosperity than ever before. His advent was hailed with satisfaction on all sides, and no man in the city and state of his birth, was ever endowed with greater popularity and influence in a few short weeks—and there was every indication at the start that it was all deserved and that the great expectations were to be realized in the fullness of time.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE HIGHLY organized and very practical political machine in Maryland, which had its origin in the shrewd and fertile mind of William Pinckney Whyte, and later on its fruition in the unscrupulous and thoroughly efficient management of Arthur Pue Gorman, who was Governor Whyte's pupil and later on dethroned and succeeded him as head of the machine, was the rock on which the Baltimore & Ohio was wrecked and almost destroyed. As long as the elder Garrett was in control, he used the political machine as one of his chief assets, and, for a time even after his death, the alliance was not broken, and peace continued greatly to the advantage of the corporation, but also to the advantage of the machine—but the alliance was not of long duration. It was broken up with a crash which resounded throughout the state, and did not end until the machine was badly broken and dilapidated, the great Railway Corporation almost a wreck, Robert Garrett was dead, Gorman for a time dethoned, and practically all those who had taken part in what was considered a great Maryland political and financial catastrophy, had been eliminated from the stage, and the great railway system had not only passed from the control of the Garretts and their Maryland allies, but had ceased to be, what it had been from its inception, a purely Maryland and Baltimore institution. Strangers to the state, interests which knew not the Garretts and the tragic history of the man who had built this great system which was the pride and glory of Maryland, were in control, and are still in control, and the Baltimore & Ohio is now one of the great systems of National transportation, and while it is still the chief factor in the development and posperity of Baltimore and Maryland, it is no longer the local institution, which it was when it was turned over to the management of the younger Garrett, who proved to be unequal to the duty handed down to him by his father in 1884.

There can be no doubt of the fact, after careful review of the whole period from 1884, when Robert Garrett became head of the corporation, through all the years of struggle on the part of the men who had charge of the work, up to the death of John K.

Cowen and Arthur P. Gorman, that the control for supremacy between these two really able men, had more to do with the demoralization and ultimate wrecking of the Baltimore & Ohio than all other matters combined. This great struggle lasted for practically twenty years. It began in 1885, when Gorman was the issue in his contest for reelection to the United States Senate, although there had been preliminary skirmishes before that time.

At this time Mr. Cowen was really the dominating influence in the councils of the Railway Company. He was from Ohio, he had been associated with Robert Garrett in their student days at Princeton University, and the friendship between these two men was of the strongest sort—in fact Mr. Cowen's influence over the railway executive was dominating—for the time the great lawyer, for Mr. Cowen was a great lawyer as well as a great man in other ways, really dominated the Baltimore & Ohio down almost to the minutest details of its management; Mr. Garrett would follow his advice in all that he did.

Mr. Cowen looked upon Senator Gorman as an evil genius, not only in public and political affairs, but also in business and all other matters. He considered the Gorman influence a blight on everything the Senator became connected with, and he determined to bring about his overthrow, and aided by a coterie of the ablest men in the city and state, he started out on his crusade which really did not end until the hand of death had removed them both from the scene of strife. And, backed by the vast resources of the great railway corporation which stood ready to obey his call, he and his colleagues opened up the war—the result of which, after many years, was a batfered and badly broken up railway corporation, a more or less crippled political machine, a large number of political and business funerals, the battle at one time in favor of Mr. Cowen and the temporary defeat of Mr. Gorman, and, at the conclusion of the last great fight, the final crushing out of Mr. Cowen, and the triumphant return of Gorman to the Senate for a fourth term; a triumph which was soon followed by the death of the Senator, and the end of the war which had lasted more than twenty years, and had left in its wake more destructive effects than were often caused by real physical contests.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE FIRST great fight, in which the Baltimore & Ohio entered with all its force and vigor, was that of 1885, in which every effort was made to dethrone Senator Gorman, and defeat him in his desire to secure an election to the Senate for a second term, and the opening battle took place in the election for Mayor of Baltimore City—the City election taking place one week before the state election—and it was realized by Mr. Cowen and his aides, that a victory over the Gorman-Rasin Ring, in Baltimore, would bring about such demoralization in the ranks of those who were called the regulars, that it would be easy to carry the anti-Gorman forces through to victory in the entire State, the next week.

Baltimore City had seen many strenuous contests in the past, but never one more dramatic, and, on the result of which more depended, than that of 1885.

On the one side were to be found the old line element of the democratic party—the men who had been practically sidetracked, in politics, ever since Mr. Gorman had defeated William Pinckney Whyte, for the Senate in 1880. The candidate of the reformers, as they were called, was George William Brown, Chief Judge of the Supreme Bench, who had been Mayor of the City at the opening of the Civil War. He was nominated as a fusion candidate, and endorsed by the republicans, and all those democrats who were opposed to the domination of the old Gorman-Rasin machine—among those who were supporting Judge Brown, were practically all the men who, at that time were such democrats as General Bradley T. Johnson, who had led the Maryland troops in the Confederate Army during the Civil War, Severn Teackle Wallis, easily the leader of the State Bar, and noted as one of the greatest orators in the South, who had been imprisoned by the Union authorities for treason in the early days of the Civil War; William L. Marbury, who had sprung into fame almost over night as a lawyer and orator of the first class—and most others of prominence, high character, and unusual ability in the professional, business and social life of the city—and state—and back of all, as the real backbone and

great bulwark of the anti-Gorman, anti-ring fight, were the great figures of John K. Cowen, Robert Garrett, and the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, with its army of officials, employees of all ranks, and its treasury—all working night and day to overthrow the great political machine, with which the powerful railway interests had been allied for years, during the life of John W. Garrett, who had helped build it up, and who had utilized it practically up to the day of his death.

On the other side, backing James Hodges, the ring or organization candidate, the man whose defeat or victory was expected to make or break the power of Mr. Gorman, was allied the city machine, which was then in the zenith of its power, and to which belonged practically all the active party workers in the city—the great lawyers were with two exceptions, all against them, but Mr. Gorman, at this time, showed more than his usual skill and strategy—and, to offset the defection of the powerful Baltimore & Ohio Railway influence, he made an alliance with the Great Pennsylvania Railway Company, which, up to that time, had never taken any part in the political affairs of the state. It had always remained quiescent in campaigns, and, so far as railway and other corporation affairs were concerned, the Baltimore & Ohio had been supreme in Maryland.

To offset Mr. Cowen and his aides, to counteract the powerful influence of the Baltimore & Ohio and its coterie of great lawyers, Mr. Gorman threw into the breach, Mr. Bernard Carter, next to Mr. Cowen, a great lawyer, and orator and the, until that time, unknown power of the Pennsylvania Railway Company, which had been gradually and quietly building up an influence, not only throughout the state but also in Baltimore City, and this contest between the Gorman machine, and the so-called reformers, became in reality, a battle to the last ditch between the two great railway corporations, the Baltimore & Ohio and the Pennsylvania, the one a thoroughly Maryland institution, built, owned and managed by Marylanders, the other a foreign organization, whose only interest in the city—and state, was derived from the facts that Maryland was a highway to aid in the increase of the commercial supremacy of Philadelphia, and incidently to pick up, whatever it could in the way of Maryland business, where that could be done without extra exertion and extra expense.

The battle line thus formed in the fall of 1885, was a great one, for on its issue depended not only the welfare of the industrial, but also the prosperity and welfare of great business and corporate interests as well, the effects of which were to last for more than a generation. It was to be a battle of giants.

CHAPTER XX.

WHILE the campaign of 1885, especially the contest for the control of Baltimore City, was ostensibly a fight to overthrow the Gorman-Rasin Ring, which had absolute power in both the city and state governments, it was really a contest between the two great railway corporations, the Baltimore & Ohio, which had been practically absolute in Maryland affairs for a generation, and the Pennsylvania Company, which desired to dethrone its rival, and gain the position of supremacy—and the fight became bitterly personal, and men and character were handled by both sides without gloves. No limit was placed on the speakers and writers, and men of prominence, heretofore of high character and unblemished reputation as citizens, were villified, abused, and called all sorts of names, all sorts of sinister and even criminal motives were ascribed to them, and the meetings, which were held day and night in all parts of the city, were lurid with abuse and villification on both sides. There were no neutrals in that fight. The reformers, as they called themselves, had the best of the situation so far as the ability and character of their advocates were concerned, and, backed by the Baltimore & Ohio, and kindred business interests, with a force of the leaders of the bar, and prominent business men of all classes, they invaded every nook and corner of the city, and nothing was talked about, or even thought about, but the campaign that was going on. On the side of the Ring were arrayed a large proportion of the city officials, the practical politicians, and few, a very few of the leaders of the bar, most prominent among whom were Bernard Carter, Attorney for the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, and the late John P. Poe, afterward Attorney General of the State.

The vilest and most sordid motives were attributed to the leaders of both sides. Men who were supposed to be of irreproachable character, on the one side were openly accused of all sorts of iniquities by the partisans of the other side, and fights were frequent, and at times bloody in character. And all the energy and influence of the two great railway companies in Maryland, were arrayed on opposite sides, fighting each other

as if it were to be a battle to the death, and as if the very existence of these two great railway organizations were dependent on the issue. The Baltimore & Ohio, which had been the real backbone of the old democratic organization as long as John W. Garrett lived, broke completely away from it. Under the leadership of John K. Cowen the great Maryland corporation bent every effort to destroy its old-time ally, which it had used so profitably for many years, and backed a heterogeneous alliance of dissatisfied democrats, inefficient and untrustworthy republicans, and a rabble of venal floaters, which had been bought up, but which, in the end, sold out to the more skilful and unscrupulous leaders of the regular Democratic Ring.

The whole campaign was full of dramatic and startling surprises. Mr. Cowen, in his scathing and fiery eloquence, not only attacked Senator Gorman, and the democratic leaders, by name, and held them up to the derision and scorn of the people, but he also made a violent attack on the Baltimore *Sun,* which was supporting the Ring. The *Sun* replied, and for days the controversy wet on. So far as the argument was concerned, Mr. Cowen and his side had by far the best of it. They not only had the glaring facts to back up their accusations of corruption and fraud on the part of their opponents, but to all appearances they had the popular sympathy, for there is now no doubt of the fact, the majority of the conservative, law abiding citizens, had become weary of the arrogance, corruption, and tyranny of the old corrupt organization, which was under the absolute control of two of the ablest and most unscrupulous men that ever dominated a city and state, in any part of the land. There never was any question of Mr. Cowen's honesty and sincerity in that or any other fight—indeed he was too honest to cope with such men who never claimed to be governed by honest or praiseworthy motives in any connection they ever had with public affairs. And many of the men who were allied with the great railway lawyer in this fight were also actuated by the highest and most patriotic motives. Others, however, and they comprised the greatest portion of the Anti-Ring forces, were not actuated by principle in anything that they did—not a few of them had been cast out by the organization; others were disappointed office seekers, who were anxious to get even with their opponents. While many others were actuated by the desire to get some of the money

which was being poured out like water by the reformers and their allies—the greater part of which was furnished by the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, that organization finally realizing that the contest had become more than a struggle between two political factions and parties—that it was really the beginning of a gigantic fight for supremacy between two corporations—a fight between the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, striving to hold its power in the state where it came into existence and which it had dominated for many years, and the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, which was determined to wrest that domination away from its rival, and assume the power itself.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE contest for the control of the City of Baltimore, on which depended the control of the entire state, and the re-election of Mr. Gorman to the United States Senate, ended in confusion and tumult, with both sides fighting for votes, regardless of means and regardless of expense. Money flowed like water, and votes were bought by both sides in the most open and brazen way. Reformers who had passed the best years of their lives fighting for purity and decency in politics, threw aside all moral and other restraints, and bought votes by every means possible, just as their opponents of the Machine were doing, and the city on the last days of the campaign, and especially an election day, became the scene of a veritable saturnalia of corruption and rottenness. It had at last been realized by the Baltimore & Ohio Railway officials, that it was a fight to the finish for the control of the city and state—a control which that great corporation had held, almost unquestioned, for nearly half a century, and which their powerful rival, already entrenched in the control of the neighboring State of Pennsylvania, was fighting to add to their already great possessions. So that in the end, the contest in Maryland in 1885, became a real struggle for supremacy between two great system of transportation, instead of a battle for supremacy between two great political parties.

In the midst of this tumultuous and turbulent, acrimonious and at times, desperate struggle, in the forefront on the side of the Fusion or Anti-Ring forces, was found John K. Cowen, General Counsel of the Maryland Railway Corporation, a real giant among men, not a few of whom were also giants in ability and force, but Mr. Cowen at that time intellectually, physically, in courage and all other qualities, towered above them all—even such men as Severn Teackle Wallis, Gen. Bradley T. Johnson, William L. Marbury (then rising into great prominence), the latter of whom alone remains as a partaker in that great fight.

The great railroad lawyer was then at the apex of his career, and in the prime of his manhood and ability, both physically and intellectually. He was a born fighter, and he made a great fight. Like all the others he threw scruples to the winds. He

was fighting the Devil, he said in one of his speeches, and the only weapon with which to fight Satan was his own weapon, fire, and fire was used on both sides—but political fire was a weapon with which the old regulars of the Democratic Gorman-Rasin organization were familiar, while Mr. Cowen and the reformers were amateurs in its use.

With few exceptions on the side of the Fusionists and their allies, the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, and a large proportion of the financiers and business men of Baltimore, were also to be found practically all the representatives of the old Maryland-before-the war aristocracy—the people whose fathers had made Maryland great and famous from Colonial times down through the period of the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, and even the war between the states, from 1861 to 1865. These people resented the dominance of Senator Gorman who, had overthrown the old-time régime of the Maryland land-holding, slaveholding, aristocracy, and, to use the expression of one of the leaders of that class, "the scum has risen to the top and now wants to smother everyone." In order to overthrow the domination of "the scum," as they called them, they were ready to ally themselves with the Republicans, the negroes and anybody else no matter who or what they were, so long as they aided in the restoration of the representatives of the old family régime to power. These were the people whose forefathers had fostered and built the Baltimore & Ohio Railway, who had owned and managed the banks, who controlled the great mercantile houses, who had built and sent out the ships which had made Baltimore and Maryland famous for more than a century, and who had been everything in the city and the commonwealth from the earliest times. and whose sway had never been challenged or denied. They, and their fathers, had been the governors of the state, the mayors of the city, the senators of the United States, the members of the House of Representatives, the judges, and who believed they had a hereditary right to all these places of honor and authority. And Gorman and his crowd of followers had not only challenged their right to these things, but had taken away from them some of the greatest of these hereditary honors, and were preparing to take away others. Truly the stirring up of the political pool had brought the scum to the surface, and that scum was threatening to smother everything connected with the old régime. As a

consequence, all these heterogeneous elements banded themselves together back of Mr. Cowen and the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, in the great contest for supremacy—against what was called "the common herd," back by the powerful, but alien rival of the Maryland Corporation, the great Pennsylvania Railway of the North.

And acting under the influence of Mr. Cowen, ready to do all that he wished was Robert Garrett, who has succeeded his father, the late John W. Garrett, as President of the Baltimore & Ohio, and whose interest in the fight from many standpoints was greater than any other individual or set of individuals.

CHAPTER XXII.

BALTIMORE City has witnessed, in its long history of nearly two centuries, many great and stirring political contests, but never one on which so much depended as on that fought out in the fall of 1885. In the early days of the nineteenth century, mobs ravaged the town during nearly every campaign, riots were frequent, people were shot down in cold blood over struggles for partisan victory, often where the stakes at issue were neither great as to honor, or of much value from a financial standpoint. Houses were burned by mobs in their mad partisan fury, but the issues in those early days were largely based on personal matters, and were generally brought about as a result of the work of leaders, or of factions represented by certain leaders—but this campaign for control of the city and state government, in 1885, was of an entirely different sort, and few of those engaged in it had any real and accurate understanding of what it all meant, and what it was all about, for it brought a new issue into the public life of the city and state, and developed new forces, led by new men—it was a fight, the echoes of which have hardly died away at the present time (1927), and the results of which have had such an effect on the political and business life of the state, that those who are old enough to recall the events and the men of that day, are constantly reminded of what was done then, and what the acts of those days, and the generation which followed them, have brought about in the commonwealth.

The men who were in the centre of the stage then are all gone—not one of those who were leaders on either side is now alive—the nearest living approach to a prominent participator in those fights, is William L. Marbury, and he was too young then to be a leader—while he was active and capable in the aid he gave to his side, he was no more than a lieutenant. Cowen is gone and his great rival Gorman is gone. Bernard Carter, John P. Poe, Teackle Wallis, Bradley Johnson, William T. Hamilton, Ferdinand Latrobe, Isaac Freeman Rasin, and practically all the able men who engaged each other in battle array, men whose names were household words in the city and state, have all been

gathered to their fathers, and are no more than spectacular traditions to those of the present day, except a mere handful of ancients, who, like the writer of these sketches, lags, in the opinion of many, superfluous on the stage. One by one, all have gone, Robert Garrett was among the first to depart, and the name of the great family, which had so much to do with the development of Baltimore and Maryland for more than a generation, is rarely heard in connection with the state, in the affairs of which the older Garrett took such a dominating part. The others are names, no more, names which the few who can remember them in the days of their glory, may endeavor to use to conjure with, but they conjure no longer, a new generation has taken their place—a generation of purely practical, money-loving worshippers of mammon whose contests are waged in back rooms, or on the upper floors of some of the vast and towering temples of mammon, which rise almost to the skies in all parts of the fast overgrowing, sordid town. The battles for political and financial conquests and supremacy, which were fought out in the open, in the days prior to and several years after the great railway corporation and political battle of 1885, are now fought in the dark, in the secrecy of closets and clubs—the men who are now doing the work, are schemers and manipulators, and real battles are no longer fought. Like the battles of the great war, recently closed, the weapons instead of being used in hand-to-hand contests of man to man, with sword, spear, battle ax and gun, are poison gas, and the attacks are made in the dark under the ground, or in the clouds of the air after night.

And under this management, and under such circumstances the fight came to a close—filled with abuse, personal, political and financial; charges of fraud, dishonesty and all sorts of corruption and rottenness, were bandied forth, from side to side. Not a man of any prominence on either side, escaped. The leaders on both sides, were openly and violently blackguarded, and villified, not only on the hustings but also in the newspapers. Charges of gross immorality and dishonesty, were hurled at men whose names had before that time been synonyms for all that was noblest and best in the citizenship of the city and state—no one escaped, and liar, fraud, rascal, scoundrel, hypocrite, and even thief and assassin, were terms in common use, as they were applied to leaders on one side or the other, by their opponents.

It was a fight never to be forgotten by those who were here to see it, and its effects are evident today, in the maintenance of family and political feuds among the children of those who took part in it, and in some parts of the city and state, the old factional alignments, which originated in that memorable contest, are kept up among the descendants and successors of the men who were active in the affair of 1885.

And as election day drew near at that memorable epoch, the conflict for supremacy between those two great corporations, the one backed by the efficient, and thoroughly capable Gorman-Rasin political machine, the other backed by a great multitude of all sorts and conditions of men, full of zeal and enthusiasm, but disorganized, and working together without efficient system—like raw militia against the trained regulars of the Gorman-Rasin forces.

And during the whole contest, Mr. Rasin, whose skill was greater than that of any other leader, seeing that he was probably outnumbered by his foes—placidly said to those of his men who were fearful: "Do not worry about it—give me the window, and I don't care who has the votes." And Mr. Rasin had the window.

CHAPTER XXIII.

"GIVE ME the window, and I don't care who has the votes," said Mr. Rasin, and that was the key to the whole situation. He *had* the window, he controlled the election officials in every precinct in the town. No matter how great the majority opposed to his side might be, when the polls opened, and when the votes were all cast and counted, he could make the returns to suit himself—he could figure out a majority for his side in due, legal form, no matter if the ballots actually deposited in the boxes, if properly counted and registered, would show several thousands in excess of those cast for his candidates. The regulars, as they called themselves, that is the leaders who knew what had been done in former years, knew what could be done again—they had great confidence in Mr. Rasin—they knew if he made up his mind that his ticket should be elected, legally or otherwise, it would win—there need be no doubt of that.

But the fight continued to rage with unabated vigor on both sides. Roused by Mr. Cowen and his allies, the Baltimore & Ohio interests at last became alive to their danger. They realized that all the forces of hostility to the continued domination of that great corporation, and its allied interests in Maryland, as well as elsewhere, were arrayed against them. They also realized that Senator Gorman, since his break with them after the death of John W. Garrett, and his realization that Mr. Cowen and his forces were determined to eliminate him and his methods from the public life of the city and state, was engaged in a life and death struggle, not only to secure his reelection to the United States Senate, but also to retain his leadership of the Democratic party organization. If the city election were lost, if the regulars failed to elect Mr. Hodges Mayor of Baltimore, he knew that Rasin and his forces would join the winning side, and that there would be a realignment all along the line, and that he would be left out in the cold, a political derelict with all his power taken away from him.

In order to watch, as well as take part in the direction of affairs, the Senator took up his headquarters in Barnum's Hotel, then the political center of Maryland just as Rennert's is at the

present time. And day and night he worked, waited, and watched the game that was going on around him, and of which he himself was the real center, and on the result of which depended, not only his own political future, really all his future, for his whole career was political, practical politics, and nothing else. He realized that if Hodges should be defeated, it would be useless to fight longer, that this first battle of the war, would determine the result, that the war would be practically over. And he knew, and the Baltimore & Ohio Railway people knew, and the Pennsylvania Railway people knew, that in the background, purposely kept in the background by both sides, the real ground for all this, tumultuous, enraged and desperate struggle, was not the election of either Judge Brown or Mr. Hodges, as Mayor of Baltimore,—they were no more than mere pawns in the game—it was the continuance of the supremacy of the great Maryland Railway Corporation over the business, transportation, and political affairs of the city and state, and the curbing of the rising power of the rival company which was managed, owned in, and devoted to the development and further supremacy of the City of Philadelphia. And yet, to all outward appearances, the contest was purely local—a contest for the control of the city government of Baltimore, and the distribution of the petty offices, and other perquisites incident thereto. Few imagined what was the real ground work of the struggle—but Mr. Gorman knew, and Mr. Cowen knew, and, while others may have surmised some of these things, their surmises were indefinite—they had no certain data on which to base any real knowledge of the true state of affairs. And those who did know, no matter on what side they were aligned, were too wise to make public the facts at the basis of the fight. And it is a strange fact, that the real truth of all these things did not dawn on the general public for years—it was not until the Baltimore & Ohio was practically a wreck, that it was in the hands of receivers, that the last act in the drama, planned and carried on by Mr. Gorman and his allies for several years, failed to turn out as they had been scheming to have it turn out, that people were convinced that the entire game had been carefully planned, after the death of John W. Garrett, and that the city campaign in 1885, was the first inning of the game. Gorman and his conspirators won the first inning—they also won several others, alternating in losing and winning, but the last

and final inning went against them, and they lost out, after scheming, conspiring, committing all sorts of frauds—they lost, but their opponents did not win. It was like the old story of two dogs fighting for a bone, while they were struggling over it, another dog sneaked up and ran off with the prize.

But the city election came off in due time. The contest was strenuous until the polls closed, and the vote was counted. All day long the struggle went on, the dead in the cemeteries were voted for Hodges; the town swarmed with repeaters of all sorts, some of whom voted as often as eighteen times; all sorts of frauds were committed, and the catalogue of crooked performances would fill a small volume.

While all this was going on, Senator Gorman and Mr. Rasin sat in rooms in Barnum's Hotel; messengers were going and coming all day, and until the last votes were counted, and the result made known. Mr. Hodges' majority over Judge Brown was twenty-three hundred—it was in accordance with Mr. Rasin's orders.

"Give me the window, and I don't care who has the votes."

Gorman and his Pennsylvania allies won. Mr. Cowen and the Baltimore & Ohio lost. The first battle was over, but the war which then began lasted nearly twenty years, and the wreck and ruin wrought by it has not entirely disappeared, although all the chief actors in the tragedy have been gathered to their fathers—have gone to their reward and, verily, their works do follow them.

CHAPTER XXIV.

IN THE FALL of 1891, down on the Eastern Shore, at Ratcliff Manor, the residence of Senator Charles H. Gibson, was gathered a notable company of prominent men.

First, was Senator John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky, later Secretary of the United States Treasury in the second Cleveland Cabinet.

Second, Ferdinand C. Latrobe, Mayor of Baltimore.

Third, John P. Poe, then candidate for Attorney General of Maryland.

Fourth, ex-Congressman Charles H. Gibson, who a few weeks later was appointed United States Senator to succeed E. K. Wilson, and fifth, Frank Brown, Democratic candidote for Governor. Last, and most important of all, was Senator Arthur P. Gorman. These gentlemen were out campaigning for the Democratic ticket, and were to address a mass-meeting at Easton the following day. The writer of these sketches was also present, as Mr. Gibson's secretary.

In the course of the conversation after dinner, Senator Carlisle said: "Gorman, whatever brought about the break between you and the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company? At one time you, and your party organization and that company worked together—in fact the alliance between the two was considered ironclad in its character—and I was greatly surprised when the break came in such a violent and vigorous way. What brought it all about?"

Mr. Gorman said:

"It is a long story. But the facts are that I saw the break was inevitable, even before the death of John W. Garrett, who had always been my friend, even from the time I was an employee of the Senate during the war.

"I knew that Robert Garrett would be completely under the influence of John K. Cowen, and that Cowen was my avowed enemy—in fact Mr. Cowen told me as early as 1883, that I and my organization ought to be overthrown. At that time we were trying to strengthen the state and city organizations, and at one time I was in Mr. Garrett's office talking with him about some

matters he wanted attended to in Annapolis when the legislature should meet in a few weeks time.

"Mr. Cowen came in, while we were talking matters over, and Mr. Garrett asked him some questions the purpose of which I have forgotten. Cowen replied, and, in the course of the conversation, he expressed his opinion on the conduct of both city and state affairs by the organization, and was severe in his strictures on certain people, and was especially critical in regard to Rasin and myself, holding us responsible for what he considered the 'corrupt and criminal city machine.' He said we would have to change our tactics, or we would be 'thrown out by the people,' and that he was ready to help it.

"Mr. Garrett laughed, as he said: 'Well, Cowen, I believe you will have your hands full if you undertake that job,' and changed the subject.

"I knew, then, that Cowen would do all he could to put us out of business, if he ever had a chance, but as long as Mr. Garrett lived, he was not able to do much except blackguard us, although he was personally openly hostile.

"When Mr. Garrett died, and Robert succeeded him, as the head of the Baltimore & Ohio, it soon became evident that Cowen's influence over the young man was paramount to that of all others, and that his time to 'put us out of business,' or at least to try to do it had arrived.

"Rasin and I called on Robert Garrett to talk matters over with him, and to find out what his position would be toward the organization, of which Rasin and I were the active heads. He was agreeable and polite, but did not seem to have formed any plan as to what he would do. At last, just before we were about to leave, he sent for Cowen, asking us to wait a moment. Cowen came in and Garrett told him the purpose of our visit. He soon settled the position of Mr. Garrett and the Baltimore & Ohio—in fact he made an open declaration of war, war to the knife against us and all those that were allied with us.

"He was emphatic in his denunciation of the whole political system, and all connected with it. He said Rasin and I were allied with the lowest criminal classes of the city, and that our control of the city and state governments was based on fraud and corruption and should be overthrown, that the whole structure of the organized Democratic party in Maryland, especially

in Baltimore City, was based on criminal practices, and on our control of the real criminal and semi-criminal classes—that the underworld, and the allied forces of the underworld, were the bases of our power, and that he was going to devote his time and energy to overthrow us, and to that end would form any combinations possible to gain his point. In fact he was brutally frank in all that he said—he told us in plain language what he thought of us and what he thought of our work in both city and state politics. He called it 'a system of organized political brigandage,' of which Rasin and I were the acknowledged leaders.

"He told us what he expected to do, whom he expected to have as his aides, and, in strong words, without regard to politeness or any show of decency, made a plain declaration of war, and warned us what to expect.

"At last, after he had gone into all sorts of details as to our iniquities, and shortcomings, he said:

"And the most important and influential of all the allies we expect to have, in this grim fight to the death, of one side or the other, is Mr. Garrett, backed by all the power of the great corporations of which he is the head. Now you know, gentlemen, what to expect; I have made no concealment of our purpose. Our cards are all on the table before you."

CHAPTER XXV.

"WHILE COWEN was laying down to us his ultimatum," continued Senator Gorman, "I was watching Mr. Garrett. He was evidently, uneasy, but said nothing. He looked up at Cowen, from time to time in an admiring, but surprised sort of a way, and it was difficult to determine whether he was approving what his counsel said, or was indifferent to the purport of it. Toward the end of the conference, he appeared to be bored, and uneasy, and Cowen, observing this, closed his discourse as to our iniquities, rather abruptly, with the words, our cards are all on the table before you."

"Rasin sat there all the time saying not a word. He was evidently surprised at the hostility manifested by Cowen (he said so afterward). He was really opposed to a break with the Baltimore & Ohio, with which he had been working in harmony for so many years."

"When Cowen had finished, I saw that Mr. Garrett was anxious to have us go, but I was determined to find out from him, in plain words, whether he agreed with Cowen, and whether he really intended to back him, to the extent he had led us to expect. So I asked him, pointedly, if his views had been correctly stated by his Counsel. He said they were, that he intended to leave the management of all such matters to Mr. Cowen—that he knew nothing about them—that he had the utmost confidence in the loyalty and good judgment of his Counsel, and that all such questions would hereafter be in his hands. We then left the office.

"As we came out, Rasin said: 'Well, we are going to have a hell of a time. Cowen evidently means business, and Garrett will back him, for evidently he intends to shift all this responsibility on his shoulders. He does not like work, he does not like responsibility, and will do nothing. What do you think of it now?'

"We are in for a fight for our very existence as an organization, and as leaders of that organization, I said: and the sooner we prepare for it the better. I never had any hope that we could do anything with Cowen, but I had some hope that Garrett might

assert himself, and take a course of his own. He has none of the qualities of his father. He doesn't like work, he doesn't like responsibility and we have nothing to expect from him. We must make other alliances to offset this defection, but there is no doubt we have lost the most powerful ally we had—but I do not intend to give up the fight. We can make another alliance, and we must do it without further delay."

"And that, gentlemen, said Senator Gorman, "was the beginning of the fight which is still going on, and that is why the Democratic organization made its alliance with the Pennsylvania Railway Company. This fight has now been going on for six years and more. There is a lull at the present time, but it will soon break out again. We have beaten them to a standstill in every fight up to the present time. They are not interfering with us in this campaign—we are too strong now with the people. I had expected that they would make a fight against my reelection to the Senate this year, but wisely they considered they would be wasting their time and energy. The last time I saw Cowen, I asked him what he intended to do this year. He said they were resting, preparing for the next fight. He also said that my management of the Force Bill fight had strengthened me beyond all reason, that the Republicans were so completely disorganized in Maryland that he could hope for no help from them."

"Before we parted, he said: don't think we have given up. You remember I told you that the fight would continue until we had put your crowd out of power. It is going to be a longer fight than I expected. You have proved stronger and more resourceful than I ever believed you would be. But we forced you to give us a fairly decent election law, when you were compelled by public sentiment to pass the Australian ballot bill. You said, in one of your speeches in opposition to that law, that it ought to be labelled a bill to relegate the Democratic party to the rear. You will find that in the end you were a true prophet. It may take some years to do it, but in the end it will be the means of overthrowing your power.

"We are having no trouble of any consequence now with Cowen and his Baltimore & Ohio Corporation, which he dominates with more absolute authority than ever. But at the first oppor-

tunity they will get after us again, and no one will be surprised when they do so.

"And that gentleman is an account, in a few words, of the break between the Democratic organization and the Baltimore & Ohio."

And, as a closing sentence Mr. Gorman said:

"The truth is, it all had its inception in Cowen's hostility to me, personally. He placed it all on the high plane that he was fighting for what he called purity and decency in politics. That was only an excuse. He cared nothing for purity and decency in politics. He cares nothing now. He wanted power, and I stood in his way, so he determined to put me out of business,' so that I could do no harm," he said.

"I am still in business, and he has failed to overthrow me. For the present he has yielded to a truce. But the fight will open up again, later on. Of that I have no doubt."

CHAPTER XXVI.

SENATOR CARLISLE asked Senator Gorman a few questions regarding the relations of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company and the Democratic party, and the discussion of the subject was continued for the rest of the evening. Mr. Poe, General Latrobe and Governor Brown (he was elected Governor later on) joining in from time to time. In reply to an inquiry from Senator Carlisle Senator Gorman said:

"Cowen is not a Marylander. He is from Ohio. He was in Princeton as a student, with Robert Garrett, and Garrett brought him to Baltimore. As long as the elder Garrett lived, he was in the background although he became somewhat prominent even then. He is a man of the most unbounded ambition. He wants to rule, and is not willing to submit to the dictation of anyone, not even his employers, and after the death of Robert Garrett's father, he became the absolute dictator of the Railway Company, and has continued to be its dictator ever since. His one great object has been to overthrow the Democratic organization in Maryland, and install in its place a hybrid combination of his own, and while he is comparatively quiet now, he intends to break out again at what he may consider an opportune time. He is ready to go any length to win out. He is using all the force and power of the Railway Company for this one purpose. All other matters are secondary with him to this, he is determined to put me, and the organization of our party, as he says 'Where we can do no harm.' He has been at this work now for more than six years.

"Offers have been made to him to compromise, but he is uncompromising, The Railway Company is always wanting something from the City of Baltimore and the State of Maryland, up to the time when Cowen entered into the field, it always got what it wanted, and the railway people and the state and city leaders worked together hand in hand, in harmony, and there was never any trouble.

"Now the case is different. They are obliged to fight for all they get, and they get very little. They have spent large amounts of money in their efforts to destroy our power, and have failed.

They are ready to spend more and will have to spend more, and then they will not win, and all this hostility, which is really directed at me, has done the Railway Company no earthly good.

"Up to the time of this fight, which Cowen has called, 'a grim fight,' began, the people of the state, and especially the Democrats who comprise a vast majority of the best people in the state, were proud of their great railway, which they looked upon as their own greatest institution, which they, and their fathers, had built and developed, and really cherished as a part of the state's assets.

"They resent the intrusion of this man, an alien to our state, and his efforts to destroy the party organization to which nearly all of them belong. They do not look upon Cowen as a real Marylander. They look upon him as an interloper who has come here, has gained control of their greatest business asset, and now wants to dictate to them in all public matters, to dictate the policies of their city and state, to say whom they shall elect to office, and in other words, to boss everything and everybody in Maryland, not only in their business affairs, but also in all their political and other public matters. And they do not intend to submit to it.

"Cowen has gathered around him a number of our own people, and they are aiding him in his work, and have been aiding him even since he started out to play this game. Most of them are disappointed office-seekers, men who have either been turned out of office or who have been refused office, and they are ready to do his bidding, even to the extent of destroying or crippling their own party, and thus going back on the very organization which has been the bulwark of all that is decent and best in Maryland ever since the reconstruction period at the close of the Civil War.

"As a result of all these things there has arisen throughout the entire state a feeling of bitter hostility, not only toward Cowen and his followers, but also toward the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, and a large proportion of the people of the state, especially all those who are loyal Democrats and real Marylanders, are beginning to look upon the Baltimore & Ohio and its managers, as enemies, not only to their party, but also to the city and state. And in the end this sentiment will have a decidedly bad effect on everything connected with this, the greatest business enterprise in the state.

"So much has this view of the case impressed me, that, on one occasion, not many months ago, when I met Cowen in Washington, I told him what I believed would be the final effect of this fight, that the goat would be the Railway Company.

"He laughed, and said in reply: 'You and your crowd will be responsible for all the evil that may result from what is going on. For the good of the state and city, you and Rasin should get out. If you do, there will be no more trouble, and until you do get out, this fight is going on, no matter who may be hurt in the final outcome.'"

CHAPTER XXVII.

BACK of all the fight between the Railway Company and the Gorman Ring, it gradually developed that the real object of the Senator, and the business and professional men who were in the alliance of the political leaders, and the Pennsylvania Company, was the secret intention to wreck the great Maryland Corporation, and force it into the hands of a receiver, with the eventual expectation that it would pass into the control of the rival corporation. While these objects were carefully kept under cover, the fact was known to those who were in the confidence of Mr. Gorman—it was also understood that everything possible would be done to embarrass Mr. Cowen and those who were allied with him in his fight.

All sorts of reports and rumors were spread about throughout the country, that were detrimental to the management of the Company. New York financiers and moneyed men in all the large cities, were flooded with reports as to the shaky condition of the Company. The equipment of the property was derided, the management was criticised for its supposed inefficiency, and extravagance, and it was even accused of dishonesty.

These reports were sent out from day to day from Baltimore and Washington, and, through the influence of Senator Gorman and his allies, were spread broadcast in the newspapers from one end of the land to the other and especially in Baltimore, New York and Philadelphia. As a result of this hostile and insidious propaganda, the financial circles were gradually permeated with suspicion, and the securities of the Maryland Corporation were greatly depressed in the stock market, and the borrowing capacity was reduced to a minimum until it became almost impossible to secure loans, which were necessary to keep up the standard of efficiency in the operating department, and to provide for further extensions of the road where such had been planned, and, in some instances, were in course of construction. The conspirators had practically forced the management to the wall, where it was gasping and struggling for existence. They openly boasted that they were at last in a position to gain their point—that they had Cowen where they wanted him, and that

it was only a matter of time, when, to use Senator Gorman's expression, they "would be able to drive Mr. Cowen and his forces completely out,"—that he would be shorn of all power and rendered helpless and hopeless and incapacitated to fight against them any more. But Mr. Cowen did not give up—he continued to fight on and did not give up the struggle for several years—and before he gave up the contest, he really overthrew Gorman and his Ring, turned them out of power for a period of four years, defeated the Senator for re-election, kept him out of the Senate for four years, and, to all appearances had won the fight. But the victory was only temporary—the fight did not stop, and while Gorman and his forces were shorn of political power for the time being, they did not stop, but quietly and forcefully, under cover it is true, kept on, and in the end were returned to the control, and regained all they had lost, as far as the government of Maryland was concerned.

They gained one point, however, but the result of their victory was barren, so far as it brought any personal advantage to them. For years their object had been to place the Railway into the hands of receivers by destroying its credit,—and, so far as they were able, making it not only a financial but a physical wreck. They succeeded in forcing the receivership, in greatly crippling the efficiency of the entire system, and thus injuring the prosperity and welfare of thousands of innocent people whose fortunes were either destroyed or greatly reduced—they failed to gain their principal object,—which was the control of the receivership, and thus obtain the control of the management of the entire system, to do with it whatever they might desire.

Senator Gorman's closest friend and business ally was Thomas M. Lanahan, who was reckoned the shrewdest, ablest and most unscrupulous lawyer in Baltimore. Mr. Lanahan was a careful, dignified, reserved, and quiet lawyer, who never allowed his right hand to know what his left was doing, and the public generally never knew what he was doing, professionally or otherwise. He was the advisor of the Senator, not only in all ordinary business matters, but also in all important matters connected with his work in the Senate at Washington. He was noted as the richest lawyer in Baltimore, and he was a frequent visitor to the Capitol at Washington, where, in a quiet and skilful man-

ner, aided by the Maryland Senator, he managed the passage through Congress of many of the important business deals which were ever put over on the people of the country, by Congressional action. In other words, Mr. Lanahan was one of the ablest and most successful lobbyists ever known in the legislative halls of the government, and one of the greatest and most notable of all his achievements, was the amendment of the Sugar Schedules in the Wilson Tariff Bill, in 1894, for which President Cleveland denounced Senator Gorman not only as a traitor to the Democratic party but also to the country.

And Mr. Lanahan was the man picked by Senator Gorman, and the enemies of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, to be the receiver of that great system of transportation, when they had accomplished their plans, and brought it to the stage of bankruptcy.

But Mr. Lanahan never became the receiver. The Court appointed Mr. Cowen and Oscar G. Murray.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE simple announcement that the United States Court had appointed John K. Cowen and Oscar G. Murray, receivers of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, meant much to the general public, because it marked the end of the control of that great Maryland enterprise by the people of the state where it originated and where it had played such an important part in its development, for more than two-thirds of a century. It also brought about a great reduction in the incomes of thousands of people of all classes and conditions—for the securities of the company were widely held, in large and small amounts in all parts of the state—widows and orphans, banks, trustees of estates, public and private institutions, charitable, educational and otherwise, were crippled and faced disaster, when the Baltimore & Ohio Company ceased to pay dividends. Among institutions, the greatest sufferer was the John Hopkins Trust, including not only the University, but the Hospital, for a great part of the Hopkins estate was made up of securities of this continental system of transportation, and the State of Maryland and citizens individually were obliged to go to the assistance of these, Baltimore's two outstanding institutions, in order to prevent a serious crippling of them in their work. Families, which had for years depended on the regular dividends of the Baltimore & Ohio for a major part of their income, were obliged to reduce their expenses, in order to meet the effect of this catastrophe—and trust funds and other supposed-to-be gilt-edged investments were sadly depleted so far as their income producing ability was concerned, and more people were affected by this failure than by anyone thing that had ever happened in the history of the commonwealth.

The result of the selfish machinations of Senator Gorman and his coterie of scheming, unscrupulous politicians and business men, on the one hand, and Mr. Cowen and his coterie on the other hand, had wrecked, for the time being, one of the largest, most important, and most valuable systems of transportation in the United States. Their struggles and conflicts for control of the state and city government, had made the Baltimore & Ohio a

target for attack on all sides, and the inevitable result followed—it was laid out, prostrate and helpless, a prey to its foes, and the men who had smashed it into a shapeless mass, never profited by their work. Others, alien to the state and alien to the people, who for more than half a century had devoted all their means and all their energy to the construction and upbuilding of this great enterprise, profited by the devastating work. Its control, and even its management, were taken over by others, and it has taken years to rehabilitate it, and to overcome the evils brought about by a few ambitious and unscrupulous men, in their contests for power and wealth.

Senator Gorman was often called the evil genius of Maryland politics. During his long, and often picturesque career, he never, at any time in any of his public or private utterances, claimed to be governed by principle, or to have principles of any sort, based on morality or regard for the public good. To him the end justified the means, no matter how crooked and unscrupulous those means might be, and when, after the death of John W. Garrett, the man who was destined to be his arch-enemy and evil genius, John K. Cowen, succeeded in lining up the forces of the Baltimore & Ohio Company, and its great resources against him, he determined to destroy or take away from his adversary what he knew was the bulwark of his strength—even if he had to wreck the greatest asset the state possessed. He worked day and night to attain his object. It was never out of his mind Anything he could do, any alliance he could make, which was detrimental to his foes, either material or otherwise, he was ready to make, no matter what might be the effect on others—and no matter who those others might be.

The result of this long-drawn out fight—it lasted for years, with varying phases—now one side up and apparently about to become victorious, now the case reversed and the other side up, while the principals in the struggle were passing the meridian of life, but there was never any letup, never any real cessation—sometimes outwardly, with trumpets blowing, drums beating in a political campaign—at other times, while all was outwardly quiet, the mining and countermining was going on under ground—but it never stopped, there was never any rest—and in all the history of corporation, and mingled corporation and political

contests in the land, there was never one in which so much was involved, and in which more people were injured, morally and financially, than in that which resulted in the wreck of the great Baltimore & Ohio Railway system, more than a quarter of a century ago.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE fight of Senator Gorman and his allied forces against the Baltimore & Ohio, and the so-called reformers, under the leadership of Mr. Cowen, developed many unique features which were not visible to the public, but which had great influence on the outcome of the struggle. It was a skilfully managed affair from start to finish. It had many of the features of a long drawn out, crooked game of cards—crooked on both sides, for while so far as Mr. Cowen, and his allies were concerned, there was a determination to play on the square, there was never even the slightest pretense on the part of Mr. Gorman and his forces, that they would play in the same way—in fact it was thoroughly understood that the Gorman end of the game would be played without scruple of any sort, without regard for law or fair play, or any consideration for ethical or moral propositions.

When Mr. Cowen, in the presence of Robert Garrett, told Senator Gorman what they intended to do, he said, to use his own words, "Our cards are on the table, you know what we have determined to do, you have fair warning."

The Senator did not lay *his* cards out on the table—he was never known to do that, and, it may be placed to his credit, in all games, political or otherwise, that he never pretended to play a fair game, and he never believed that any of his opponents were sincere when they said that they would play fair and square, in anything, political or otherwise. He did not believe in square games, he did not believe that others believed in square games, and, therefore, he only smiled his usual, doubtful, cynical and sarcastic smile, when Mr. Cowen said he had laid his cards out on the table—the Senator had no doubt but that the great railway attorney had stuffed a few aces and bowers up his sleeve, to use when the proper time arrived.

As a result of this phase of the contest, which soon became evident to all, Mr. Cowen was obliged to change his tactics—he saw that he must play as Gorman played, or lose out without great delay. He realized, that when his opponent played with marked cards, that the decks were stacked, he at once said, "if

they intend to play that sort of a game, we will do the same thing. When you fight the devil your only safe weapon is fire. We will use fire," and from that time on both sides played the same sort of a game—both sides used all sorts of tricks, no matter how unscrupulous, in order to thwart each other. On the surface there was much blowing of trumpets and beating of drums—underneath the real work was going on, unseen by the public at large, and no more crooked, unscrupulous, and unprincipled game was ever played in this or any other country or in any other age. The famous conspiracies of the middle ages were models for this, and while there were no such assassinations as those prevalent in the days of Machiavelli and the Borgias, characters and reputations were assassinated without scruple. Senator Gorman had a mediæval mind, the maxims of Machiavelli were his maxims, and, Mr. Cowen soon saw that he was playing a Borgian game, and he adopted the same tactics. Like those struggles for wealth and power in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Italy and France, this great struggle lasted through years, with apparent victory perching now on one side and now on another—with the stakes, the control of a state and a great business enterprise, a great system of National transportation.

And, like its mediæval prototypes, there was no permanent victory for either side—there was only destruction and ruin left, and the contestants died, and others who had taken no part in the great struggle gained the prizes—and now all the giant figures who held the stage for all those years, who in turn received the applause or the execration of the people, are no more than traditions. The ill they did in life, lives after them—the little good they did has been interred with their bones, and all are fast passing into the limbo of forgotten memories. They struggled and fought for years for a great prize—they conspired and deceived, they robbed and swindled to gain their point—they held the seats of the mighty of the land for a generation—and now they are almost forgotten memories.

As the inspired Psalmist of Israel said three thousand years ago:

"I myself have seen the wicked in great prosperity, and flourishing like a green bay-tree."

"I went by, and lo, they were gone, and the place that saw them once, shall see them no more forever."

CHAPTER XXX.

THE long-drawn out contest between the Baltimore & Ohio and the old Gorman organization, was dramatic and interesting on the outside, but the underground work was equal to the best sort of mediæval secret service, described in the records of the conspiracies of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Plots and counterplots were going on, and while Mr. Cowen and Senator Gorman were engaged in their stage play before the public, the real, effective fighting was going on under the surface in Washington, Baltimore and New York.

One of the men who was actively but secretly engaged in all these trying times, times which made Mr. Cowen old and gray before his time, and had lasting effect on Mr. Gorman, both physically and mentally, for the strain was heavy, was Eugene E. Grannan, at that time head of the secret service force of the railway company.

No man in Maryland was more active and efficient in that sort of work, and few, very few, knew anything about it. One day he would be in Cumberland, or Oakland, and the next day he would be in Hagerstown or Frederick, while a day or two later he would be in New York. Day and night he would be on duty, and probably no one but Mr. Cowen ever knew what he did and how he did it. And that he thwarted and upset many of the plans and schemes of Gorman and his co-conspirators, was admitted by the few who were on the inside of what was going on. In regard to his work, Senator Gorman once said that Grannan was the most useful and as well as the most skilful man he ever knew for that sort of work, and so impressed was the Senator that he enlisted certain men of prominence to see what could be done to call Grannan off.

As a result of this desire to get rid of him, or to entice him to leave the service of the railway, an arrangement was made for Grannan to have an interview with Gorman, which took place at the home of the Senator in Washington.

In this interview Gorman did not beat around the bush or attempt in any way to camouflage his desires. He came out

plainly—he said he wanted to get Grannan away from the Baltimore & Ohio. He wanted him to work for his side, or if he could not do that, to get him away from Cowen.

He told Grannan that he was the most efficient and capable agent enlisted against them—that he was doing their cause more harm than any other one man.

He offered Grannan money, but that was refused, and then offered to secure him a place in the Government service, at a salary greatly in excess of that which he was receiving from Cowen—he wanted above all other things to get him away from Cowen, and he was ready to do all in his power to attain that end—what did Grannan want?

All the offers of the Senator were refused—Grannan told him that he had never been disloyal to any cause, or any person, in whose services he was enlisted, and that he did not intend to be disloyal now, no matter how great the reward might be, and he went to work with more zeal and energy than ever. And in the latter years of his life, when he had retired from all active duties, it was his proudest boast that he never betrayed a trust, and was faithful to his employers through all the temptations and trials of those strenuous years, when those for whom he worked were literally in a death struggle for their very existence. When they were in a death grip with one of the most iniquitous and powerful combinations of powerful conspirators, both political and commercial, ever known in this or any other land. And that he proved faithful to the end is a matter of history. He never wavered in his allegiance, he was never doubted as to his unwavering loyalty, and in his declining years, he was honored by all who knew him.

Near the close of his career, Mr. Cowen paid a tribute to Mr. Grannan. He publicly said that in all his long and trying experience, in his strenuous life, he had never been connected with a more honorable, faithful and upright man than Eugene Grannan. That he had remained steadfast in his allegiance to the Baltimore & Ohio Company, through all its troubles and trials. That his work had been valuable beyond calculation, and that it was an honor to have been associated with him in the work which they had done. He had never for an instant, failed in the performance of his duty.

CHAPTER XXXI.

As an illustration of the closeness of the watch the contending forces kept on each other, in the struggle over the Baltimore & Ohio Railway, when the fight was at its most intense point, the writer recalls that one morning after he had left Union Station on his return from New York, he overtook Mr. Cowen, who was walking down Charles Street, to his office.

At that time the discussion of the status of the Railway Company was a matter of considerable public interest, and there was more than the usual amount of talk as to the probable outcome of the contest, between the forces led by Mr. Cowen and those led by Senator Gorman. It was the general impression that an extremely critical point had been reached, and it was a matter of almost daily expectation that something startling was likely to happen at any time.

Senator Gorman and Mr. Thomas M. Lanahan were in New York. The writer had seen them on Wall Street the day before, and later in the evening had again seen them, together with several other gentlemen, in conference in the lobby of the Hoffman House. He had exchanged a few words with the Senator, who said he expected to be in New York for several days.

Thinking that Mr. Cowen, whom he knew was always interested in the movements of the Senator, his great rival, he said:

"I saw Senator Gorman and Mr. Lanahan in New York yesterday. In fact I saw them twice—once on Wall Street and later in the lobby of the Hoffman House. They were evidently about to have some sort of a conference, for, in company with several other, rather important looking men, they went up stairs about eight o'clock and did not come down again until after ten. The Senator said he expected to be in New York for several days."

Mr. Cowen was at once interested. He said: "Did you recognize any of the men who were with them?"

"Only one. Mr. Massey, the General Counsel of the Pennsylvania Railway Company, whom I knew by sight was the last of the crowd to arrive. They were apparently waiting for him, for as soon as he came in, they went up stairs. Mr. Massey had with

him a young man, who was carrying a very large portfolio, and was evidently a secretary."

Mr. Cowen looked at his watch, and said:

"I must go to New York, I shall have time enough to go to the office and catch the next train. I am very, very much obliged to you for this information. Ride down with me," he said, as he hailed a cab. "I usually walk down town, but I have no time to spare today."

On the way down Mr. Cowen put me under a rigid cross examination, to find out if I could tell him more about the movements of Gorman and Lanahan. But I had told him all I knew—I had seen them twice, once on Wall Street and again at the Hoffman House, where I had exchanged a few words with the Senator. Mr. Lanahan and I had simply exchanged words. He had no use for newspaper men—he despised reporters—and he especially despised the reporters of the newspaper for which I was working at that time. In fact during all the years I knew Mr. Lanahan, knew who he was and he knew who I was, I had never exchanged a dozen words with him, except on one occasion when he ordered me out of his office, after I had asked him for some information as to what he was doing in Washington at the time he was there, leading the lobby in the work of emasculating the celebrated Wilson Tariff bill in the session of 1894.

Later in the week when Mr. Cowen had returned to Baltimore I called at his office. (I was in the habit of calling there regularly. We were good friends, and he once paid me the compliment to say that I was one of the three newspaper men in his long experience who had never misrepresented, misquoted or deceived him). He said, when I entered his office:

"Well, I want to thank you for the information you gave me a few days ago. I was sure when I heard Gorman and Lanahan were in New York and were in conference with Massey and those other men, that they were up to some devilment. I cannot tell you what it was, but my timely and unexpected appearance on the scene enabled me to thwart their plans. They are persistent, and have to be watched at every point. Gorman and Lanahan are a well-matched pair. They are both cautious, careful and subtle. They are up to all sorts of schemes. We think we have them headed off at one point, when they appear at an-

other, and when we believe they are in one place, they are really in another. Now the very day you saw Gorman in New York, it had been reported to me that he was at home in Washington with a bad cold.

"I had been expecting notice of that meeting in New York, but the report that the Senator was at home sick had thrown us off the track. Your information therefore, accidental as it was, was of great value, and it is highly appreciated."

And that was an instance of certain phases of the great fight between these two remarkable men—a fight which continued in that way, with all sorts of variations for years.

CHAPTER XXXII.

FROM 1885, when the contest opened up between the Baltimore & Ohio Company, under the leadership of Mr. Cowen, and the Maryland Democratic party organization, under the direction of Senator Gorman, until 1895, when the Republicans backed by reformers and the Baltimore & Ohio, captured the state and city governments, the contest went on with varying fortune—with occasional periods of armed truce between the contending forces.

Of course the control of the General Assembly in those days, before the Governor under the forms of the law had usurped the legislative as well as the exective functions of the state government, was the object of all the wirepulling and scheming on both sides. The Gorman control of the machine, and the fact that the Baltimore & Ohio had so often allied itself with the Republicans, gave the Democratic organization such an advantage that Gorman and his allied forces had little trouble in securing a majority of the General Assembly—they were thus able to thwart Mr. Cowen in all his efforts to bring about such changes in the laws as would enable the anti-ring forces to win an election or at least to secure a reasonable representation in the law making body of the state.

The election of 1889 gave the reformers the hold they desired —and at the ensuing session they secured the passage of the Australian ballot law—a law the enactment of which Senator Gorman opposed with all his force and vigor, and which he characterized in a speech to the county newspaper editors, in the severest terms, as, a law which should be labelled, a bill to relegate the Democratic party to the rear." But the bill was passed, and Mr. Gorman's prophecy was fulfilled in the election of 1895, when the Republicans and Reformers, backed by Mr. Cowen and the Baltimore & Ohio swept the state, elected a full state and city ticket, General Assembly and all, and were placed in full control—but the fight over the Baltimore & Ohio between Senator Gorman and Mr. Cowen went on without cessation—transferred, it is true, to the market place and the banks, and later on to the courts—it had gone beyond the field of Maryland politics and the scenes were now New York and Philadelphia,

as well as Baltimore and Washington, and there was no cessation until the wreck was practically complete, and the great transportation system, which had been the pride and glory of Maryland for nearly three quarters of a century, was prostrate and helpless at the feet of its foes. Gorman had shown that he was able to wreck and destroy, but as a constructor and builder up, he was a failure. His genius had always been destructive rather than constructive, not only in politics, whether state or national, but also in business and industrial affairs.

He wrecked and practically destroyed the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, the first great transportation system of the state. He wrecked the Baltimore & Ohio Railway, so that its control passed away from Maryland and Marylanders, who had planned, financed and made it one of the greatest benefactions to the city and state, and had planned a similar fate for the Western Maryland Railway, the other great creation of Maryland genius, industry and ability, and he only failed to carry out his plans in connection with the latter, because he was not equal in skill and ability to that sterling old Marylander John M. Hood, who outplayed him and outfought him in every point of the game. He wrecked the Canal, he wrecked the Baltimore & Ohio, he outplayed Cowen and his other opponents at the game, but he ran up against his superior when he tackled John M. Hood, who was ready for him and routed him at every point. Senator Gorman was a most extraordinary man in many ways—he had a certain kind of genius—but his was a destructive genius—he never built up anything—he always tried to pull down. During all the forty odd years he was in public life, in the House of Delegates, in the State Senate, in the Senate of the United States where he was one of the dominant figures for a quarter of a century, he was never the author of a single act which had for its object the welfare of the people. Practically all the great measures which were intended for the benefit of the whole people, met with his strenuous opposition. He was, with one or two exceptions, always on the side of monopoly and greed, and the only really creditable act of his long career in Washington, was his strenuous work in aiding to defeat the notorious Force bill—and his object then was not that he desired the public weal, but that the passage of the bill would probably have resulted in his retirement to private life.

There is now no doubt of it, Gorman and Lanahan deliberately planned to wreck the Baltimore & Ohio Railway, and that regardless of its effect on the people of the state—and while they succeeded to a certain extent, their schemes resulted in no benefit either financial or otherwise to themselves—their work was wholly destructive.

They had planned out a similar fate for the Western Maryland, but were thwarted by the opposition of Mr. Hood, and later on will be published a story of that scheme and its failure.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

GOING back to the Civil War period, and the influence wielded by the President and official forces of the Baltimore & Ohio Company in favor of the preservation of the Union, the question arises at every point as to the reason for the fact that so little is said by any of the historians of that time in regard to the remarkable work in the aid they rendered the government of Mr. Lincoln—especially the service they performed in order to prevent the Confederates from taking possession of Washington. Indeed it was common talk at the time, not only in Baltimore and throughout Maryland, that Mr. Garrett, Johns Hopkins and their associates prevented the Southern sympathisers, who lived in the Maryland counties adjacent to the National Capital, who would have been aided by Confederates from Baltimore and Virginia, from taking possession of Washington even before Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated. And these men were roundly abused and severely criticised for their action, by hundreds of their friends and neighbors—indeed there was a very decided sentiment in Maryland in favor of seizing Washington, not only because by so doing would the Southern cause be helped but also on the ground that the city was within the state, that the ground on which the Capital was established was really Maryland soil, and that the state had a right to reassume possession of it. As a consequence of all these facts, Mr. Garrett and his associates who aided to thwart these plans were looked upon by many people as traitors to their state, and this feeling of hostility lasted for years, and these gentlemen were held in scorn and derision by hundreds of unreconstructed irreconcilable secessionists to the days of their death, long after the war had ended and peace had been restored throughout the whole country. As an indication of this feeling of hostility on the part of old-time Maryland secessionists toward Mr. Garrett for his services for the Union cause at the opening of the Civil War, the writer recalls a remark made by an elderly lady at the time of the great Railway president's death in 1884.

"I see that John Garrett is dead. He was the man who betrayed Maryland to Lincoln and his hirelings at the beginning

of the War. If it had not been for him, Maryland would have seceded, President Davis would have been seated in the White House at Washington, our side would have won the War, and we would have our slaves with us to this day. May God forgive him! I never can, for his action brought about all our troubles and losses."

Down on the Eastern Shore, where the secession sentiment was especially strong, and where the people were almost unanimously in favor of the Confederate movement, many of the young men went South and served in the Southern Army throughout the War, and not a few were killed, and for half a century after peace had been restored, there was not a county on the whole peninsula where could not be found several "unreconstructed rebels," as they called themselves, many of whom were known to the writer. Among the number was the late Thomas K. Robson, editor of the Easton *Star*. Mr. Robson's paper had been suppressed in 1861. The type was scattered by Union soldiers in the streets of Easton, and Mr. Robson himself was taken by the soldiers over to Virginia, placed inside the Confederate lines several miles from Washington, and remained in the South until the war was over, when he returned to Easton, and re-established the *Star*, which he published until his death in 1888. He was an unterrified, and unreconstructed rebel until he died, and no finer man ever lived in the state. He frequently talked with the writer over the tragic and thrilling days of 1861, and once said:

"I have always believed that had Maryland seceded, taken possession of Washington, established the Confederate Capital there, installed Jefferson Davis in the White House, that we could have won the War. And had it not been for John W. Garrett, Johns Hopkins, John H. B. Latrobe, Roger B. Taney and a few other influential Marylanders that would have been done. From a practical standpoint, John W. Garrett, through his control of the Baltimore & Ohio, did more to thwart the plans of the Maryland secessionists than the others. He prevented the men who were prepared to go into Washington, by rail, before Lincoln was inaugurated and take possession. Everything was arranged to take a train at Relay with over a thousand men, roll into Washington and take possession of the Government buildings and hold possession despite President Buchanan. And

all these plans would have been carried out. The Eastern Shore contingent, of which I was one, was ready and several of us were in Baltimore prepared to join the expedition. In fact we could have raised ten thousand armed men, and would have done so, but Mr. Garrett found out our plans and prevented their execution. I have always held him responsible for the failure of Maryland to secede and the failure, ultimately of the success of the Confederacy."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THERE were men who were such outstanding figures in the history of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, and in the history of the state and Nation during the third quarter of the last century, that it is a matter of astonishment to all those who have made any study of that period that neither the city, state or Nation have made any effort to raise adequate memorials to them in order to keep before the public mind the great services they rendered, not only to their own generation, but to the succeeding generations, which have profited by what they accomplished. And these men were John W. Garrett and Johns Hopkins.

In the most trying period of the state's history, which was also the most trying period of the history of the Nation, John W. Garrett and Johns Hopkins were the bulwarks which guarded and preserved the credit of the city and state from ruin, kept the great Railway Company out of destructive bankruptcy, prevented the secession of Maryland, and what would have been desolation during the Civil War, and for ten years after the War, by their efforts supported the credit of Baltimore, of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, and of the State of Maryland, so that no city or state, together with their business interests, came through those nerve-racking, panicky years with greater honor and unimpaired credit and dignity, than the City of Baltimore and the State of Maryland.

The city is full of bronze and stone statues and monuments, many of them erected to commonplace mediocrities, whose services to the public of their day and their posterity, were of no outstanding merit. All sorts of associations, from time to time, have raised bronze or marble horrors of memorials to men who passed out of the memory of the succeeding generations years ago. These are to be seen at every square and on street corners and in the parks—and the two men whose benefactions have lasted for the past half century have been ignored, so for as any public, permanent memorial is concerned.

Johns Hopkins left his own memorial in the University and Hospital which bear his name. Mr. Garrett has no public memorial.

It is strange, when it is considered what these two men did in their lifetime, the beneficent tasks they performed during the last quarter of a century of their lives, that no public effort has been made to recognize their services in the way of monuments in some of the squares or parks of the city. When it is considered that Mr. Hopkins was really the founder of the conservative system of banking, which enabled Baltimore to pass safely through three great panics, when banks in other cities went crashing down to ruin by the dozens, when he saved the Baltimore & Ohio Railway from wreck on at least three different occasions, and preserved its credit and efficiency so that it was practically the only great railway system that came through such crises unharmed—these things alone entitle him to a memorial on the part of the public which will endure through all time, aside from any consideration of what is due him as one of the great philanthropists of the state and Nation.

And Mr. Garrett, who, in his day and generation, was one of the outstanding men not only of the state but of the Nation, who did more during the last quarter of a century of his life to add to the prosperity of Baltimore and his native state than any other dozen men, has practically passed out of the recollection of the people in the less than half-century since his death. He deserves a monument of colossal size somewhere in the business section of the town, so that people may be reminded of his serices to his native city and state.

And Mr. Garrett deserves another and greater monument, to remind all visitors to, as well as residents of the National Capital, that it was largely due to his patriotic services that Washington was preserved to the Union at the outbreak of the Civil War,—and further that he developed the early railway facilities which connected the North and the South and that it was his untiring energy and ability which restored them, after the war between the states had restored the unity of the Nation.

In the square in front of the great railway station in Washington, an imposing statue should be raised to John W. Garrett—it is late in the day, but the people would be reminded as they enter the broad squares of the Federal City, of the services rendered the country by this outstanding son of Maryland, whose name is rarely heard, whose work has been largely forgotten—in his day and generation he was the great figure in Maryland, and one of the greatest in the Nation. And if any Baltimorean deserves a monument of enduring brass or marble in Washington, it is John W. Garrett.

CHAPTER XXXV.

IN THE mystical ages of my boyhood, sixty-five years ago, I have a distinct picture in my mind of a scene printed in the geography, used in the school I attended in Washington. The picture represented a view of the railway in the Alleghany Mountains near Cumberland, and for years afterward I had a strong desire to see that place, but the Civil War prevented the accomplishment of my plans and it was several years before I was able to visit the picturesque spot. And to this day, whenever I think of the Baltimore & Ohio, even when passing the Company's building at Charles and Baltimore Streets, I have always before me that old rude, wood engraving of the geography (I think it was McNalley's), and to my mind that has always been the one uppermost feature of the great Maryland Railway.

I have been over the railway almost innumerable times during the intervening years. I have visited Cumberland and all the towns on the line, especially those in Maryland. I have seen the road rise to the height of its power and usefulness under the strong and vigorous management of John W. Garrett, and I have seen the wreck and ruin which overtook it after his untimely death. I have seen the great enterprise bandied about as the plaything of politics, in the great fight for supremacy between Arthur P. Gorman and John K. Cowen a quarter of a century ago, and I have seen its resurrection and restoration to its present marvellous prosperity under the honest, skilful and forceful management of Daniel Willard and George M. Shriver, and during all these years, the one feature of the road, which has risen before me, and which rises before me as I write these words, is that old picture, in that old geography which I studied in 1860 and 1861, in school in Washington.

There has always been a fascination to me in the Baltimore & Ohio, and in everything connected with it, and even now, when I am far beyond the alotted three-score years and ten of human life, the fascination is still with me, and I never pass over even a small item about the Baltimore & Ohio in the newspapers, without reading it, and the old picture in the geography of more than sixty years is before me, as vividly as it was in those early

days. I can see the mountains rising above the track on which a train was going around a curve, with the Potomac River rushing over the rocks below, while the dark forest rises on the heights above.

One of the most agreeable and pleasant of all my early recollections of Western Maryland, is that connected with a trip I made on foot down the Potomac from Cumberland nearly thirty-five years ago. With a companion we started out from Cumberland for Washington. Our purpose was to write a story of the Baltimore & Ohio and the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal. We spent three weeks on the way. We would go along the Baltimore & Ohio for a few miles, and then take the tow path of the old Canal, which was then in operation. We zig-zagged from the railway to the canal, and had a pleasant and extremely enjoyable time. We gathered up all the traditions of the region from the old people, whom we met along the line. The railway traditions, the struggles over the control of the road during the Civil War, were especially interesting. At one time the lines would be in control of the Southern forces, only to be retaken by the Union troops after skirmishes, and, at times bloody fights. The Confederates would tear up the tracks and destroy the bridges—the Union troops would come along in force and recapture the lines, and the workmen of the Company, frequently led by Mr. Garrett in person, would follow up, under guard, and reconstruct what had been destroyed—and in this way the great highway between the National Capital and the West, was kept measurably open, although the interruptions were frequent until the close of the War when the work of rehabilitation was rushed to completion, and new lines increasing the facilities of the system, were constructed throughout the entire region, east as well as west of the Ohio river.

Those were strenuous days for Mr. Garrett, who was then in his prime, and the great work he did at that time, redounded to the lasting benefit of the system, even up to the present day.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

DURING the past century, that is since the railways of the country became an important factor in the business affairs of the states and the nation, the corporations which were formed to construct these great highways of commerce, have had more or less influence on the local political affairs of the states, counties and cities, and to a great extent have mixed in with national politics, especially since the Civil War, when the transportation question became one of the most important of all the questions affecting the general public welfare. In the earlier periods of railway construction, the part these organizations took in politics, was confined to the states—they were state corporations, and in the beginning were largely built by means furnished through state, city and county aid—often almost entirely by funds provided by state, county and city bond issues, either as loans, or stock, or bond subscriptions—and therefore, were to a great extent, public property and controlled by directors who were appointed by state or municipal officials.

This was especially the case in Maryland. The Baltimore & Ohio was almost entirely financed by the State of Maryland, the City of Baltimore and the counties through which it passed. The Western Maryland was almost entirely built by the City of Baltimore, aided to a moderate extent by the counties through which its lines were extended, while the Northern Central and the few lines of railway on the Eastern Shore, were all state aided to a very large extent, and their construction would not have been possible, at that time, except for the aid given them out of the public treasury. They were all, therefore, to a very great extent, dependent on politics and politicians, and those in charge of the management were thus literally obliged, as a measure of self-protection and preservation, and compelled to take part in all political affairs—"even up to their necks," as the late Mr. Garrett expressed it, when he was publicly accused of interfering in state, city and county political affairs in every section through which the lines of his system were operated. He further said:

"When the legislature is in session, the principal task of the officials of our Company, is to look after our interests at Annapolis. I never have any rest during the ninety days the session lasts. I never know what may turn up there, that may be detrimental to the Company. Some of the members seem to take a special pleasure in putting in bills, the passage of which would not only annoy us, but would prove detrimental to the operation of the road and injure our business. In this they are aided by a certain class of members of the bar, some of whom are in good standing, and who have views of the subject of railroads which are, to say the least, fantastic, and the members from the counties through which our system extends, often have fancied, and at times real grievances, which they believe can be remedied by legislation.

"In addition to these things, there are always the lobbyists to deal with. Many of these men have great skill in preparing bills, which are intended 'to bring us down, to compel us to limber up,' as they say, that is, to force us to pay out money to prevent their passage. These measures are called "bell ringers," a name given to them by Oden Bowie, when he was Governor. All these things have to be looked after, and it is most important that we should have men on the floor of both houses to look out for them, and, as a consequence we are obliged to see that such men are elected, and these things do not take care of themselves.

"Why if we did not interfere in politics, and use our efforts to have men elected to office on whom we can rely, one session of the legislature would tie us up to such an extent, that our business would be hampered almost to an unbelievable condition. As a matter of self-preservation we are obliged to take part in politics all the time, and at some times up to our necks.

"And all this costs money, lots of money. One of the greatest sources of incidental expenses, which we have to provide for, is the amount paid out in politics—and the same sort of a situation faces every railway company in every state in the country. Party organizations and party officials, find their greatest source of revenue in holding up railway companies. They can do as much harm in many ways, and they know it, and they make us pay in order to secure immunity from plugging and plundering legislation.

"Another reason why we have to take an active and energetic part in politics, arises from the fact that we are in constant need of additional legislation, additional franchises, powers and

privileges, which can only be obtained from the legislature. And, do not imagine we ever get any of these for nothing. Laws that ought to be passed without hindrance, as a matter of course, because they are in the public interest, are held up, and before we get them, they become very expensive, not luxuries, but necessities—we must have them in order to keep up with the times—we have to pay in some way or other for everything we get—for even the slightest privilege—we get nothing from the public authorities for nothing.

"In politics! Of course we are in politics. We are obliged to be there with both feet, or the very life would be squeezed out of us. We are not there from choice, but from dire necessity—as a matter of self-preservation."

CHAPTER XXXVII.

WHILE Mr. Garrett lived, the railway interests of the State, even of those lines which were not under the direct management or control of the Baltimore & Ohio Company, were largely dominated by his influence, and the relations with the state and city authorities were friendly—in fact, as stated in an earlier chapter of these fragmentary chronicles, Mr. Garrett really controlled the political affairs of the city and state, and Governors, Senators and practically all state and city officials were selected with his approval.

All this great power was not obtained, or maintained, without the expenditure of a vast amount of skill and energy, combined with the expenditure of a very large amount of money. In fact, as Mr. Garrett said in his celebrated interview, which was published in the last chapter, nothing was ever secured without being paid for, and that at a high price. He really controlled all legislation affecting railway interests, but the control was held through all the years of his administration, from the close of the Civil War up to his death in 1884, by his constant care and watchfulness. He knew the game in which he was engaged, and he was ready at all times, with all the necessary means to play his side of it, regardless of what it cost in the way of jobs for hungry politicians and cash for those who manipulated them.

One of the greatest sources of influence wielded by politicians, is the business of securing jobs for all sorts of people. And the jobs they secure for their hungry retainers, are not all political jobs in the service of the city, state or Nation. A very large number of jobs are those given out by corporations, especially by Public Service Corporations, and to this day one of the greatest sources of the power wielded by men who have large influence in the control of legislation and public administration, is their ability to secure places in the service of both large and small corporations—positions entirely non-political, but given out through the requests of politicians, who are able to return the favors by their influence over public officials with whom all sorts of business, and especially corporation managers, are brought into contact in a most practical way.

And all these means were used by Mr. Garrett in his management of what was then, as it is now, the greatest and most influential single organization in Maryland. Through the large number of jobs he had under his control, and the free use of large sums of money for emergencies, he was able to direct the public affairs of the city and state. He made Governors, United States Senators, members of the General Assembly, Mayors and City Councilmen, and all sorts of other officials, all of whom were ready to do his bidding, grant his Company whatever was needed in the way of privileges from the city and state, and, what was of perhaps greater importance, ward off all sorts of attacks which were at all times threatened by hostile, rival interests. Thousands of men not only in Maryland, but in other states, hold positions of trust and honor in corporations, both industrial and otherwise, which they obtained through the favor of politicians—and today the same sort of practices are going on. There are as many jobs secured from corporations for retainers by political leaders, at the present time, as there are in the public service of the city and state, and this system, which was inaugurated by Mr. Garrett nearly sixty years ago. Not a day passes but what illustrations of this practical system can be found in Baltimore, as well as in every other city in the country. Mr. Garrett found that one of the most effective ways to insure the loyal service of the political leaders, was to give their retainers jobs, and he gave them out with a free hand as long as he lived. The alliance between corporations, and all sorts of business enterprises, and politicians, has always been close, they have been obliged to work together, and today they are still allied and are still working together. Mr. Garrett received the credit for making use of this system soon after he became President of the great Maryland Railway Corporation in 1858. It was soon adopted by railways in other states, and became a part of the regular system. And, is in a quiet way in force at the present time. In somewhat modified and improved ways the management of large railway corporations, in these days, follow the precedents established by Mr. Garrett. He was the first of the really great railway experts of the country—probably of the world. When he took hold of the business it was new. Under the trying and nerve-racking experiences of the Civil War time, he developed it to a greater extent than any other man of his

time, and placed it on a basis which has been proved to be solid ever since. It is true the great system which he built up in Maryland, for a time, did not measure up to his expectations, owing to the fact that he left it in inefficient hands, but his system was the one adopted elsewhere—and whenever adopted was largely successful. He was the most farseeing of the earlier railway executives, and during the twenty-six years he was President, did more to develop the business than any other man of his generation. He was not only farseeing, so far as the material and mechanical necessities were concerned, the securing legal franchises and all sorts of privileges, dependent on favorable action of the city and state, but he conceived and developed a system of railway financing in his latter years which has been the basis of American railway financing up to the present days.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

"IN politics of course, we are in politics up to our necks," and there was no doubt of the fact. The state chartered the Railway Company; it gave it all sorts of privileges; it was granted practical exemption from taxation so far as the city and counties and the state were concerned, and these privileges and immunities were given in such a way that, "they cannot be taken away even at the crack of doom," as was said by the late Bernard Carter in one of his most eloquent arguments in favor of the Gorman side in the great contest, in the middle eighties, when the struggle for supremacy was at its height. Not only did the state give the Railway Company legal existence, it also practically supported it for many years, and, together with the City of Baltimore and certain counties, the state donated the funds which constructed it during the early years of its progress from the shores of the Chesapeake to the Ohio River. And the Railway was not only the creature of the state, but was nursed and cared for as a child of the state, until it had grown up, and become a power in the conduct of public affairs, and after that under the strong and arrogant rule of Mr. Garrett, for years, the Railway Company ruled the state and city, and, dominated not only public affairs, but was also the one great and overpowering influence in all sorts of business, from one end of Maryland to the other. What the Baltimore & Ohio said, was the law and the gospel throughout the commonwealth, and what Mr. Garrett said was what his corporation said.

And, of course, to maintain this power and control, it was necessary to be in politics "up to our necks," as the head of the Company said, and the politicians were not always easy to handle, and to keep them in order was a most expensive necessity, and required great skill and knowledge, not only of the men, but of situations, and, what is of equally great importance, required a force of men who possessed the necessary skill and knowledge, and such men were not always easy to get, and were often difficult to keep when they were obtained.

As a result of the facts just stated, when the break between the Railway Company and the organization took place in 1885,

many of the ablest political workers were found to be in the employ of the Baltimore & Ohio, they had been placed there by the elder Garrett, and were ready to fight for his son, when it became evident that there was a real fight on hand, and that the contest was to be without quarter and without gloves, that it was a real break up, and that the new management, under the dictation of Mr. Cowen, who held the younger Garrett in the hollow of his hand, had broken off relations of nearly half a century, with the political powers of the city and state, and that war for an indefinite period was on. The foundation work of Mr. Garrett had become useless—he had controlled the politicians so far as they could affect the business of his corporation, but he never interfered in matters which did not concern, in some form or other, his business. He cared not for reform, political or otherwise, he cared only for his great railway enterprise, which he had built up and to which he had devoted his life, and only interfered in public affairs to protect its interests and preserve and enlarge its privileges. And his subordinates and lieutenants had all been imbued with his views—those who were in politics were there to look out for the interests of their employer, and for no other purpose.

And now, almost before their great leader was cold in his tomb, they were all forced into a new sort of a political whirlpool—not for the interest of their employers, so far as they could see, but for the purpose of putting out of business, the men and the party with whom they had been associated, and with whom they had been allied, all their lives! And for what purpose? to purify and reform the politics of the city and state. And what did they care about reform and purity in politics? What had these things to do with the Railway Company? what bearing had they on its prosperity and well-being? And what was this purity and reform, for which Mr. Cowen was upsetting all their old-time ideas of politics?

CHAPTER XXXIX

SEVENTY-SIX years ago, in 1849, Thomas Swann was elected President of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company. The road was then in operation as far as Cumberland. He promised that he would have it finished and trains running into Wheeling on the Ohio, in January, 1853, and on the first day of that month he arrived there, and from that time on the development of that great enterprise was rapid and its future usefulness and prosperity were assured.

Mr. Swann had a herculean task before him when he undertook the work of extending the railway for the two hundred miles between Cumberland and the Ohio River. A large part of the road was through and over the Alleghany Mountains, and railway construction over a range the highest point of which was more than three thousand feet above the level of the sea, and more than two thousand feet higher than Cumberland, was a new and untried experiment. But he succeeded in accomplishing, to the letter, what he had promised the people of Baltimore, and those along the line.

He was faced with all sorts of problems, and he solved them all. The Company was not in good shape financially and its credit was practically exhausted. People who had been contributing to its construction and development, were doubtful of its ultimate success. The State of Maryland, the City of Baltimore, the towns and counties through which it passed, and the banks and other financial institutions, were dubious, and were tired of paying out more money or extending more credit, to what was looked upon as a doubtful experiment. The difficulties in the way of the construction of such an expensive line through a country thinly settled, and with undeveloped resources, added to the problem and, for a time, it seemed as if the whole scheme would have to be abandoned, at least temporarily, until more prosperous times should come to the State and country.

But Mr. Swann (afterward Mayor of Baltimore and Governor of Maryland), was not one to be discouraged. He practically forced the State and City to extend further loans. He used all

his vigor and eloquence to persuade the banks to extend further credits, and to aid in the work. Backed by Johns Hopkins, President of the Merchants Bank, the leading financial institution then as now, of the South, he secured more and more money, Mr. Hopkins himself making large personal subscriptions to the securities. He also, personally, persuaded practically many men, and not a few women, to invest in the securities, to the extent of their means, and, as the work proceeded, he kept it up, from day to day, until, at last, the extension was completed to the banks of the Ohio, and on New Year's Day, 1853, the indefatigable President rode in triumph into Wheeling, with the first great goal of the projected route to open up the vast resources of the West, attained. The way had been literally hewed out of the sides of the Alleghanies, over the peaks, the ravines and canons, under the very mountains themselves, in not a few instances, and the Ohio was reached—the great grain fields, the mines, the manufactures and all the products of the almost limitless West, were placed at the very doors of Baltimore, on the shores of the Atlantic, and hence forth the commercial progress of Maryland's great seaport was placed on a footing of equality with that of the other ports on the shores of the ocean, with the whole world open to it—for trade and commerce of all sorts and kinds.

And all this colossal task had been begun and completed by Marylanders, and Marylanders alone, and practically unaided by outsiders, in any part of the land. It had been a Maryland proposition, a Maryland enterprise, from the start. It had been sneered at and flouted by the people of other cities and states throughout the country. And large numbers of people at home scouted it as a foolish and impossible dream, a dream which could never be brought to a practical realization. The Alleghanies, rising over three thousand feet toward the skies, were looked upon as an impassable barrier. The numerous rivers and lesser streams were believed to be other obstacles almost impossible to overcome, and last, and by no means least, the enormous cost in itself, would prevent its completion. It was a chimera, a crazy dream of a lot of crack-brained enthusiasts, and an absurdity from start to finish.

But there was one man in Baltimore who never lost faith in the project, and who undoubtedly did more than all others to

bring about enough confidence in the minds of the City and State authorities, and many of the cooler heads among the people, to enable Mr. Swann to secure the necessary means to complete his plans, and finish the great iron highway over its first and most difficult stretch from Baltimore and Cumberland, to the great central valley of the West, at the Ohio River—and that man was the late Johns Hopkins. As he came to the rescue of the road in later years, in the great panic of 1873, when he loaned it nine hundred thousand dollars at one time, so twenty years earlier, had he gone to its aid, and to him more than to any other one man or set of men, is due the credit which enabled Mr. Swann to keep his word and enter Wheeling on a train, over an iron highway in 1853—now seventy-four years ago this very year. He had faith in the future, he was one of the most far-seeing men of his day and generation, probably the most far-seeing man in Baltimore at that time, and the great work he did for the city and state during the years from 1850 to his death on Christmas Eve, 1873, in all sorts of capacities, and in all sorts of fields, has done fourfold more to benefit the people of his beloved home commonwealth, than all the work done by the great institutions which were founded by means of wealth he accumulated during his long and industrious life. And he made the old, historic Merchants Bank the earliest and greatest bulwark of Maryland's prosperity.

CHAPTER XL.

No men in the state had more to do with the actual work which was done in connection with the Baltimore & Ohio, than the Latrobes. They were prominent in the work of construction of the great system between Baltimore and the Ohio River, and they took no little part in the financing of the enterprise, and John H. B. Latrobe, was the lawyer who had a great part in the framing of the laws under the provisions of which the rights of way and all sorts of other property privileges as were secured—in fact he served as counsel for the Company from the days when it was no more than an experiment up to and after the death of John W. Garrett in 1884.

But the man who deserves the most credit for the actual planning and construction of the great roadway, especially that part of it which extended over the hills and valleys and over and under the mountains to the Ohio River, was Benjamin H. Latrobe, the first of the really great railway engineers, not only in this country, but in the entire world. Mr. Latrobe planned out the whole scheme of construction and surveyed the line throughout its entire length from the Patapsco to the Ohio—and when he had completed his work, and had seen the train which had left Baltimore pull up on the banks of the Ohio at Wheeling, he saw the completion of the longest railway line then in the whole world, and his success in building the great highway over the mountains, was looked upon as the greatest engineering feat of the age—for it was the general belief, that such a gigantic undertaking was a matter of impossibility—that the mountains would prove to be an impassable barrier to the western progress of the road, and that should the track be laid it would be impossible to haul trains of any commercial value over it—and that, therefore, it would be a failure and a useless expenditure of money. It was an experiment, the experiment did not fail, and Mr. Latrobe was the first civil engineer to demonstrate that heavy trains could be hauled over heavy grades, and that mountains, hills and rivers, no matter how rough and steep they may be are not unsurmountable obstacles to railways, and that practically all sorts of natural difficulties may be overcome

by the persistent and well-directed work of man. And in selecting the route, which he later surveyed and graded, he spent days and weeks going on foot through the tangled woods and rocky and almost impassable ravines traversing sections where none but hunters and trappers had ever looked and he not only selected the actual ground over which the tracks were laid, made the careful surveys which have been the models for railway and road engineers from that day to this, but he did a large part of real work himself, and later in life he said he had literally walked over every foot of the ground on which the tracks of the railway had been laid, from Cumberland to the Ohio, that in fact he had "stepped" most of it off, and that there was scarcely a bush, tree or rock on the whole line that he had not carefully observed, from time to time, on his numerous trips made from day to day and from week to week as the work progressed toward its goal. In his later years Mr. Latrobe enjoyed telling stories of his experiences when prospecting for the best route through the mountains of what is now Garrett county (at that time it was a part of Alleghany county). The country was thinly settled, and the people were the roughest and most ignorant sort of mountaineers, few of whom could read or write, and had never heard of a railroad, and even after it was explained to them what it was, they were dubious, and when they were told that the cars would be pulled up the steep mountain grades by steam engines, they flatly refused to believe it, and even pictures of trains failed to convince them, and many of them even went so far as to call some of their friends and neighbors liars who had been to Cumberland, and had actually seen the moving trains, and told about them. And not until the tracks were laid in some of the wilder sections, and construction trains had appeared on the scene, were many of them convinced that a railroad was a real, useful thing, and that trains loaded with all kinds of heavy freight could really be hauled over the mountains and hills, and that there was practically no limit to the weight that could be carried over great distances, with what, at that time was a marvellous rate of speed. From far and near, as the tracks were slowly laid as fast as the grades were completed, and the construction trains followed on, the people of the mountains and valleys, men, women and children would gather and look on in wide-eyed wonder at

the work that was being done. And Mr. Latrobe said that among the most interesting of his experiences, was the amazed interest which the inhabitants of the wild country through which they were making their way, took in what was going on—and their delight was great when they were allowed to take short rides on the cars, as they were going backward and forward as the work progressed.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE story of the gradual completion of the Baltimore & Ohio is no doubt the most romantic and really thrilling of all the histories of railway construction in the United States. From its very inception a century ago, when the General Assembly of Maryland granted the charter, up to the present time, the chronicle of events which have followed, one after the other ever since 1827, has been filled with dramatic episodes of the most vivid sort, many of them far surpassing the most imaginary fiction, and not a few of them tragic in the intensity of the occurrences of that time.

The conception of the whole scheme to build a railway four hundred miles long through a wild, rock and mountainous country; over hills, valleys and rivers, was heroic and startling in its magnitude. No railroad had ever been built before, more than a few miles in length, in any part of the world. There were no railroad builders, there was no material on hand, there were no trained engineers—the only sort of engineers in those days, were surveyors—land surveyors, and there were few real roads of any sort—and, above all else there was no money on hand with which to make a start, and money in those days was scarce and hard to get, and no system of credit had been devised to finance large enterprises, and the whole scheme was no more than a speculative problem, which, when solved, might turn out to be successful and might easily turn out to be otherwise.

But those old-time gentlemen of Baltimore a century ago, had faith—they started the work, they secured the charter from the General Assembly, and soon the people became enthusiastic over the project and subscriptions to the stock flowed in—the state subscribed, the city subscribed, and the men and women of Baltimore subscribed, and the work was started and pushed on with vigor, and without loss of faith for years and years, although at times the outlook was blue, but Baltimore and Maryland never lost faith, and have stood by their greatest industrial organization through all the misfortunes. which have befallen it, for a century. And the descendants, in the third generation, of the men who made it possible, in the days when there were no

railways, are now able to take pride in it, as the greatest manifestation of the foresight of their forefathers in the early years of the last century.

In those days the Baltimore & Ohio was the model—there were no other roads in the country, except a few short tracks at the openings of mines—and the only motive power was horse power. Soon, however, steam engines were built which were adapted to the work, and before long a craze for railroad building swept over the country, and men came to Baltimore from other states and cities, to learn from the Baltimore & Ohio how to do the work—it for years was the model of all railways, and under its present management, it has again become the model railway system of the United States, and possibly, of all the world. And, as was made manifest during the Civil War, no other railway system in America, has played as great a part in the history of the country as this great Maryland enterprise.

The construction of the road to Cumberland practically exhausted the funds of the Company, and there was a cessation of work for some time, and there were not a few people who insisted that it would never go any further—that the difficulties and expense of the work over the vast heights of the Alleghany Mountains ,would be for a time, at any rate, unsurmountable, and, as times were hard and money scarce, the further progress of the enterprise was postponed, although, in the meantime, the hasty construction of the earlier sections necessitated all sorts of repairs, and—in places curves were taken out, bridges strengthened or rebuilt, and, in 1849, when Thomas Swann took charge as President, he found the Company in fairly good condition, the road and its equipment up to date for the time, and while money was still scarce and hard to get, he went on with the work, and, as related in the last chapter, he carried out his promise, and completed the road to the Ohio River on January 1, 1853.

Ralph Waldo Emerson, the great New England author and philosopher, in one of his essays, relates the following story of the difficulties which confronted the builders of railways in those days. He relates that the Irish laborers who were working on the Baltimore & Ohio, in Western Maryland, gave the officials great trouble—they rioted and drank and did all sorts of things which interfered with the progress of the work. The President of the road consulted the Archbishop of Baltimore as to what

he should do, and upon the advise of the ecclesiastic, he built a chapel, the Archbishop sent out a priest, and he restored order without delay, and the work was continued without further trouble on the part of the laborers.

CHAPTER XLII.

WHILE the Baltimore & Ohio owed its existence to the favor and aid of the State of Maryland, while the State and men who controlled the affairs of the state, were its early friends and benefactors for the full period from the time the charter was granted in 1827, up to the death of John W. Garrett in 1884, that is for more than half a century, from that time on until its practical reorganization after the death of John K. Cowen, the connections of the State and the City of Baltimore, with the Company and its consequent allegiance with politics, proved its greatest curse, and had more to do with its financial bankruptcy than all other matters combined.

In all the early days of the enterprise, while it was struggling for existence, and encountering all sorts of difficulties in obtaining money to continue the extension of its lines to the Ohio River, the public men, who controlled the city and state, were its most faithful friends and benefactors. Without them it would have been unable to finance its construction and secure the necessary equipment. Not once, but often when the work was held up through loss of confidence on the part of the investors, the State of Maryland, and the City of Baltimore came forward and provided the means to continue the work, and, as stated in earlier chapters of these sketches, aided by the influence of Johns Hopkins, who was then the leading financier of the state, the work went on. And this condition of affairs existed even after the death of Mr. Hopkins in 1873, up to the death of the elder Garrett in 1884. As long as Mr. Garrett was at the head of the Company, that is from 1858 to 1884, he controlled the politics and the politicians, he utilized them for the advantage of the Railway Company, and the State of Maryland and the City of Baltimore were subservient to him, from the Governor and Mayor down to the humblest district or ward leader—they were all Baltimore & Ohio Railway men, and obeyed the slightest behest of Mr. Garrett, who ruled over all with an iron hand.

In former chapters it has been related how the struggle for supremacy between Arthur P. Gorman and John K. Cowen finally brought the great corporation to bankruptcy and financial

ruin. There was an interim, however, in this gigantic contest, where one brave and determined man, who served as President for a few years, held up the progress of the Company on its road to ruin, and that man was Charles F. Mayer, who devoted several years of his life to a strenuous endeavor to deliver the organization from the blighting and deadening influence of the corrupt and ambitious politicians, whose selfish machinations were dragging it slowly down to destruction.

Mr. Mayer came to his office of President, not as a stranger to the Company, but as a man thoroughly familiar with its affairs through a period of several years. When he was chosen to the position, he was head of the Consolidation Coal Company, an organization allied to and subsidiary to the Baltimore & Ohio, and practically controlled by it, and, at that time entirely dependent on it, and he, therefore, had a thorough knowledge of its troubles and the causes of the same, and he laboured strenuously and ably to remedy the evils and devoted his time and his great ability to a correction of them, and would undoubtedly have succeeded, had the business and financial condition of the country been normal—but as the Free Silver agitation was then at its height, it was no easy matter to secure money for any purpose whatever, and the feeling was then prevalent that the construction of railways had been overdone, and even old and well-established companies had difficulty in securing funds for betterments and extensions, and the marketing of securities for such purposes was an almost impossible task.

One thing of the greatest importance to the Company at that time, was accomplished by Mr. Mayer during his presidency of the Company, and that one thing he set out to do at the very beginning of his administration, and that was to free the Railway Company from control of the city and state, so that it could no longer be the football of scheming politicians, and to a great extent he brought about what he desired. He also reformed the administration of the several departments of the road, simplified the operations, and in other ways did away with many of the evils he found existing when he took charge.

CHAPTER XLIII.

AN interesting chapter in the history of the Baltimore & Ohio Company (if it should ever be written in all its details) would be one which would relate the connection of that great organization with the lobby at Annapolis, and, later on with the lobby at Washington. The Annapolis lobby, however, and the work it did for and against the Baltimore & Ohio, as the situation varied, is much better known than the manipulations of the distinguished lawyers, senators, and members of the House of Representatives who, for many years, looked after the interests of the Maryland Railway Corporation, at the National Capital. The Washington lobby will be treated in later chapters.

From the organization of the Baltimore & Ohio a century ago, up to the death of the elder Garrett, in 1884, the General Assembly of Maryland was dominated by that Corporation, which never failed to obtain, in the way of legal enactments, all that it wished, no matter what that might be. At rare intervals Mr. Garrett would visit the State House, summon to his presence in the Governor's office, the leaders of both Houses of the General Assembly, condescendingly inform them what he wanted them to do (and his wishes for their action were not always restricted to matters affecting his Railway Corporation) take luncheon with the Governor at the Mansion, and, later in the day return to Baltimore, well satisfied that his commands would promptly be obeyed. And there is no record that he ever failed to secure what he wished.

After his death in 1884, there was an entire change in the situation. Robert Garrett, who succeeded his father, under the dominating influence of John K. Cowen, broke away violently and forcefully from the age-old alliance with the Democratic organization in 1885, and the breach was never healed until after the death of Senator Gorman—the old-time relations of accord in all matters of legislation were completely severed, as has been related in previous chapters. Henceforth the Railway Company never received any favors of any moment without vigorous fighting and persistent and expensive lobbying before the General Assembly, at its biennial sessions.

The first session after the break was that of 1886—The Gorman-Rasin organization had an overwhelming majority in both branches and were prepared to ride rough shod over all those, especially the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, who had opposed them in the recent election, and had prepared a program, which, if they had been able to carry it out would have resulted in serious damage to many corporation interests, and especially to the interests and well-being of the Railway Company. And, as the writer of these sketches was a member of the House of Delegates that session, what is here related is derived from personal knowledge of what took place at Annapolis during that memorable session—and that the Baltimore & Ohio officials were aware of what the old and powerful Gorman-Rasin Ring had in store for them, was clearly evidenced by their preparations for the impending contest.

One of the most skilful and able politicians in the state at that time was John W. Davis. He was originally a member of what was known as the "Old Guard," or inner circle of the state organization, composed of Arthur P. Gorman, I Freeman Rasin, Levin Woolford, Jesse K. Hines, George Colton, Michael Bannon and John W. Davis. He was at one time State Treasurer of Maryland, and Mr. John W. Garrett, recognizing his great ability and shrewdness had taken him into the service of the Railway Company, and made him "assistant to the President," and his chief duty was to look after the political connection of the Company—and when the break came between his old Gorman-Rasin allies and the Railway Company, Mr. Davis remained faithful to his employers, and later on, in his quiet and capable way rendered them the greatest possible service in the struggle which took place at Annapolis, in the General Assembly. And with Mr. Davis was another member of the Old Guard, George Colton, who was at that time President of the Board of Police Commissioners of Baltimore, and known as the ablest lobbyist in Maryland, and so great was his reputation as a legislative manipulator, that his services were often sought by interests which had business before Congress—and he was as successful and skilful at Washington as he ever was at Annapolis. These men, with others not so well known, were prepared to fight against the schemes of the machine in its plans to cripple the Railway Company and its allies, and they were especially making preparations to thwart the greatest and most dangerous of all the schemes of the Gorman-Rasin combination (which was backed by the Pennsylvania Railway Company) and which was presumed to be secret, but which Messrs. Davis and Colton, who were familiar with all the tricks of their old allies, had fathomed, and which, they, unsuspected by the Gorman coalition, were laying their wires, with great skill and acumen, to counteract.

CHAPTER XLIV.

IN looking back and carefully examining the now well-known events of that memorable session of the General Assembly of 1886, of which the writer was a member, it becomes clearly evident that it marked an era in the history of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, and that the defeat of the conspirators, who were then in secret, working out their plans for vengeance, was an event which had as much to do with the well-being of that great enterprise as anything which happened during the whole course of its eventful history.

On the surface there was nothing to indicate what was really at the bottom. It seemed a perfectly legitimate plan to bring about desirable reforms in the government of the state, and at no time during the entire three months' session, was there any indication of the real meaning underlying the bill to provide for the election and convening of a convention to frame an entirely new constitution for the state. The constitution, then and now in force, had been adopted in 1867, at the restoration of Civil Rights to the citizens of Maryland shortly after the close of the Civil War. There were some admitted defects, but there was really no outstanding reason for a new constitution, except the fact that under a provision of the one in effect, a vote was required to be taken every twenty years, on the simple question as to whether the people wanted a constitutional convention to be held.

But the conspirators, who realized that they now had such a firm grip on the state, were determined to go to the limit, and, in addition to providing for a vote on the subject, they had a bill introduced to direct that a convention should be called without delay, and in this bill they provided for the election of delegates to the convention, the time of holding it, and all the necessary machinery, with rules, appropriations for expenses and in fact all that could be done by the General Assembly, including the date later in the same year—in fact the whole plan was to rush the thing through as expeditiously as possible—while the Gorman-Rasin organization was fully and powerfully entrenched in control of the state government, with overwhelming majorities in all branches, and with an apparently overwhelming majority of the voters of the state ready to back anything and everything that they might desire to do. And there was no hint on the surface as to the underlying reasons for this haste—there was nothing to indicate that this whole plan to change the organic law of the state was other than a praiseworthy desire to better things for the people, and to do away with certain alleged anachronisms in the old constitution, which were alleged to stand in the way of modern progressive legislation.

But the able and unscrupulous men who were back of the plan to secure a new constitution, were not at all interested in modern, progressive legislation in the enactment of changes which would prove beneficial to the public at large. What they were planning to do was to bring about such changes in the laws, and such changes in the personel of the courts of the state, that would enable them to carry out their schemes, to hamper and obstruct the progress of their most powerful enemy, the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, and, not less in importance, get rid of certain judges, especially the judges of the Court of Appeals, who were looked upon as the chief obstacle in their way. And all this was not denied—in fact, later on in life, Senator Gorman openly asserted, that had they been able to secure the new constitution in 1886, the history of the state would have been very different from what it had been since that time, and that the disaster of 1895 would never have taken place, and that the power of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company would have been curtailed to such an extent, that so far from dominating the state, the state would have dominated the Railway Company. In fact, despite all the changes that have taken place in the Baltimore & Ohio since 1886, in the face of all the tragedy of its eventful history of the last forty years, the Company faced its greatest danger in the session of the General Assembly of 1886, and the fact that it won out, and averted that danger, was due not to any great skill on the part of its many able and skilful agents in the lobby there at that time, but to a combination of the younger members, who lined up against the Gorman-Rasin combination, in the House under the leadership of Philip D. Laird, of Montgomery county, and in the Senate under the leadership of J. Clarence Lane, of Washington county. But for the skilful work of these two able men and their followers the con-

vention bill would have gone through, the convention would have been held, and, as Senator Gorman said, the history of the Baltimore & Ohio and the State of Maryland, would have been entirely changed for a generation.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE bill to provide for "a convention to frame a new constitution," was one of the most skilfully drawn measures ever presented to any legislative body. Presumably, it was framed by State Senator Thomas G. Hayes, who was later on District Attorney for Maryland, and finally wound up his long public career as Mayor of Baltimore. While Mr. Hayes was the ostensible author of the bill, and introduced it early in the session, it was really drawn up by Charles J. M. Gwinn, at one time Attorney General of the state, and recognized as one of the ablest, craftiest and most unscrupulous lawyers, not only in the state, but also in the entire country. In fact Mr. Gwinn's ability was of such a character that he was selected by the national leaders of the Democratic party as their adviser for many years. He attended all national conventions for several years, drew up the national platforms on which the campaigns of 1876, 1880, 1884 and 1888 were based, was an attendant at all party conferences which were held during those years, was consulted by cabinet officers, senators and representatives on all sorts of public questions, was for years one of the legal advisers of John W. Garrett, and, up to the death of that great man, was not only his personal friend and counsel, but was the author of a large proportion of all the measures enacted by the General Assembly, at the behest of Mr. Garrett and the Railway Company. And, while he was supplanted by Mr. Cowen after the death of the elder Garrett, from time to time he was employed by his successors, particularly so when the legal controversies took place in connection with the extension of the railway system to Philadelphia, and later on to New York, concerning which an account will be given later on.

Mr. Gwinn was closely allied with Senator Gorman. He was the adviser of the Gorman-Rasin Ring in 1875, when he was counted in as Attorney General, on the ticket with John Lee Carroll, who was made Governor, after one of the most bitterly contested fights which ever took place in the state. Against Mr. Gwinn for Attorney was Severn Teackle Wallis, in some respects the most able and brilliant lawyer the state has produced since

the Civil War. The whole of that campaign was so rotten the stench of it has not entirely passed away, even though more than half a century has passed into history.

The bill to provide for the constitutional convention, as said above, was drawn up by Mr. Gwinn. It was literally full of what are called legislative snakes. It not only provided, in detail, for the vote on the question of holding a convention to revise the state constitution it provided at the same time for a special election to be held the ensuing summer, that on the same ballot the delegates to the convention were to be chosen, and, further, it was framed in such a way that the Gorman-Rasin Ring (it was called the "Ring" at that time, no such dignified name as organization was ever applied to it) would be able to elect a large majority of its members. No such a shrewd and carefully planned scheme had ever before been presented to the General Assembly of the state. There was no doubt of the fact that it was literally full of snakes—the most deadly sort of legislative snakes—all of which were to be turned loose upon the Baltimore & Ohio Railway interests, and, incidentally, to aid in the destruction of certain men and interests hostile to the Ring and its backers.

As soon as the bill was introduced and made public, a loud cry went up from those at whom it was aimed, and their friends, from one end of Maryland to the other. It was roundly denounced from Garrett to Worcester and it was especially denounced by many business men in the city—not a few of whom were men who had before that time been quiet adherents of the Ring, and who had given that maloderous organization all the respectability it had in the community.

It was denounced by friends of practically all the judges of all the courts of record in the state, as it was plainly evident that one of its objects was to clear out the whole bench of the circuits, the City of Baltimore and the Court of Appeals, as well as all the clerks of the courts, and not a few other officials, who had incurred the hostility of the Ring.

But the chief object in view was, to quote the words of Senator Gorman, for he had, by this time, thrown aside all concealment of his real purpose, "to squeeze the life out of every prominent enemy of the party, and especially to squeeze that arch enemy of the party, the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company. To force it to give up all its vast and iniquitous tax exemptions, and to bring it fully under the control of the state."

CHAPTER XLVI.

FROM the day the Hayes Bill was presented, everybody connected with the General Assembly, and before many days had elapsed, the people of the entire state, understood what the chief issue would be during the session, and, slowly, it was also realized what were the underlying objects of the scheme.

The Legislature at that session had in its membership some of the ablest men in the state. In the Senate were Edwin Warfield, of Howard county, President of that body, and, later on Governor; Thomas G. Hayes, later United States District Attorney and afterward Mayor of Baltimore; Isidor Rayner, afterward member of Congress and Attorney General of the state, and later, for several years United States Senator; Harry Wells Rusk, member of Congress, of Baltimore City; J. Clarence Lane, of Washington county, one of the leaders of the state bar; Richard H. Edelin, of Charles, also a lawyer of eminence; Griffin W. Goldsborough, of Caroline; Clinton McCullough, of Cecil, and other men of ability and prominence, nearly all of whom were representatives of old and famous Maryland families. And not the least prominent and influential was Elihu E. Jackson, of Wicomico, afterward Governor of the state, and Samuel K. Dennis, of Worcester, one of the leading citizens of the Eastern Shore.

In the House of Delegates were also to be found a large number of men of prominence and ability. In the first rank were to be found Joseph B. Seth, of Talbot county, Speaker of the session and in later years, for two sessions President of the Senate, and one of the leading lawyers of the state; Andrew J. Chapman, of Charles, former member of Congress; Philip D. Laird, of Montgomery, later on Speaker of the House, and first Chairman of the Public Service Commission; Edward Stake, of Washington, afterward judge of the Circuit Court; John Hubner, of Baltimore county, in after years Speaker of the House, and President of the Senate; Peter J. Campbell, of Baltimore City, afterward for three sessions, President of the Senate; Fillmore Beall, of Prince George's, afterward judge of the Circuit Court; Edwin Gott, of Anne Arundel, afterward Secretary of State; W. W. Bustead, of Queen Anne's, one of the leading editors of

the Eastern Shore; Walter R. Townsend, of Baltimore county, one of the party leaders; Charles H. Evans, of Baltimore City, later United States Marshall; John E. Beasman, of Carroll, later on one of the ablest members of the State Senate, for several session, and, even then, known as a watch dog of the Treasury; Alexander Armstrong, of Washington county, and other representative Marylanders, all of whom were taxpayers, and men thoroughly interested in the welfare of the commonwealth; and a notable feature of the session, was the fact that there were only four Republicans in the Senate and ten in the House of Delegates, so overwhelming had been the victory of the Gorman-Rasin Ring in the election. The outlook, therefore, at the opening of the session in January, 1886, was not auspicious—indeed there was no doubt whatever in the public mind—all believed that Mr. Gorman would have no difficulty whatever in passing any bill of any sort—that the legislature would do whatever he wished it to do—no matter what his wishes might be. It was a Gorman legislature through and through, and so elated was the Senator at his overwhelming victory, that he threw off his mask, abandoned his usual policy of concealment of his plans, and openly announced what he proposed doing to his arch-enemy, the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, and his foes on the judicial bench and in the bar of the state, for it was notorious at the time that all the judges and all the real lawyers of eminence, except two or three, were open foes of Mr. Gorman and all his ideas of politics, business, and everything connected with the public life of the state. In fact it was notorious that practically all the worthwhile professional and business people of Maryland, were hostile to Mr. Gorman and all his ways. Of course there were a few exceptions, but they were very few in number. As was said at the time, that the representatives of the old-time professional, business and landed aristocracy of Maryland, were almost unanimous in their hostility to the Senator and his "gang," as they were called, and it was a common occurrence for many of them to refuse to speak to him when they met, and in notable instances, Maryland gentlemen refused to be introduced to him, when they met in public or private places. The most notable instance where a representative of this class refused to be introduced to Mr. Gorman, was that of Mr. William L. Marbury, now the leader of the Maryland Bar.

He declined to be introduced to the Senator, when the latter was at the acme of his fame, when they happened to be together. He would have nothing to do with him. And there were other cases of the same sort.

So the General Assembly of 1886 met in the old State House at Annapolis. The real issue on which the body had been elected was the continuance in power of Mr. Gorman, and his victory was so overwhelming, that the impression prevailed everywhere that all he had to do was state his desires. His program was all prepared. There was no doubt of its success. He had conquered his enemies and had them prostrate at his feet. Railway officials, judges, lawyers, bankers, merchants, officials of all ranks and grades, were to be humilated and chastised, in the case of judges and other state and local officials, all were to be shorn of their power and thrown ignominiously out on the political scrap heap—there was no doubt about it—anywhere in the state. Gorman was supreme and his defeated enemies waited, expecting no mercy.

And all the while a quiet, unobtrustive man, was busy in the Baltimore & Ohio Building, at Baltimore and Calvert Streets, preparing to carry out a plan which defeated the purposes of the man who has well been called the evil genius of Maryland politics, and his victory, like Dead Sea apples, was turned into ashes in his grasp.

CHAPTER XLVII.

No man in Maryland at that time (1885-86) was more thoroughly familiar with the ramifications and all the phases of Maryland politics than John W. Davis, assistant to Robert Garrett, President of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company.

Mr. Davis was one of that coterie of old-time Ring politicians, known as "the Old Guard," the members of which were Arthur P. Gorman, of Howard county; I. Freeman Rasin, of Baltimore City; Jesse K. Hines, of Kent county; Levin Woolford, of Somerset county; Michael Bannon, of Anne Arundel county, and George Colton and John W. Davis, of Baltimore City. These men were all politicians of the most practical sort. They were the men who forced the state convention in 1875 to throw aside William T. Hamilton and nominate John Lee Carroll for Governor, although Mr. Hamilton was the choice, at the opening of the convention of the majority of the delegates, enough of whom were weaned away, and bribed, to change, in order to give Mr. Carroll the prize—and in order to accomplish this result, scruples were thrown aside and the most unblushing bribery and corruption took place. And after the nomination of the ticket, the Old Guard managed the fight which resulted in the counting in of their ticket, although in order to accomplish their object and win the victory, fraud, corruption, ballot-box stuffing and changes of ballots, were the order of the day, from one end of the state to the other. And Mr. Davis and his colleagues, united in directing all this work.

They planned and perfected the scheme which resulted in the election of Gorman to the United States Senate in 1880, and the consequent overthrow of William Pinkney Whyte, who up to that time had been the outstanding figure in the machine politics of the city and state.

They controlled the lobby, and through the lobby, the General Assembly, selling all sorts of legislation at the State House, and no political corporation was more efficient, unscrupulous and daring, than the Maryland Old Guard, which made the state notorious for political rottenness throughout the land—and, as their motto was "Addition, Division and Silence," they prospered and flourished, and there was every indication that their lease of power would be long, although the reformers were howling daily and nightly at their gates, and demanding their overthrow. What did they care for the reformers, the purists, and the cranks? They held the election machinery in their grasp, and, to quote again the oft-quoted maxim of Mr. Rasin—"Give me the window, and I don't care who has the votes." And they had the window, and thus could win the elections, no matter how greatly they were outnumbered by the voters. And Mr. Davis had been associated with them for years, was one of the senior members of the gang, had their confidence, had been honored by an election by the General Assembly as State Treasurer, and member of the Board of Public works. In fact he was saturated with Ring politics, and while he was a quiet, unobtrusive man, cordial and genial in manner, generous and beneficent in charity, and all good works—he was "one of them," and one of the most influential of the lot, and, it was as a member of the Old Guard, that he was chosen by the elder Garrett for the responsible and confidential post of assistant to the President of the great Railway Company, especially charged with the political end of the work, and was continued in the same place by the younger Garrett, when he succeeded his father as head of the Company. And that he was efficient in this place, as he was in all others, is not a matter of doubt. He was efficiency personified, and he showed it in a marvelous manner in behalf of the Railway Company, just as he had shown it when engaged in any sort of political work, when he functioned with Gorman and Rasin as a member of the old Ring. And it was largely the knowledge he had acquired in politics, which enabled him to thwart the schemes of his old associates when they parted company, severed not only political but business and personal relations, and entered upon the strenuous contest in 1885, and which never really ended until Mr. Davis and Senator Gorman, and all those who had been actively engaged in it, had gone to render their final account and had been consigned to the dust from which they had sprung.

And without taking into his counsel any one, without detailing his plans even to his official superiors, Mr. Davis made all his preparations, and not until he had gone carefully over the field, in fact not until after the General Assembly had actually

convened, organized and was at work, did he divulge what he had done, and what he wished to do to head off the Ring conspirators—and when he was ready, the only man he told about it was John K. Cowen, who had then become the dominating influence and power in the Baltimore & Ohio councils, and was also the leader of the Anti-Ring reform forces, which had been so badly and disastrously defeated at the polls only a few short weeks before. And the great lawyer approved all Mr. Davis had done, and he at once began to perfect the necessary detail work, which, in the end brought success, followed by disaster to the conspirators.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

No sooner was the Gorman Constitutional Convention bill made public, than Mr. Davis realized its importance to his corporation, and the motives underlying it in the minds of Senator Gorman and his counsellors—in fact he had suspected from the first break with Gorman, that his scheming mind would concoct some plan to injure the Railway Company—and that it would be a plan which would not only amply revenge himself, but would provide for him and his fellow conspirators great pecuniary rewards, should they succeed, and without any corresponding losses should failure result in the end. In other words, on the one hand he would secure not only revenge, should his schemes succeed, but also he would be in a position to force from the hostile railway corporation, large sums of money, while should he lose out, he would be in exactly the same position he occupied before he started out. But he could see no danger of defeat. He had an overwhelming majority in both Houses of the General Assembly, a majority which was elected on a platform, of which he, himself, was the basis, practically a large Gorman majority, of the hide-bound sort, ready, to all appearances, to pass any measure which he might favor, or to defeat any measure which he might oppose. And probably no one had any expectation that it would act otherwise. It was in Gorman's hands, as putty.

Mr. Davis, however, looked upon the situation in a different light. He was familiar with every section of Maryland, and no man in the state had a more intimate acquaintance with the people of all sections. He knew all about their local prejudices, their likes and dislikes, and how they resented any interference with their local, county and district rights by people from other sections. In other words, he knew Maryland and Marylanders, as well as any man in the state—probably better than any other man, except the venerable George Colton, whose associate he had been in politics for a long period of years. In fact it was admitted on all sides that the two men in Maryland who were better informed, as to all matters political as well as personal, than

all others combined, were George Colton and John W. Davis—the only possible rival they had was Jesse K. Hines—and these three men formed a triumvirate which had more to do with the success of the old Ring than all others combined, not even excepting Senator Gorman or Mr. Rasin.

In considering the outlook Mr. Davis realized that the Ring had determined, in case they succeeded in passing their bill and securing their convention, to provide for the retirement of all the judges of all the courts, of all the clerks of all the Circuit Courts, of all the registers of wills, and of other officials who had been chosen at recent elections for terms ranging from six to fifteen years, in other words to make a clean sweep, and provide for the election at the special election to be provided for under the new constitution, of new judges, new clerks and new registers of wills in every county in every circuit from one end of the state to the other. In this manner he would be enabled to place on the bench, not only of the Court of Appeals but also of all the circuits new men, and back of it all was a scheme to reorganize the whole judicial system of the state, and change the forms of the administration of justice from the lowest up to the highest degree. So, in a quiet way, through agents in the City of Baltimore and the counties Mr. Davis had it brought to the attention of all these gentlemen, what their fate would be, should the bill under consideration become a law, and finally be ratified by the people at the polls—and then, quietly at first, the movement started in every county from Garrett to Worcester.

Protests from the counties began to go in to Annapolis against any change in the State Constitution. The clerks of the courts roused their friends to the danger threatening them, the registers of wills followed suit, protesting against any scheme which would cut short the term for which they had been elected, and all the judges from the chief judge of the Court of Appeals down through all his associates, the circuit judges in all the counties, and their hosts of friends and dependents, backed by a large proportion of the leading members of the bar from one end of Maryland to the other, were quietly aroused to the impending danger, and in a few weeks the tone at Annapolis began to assume a doubtful air.

The members of the General Assembly were hearing from home.

Mr. Davis was getting in his work, and, in alarm, Senator Gorman went over to Annapolis to inquire why his great measure was delayed. He wanted to know what had come over his adherents. What was the matter?

In the background, unsuspected, Mr. Davis was still at work.

CHAPTER XLIX.

WHEN the Senator reached Annapolis he was surprised to find many of the members of both Houses of the General Assembly lukewarm in behalf of the bill to provide for a new constitution, while others who had been reckoned on as certain to favor it, were doubtful, and in some instances hostile to the whole proposition. In order, therefore, to push the matter to a conclusion, it was determined by the Ring to force the fighting, and learn without delay what the strength of the opposition would amount to, and what prospect there was to secure an early passage of the measure, and get it out of the way. Early as it was in the session, the outlook appeared to be that the consideration of the Gorman bill would be of such a character that it would seriously interfere with all other matters of legislation, and if it was not disposed of with promptness, would cause a real jam toward the end of the session and prevent any proper and careful attention to the many important matters which were of vital importance to the public interest of the entire state.

In the meantime, Senator J. Clarence Lane, of Washington County, who was the leader of the anti-Gorman forces, had introduced a bill, which, in accordance with the provision of the state constitution, provided for a vote to be taken at the next state election in 1887, on the simple question as to whether the people desired a convention to be called. The constitution of 1867 required this matter to be submitted to the people every twenty years—no more than a mere vote as to whether such a convention should be held, the details of which were to be determined at the ensuing session of the General Assembly, should the vote be in favor of a convention.

As said before, the Gorman-Hayes bill was an elaborate affair. It provided a special election in 1886. It also provided all the details as to the make-up of the convention—that the delegates should all be elected at the same time the vote was taken, that the names of the proposed delegates should be on the same ballot on which the voter stated whether he was for or against a convention, and other particulars were detailed, so that all was to be so regulated that they would be enabled to control the whole

body, provided, of course, they secured a bare majority of the delegates. It was a most carefully prepared and skilfully drawn measure, which was worthy of the subtle and not over-scrupulous brain of Charles J. M. Gwinn who was never excelled by any man in that sort of work. In other words, to use the expression of Severn Teackle Wallis, then the unrivalled leader of the Maryland Bar; "It was full of squirming, poisonous snakes; it was a model of all that was iniquitous in that character of legislation, and its passage would go far to give Gorman, and his unprincipled gang, such control over the affairs of the entire state, that nothing but an overwhelming uprising of the people would ever enable them to throw off the yoke. It would give them more complete control of the executive and legislative branches of the state government than they had ever had, and, it would give them, what they had never had before, practical control of the judges of all the courts of the state; which was what they were really after, and for which they had been scheming ever since the close of the Civil War."

And therefore Mr. Gorman went to Annapolis at frequent intervals, he sent from time to time, inviting the doubtful members to visit him and partake of his hospitality at Washington, he had a swarm of his ablest lieutenants camped at the State House at Annapolis, and not a detail was overlooked preparatory to the great and totally unexpected fight, which they were preparing to face in order to succeed in carrying out their conspiracy.

And while all this was going on, Mr. Davis was sitting in his office at Calvert and Baltimore Streets, quietly perfecting his plans to thwart the Gorman schemes, and, working under his direction, were men in all parts of the state—carefully preparing counter mines.

And the stage was soon set for one of the greatest and most dramatic acts in the great Maryland play; wherein the chief characters were Arthur P. Gorman, Senator of the United States, and John K. Cowen as the representative and defender of Maryland's great system of transportation. And slowly the curtain arose on the scene.

CHAPTER L.

NOT many days after the introduction of the Gorman Ring bill, to provide for a new constitutional convention, and while the measure had not even been read over or considered by either of the committees of the two Houses, the whole matter was under discussion, not only at Annapolis but in every nook and corner of the state, from the summit of the Alleghanies to the seacoast in Worcester county. The advocates of the scheme were zealous in their work to persuade the voters that the constitution of 1867 was antiquated and no longer suited to the demands of the times, although it was only twenty years since its adoption. They cited instances, especially in the sections of the organic act regarding taxation, which were hindrances to the enactment of proper revenue producing laws. The provisions regarding the taxation of personal property, were of doubtful interpretation, and it was impossible under the constitutional provision, to tax certain kinds of intangible personal property (notably interest-bearing bonds and dividend-paying stocks), and there were other defects in the constitution, so the advocates of the proposed new measure insisted, which could only be remedied by an entirely new organic law.

Senator Gorman issued orders to the committees of the two Houses, which were in charge of the proposed bill, to take it up at once (that is after the organization of the Houses was completed and the committees named) in order that it might be reported out in both the Senate and the House of Delegates and pushed forward to a passage without delay. The writer was a member of the House committee to which the bill had been referred, and without delay, that is in a few days after the committee had been organized, the chairman, Mr. Reuben Johnson, a delegate from Howard county, read a letter from the Senator in which he urged upon the committee the necessity of speedy action in regard to the bill. In fact the letter was, to all intents and purposes, a command. It was peremptory in tone, and stated that the desire for speedy action was the result of a popular demand, and that the measure should be disposed of without delay. That it had been introduced thus early in the session for

the express purpose of settling the question, that the whole question had been discussed from one end of the state to the other, that it was the most important duty before the General Assembly, and therefore should have priority over all others.

The committee, as made up by Speaker Seth, was composed of some of the ablest men in the House. Reuben Johnson, of Howard county, the chairman, was a lawyer of ability and high personal character. Philip D. Laird, of Montgomery, was one of the ablest men in the state, and by far the best equipped man in the House for any sort of work. Years later he was Speaker of the House, and was the first chairman of the Public Service Commission after the organization of that body, in 1910.

Edward Stake, of Washington county, afterward an honored judge of the Western Circuit, and a lawyer of great ability and high standing, was the only Republican member of the committee. He was a careful worker, and a forceful and brilliant speaker.

Peter J. Campbell, of Baltimore City, then at the beginning of his long and honored career, was also a member, and later on he served several terms in the State Senate, of which body he was President for three sessions, and ranked as one of ablest presiding officers who ever wielded the gravel in the State House.

C. Dodd McFarland, of Baltimore City, was another able lawyer on the committee. He was an astute and careful politician, and was really the ablest representative of the city Ring in the House. The other members of the committee were new to the business and nowise prominent, and with the exception of the writer of the sketches, all are dead, and he alone survives to tell the tale.

At that time, it was the impression in the State House, that there would be no trouble in passing the bill, and the chairman of the committee, Mr. Johnson, was openly in favor of it. In fact he had been made chairman for that reason. He was from Senator Gorman's own county, was a personal friend of the Senator, and was expected to do his bidding.

He read to the committee the Senator's letter, which, was a virtual command to dispose of the bill, and report it at once. After he had finished the letter, he took up the convention bill, with the remark:

"Of course we all know what this bill is, and what we are expected to do with it. But, I suppose we had better go over it sec-

tion by section, so that we may be able to say that the committee has really considered it. But I think we ought to get it out of the way. Mr. Gwinn, who is down here looking after it, says it ought to be reported favorably at tomorrow's session. So let us get it out on the files."

And then occurred the first indication of what was to come.

Mr. Laird arose and said: "Mr. Chairman, I can see no reason for haste. This is the most important bill which will come before us this session, and we are here to represent the people—not individuals, even though those individuals happen to be as great and powerful as Senator Gorman and the distinguished ex-Attorney General, Mr. Gwinn."

CHAPTER LI.

WHEN Mr. Laird raised his voice in objection to the immediate consideration of the constitutional convention bill by the committee, all the members looked up in surprise, for it had been generally understood that the measure was to be pushed through at once and reported out and hastened to its passage. In fact, there had been no sign of opposition during the campaign to the proposition to provide for a new constitution, and it had been expected that it would be enacted promptly and the way cleared for other legislation, which it was expected the leaders had on their program. No whisper of hostility had been heard from any source, even among the members of the committee, and therefore there was general astonishment when Mr. Laird, who was recognized not only as the ablest man there, but also as the best lawyer in the House, asked for delay, and no one was more thoroughly taken aback than the Chairman. He, therefore, asked Mr. Laird why he thought there should be any delay on the part of the committee. He said:

"I had understood that there would be no opposition to this bill. It has been discussed from one end of the state to the other, and no word of hostility has been heard. The fact has been generally recognized that the present constitution is antiquated, that it should be revised up to date. Why, I recall the fact that Mr. Laird himself, in one of his speeches during the campaign, said that the chief duty of this session would be to provide for the calling of a convention to revise the constitution. Will he please give us his reason for this surprising change of front?"

"In a few words I will do so," said Mr. Laird. "I have not changed my views as to the desirability of the revision of the constitution. But I have learned many things, which I did not know anything about, until a few days ago. I have learned that the real object of the gentlemen who are presumably in control of the General Assembly, and who expect to control the constitutional convention, should one be called, I repeat that their real object is, not to revise the organic law for the purpose of making it more up to date, but rather to make it possible for them to gratify certain personal and political grudges they have

formed against several of the ablest and most honored officials, and other gentlemen, as well as against certain large business and corporate interests, in whose welfare the state has been bound up for a long period of years. In other words, I have learned, as a fact, that behind all this zeal for a new constitution, is a desire for vengeance, a desire to get even with certain interests, which are controlled and managed by men who have been opposed to the supremacy, political and otherwise, of the able leaders, who together make up what is called the Gorman-Rasin Ring. And, in order that the committee may have a full understanding of my reason for the course I am about to take, I will explain, in as few words as possible just what I mean.

"It was reported to me a few days ago, that the real object the leaders, who are forcing this bill through, had first, to secure the adoption of a constitution which would automatically retire from office all the judges, not only of the Court of Appeals, but of all the Circuit Courts of the state, as well as the clerks of the courts, and the Registers of Wills, beside other constitutional officials. Practically, all the incumbents of these offices have been out of harmony with the state and city organizations, and this is especially the case with the Judges of the Court of Appeals, all of whom are believed to be personally hostile to Senator Gorman, who have opposed him from the beginning of his career. Naturally, he wishes to get rid of them, and the same state of affairs exists with regard to all the other judicial officers of the city and state, a large proportion of whom have been anti-Gorman ever since the Senator became the accredited leader of the Democratic party.

"But the most important factor back of this whole move, to get rid of the old constitution and secure the adoption of a new one, is the determination to get even with the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company and thus punish the men who are in control of that corporation. It is not necessary to say why Senator Gorman and his friends are anxious to give all the trouble they can to the Railway Company. All of you gentlemen know, as well as I do, what are the reasons which impel the Senator to do all in his power to cripple this great system, and thus, to use his own expression, get even with the men who have been using their power, as officers of the Railway Company to destroy, as he says, the Democratic party."

"How do you know all this, Mr. Laird?" said Mr. McFarland, who was the oldest member of the committee, and was a shrewd and skilful Baltimore City lawyer. "What you say surprises me very much. I have had several conversations with Senator Gorman and Mr. Gwinn about this bill, and they never even hinted that they had such plans in regard to it, as you seem to think they have."

"I have it directly from the lips of both Mr. Gwinn and the Senator," said Mr. Laird. "As soon as I heard what I have told you, I went to Washington and asked the Senator what truth there was in this report. I later saw Mr. Gwinn, and the replies of both were to the same effect."

"Senator Gorman said, that he did not know how they would be able to accomplish all they wished, but that he was sure they would be able to gain most of their points. He said it was a notorious fact, that the Baltimore & Ohio Company was the largest property owner in the state, and that practically all of that property was exempt from taxation, and that the plan was, by means of a new constitution, to force the Company to give up its tax exemption. How it would be done he did not know, as he was not a lawyer, but Mr. Gwinn, and other able lawyers, had assured him that means could be devised by which the Company could be compelled to yield up these exemptions, which were granted in the charter. He contended that no greater favor could be conferred on the people of the state than to compel "this great old tax dodger," as he called it, to pay its just and honest dues in the way of taxes, like all other property holders."

CHAPTER LII.

WHEN Mr. Laird finished his talk giving his reasons for postponement of action on the Gorman Constitutional Convention bill, there was a moment's silence—all the other members of the committee being stupefied at his statements, and especially at the report he gave as to the real reasons given to him by both Senator Gorman and Mr. Gwinn, which were back of the bill—for at that time there had been no word spoken by anyone which could be interpreted that way. It had been the general assumption that the ostensible reasons, given out by the leaders for the passage of the bill, had been in good faith—that the intention was to secure the adoption of a constitution more in accord with modern views of legislation, and particularly to secure a change in the Bill of Rights, which would enable the state to levy a tax on certain kinds of personal property which could not be reached under the present organic law. There had been no hint during the campaign in which the ticket had been elected by such a large majority, that there was any ulterior and secret motive for the passage of the provision for a new constitutional convention, and, when Mr. Laird came out with the statement that Senator Gorman had boldly asserted the real purpose of the leaders, the members of the committee were all amazed at what was said, for there was no doubt in the minds of those who had charge of the bill, that he was giving an accurate report of what had been told him.

Mr. Laird continued:

"The statement of Senator Gorman as to the real object of this proposition, changes the whole aspect of the case. So long as the plan was simply to rectify certain admitted defects in the present constitution, I was in favor of it, but now that it is known that back of it all, is a well-planned scheme to revolutionize the whole system of the state government,, to legislate out of office all the Judges as well as other officers, to interfere with the vested rights of the largest and most influential business organization in the state, I want time to consider the entire situation before I agree to any action on the part of this committee in this matter. I am convinced that it is our duty to go slow, there is

plenty of time, we are at the opening of the session, and this whole business should be carefully considered in all its angles, before any definite action is taken by this committee."

The chairman of the committee, and practically all the members were at sea. It had been the expectation of all that the bill would be reported out at once, for orders had been given to that end, not only by Senator Gorman but by Mr. Rasin, the city leader, and after a short, desultory discussion in which all the members participated, Mr. McFarland proposed that Mr. Gwinn, the former Attorney General of the state, who was present in the State House, be requested to come to the committee room, and explain the bill and all its bearings, as well as the object of the leaders in having it passed. It was a well known fact that he was the author of the bill, that he knew the wishes and purposes of Senator Gorman and his allies, and probably would be willing to give the committee the desired information. The committee agreed to this plan, and a message was sent to Mr. Gwinn, inviting him to attend the meeting and give the members the benefit of his advice.

In a short time Mr. Gwinn appeared. At that time he was at his best. He was one of the most aristocratic looking old gentlemen ever seen at the State House. He had a classical face, snow-white hair, a cordial, but dignified manner, and was altogether one of the most impressive and handsome men I ever saw.

He was a great lawyer, there is no doubt of that; he was also a learned and highly cultivated gentleman, a good talker and he had the reputation of being one of the shrewdest and most skilful manipulators of men in the whole country. He was famous, not only in the halls of legislation at Annapolis, but no one could excel him in putting things through both Houses of Congress as well as through the departments of the National Government at Washington. He was skilled in all sorts of political and business manipulation, he was an artist in more than one line, and probably no man since the Civil War was better able to make the worse appear the better reason, when he wanted to gain a point, than this stately and wonderful old man, who, as the representative of several of the most noted and aristocratic families in the whole country, had the entrée into the best and most highly intellectual, professional and political society, not only in the

National Capital, in Baltimore, in New York and Boston, or wherever he might wish to go.

And on that day in January, 1886, as he stood before the committee of the House of Delegates, in the old Colonial State House at Annapolis, he unfolded to the members of that body, the reasons why the leaders of the old Democratic Ring were so solicitous to have the bill before us promptly passed. He told the whole scheme and he presented not a few striking arguments in its favor. He was open and bold in his statements. Apparently he concealed nothing, and he based all he said on the theory that on the success of these plans depended the life of the Democratic party, and the welfare of the people of the whole state, regardless of party.

And he did not deny that the real aim of the people who had concocted this plan, was the ultimate control of the great Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, as he put it, "by the State of Maryland." He said, "the State of Maryland should control this great corporation. At the present time the aim of the Company is to control the State of Maryland. If this plan is not carried out to a successful conclusion, Mr. Cowen and his combination will have their feet on your necks, and the whole state will be bound hand and foot, and be at their mercy."

CHAPTER LIII.

A LARGE part of this record of the fight at Annapolis during the session of 1886 has never been published. The writer, as before stated, was a member of the House Committee in charge of the bill, the meetings of which were held with closed doors. He also acted as Secretary of the Committee, and wrote out the report. He is the only member of that Committee now living.

The plan of the Gorman Ring, as outlined to the House Committee by Mr. Gwinn, in regard to the purposes and objects for which they were backing, with all their power, the scheme to secure a new constitution for the state, was a revelation.

In a careful and logical manner, Mr. Gwinn, in the first place, detailed the reasons for their insistence on the passage of the proposed bills as they had been outlined on the hustings during the campaign—all of which were unobjectionable, and the chief of which was to render more flexible the tax laws, under the operation of which it was an admitted fact that large amounts of property, in all parts of the state, were exempt from taxation, especially in the case of personal property. In fact, under the constitution, as it then was interpreted by the courts, it was practically impossible to tax stocks, bonds and all that class of personal property, thus imposing the heaviest share of the taxes on real estate, and enabling the owners of millions of dollars worth of gilt-edged securities to escape paying even a small amount of taxes on that class of their possessions. The injustice of all this had aroused the indignation of a large proportion of the people in all parts of the state, especially in the counties, where the burden was heaviest on the farmers, who were becoming more and more stirred up, especially because the prices of all their produce was at the lowest point in the history of the state, since the Civil War. These reasons for the necessity of a new organic law were so well known, and had been so thoroughly discussed, Mr. Gwinn said, that there was no use in wasting time in going over the facts which were as well known to the committee as they were to him.

"But gentlemen," he continued, "there are several other reasons, reasons weightier than those to which I have referred, why there should be, not only a thorough revision of the present constitution, but an instrument framed by men fresh from the people, which will embody so many changes that it will be to all intents and purposes a new organic law for the state."

"The greatest menace to the prosperity and well-being of Maryland at the present time, arises from the growing power and dominating influence of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company. Cherished and fostered by the City of Baltimore and the state, practically built by funds provided by the city and state, it has grown to such an extent that it now wants to control all the public affairs of the commonwealth. It already controls the courts, from the highest to the lowest—it has under its arrogant influence the local officials of more than half the counties and municipalities in Maryland, and at the recent election made a desperate effort to to secure control of the entire government of the City of Baltimore, and to dictate not only the election of a United States Senator in place of Mr. Gorman, but also to take over the control of this General Assembly, and thus, not only be enabled to place its tools in office as Police Commissioners of the city, but also, owing to the fact that this legislature was required to elect a Governor, to fill out the unexpired term of Mr. Robert McLane, now minister to France, who resigned to accept the diplomatic post under appointment of President Cleveland. The stakes for which this powerful railway octopus was playing were great—they included not only the retention of its control over the state judiciary, but also the control of the City Government of Baltimore, the local county governments through which the road's lines extended, the control of the Police Officials of Baltimore, and, through the expected control of this General Assembly, and the fact that it was incumbent on this body to elect a Governor of the State and a State Treasurer, the control of the Board of Public Works and thus be placed in a position of absolute power over the whole of Maryland and all its interests, local as well as general, from one end of the state to the other. The stakes for which Mr. Cowen and his assistants were playing were great—the greatest ever in issue in our history—they played with great skill, but, fortunately, we had the best cards, and while the game is by no means over, we have won most of

the tricks up to the present time. And now the game has been resumed here in Annapolis, where it is hoped it will be concluded, and as the first moves are up to you, gentlemen of the House Committee, I am ready to lay on the table before you the cards, in what I believe to be the concluding game, of what is the most important period in our history since the Civil War."

CHAPTER LIV.

MR. GWINN paused a moment, and looked around at the members of the Committee, as if to see how they were taking his words. He looked, with especial earnestness, at Mr. Edward Stake, (afterward Circuit Judge in Washington County) who was the only Republican on the Committee, and while gazing upon him said:

"Of course, gentlemen of the Committee, it is understood that all these plans I am giving you in some detail, and in fact all this conference is strictly confidential, and must not be given out to any one, especially not to the newspaper men. I know that my friend Mr. Stake, who is the Republican member of the Committee, will not divulge what is said, even though he may not approve of our plans, although I can see no reason why he should not do so, for the matters under consideration, are not partisan, and several of the most influential Republicans in the state, with whom Senator Gorman and I have conferred on the subject, are in complete accord with us. But we are not ready yet to make public the whole scheme. But that will all be ready to open up, we hope, in a few days. But we are especially anxious to have the bill out of the Committee, and on the files, before any further action is taken. When that is done, the fight will be out in the open, for we will be prepared to push the bill through to a final passage.

"And now that I have opened up the subject, at the request of the Committee, I am ready, so far as I may be able, to answer any questions that may be asked by the members of the Committee. And, with the permission of the Chairman, I will sit down."

When Mr. Gwinn had said this, he sat down, and, for at least a moment there was silence in the room, which was broken by Mr. Stake, who had been making memoranda on the back of an envelope. He said:

"Mr. Gwinn, what you have said about the objects underlying this plan to provide for a new constitution for the state, has taken me by surprise, and doubtless has been equally surprising to all the other members of the Committee. The only thing that

was discussed, either in the press or on the stump during the recent campaign, was the necessity for certain changes in the constitution, which would permit the state and the counties to tax certain classes of personal property, which are now practically exempt. And on this point there was no room for disagreement. I came here, as a Republican, prepared to vote for a bill which would direct a vote to be taken on the mere question as provided in our present constitution, as to whether the people desired to have a Constitutional Convention, without any idea that the whole plan had been mapped out, not only that we were to vote to call a Convention but that we were to have a special election within a few months, that at this special election we were not only to vote for the Convention, but were to elect the delegates who were to take part in it, that it was to be held this present year, in fact in a few months, and further than that, that you and certain other distinguished and able gentlemen, had already decided what was to be embodied in the constitution, before a single delegate to the same had been selected —unless, indeed you and your county leaders, had already picked up the men who were to make up the Convention in advance. I do not believe such a proposition as this was ever heard of in any state—certainly not in an American state. Your plans are certainly elaborate and well-prepared, and you cannot wonder at the fact that we are taken by surprise. And, from the size of the majority you have in this General Assembly, I presume they are all so well-laid, that you will be able to carry them through to a successful conclusion. But you will agree with me, that it is an unheard of proposition, and I, for one member of this Committee, am not ready to vote on it, and I do not think, in fairness to us, you should ask that we should do so without further consideration.

"Here, you and the leaders of the party in absolute and overwhelming control of the state government in all its branches, present to the legislature a proposition of the most revolutionary character, a proposition far reaching in its effects, a proposition which was not even hinted at during a long and stirring campaign, in which all the issues were discussed from one end of the state to the other and no mention was made of it by those who had been preparing it for months.

"What is the object back of it all, is it really what you have told us? Is it a plan to take vengeance on certain prominent state and judicial officials for their offenses to your party, and do you expect, really, to be able as you have said was one of your objects to put the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company on the rack, and add to the troubles under which that great industrial organization labors at the present time? These matters are of the most extraordinary and vital importance to the people of the whole state regardless of party. We are here as the duly elected representatives of the whole people—we are sent here to look out for their welfare—we are not expected to take up such matters hastily and without due consideration. I am therefore opposed to any definite action on this bill without further consideration."

CHAPTER LV.

WHEN Mr. Stake had given his views as to the action the committee should take on the bill under consideration, he asked Mr. Gwinn to explain the plans under consideration, by means of which the Baltimore & Ohio Company could be forced to give up, in whole or in part the tax exemptions which it possessed, and which had been guaranteed by the charter granted the Company, and by repeated acts of the General Assembly, passed during the long history of the state for more than half a century. As a lawyer, he said, he did not see how the state could force the Railway Corporation to do otherwise than it was doing at the present time—that the contract for tax exemption, granted the Company, was, in its nature an irrepealable contract, and could only be abrogated, or modified, by the consent and acquiescence of both parties, and that to expect the Railway Company to agree to any such a proposition, was an absurdity—it was really the most valuable part of their franchise, and the fact that they had it, added greatly to the value of their vast property interests. He further said:

"I know, Mr. Gwinn, that you are one of the best and most learned lawyers in the Country, that no man at the bar, either in Maryland, or, in fact in any other state, has a better and more accurate knowledge of the law, especially of the law affecting corporation rights, than you, and if you have some plan by which you can remedy this situation, it is well-considered and probably will be effective. I think therefore that we are entitled to know just what the plans are. While this matter, in its present shape, is largely a partisan measure, it ought not to be, and while I am not a member of the party in control of affairs here, I am not partisan enough to stand in the way of any measure that will benefit the people as a whole."

Mr. Laird backed up the request of Mr. Stake for enlightenment, as to the plans on which the bill under consideration was based. He said:

"I am sure Mr. Gwinn will have no objection to giving us some detailed account of this whole scheme. I spoke in favor of this bill in different parts of the state during the campaign,

under the impression, for which the party leaders were responsible, that the sole purpose in view, was to provide for a vote at the election next year on the one, single, clear, and definite proposition, "Shall a state convention be held to formulate and submit to the people of the state a new constitution?" And that was all. There was no discussion, except incidentally, as to what it was proposed to insert in this law, except that it should provide for a broader and more exquitable system of taxation, and with this idea in the minds of the people, there was no opposition to the plan, for, with few exceptions, everybody recognized the necessity for radical changes in the tax laws. In other words, it was the general understanding that this General Assembly was to pass the bill, to submit to the people of the state, that one question, and that all the details were to be provided by the session of 1888, after the people had decided to call a convention."

And now, we are presented with this bill, which lays before us an entirely different proposition—a proposition the like of which I do not believe was ever considered by any legislative body. And we are urged to rush it through, at the very beginning of the session, as if the welfare of the state absolutely depended upon its enactment, without any delay or consideration whatever. Here, is placed before us, an elaborate scheme providing for a popular vote to be taken, not at the time directed by the Constitution, but at a special election held for that purpose, and, at the same time, are to be elected throughout the state, proportionately in the City of Baltimore and the counties, one hundred and seventeen delegates to hold this convention, delegates who are to sit here in Annapolis for the period of ninety days, and to frame an entirely new organic law for the state. And, as soon as this new organic law is framed, another election is to be held, at which the voters are to decide whether or not they favor the adoption of this new Constitution which is to go into effect as soon as it is ratified, and thus revolutionize the whole system of Government in Maryland.

"And the most amazing feature of this whole revolutionary scheme, is the well-authenticated fact, which I have learned from Senator Gorman himself, and which I am sure General Gwinn will substantiate, that the proposed Constitution has been

prepared in all its details, and is ready for the convention to consider, when it meets, if it should ever meet.

"In Star chamber conferences, the men who are now in absolute control of the state government, in absolute control of this General Assembly, by an overwhelming majority, have prepared this scheme, which, if carried to a successful conclusion, will legislate out of office all the judges now on the bench in Baltimore City and throughout the state, from the Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals, down through the entire list, including all the Circuit Judges, the clerks of all the Courts, all the registers of Wills, all the State's Attorneys, all the County Commissioners, all the Public School Officials, and many other officials, both city, county and state, including His Excellency, the Governor, the Comptroller of the State Treasury, the State Treasurer, and all the subordinates in all the departments of the State Government. It will be a clean sweep, the like of which was never before even dreamed of, in this conservative old commonwealth.

"And back of all this scheme is the determination, 'to get even,' to use Senator Gorman's own words, with the men who have proved false to the organization. And over and above all else, to force up to the wall, the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, which is now aligned with the enemies of the Democratic party. We are going to put it out of politics, or put it out of business. The salvation of the party depends on our success."

And, in the meantime, John W. Davis, in his office on the second floor of the Railroad Building, at the corner of Calvert and Baltimore Streets, was quietly engineering his plans. His work was going on in every county in the state, and, in the end, the Gorman-Rasin plans were brought to nought through his skill and able management.

CHAPTER LVI.

WHEN Mr. Laird had concluded his short speech to the Committee in explaining his opposition to hasty action on the Constitutional Convention Bill, Mr. Gwinn said:

"I came here, gentlemen, at your request, to explain to you the plans of the Democratic leaders in regard to this bill, but I now understand from what has been said that you have become uncertain as to what should be done with it. I can only say that I represent in this matter the party leaders, who have held several conferences on the plan, and have made up their minds what they desire to be done, and what they expected you would do without any delay. For certain reasons, which you will easily understand, they think it expedient to get the whole affair over with, and out of the way early in the session, in order that it will not interfere with general legislation, which always crowds in at the latter end of the three months. They have no doubt of the passage of the bill. They expect it to be passed just as it is. They do not intend to allow any amendment or change, and I am here, rather as their attorney and counsel, and the views I have expressed, and the additional views which I may be required to express later on, will be the views of Senator Gorman and the other party leaders, who are more interested in this plan to secure a new Constitution for the state, than in any other matter which they may desire to bring before the General Assembly.

"And at the direction of the leaders, I am going to ask you to take action in this measure without much delay. Senator Gorman and Mr. Rasin have both discussed the necessity for prompt action with your Chairman, with Mr. Laird, and with Mr. McFarland, and I understand that they agreed to have the bill brought out at once, and as the hour is late, I am going to ask you to excuse my further attendance today. Should you desire any more information from me I shall be in Annapolis tomorrow afternoon, where I will be at your service. Thank you for your courtesy in permitting me to appear before you." And the distinguished lawyer bowed, and left the room.

As soon as he had gone, Mr. McFarland said:

"In order to bring this matter to a head, Mr. Chairman, I move that the bill be reported favorably at tomorrow's session."

There was dead silence for a moment, when, Mr. Campbell, seconded the motion.

The Chairman said:

"Before I put this motion to a vote, I wish to explain my position. It is true Senator Gorman and Mr. Rasin, the Baltimore City leader, asked me to see that this bill was brought out as soon as possible, and I said that I would do so. But I had no idea what the bill was or what was back of it, it had not been introduced, and the printed copies were not furnished until this morning. I will state, for the benefit of the Committee, that since I made that promise, I have learned so many things about it that I am in doubt as to what should be done, and I can see no possible reason for haste. We have not been in session more than two weeks. We have ten weeks before us to take action. It is up to you gentlemen, to decide what shall be done, and I would like to have your views on the whole proposition before I put this motion."

The discussion then opened up with an evident division of the Committee, as to what should be done. The uncertainty in the minds of all was manifest. The whole affair had assumed a new phase. There was no doubt of the fact that all the members had gone to Annapolis with the intention of voting for a bill which provided for a vote to be taken in 1887 at the state elections on the naked question as to whether a convention should be provided for at the session of the General Assembly in 1888. No one had any other idea in his mind. And there had been no preparation made by the political leaders to inform them as to the real purpose behind the bill, which was entirely different, in every particular, from what had been expected. The truth is all were at sea as to what course they should take. The leaders were evidently determined, for some strong reason, to force the bill out of the Committee, and then force it through the House and Senate on record time, and it was believed that they would use all their skill and strength to accomplish their purpose. The frank statements of Mr. Gwinn had given fair warning as to what was to be expected, and, while he had also stated to some

extent the reason for this precipitate action, it was clear that the members of the Committee were really troubled as to what it was best to do, without further information on the subject.

While this uncertainty prevailed Mr. McFarland said:

"Mr. Chairman, before we adjourn for theday, I am going to ask the Committee to take a recess and hold a meeting again tonight. The truth is, Mr. Campbell and myself are the only city members of this Committee, and before we vote on the motion to report this bill favorably, I would like to confer with Mr. Rasin, the city leader. He is in Annapolis, and, if he and the other leaders are so anxious to have the favorable report made today, I want to have an opportunity to vote for it, and Mr. Campbell is in the same position. So, if possible, we hope the Committee will meet again after supper."

This program was then agreed to without dissent.

CHAPTE RLVII.

IN pursuance of the agreement made at the afternoon session the House Committee met at 8 P. M., to continue the discussion of Mr. MacFarland's motion to make a favorable report on the Constitutional Convention bill. The full membership was present and as soon as the meeting was called to order, Mr. MacFarland said:

"Mr. Chairman, I had a talk with Mr. Rasin, the city leader in regard to to this convention bill. He was very emphatic in his insistence that it should be reported out of the Committee at once, and I shall therefore ask that my motion to adopt a favorable report be taken up at this meeting."

"Did Mr. Rasin give any special reasons for such hasty action?"

"Yes, he went into the case at some length. I invited him to come before the Committee, but he said that he never had done such a thing in all the years he had been attending the legislative sessions, and that he would not do so now, but he authorized me to tell the Committee why the leaders wished to have the matter out of the way with the least possible delay. But he especially said that he wanted it understood that nothing was to be made public about the position he took in the affair, and especially that no report was to be made that he had sent any message to the Committee about it. With the understanding, therefore, that nothing is to be said outside the Committee room as to Mr. Rasin's views, I am authorized by him to state what he said to me in the conversation we had on the subject."

The Chairman assured Mr. MacFarland on behalf of the members that Mr. Rasin's wishes would be respected, and, at his request, all the members agreed to observe rule of secrecy, and to consider the session as Executive in every respect. Mr. Stake, the only Republican member, especially promised to observe the rule of silence as to the proceedings and discussions in the Committee room, and said that he believed it to be necessary for committees to observe such rules—otherwise they would be unable to secure the views of many people who would object to appearing if they found what they said in the privacy of the Committee

room was to be spread broadcast. The place to discuss all these things for the benefit of the public was when the bill was brought out in open session where all the members of the House could have equal opportunity to give their views and to hear the views of the others—that the measure was now in the hands of the Committee, and the reasons for the action the Committee might take were not public property.

"With this understanding, therefore, gentlemen," said Mr. MacFarland, "I will state to you, as briefly as possible what the city leader said to me."

"He said there were some features of the program, of which the passage of this bill was the preliminary step, with which he did not agree with Senator Gorman and the other leaders who were back of the plans he outlined. But that he had agreed to forego his objections and back them up with all his influence regardless of his personal objection.

"He agreed with them in the position they took that the future success of the Democratic party in the state depended largely on what was done, and that the welfare of the present city and state organizations, now under the absolute control of the Senator and his allies, in a large measure, depended on what would be done this winter at Annapolis, and what would be done later on when the proposed Constitutional Convention should meet.

"He said that the great victory won in the recent election was Mr. Gorman's victory. That it had been won under his leadership—that his return to the United States Senate had been the great issue, and that as a result the organization had secured the election of eighty members of the House of Delegates while the opposition had elected but ten and that the Senate stood twenty-two Gorman Senators to four Anti-Gorman Senators.

"He recalled the fact that in this contest there had been allied against Senator Gorman and his allies, the great power and influence of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company, actively and vigorously exerted in every part of the state, and that money had been poured out like water to accomplish their defeat, and that assisting the Baltimore & Ohio, and their Republican allies, had been the quiet but powerful influence of practically all the judges of the state courts, from the Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals down through the judges of all the Circuit Courts, with

possibly two or three exceptions, and that in despite of all this combination of corporate power and wealth, aided by the quiet but forceful backing of the Judiciary, Mr. Gorman and his allies had won an unprecedented victory.

"He further said that the basis of all this great fight had been the determination of the Baltimore & Ohio Company to gain an iron grip on the city and state. That the influence that corporation had held in Maryland for a long period of years, really a dominant influence, had been greatly weakened by the death of Mr. John W. Garrett, and the accession to the Presidency of Robert Garrett, who was dominated and controlled by John K. Cowen, an Ohio lawyer, who was determined to overthrow the regular Gorman Democratic organization, even if he had to instal the Republicans in power in order to accomplish his purpose.

"That at the bottom, the fight had been a fight for supremacy between the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company and the regular Democratic party organization, and that the Railway Company had met with an overwhelming defeat."

CHAPTER LVIII.

WHEN Mr. MacFarland had finished his report of Mr. Rasin's reasons for asking for immediate action in favor of a report on the bill under consideration, Mr. Peter J. Campbell, the other city member of the Committee, arose and seconded the motion for a vote on the question. He said:

"The city organization is urgent in its desire to have this measure reported favorably and placed on the files of the House, so that it can be put through at once and sent to the Senate for concurrent action. Up to the present time there has been no sign of hostility among the members of the House of Delegates, while it is understood that Senator Lane, of Washington County, and one or two other senators are preparing to oppose the passage, and it is also reported that certain prominent Democrats are ready to make a fight against it, backed by the whole power of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company. In fact Senator Lane has already introduced a bill which provides for a vote at the election in 1887 on the simple question of holding a convention, without specifying the time but leaving all that to a future session of the General Assembly. This plan will be opposed with all the energy possible by the state and city organizations, the members of which favor this plan as outlined in the bill before us and which was drawn up with great care by General Gwinn, aided by such able lawyers as Bernard Carter, John P. Poe and others, at the request of Senator Gorman, and the men who are now the accredited leaders of the Democratic party in Maryland.

"They feel that to put off the whole matter until after the election in 1887, will jeopardize its final adoption. At the present time the Democratic party organization is in absolute control of the state government in all its branches and is backed by an overwhelming majority of the people of the state. To put off action will be the height of folly. There is no telling what changes may take place in two years. It has been determined by the leaders that while we have the power we should act and settle the whole affair, for with the adoption of the new Constitution, as proposed, the party will be in a position to control the

state for years to come. The men who have done all in their power to destroy the party will have been punished for their treachery. The men who have saved the life of the party will have it in their power to reward those who have been loyal to their trust. The unholy combination between the so-called Democratic reformers and Republicans, backed, inspired and ruled by the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, must be destroyed and the only way to which it can be put permanently in such a position that it will be rendered harmless for all time to come will be made possible by the adoption of this proposed Constitution.

"The people have spoken emphatically in the last election. They have ratified the supremacy of the organization and its leaders and have given them absolute authority to go ahead in all these matters.

"The Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company and its allies set out in this fight with the openly announced purpose of destroying the Democratic party in the state. They resorted to all sorts of schemes to accomplish their purpose. They flooded the state with money, they persuaded men of influence who owed all their success in life to the Democratic party to betray their trust. They bribed and corrupted voters by the wholesale and were guilty of all sorts of corruption and fraud—and they failed. The result is here before us in a General Assembly more overwhelmingly Democratic than ever before in the history of the state since the enfranchisement of the Negroes.

"The people of the state are determined that the men who have been guilty of all these misdeeds shall be punished. They are also determined that the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company which owes its very existence to the state, whose creature it is, shall be taught its true position, that it shall be shorn of the great privileges the state has conferred on it, and made to understand that it is not the supreme power of the commonwealth, that it must realize, that as a child of the state, it must conform to the wishes of the people and act according to those wishes.

"The people are determined to secure the adoption of some means by which this great railway organization, which owns millions on which no taxes are paid, which has all the protection of the laws the state affords practically without cost, shall be made to bear its just share of the public expense in the way of

taxes and that in this regard it shall be placed on a level with all other property holders, and enjoy no preference over any combination of men or any individual from one end of the state to the other.

"For practically half a century Maryland has been under the iron-handed domination of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company. It has now been overthrown by an overwhelming vote of the people. The Railway Company sought this fight. Under the leadership of John K. Cowen, an alien to the state, and a man entirely out of harmony and sympathy with our people, they brought this situation to an issue, they lost the fight. And they will now have to take the consequences of their defeat. It is up to us, now that we have the power to prepare the way to inflict the punishment they deserve—a punishment not only on those who have been the high leaders of this great contest, but also a condign punishment on all those men, no matter how high their social, political or business standing, nor how high their official positions. They have proved false to their trust—they should all receive the punishment their treason deserves."

CHAPTER LIX.

MR. CAMPBELL'S bold statement of the purposes the Gorman-Rasin organization had in view as a part of their plans in connection with their determination to force through the General Assembly the pending bill for a constitutional convention, surprised the committee, and when he paused for a moment, Mr. Laird said:

"I have no desire to interrupt you, Mr. Campbell, but now that you have gone as far as you have, I think it is no more than fair to the committee that you should give us more in detail just what these plans are, for you evidently have been taken into the confidence of the leaders, and know all about it. I have a sort of an indefinite idea, derived from what Senator Gorman and Mr. Gwinn said to me, and the latter gentleman, who is the author of this bill said that he would give me a detailed account later on. I have not made up my mind on the subject. I want to know all about it before I do decide what course I shall take, and I am still open to conviction, although the whole situation has changed now that the real plans are becoming known. The program is evidently revolutionary to a degree I had not expected, and I am puzzled to know what to do, and I am sure the other members of the committee are equally at sea as to the course they should take.

"As you are aware the only discussion in the regard to the proposition to propose a vote on the question of revision of the constitution arose from the fact that the present organic law requires a vote every twenty years on that proposition, and the twenty-year period expires at the next state election, that is in 1887. Incidentally, it was stated by some of the speakers on both sides, that the prime necessity for a constitutional revision, arose from certain well-known defects in the provision regarding taxation, and there seemed to be no difference of opinion on that point.

"Now, it appears, that one of the principal reasons for the adoption of a new constitution is revenge—revenge on those who disagreed with the Democratic state and city organization in the last election—revenge not on the members of the Republican

party, but revenge on certain very influential life-long members of our own party, and especially on the great Maryland Railway Corporation and its allies because they decided to oppose their old-time allies in their own party.

"These plans have all been formulated, in fact I understand the proposed new constitution is already prepared—and all this has been done before the bill has been acted upon by the General Assembly (and months before it can be submitted to the people, even with all the haste that can be made should the bill be jammed through the legislature under the whip and spur which are about to be applied to it by Senator Gorman, Mr. Rasin, and the whole force of what is commonly called the state Ring.

"As I said before, this whole scheme is revolutionary. It is contrary to all precedent in the history of this or any other American state. And, as we are asked to take the preliminary step in the matter, we should be informed as to what is expected of us, why it is expected, and what is really at the bottom of it all.

"The state is in no danger. Maryland is a conservative, law-abiding community. The present constitution, which is not yet twenty years old, was framed by some of the wisest men and most learned lawyers the state ever produced. Under it the commonwealth has prospered and flourished in equal pace with all her sister commonwealths in the Union. Under this constitution, which was adopted at the close of the Civil War, Maryland escaped the evils and misfortunes of the reconstruction period, and peace and prosperity have reigned as in no other state south of Mason and Dixon's line.

"In my opinion the conservative people will want to know all about these plans, which have been formulated in secret session by the dominant leaders of the Democratic party. As a life-long, regular Democrat, as a duly elected member of this General Assembly, I demand to know, and I am sure the other members of the committee, which is expected to take the opening action, will join me in a demand to know, the whys and wherefores of all this mysterious scheming on the part of the leaders of our party.

"And above all else, we wish to know, why the names of our honored and able judges, our competent and honest court officials, and above all else, why this threatened raid should be openly planned on the Baltimore & Ohio Railway, the favored child of the state for more than a half century, and during all that period of time, its greatest industrial asset."

CHAPTER LX.

WHEN Mr. Laird concluded his dramatic and fiery demand that Mr. Campbell give in detail the plans of the state organization in regard to the proposed Constitutional Convention, and the reasons for the undue haste manifested for the passage of the bill before the Committee, there was a short whispered conference between Messrs. MacFarland and Campbell, the two city members of the Committee and the Chairman, Mr. Johnson of Howard County. At its close, Mr. MacFarland arose and said:

"At the suggestion of the Chairman I will reply to Mr. Laird's questions as far as I am able to do so, but I am obliged to state that up to a few days ago, I was as much in the dark in regard to these plans as the gentlemen from Montgomery County, although from time to time since the election in November, I have heard that the leaders were preparing to take a certain course here at Annapolis which had not been in contemplation during the campaign—in fact I was given to understand by Mr. Rasin that this scheme to hold a Constitutional Convention out of due time, as it has been said, was an after thought of Mr. Gwinn and Senator Gorman, and was inspired by the surprisingly great victory won at the polls throughout the city and state.

"And, I may as well be frank about it, Mr. Rasin told me that when it was first presented to him he did not approve it, and still looked upon it as of doubtful expediency, although he had promised Senator Gorman that he would use all his influence to put this preliminary bill through the legislature. And it is as Mr. Rasin's representatives that Mr. Campbell and I are here, expressing his views as the city leader, for neither of us belong to the inner circle of what is known as the state and city organization. You gentlemen all know that we are no more than humble soldiers in the ranks of the Democratic organization, and that as soldiers we were to obey the orders of our chief, and that no matter what our personal views may be, we are simply the mouthpieces of our superiors—and it is because the organization has obedient soldiers like us, that it has such strength, and has on several occasions saved the life of the Democratic party in Maryland and especially in Baltimore City. It is only because of the rigid discipline followed by unquestioning obedience that the organization, or the Ring as many people call it has been able to exist and function with almost unvarying success through the years since the Civil War period. And, while the gentlemen from the counties, especially many like our able and distinguished colleague, Mr. Laird, are in the habit of criticising what they sneeringly refer to as the city Ring, they should realize that what they call the high handed work of the despised Ring, has on more than one occasion saved the life of the Democratic party, and enabled it to maintain its supremacy in the state as well as in Baltimore City.

"As I said before, the plan to forestall the usual time to hold a Constitutional Convention was decided upon after the election. The victory was so overwhelming in its character that all were surprised, and it seems that Senator Gorman, under whose leadership the victory was won, upon consultation with leading party men from all sections of the state, determined to take advantage of the situation and place the party in such a strong position in Maryland that it could not be disturbed but also, as an act of discipline, as a warning to others, that party treason should not be allowed to go unpunished—that the men and the organizations who had betrayed their party, should be made to realize that such acts of perfidy in politics as well as in all other matters of life should be made odious, and that those who were guilty of them must be made to take the consequences—and that this should especially apply to all those who had been honored or helped by their party, who had been elevated by that party to positions of authority, dignity and profit, and later on had used their power and influence to betray that party and had given aid and comfort to its enemies in times of strife.

"And now, gentlemen, that we have entered upon this discussion and, as it is only reasonable that the Committee should have all the information desired in accordance with Mr. Laird's request, I am going to move that further consideration be postponed until tomorrow's session when I will be better prepared to answer all these questions."

CHAPTER LXI.

AT the next day's session of the Committee of the House of Delegates in charge of the Constitutional Convention bill, the Chairman, Mr. Johnson, of Howard County, said that Mr. Charles J. M. Gwinn, former Attorney General of the state, and generally reported to have been the author of the measure, and who was legal adviser of the Democratic state organization, requested permission to be present while the consideration of that measure was going on, and that with the consent of the members he would invite that venerable and able lawyer to take a seat in the room. No one objected and the distinguished gentleman was requested to take a seat at the table with the members of the committee, which he proceeded to do, after he had expressed his thanks for the privilege.

As soon as this action was taken the writer of these memorials, who was not only a member of the Committee but was acting as secretary of it, moved, that in view of the fact that Mr. Gwinn was present as an advocate of the passage of the bill but also its real author, that it was no more than fair that the people who were opposed to it should also be represented, and he moved that Mr. John K. Cowen, the General Counsel of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, should also be requested to take a seat at the table.

This motion at once precipitated an animated discussion. Messrs. MacFarland and Campbell, the two Baltimore City members of the Committee, made strenuous objections to any such action. In the course of his rather heated remarks on the subject, Mr. MacFarland said:

"I wish to enter my earnest protest against any such action. Mr. Cowen is the paid attorney of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company. He is by all odds the ablest and most influential enemy the Democratic state and city organization has, and he represents the great transportation Company which is openly antagonistic to our party, and especially to its great leader, Senator Gorman.

"If Mr. Gwinn is permitted to be here to listen to the discussion, and probably to take part in it, why should not Mr. Cowen have the same privilege?" said Mr. Laird.

"Because Mr. Gwinn represents here the people of the state, the members of the great party, which has just been again entrusted with the absolute control of the legislative department of the state government. Mr. Cowen occupies an entirely different position. He is the representative of that great transportation Company which for years has been the controlling factor in the industrial and commercial progress and development of Maryland. That Company which not only wishes to control the business affairs of the commonwealth, the commercial and business affairs of our great city, but a few short months ago, undertook under the leadership of Mr. Cowen to gain control of the political affairs of the city and state and thus place the whole people of this sovereign state under the iron hand of this able and unscrupulous lawyer from Ohio, who is an alien to our people and is entirely out of sympathy and touch with all that we hold dear."

While Mr. MacFarland was making the above statements Mr. Cowen entered the room, and took a seat beside Mr. Gwinn at the end of the large table, around which the members of the Committee were seated. After a short pause, Mr. MacFarland continued:

"I object to the presence of Mr. Cowen while this Committee is considering this bill; and I also object to the presence of Mr. Gwinn, now that I see what all this outside observation and interference may mean. We are able to look after this measure ourselves and it is a reflection on us as the duly appointed Committee of the House of Delegates to have these two able and eminent lawyers here. Later on we may think it advisable to hear what they have to say to us for and against it. But in the preliminary discussions I am opposed to it.

"We have at least three able lawyers on the Committee in the persons of our worthy chairman and Messrs. Laird and Stake, all of whom hold high rank at the bar. With their assistance we ought to be able to decide all questions that may arise. And I say that it is a reflection on everyone of us, to have these men here to advise and direct what we should do, particularly as they both have no responsibility in the matter. We are the duly elected and qualified members of the House. We represent our Constituencies here, and they will hold us responsible for our acts, and we cannot shirk this responsibility simply because we

have admitted here, really to take part in our deliberations those outsiders, no matter how superior they may be to all of us in legal and other knowledge. At present we do not want any advice. We have not even gone over the bill section by section. At the present time, I know, that we are all at sea as to what we should do, and until we are able to form some sort of an opinion as to our duty, I am strongly opposed to any outside advice and interference."

CHAPTER LXII.

WHILE the discussion in the Committee was going as to the advisability of permitting Ex-Attorney General Charles J. M. Gwinn and Mr. John K. Cowen to be present during the consideration of the Constitutional Convention bill, those two distinguished lawyers were seated at one end of the long table, while the Chairman, Mr. Reuben Johnson, of Howard County, was seated at the other end and, the members at the sides, some of them with their feet on the top and all showing the greatest possible interest in what was said.

Mr. Gwinn was present at the invitation of the Chairman, with the tacit consent of the Committee. The question as to whether Mr. Cowen should be asked to remain, (he had entered without any formal invitation on the part of the Committee, but solely at the suggestion of the writer), and was evidently much interested in the discussion that was going on.

The writer, who had made the motion to request the presence of the great Railway Attorney, had done so without consultation with any one, and, as there had been no indication on the part of the majority of the members as to their wishes in the matter, he was in doubt as to the outcome, and especially in regard to the position the Chairman would take. But the latter soon settled all doubt, when he arose to his feet and said:

"I have my doubts as to the propriety of this whole proceeding. When Mr. Gwinn asked to be allowed to be present, and in view of the fact that he had already appeared before us at our request, I could see no objection to his coming in again, as his desire was to hear what would be said for and against the proposition.

"Now that we have admitted him to the Committee room while we are considering this bill, I agree with Mr. Winchester, that it is no more than fair to give the same privilege to Mr. Cowen, and I hope the Committee will agree to this motion. I believe a mistake was made at the beginning, but no harm can possibly result, except that the final report on the bill will be delayed longer than it ought to be, but that is now unavoidable.

"And, while I am on this subject I may as well say what has been on my mind, for several days.

"As you know, I introduced this bill as Chairman of this Committee, at the request of the party leaders, and especially at the request of Mr. Gwinn, who said he would explain its full purport later on, which he did in part, here before us a few days ago. I will further say that my first impression of the measure was favorable and I expected to vote for it, and I may vote for it in the end, but of that I am not sure, for the explanations that have been given have caused me to doubt very seriously the wisdom of the whole scheme, of which this act is intended to be the basis. My first idea was that the real intention was to do no more than forestall by a year or two, the time fixed by the Constitution for a revision of that instrument, and I could not see any special objection to such a porgram.

"But now that it has become apparent that the real purpose is revolutionary, to an extreme and almost unheard of degree, I am decidedly doubtful not only of its necessity, but also of its propriety. In fact, when it was boldly stated here in this committee room, by Mr. Gwinn, and coroborated by the two Baltimore members of the Committee, Messrs. MacFarland and Campbell, what the party leaders had in view and what they hoped to do by the great power of the machine, of which they are in absolute control, I became really amazed, and the more I think of it as the time goes on, the more uncertain I have become as to the advisability and fairness, as well as the wisdom of the proposed program.

"I am obliged to say, therefore, that I am really anxious to hear all that can be said on both sides of this question before I decide what to do, so I hope this motion will pass, and later on, now that we have these two distinguished gentlemen present, both Messrs. Gwinn and Cowen will be asked by the Committee to give us their views, both as lawyers and as citizens, on every phase of this entire subject."

Mr. Stake, the Republican member of the Committee, expressed his full agreement with the Chairman's views. He said:

"Mr. Chairman, I am in entire accord with all you have just said. The explanation of what is back of this bill, has surprised me, for I never dreamed for a moment that it was other than it appeared to be on its face—no more than a measure to provide

for a Constitutional Convention, should the people vote in favor of it, and also to expedite the call instead of postponing the question until 1888.

"I wish also to say that I am now in favor of restricting the bill, so that it shall provide for nothing more that a vote for or against a Constitutional Convention, the vote to be taken at the general election in 1887. I am in favor of this as a limit—and will oppose anything more than a simple provision to be submitted to the people. If they want a new Constitution let them have the chance, as the Constitution provides, and should they decide they favor the proposition, the legislature of 1890 can provide for the necessary machinery to carry out their will.

"And I am unalterably opposed to any scheme which has for its object the punishment of any men or business organizations, on account of political actions, and it seems to me that the chief object aimed at by the sponsors of this bill, is our state's great est industrial asset, the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, because it dared to take sides in the late campaign against the Democratic party organization."

CHAPTER LXIII.

IT was interesting to observe the effect of the discussion, as to whether Messrs. Cowen and Gwinn should be invited to remain in the committee room, on those two eminent lawyers who were sitting there, side by side, listening intently to all that was said. They were among the leaders of the bar, not only the local and state bar, but the bar of the United States. Both were lawyears of national reputation, and both were considered among the most learned members of the great profession, which had furnished more great men, men who had been famous in the service of the country than all other professions combined, and both were men whose names where household words not only in Baltimore City but in all parts of Maryland, and they were there in the old Maryland State House, before a committee of men comparatively young, all practically unknown outside their own local environment, but who had suddenly and unexpectedly found themselves faced with a problem, which in many important particulars, was one of the most important that had ever been presented to the General Assembly of the state. And the members of the committee, all of whom were inexperienced in such matters, were somewhat bewildered at the situation, and the men who should have been in a position to give advice, from an impartial and public-spirited standpoint, were as much at sea as the men upon whom had been imposed the duty of rendering a decision in the complicated case.

The truth is the members of the committee, with the exception of the two city delegates, Messrs. MacFarland and Campbell, wanted light on the subject. The members from Baltimore were not in the least troubled as to what they should do. They were, to use the expression of Mr. MacFarland, "soldiers," ready to obey the orders of their superiors, and those orders had already been given to them. They were to vote for an immediate, favorable report of the bill back to the House, and were then to vote for its passage, "without the dotting of an i, or the crossing of a t." That was what they were sent to Annapolis to do, and they were ready to do it without further delay.

The county members did not look upon the matter in that way at all. They all felt that they owed a responsibility to their constituents, and that they would be held to a strict accounting by the people at home. They wished therefore to find out what the people at home thought of the whole matter, now that it was fast becoming known what the bill really meant, and what was back of it, in view of the developments of the past few days. These members who were not affected by the hostility of the city politicians to Mr. Cowen and all of whom had a high opinion of the legal ability of both Messrs. Cowen and Gwinn, were decidedly favorably to their presence in the committee room, and showed a strong inclination to adopt the motion, not only requesting these gentlemen to remain, but without exception, they said they would esteem it a favor if both would give their views on the whole proposition—not only as to the character of the bill to be passed, but also as to the advisability of forestalling the strict constitutional requirements, as to the time when the proposed convention should be held.

The writer of these reminiscences, who was the only representative of the Eastern Shore counties on the committee, was especially solicitous as to the whole situation. The question had not been discussed in any part of the section across the bay during the campaign. It is doubtful if it had even been mentioned during the whole time of that strenuous campaign in any of the nine shore counties. And the people of that part of Maryland made up then, as they make up now, the most exacting constituency in the whole commonwealth. And there was no question but that they would hold their representatives to a rigid accountability for any action they might take, especially in regard to a matter which had not even been considered in the slightest degree before the election. And the people of that section, were not then, as they are not now, swayed by the factional and other prejudices, which have always, to a greater or less extent influenced the people of Baltimore, especially in all political matters. It was on account of the facts just stated, that he made the motion to invite Mr. Cowen to be present at the committee meeting, especially in view of the knowledge that a large share of the hostility with which that great lawyer was regarded in Baltimore, arose from matters with which the Eastern Shore had no con-

cern. So after some further rambling discussion on the part of the committee members, he said:

"I think we ought to be thankful that we are able to have with us these two able lawyers and public men, to advise us on this question, which, it now appears, is the most important which will come before the present session. Mr. Gwinn, it appears, is the author of the whole plan, and knows more about what is back of it, and why it has taken this phase than any other man in the state. And Mr. Cowen represents the large public and business interests, which it is supposed will be seriously affected should the plans of the promoters succeed. And I do not see how we can, in fairness, do anything else than invite both of them to give us their views.

"We are here representing the people of the whole State—it is our duty to go into this matter as thoroughly as we can and to get all the information possible which may tend to enlighten us as to our duty. On the one hand we have a large number of the most eminent men, who are determined to put this matter through, claiming that it will result in great benefit to the people of the entire commonwealth. On the other hand are men eqally eminent, and equally worthy of consideration, who insist that it is all a scheme to harrass and worry certain great business interests, and punish certain honorable citizens and officials for their action during the recent campaign.

"In a matter like this, we cannot afford to allow anything but the strictest justice to govern our action, and we certainly cannot allow ourselves to be parties to the carrying out of any scheme which is intended to wreak vengeance and spite on any men or any interests, because they were out of harmony with the political powers now entrusted with the control of public affairs. We are not here for any such purpose, and I do not believe the majority of the members of this committee, or the majority of this General Assembly, when the final action is taken, will permit any such glaring injustice to be done."

And while all this discussion was going on at the State House, John W. Davis, the able and astute assistant to President Robert Garrett, of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, had his agents at work throughout the state explaining the meaning of the bosses' scheme and preparing for the final act in the play.

CHAPTER LXIV.

IT WAS becoming evident as the discussion proceeded, that the final line-up would be five to two—that is the five county members would vote to invite both Messrs. Cowen and Gwinn to discuss the bill, while the two city members would oppose it. And this is what actually happened, but not before all the members had expressed opinions on the subject.

The Chairman (Mr. Johnson, of Howard County,) said:

"As I understand the question, it is simply whether the Committee desires these two eminent leaders of the bar to remain in the room while the members are considering the advisability of making an immediate report to the House, either favorable or unfavorable, as the majority may decide, and, that before a decision is made, they be requested to give us their views on the whole question.

"I do not see any possible objection to that. Although if we do take such an action, we shall probably be besieged by others who have views on the subject to give them a hearing, and thus prolong the final committee report far beyond the bounds of reason. And the fact that we desire to hear these gentlemen, ought not to be any reason to conclude that we are for or against the measure, when the test comes before the full House on the final vote. I must confess, that while I wish to hear both sides, I have reached no conclusion as to what I shall do in the end. As I said before, I came here favorably impressed with the necessity for an immediate revision of the state constitution as a decided advantage to the whole people. The explanations as to the real object of the measure, have caused me to waver, to some extent in that opinion.

"I do not believe that we ought to prolong this discussion beyond today. I am in favor of requesting Messrs. Cowen and Gwinn to remain here during the consideration of this bill. And I am also in favor of hearing their views on every point connected with this whole business. We need all the light we can get. We have here the two men who ought to know more about the whole proposition, than any member of this Committee can possibly know. They are vitally interested in it, and the fact

that they are on opposite sides, makes their views all the more valuable, for we shall hear the case presented in all its angles, and on all its sides.

"We are all aware of the fact that the city members of the Committee have made up their minds, or rather that their minds have been made up for them by their leaders. Fortunately for the state such is not the case with the majority of the county members. We have great latitude, and can do what we believe to be best for the public interest, regardless of what leaders, bosses or others may desire. We do not want snap judgment to be taken in this or any other matter which may come before us as members of the House or members of this Committee. We are here to do our duty to the people of the state regardless of party or personal consideration. We are not here to do anything which may favor any man or set up men who have grudges to settle, and the fact that certain men and certain interests, may have taken sides against the party which we represent, in this General Assembly, in the recent election, would not justify us, in our official, representative capacity, to do anything which would redound to their disadvantage. We are not here to aid in the gratification of personal or political spleen, no matter how exalted may be the position of those who desire us to take such action. I can only repeat what I have said before, that I favor the utmost latitude in the discussion of the objects of those who favor this bill, and believe that we should be glad to hear, not only Mr. Cowen and Mr. Gwinn, but should others, who may have information or desire to express their views, they should be allowed to do so."

Mr. Laird wound up the discussion as follows:

"I agree with the Chairman. We should allow the fullest and freest examination of everything connected with its inception and purposes, in the minds of the men who are back of it. To my mind now, that it has developed to the extent that it has, it looks much like a conspiracy—one of the sort of conspiracies common in the middle ages, when one set of men desired to destroy their rivals or enemies—the only part left out by our Maryland conspirators, was the assassination, which was a necessary part of a mediæval plot, and from my knowledge of some of the men involved in this, I imagine the only excuse for omitting the assassination feature, was the fear of the law.

"We cannot have too much light on this proportion. Mr. Gwinn, who undoubtedly knows all about it, has manifested not only a willingness, but a desire, to give us the whole story, together with the reasons in the background. Mr. Cowen will tell us all he knows, and we are entitled to have the whole story, and when we have it, we can act intelligently, as it is, we have been going on in the dark.

"I move, therefore, Mr. Chairman, or rather I second Mr. Winchester's motion, that both these gentlemen, Mr. Cowen and Mr. Gwinn, be invited to attend at the meetings of the Committee so long as this bill is before us, and further, that they be requested to give in detail their views on this whole proposition."

Without further discussion, the motion was adopted, Messrs. McFarland and Campbell voting against it. Messrs. Cowen and Gwinn were then asked to be present at the next meeting, and, as Mr. Gwinn had at a former meeting addressed the Committee, it was understood that Mr. Cowen would have his turn at the next session.

CHAPTER LXV.

WHEN the Committee met the next day to hear Mr. Cowen's argument, or rather criticism of the schemes which were supposed to be back of the Democratic organization's determination to push through the bill to provide for a Constitutional Convention, at a time far ahead of the requirements of the organic law in force—all the members were present, and, in addition, were a large number of prominent members of the bar, three of the judges of the Court of Appeals, His Excellency Henry Lloyd, Governor of Maryland, Charles B. Roberts, Attorney General of the state, also former Congressman and later Judge of the Court of Appeals, and other gentlemen of more or less prominence in the affairs of the state.

The room in the State House Annex (since then torn down to make way for the present structure) was not large, in fact when the thirty people who were admitted when the hearing began, were all there, it was crowded to its capacity.

It was noticeable, and was remarked at the time, that with the exception of ex-Attorney General Charles J. M. Gwinn, there were none of the leading members of the Gorman state organization on hand. Mr. Gorman was not expected, although he had been invited, and Mr. Rasin, the city leader, had paid no attention to the invitation extended. John P. Poe, later Attorney General, and one of the leading lawyers, and Bernard Carter, Counsel for the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, (both gentlemen were known to be in the State House) declined to be present, and, in fact had used all their influence to prevent the extension of an invitation to Mr. Cowen. In fact the whole power and influence of the state Ring had been used to prevent Mr. Cowen being invited to appear before the Committee, and the members who had voted to ask him to attend, had been roundly denounced for what they had done, and were sneeringly referred to as "reformers," and other and more opprobrious terms, were applied to them. Indeed the outcome of this invitation to Mr. Cowen, was a distinct cleavage among the members, and from that time on to the end of the session, there was suspicion all

around, and the words, "regular and kicker," were in frequent use.

It was at least half an hour after the time for the meeting to come to order, before all were in their seats. The fact that Mr. Cowen was to address the Committee, attracted a large number of people from the membership of both Houses, as well as several of the other officials of the state government. But the Committee held to its rule, that the meeting was not to be open, and refused to admit anyone but those who were actually invited. As soon as the Chairman had secured order it was agreed that the Governor should be asked to be present (he was already there), that the judges of the Court of Appeals and the Attorney General should be extended invitations, together with a few others, all of whom were already on hand. After the proceedings had started, Richard H. Alvey, then Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals, and Severn Teackle Wallis, who had for years ranked as one of the most eminent lawyers in the Country, entered the room and were given seats, while Thomas G. Hayes, then Senator from Baltimore City, J. Clarence Lane, Senator from Washington County, Isidor Rayner, Senator from Baltimore City, and later on Attorney General, member of Congress, and United States Senator, came in. As they had already been invited to attend the meetings of the Committee, the Chairman saw that they were given seats. Edwin Warfield, then President of the Senate, Senator from Howard County, and later Governor of the state, also came in.

In that small room in the old State House Annex, on that January day in 1886, were gathered these men, all of whom with two or three exceptions afterward became famous in the public affairs of Maryland, and all of whom are now dead, except the writer of these chronicles, whose life has been spared, possibly because he is the only one who never won any special distinction, and was never ambitious to acquire either public honors or wealth. At any rate, I alone am left to tell the tale of this, as well as other important events in the history of the state and country. The shades are, however, beginning to fall around me and the weakness and infirmities of age are beginning to tell on my once robust body. So it is incumbent on me to hasten on, or the tales of those long-ago days and events, as I saw them,

may never be told. Many of them have never been told by any one.

The stage, therefore, was set, in that room in the old State House, in the old town of Annapolis. The audience was quite as distinguished as could have been produced anywhere at that time in the Country. Many of them became more distinguished later on, while others soon sank into oblivion or death. The greatest among them, the great Railway Attorney, who was then beginning the fight, which a generation later he lost, and then died, stands out before my mind's eye now, almost like an inspired prophet of the olden time. He stood there, towering above the others, and in words, which are ringing in my ears even now, more than forty years later, as I sit here writing this story, he gave the preliminary chapters of the great conspiracy to drag down to destruction, that greatest of all the creations of Maryland enterprise and genius, the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company.

CHAPTER LXVI.

[*The only report of this speech was that made by the writer. It was never published.*]

WHEN order had been restored in the Committee room, Mr. Cowen was introduced by Chairman Johnson. He said:

"Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Committee, it is impossible for me, adequately to express my heartfelt appreciation of the honor and privilege you have conferred on me. And I shall try to explain to you as briefly as possible, the reasons for my opposition to this apparently harmless bill.

"I have made no preparation, and therefore what I have to say in regard to this matter, is entirely impromptu, although I have really given much thought to the whole subject, and therefore, unless I am to be limited as to time, I shall go into considerable detail, and treat of it in all its ramifications going back into the history of the events of the past two or three years, which are about to culminate here in this General Assembly at the present session."

Chairman Johnson here interrupted Mr. Cowen and assured him on behalf of the Committee that he would not be limited as to time—that the desire was to have him say all that he wished to say, and deal with the whole subject in the freest possible manner. That the Committee wished for all the light possible. The Committee wished it to be understood. however, that no report was to be made as to what had been said, and, for that reason the newspaper men had not been invited to be present. Mr. Cowen then continued:

"I am under additional obligations, Mr. Chairman, for the courtesy of the Committee, and, I am especially pleased to have present the very able and distinguished gentlemen whom you have invited to attend the meeting.

"At the beginning, I wish to call attention to the fact that the developments which have occurred since the convening of the General Assembly early in the month—I mean the developments as to the purposes of the leaders of what is known as the regular organization, headed by Senator Gorman in regard to

this extremely innocent-looking bill, have been not only surprising, but actually startling in their character. During the entire course of the dramatic campaign, which closed in November, at which time you gentlemen, and your colleagues in both Houses, were chosen to have charge of the legislative branch of the state government, not a whisper was heard from any one as to the plans which it was expected would be carried out, and of which this bill, to which no one could have had the slighest objection, was to be but a preliminary step. I am quite sure that I speak within bounds, when I assert that not half a dozen members of either the House or Senate, had the slightest knowledge of what it meant. Even the Governor of the state, the able and honored Attorney General, both of whom are here present, have assured me that they had not heard a word which would indicate what was in the minds of the so-called leaders, when they stated that they were in favor of the passage of this bill.

"And now, gentlemen, I am going to tell you, in all its details, just what is at the back of this whole scheme, to force a Constitutional Convention on the people of Maryland, and a new Constitution in place of the time honored, admirable organic law, which, while in its present state has been operative only nineteen years, is really the outgrowth of a century—a century wherein the commonwealth of Maryland has grown and prospered, where the laws have been administered by men of honor and learning, and where public scandals have been fewer in number and of less importance than in almost any other part of the United States. I shall unfold to you the sordid and unscrupulous aims and schemes of a real conspiracy, worthy of the days when the Medici and the Borgias ruled in Italy,—a scheme, or rather a conspiracy, worthy of the disciples of Machiavelli in the 15th century, at the head of whom is Arthur P. Gorman, Senator of the United States, but the real brains of which combination, in the inner circles of the conspirators, is this distinguished leader of the bar, this able and highly cultivated gentleman of what is known as the "old school," whose intellect has been sharpened and brightened by years of intimacy with the shrewdest and most cunning minds of the age, not only in his own state, but in the National Capital; this former Attorney General of Maryland, who has for years been the father confessor and adviser of the leaders of his party, not only

those of his own state, but also those of the Nation, this really great and celebrated lawyer, whose extraordinary knowledge and ability have been at all times devoted to the service of his clients, whether those clients happened to be robbers, thieves or murderers from the slums, crooked and unclean political and partisan leaders, dishonest, shifty and fraudulent real estate operators, in fact all sorts of clients, who have become enmeshed in the red tape of the law, and, last, but most important, statesmen and public officials, including governors of states, cabinet officers, senators of the United States, national conventions of both the great parties, and even presidents of the United States. In the service of all such clients, to whom from time to time his long and distinguished services have been devoted, he has been faithful as the ethics of his profession required him to be, just as he is faithful to the eminent and rather notorious clients who are endeavoring to carry out this great conspiracy against the peace and dignity of Maryland. Somewhat lacking in real brains, totally lacking in principle, utterly deficient in any knowledge of right and wrong, these men, knowing their own defects, for they are not fools, acted with the wisdom of that serpent which should be their emblem, when they retained Mr. Gwinn to take charge of their case. And I am sure, when asked, as he will be in the course of my remarks, if the statements I am about to make are not true, he will not give any evasive answers.

"And, I am especially pleased to see here, not only His Excellency the Governor; that honored and able lawyer, Charles B. Roberts, Attorney General, the dignified and learned Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals, together with all these other able and honored gentlemen, who represent, officially and personally, what is best in the life and history of the state; and last, I feel honored and pleased beyond measure, when I see before me that most distinguished and learned Nestor of the Maryland Bar, the venerable Severn Teackle Wallis, whose whole career has been an honor to the state, to his profession and to himself. The fact that he journeyed down to the Capital of his state, to inquire into the details of this nefarious conspiracy, to hear what I might say about it, is as great a compliment as I have ever received. To be honored by his friendship and confidence, to have been associated with him in various movements

in recent years, are facts which are of more value to me than any other honors which I may have received since the beginning of my professional career.

"I cannot help but remark here (and I trust, Mr. Chairman, that the Committee will pardon the digression) as I look around and recognize the eminent gentlemen of Maryland, all of whom are men who are now or have been honored by the people of their respective sections, that this gathering is a bitter commentary on the situation which the accredited leaders, the leaders now in control, have created in Maryland, and I cannot believe that when it is known what the real situation is, and what these conspiring leaders are preparing to do, that the people of the state will countenance the consummation of any such schemes, and that the General Assembly, will, in the end, be driven by public opinion, to spurn and reject every part and parcel of it, as disgraceful to the commonwealth. Already protests are heard from the counties, and, although I know it is claimed that the Gorman Ring, as it is called, controls such a majority in both Houses that they can pass any bill, or collection of bills, they may desire, I am firmly convinced that when the time comes for final action, this bill which is under consideration here, as well as other kindred bills, will be rejected in deference to the protest of an indignant and outraged public opinion.

"As an indication of the belief I hold that such will be the case when the final analysis is reached, it is significant to call attention to the action of this Committee, when my esteemed young friend from Talbot County made the motion that I should be invited to attend this meeting and give my views on the whole question. The whole power and influence of the leaders here opposed any such action by the Committee—they did not want me to have any opportunity to appear before the Committee. The Baltimore City members strenuously opposed it, and, if I am correctly informed, gave as their reasons the orders from the city boss—that they were soldiers, and must obey the commands of their superior—and I am further informed that my friend, Mr. McFarland, one of the leaders of the city delegation, said that he could see no reason why I should not be invited, and that Mr. Rasin, the city leader, had said the same thing, but that Senator Gorman was opposed to my presence here and that his orders must be obeyed. Am I correct in this statement, Mr. McFarland?" said Mr. Cowen, turning to Mr. McFarland.

"That is correct, Sir," said Mr. McFarland. "That is what I said, and that is the position Mr. Rasin took when he talked with me about it."

"And yet," continued Mr. Cowen, "when it came to a vote, despite the determined opposition of the powerful promoters of this scheme, every member of the Committee from the counties of Maryland, all except the Republican member, Mr. Stake of Washington County, were sent here as regulars of the regulars, and all of whom voted for the reelection of Senator Gorman for a second term in the United States Senate. And yet, despite the orders of Senator Gorman, and his aids, every one of these regular, Democratic county members together with the Republican Mr. Stake, voted to invite me to address this Committee. And the only explanation of this extraordinary action on the part of these members must be based on their belief that their constituents would approve their course, even at the risk of incurring the wrath of their great and wonderfully successful party leader, Senator Gorman."

CHAPTER LXVII.

PAUSING for a moment, as if in doubt as to what he should say next, Mr. Cowen turned to Mr. Gwinn, and said:

"I am now going to ask the distinguished ex-Attorney General, the chosen counsel and adviser of the Democratic leaders, at the head of whom is Senator Gorman, to inform the Committee just what the plans are which are based on the passage of this bill and the subsequent convening of a convention to revise the Constitution of the state. I understand he has already made a partial statement on the subject, but, as I was not present when it was made, if he is willing to do so I would greatly appreciate it, if he would repeat it. I am sure the Governor and the other distinguished gentlemen who are here by invitation would also like to hear all about it, or, at any rate as much as he feels at liberty to tell."

"I am willing to tell the entire plan, Mr. Cowen," said Mr. Gwinn. "To tell the truth I was opposed from the beginning to all this secrecy in the matter, and urged upon Senator Gorman and the other leaders the folly of attempting to keep it secret. I believed then that it should be made a part of the state platform on which the election was won, and I still believe that a mistake was made at the time.

"In few words the plan is to adopt an entirely new Constitution should this bill pass and be ratified by the people at the polls. Of course it is impossible to tell with certainty what a convention will do when it gets together. But the Democratic organization is so strong at the present time, that it was, and still is believed that any convention chosen would do what the leaders desire.

"In a few words the plan is to prepare an organic law which will provide for an entirely new judicial system throughout the city and state, and to provide a different plan for the city, county and state officials in all respects, and do away with many archaic and time-worn provisions of the present law, which we all know, are hindering the progress of Maryland.

"But over and over above all else" (here Mr. Gwinn raised his voice, and looked Mr. Cowen squarely in the face), "the object

is so to change the provisions affecting taxation that it will be possible to compel all corporations, corporations of every class and kind, and especially the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, which is now the champion tax dodger in the state, to pay their just and fair proportion of the expenses of the state, city and county governments. Of the details as to how all this may be accomplished, I shall say nothing. Lawyers differ on these points, but I have no doubt that it can be done.

"Now you have the story of what it is proposed to do, and, without further explanation on my part, Mr. Cowen, you can easily understand it all as well as if I were to go into the minutest details." Mr. Gwinn then sat down.

"I was not mistaken then in my surmise that this whole scheme is aimed at the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, and that all the other plans are subsidiary to this. The desire to oust from office the honored and able judges of all the courts, to change the times and terms of all officials, in reality to revolutionize the system of this state government, which is the growth of more than a century are nothing but side issues—the one great object is to punish the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company for its sins, for its endeavor to aid a large proportion of the ablest men in the state to throw off the yoke fastened upon them by this band of corrupt political freebooters, whose rule will soon or late stifle all hope of progress in the political affairs of the state.

"Now, in order that you may understand, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Committee, the extent of this conspiracy, for it is a conspiracy, that you may have a full knowledge of the real iniquity back of the complications which are facing the Democratic leaders, I am going to tell you some things which took place in the not far distant past, in which Mr. Gwinn and I were factors. It is a most interesting story and few people knew anything about it at the time, and while from time to time it has been hinted at in the newspapers the details I am sure have never been made known outside the limited circle of those who were present at the meeting at the time.

"Early last year I was requested one evening to meet a party of gentlemen at Barnum's Hotel. When I arrived in the lobby, I was met by Mr. Jesse K. Hines, who is known as one of the most alert and able politicians in the state. In truth not a few

people believe that Mr. Hines is the brains of the Ring, he is the real power behind the Gorman throne, and that he makes the plans which are carried into action by the Gorman crowd—and that Gorman himself as well as Rasin depend on Mr. Hines in all that they do.

"I was escorted by Mr. Hines to a room on the second floor, where were seated Senator Gorman, Mr. Rasin and Mr. Gwinn.

"After a few preliminaries, Mr. Hines turned to me and said:

"Mr. Cowen, we have invited you here to make a proposition to you, and we hope, after consideration, that we may be able to reach an agreement as to the future, which will be mutually advantageous.

"Senator Gorman and these friends here have come to the conclusion that it is folly to allow this condition of hostility between the Democratic state and city organizations and the people you represent, to continue any longer. It is bad for the city and state, it is bad for the Democratic party, and, in the end it will result in disaster to the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company and to all those connected with it.

"What we propose is a cessation of hostilities, and an alliance offensive and defensive—that all friction may be avoided, and that we may be able to work together for the common good of the State of Maryland, the Democratic party, and the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, and incidentally, of course, for those of us who are present. What we wish to know is whether you will consider such a proposition. If you are willing to do so, we can easily arrange the details of the agreement and stop this fight, which will before long if something is not done result in great disaster to the city, the state and the corporation which you represent, and in which you are the overshadowing influence."

CHAPTER LXVIII.

AFTER a moment's pause, Mr. Cowen continued his account of the conference between himself, Senator Gorman, Mr. Gwinn, Mr. Rasin and Mr. Hines. He said:

"Mr. Hines then sat down and the others gazed at me, Senator Gorman especially, showing some uneasiness, while Mr. Rasin and Mr. Hines, phlegmatic as usual, appeared cool and indifferent, and Mr. Gwinn, I am sure, he will hear me out in what I say, evinced more interest than the others. So I said:

"Before I reply, gentlemen, to this very unusual proposition I would like to have especially from Mr. Gwinn and Senator Gorman just what they propose should be done. What Mr. Hines has said is vague. What sort of a deal do you wish to make with me on behalf of my friends and clients? What is involved in the proposed bargain? What do you intend to do, and what do you expect me to do should we get together and decide to work together? Evidently the proposition involves not only combined action in politics but also in business affairs, and I am always suspicious of such combinations. I have never known them to last, and I have never heard of one which resulted satisfactorily even where there was mutual trust in all the parties, and there was every intention to be fair and square on the part of those on both sides. So I think it is only fair to me as well as to yourselves, that before we proceed any further I should be given a full account of the whole plan. If it is one which will tend to do away with the acknowledged evils which exist in the management of affairs by both the city and the state authorities, which will result in better and more economical as well as more honest government for the city and state, which will prevent friction between the great business organizations, and, above all else, to prevent interference with legitimate business enterprises on the part of the state and city authorities, either at Annapolis or at the City Hall, it may be a good plan. There are so many matters which could be improved by such an alliance could it be formed in good faith and carried out in honesty and sincerity of purpose—but I am doubtful of the success of the scheme, I am dubious as to the possibility of such incon-

gruous elements as would make up such an organization ever working together in harmony. I hope, therefore, that Mr. Gwinn and Senator Gorman will be frank in their explanations as to their intentions in proposing this alliance—in plain English, gentlemen, let me know what you are up to, let me know what you want, for my experience with you has not been of such a character as to warrant any great confidence in the sincerity of your propositions.

"After I had said all this, Senator Gorman requested Mr. Gwinn to give a detailed account of the purposes of this proposed alliance—just what the leaders were anxious to bring about, and, as near as I can recall it, what he said is as follows: If I am incorrect in reporting what you said, Mr. Gwinn, you can correct me as I go along.

"The proposition involved an alliance between the Democratic state and city organizations, on the one side and the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company on the other as represented by me. This alliance was to prevent friction not only in political matters, but also to protect the Railway Company from attack on the part of the politicians who represented the state and city governments either at the City Hall or in the Legislature at Annapolis. In fact it was to be a part of the agreement that no legislation hostile to the Company was to be permitted, and that all bills affecting the Railway Company were to be submitted to me prior to their introduction, and those which I disapproved were to be withheld, unless they were of such a character as affected the public interests as well as the interest of the Corporation, when action was to be postponed until the party leaders (that is Messrs. Gorman, Rasin, Gwinn and Hines) and the representatives of the Company had conferred on the subject. And that in cases of dispute or disagreement Mr. Gwinn and I were to be the referees, and what we agreed upon was to be done.

"I could see no objection to the propositions up to that point, but I was sure there was more to it than what had been said, so, when Mr. Gwinn paused in his explanation, I said:

"And what are to be the considerations for all this? I am sure that you gentlemen have more in view than is apparent from what Mr. Gwinn has said.

"I have not finished my explanation" said our friend, "I will now tell you what are to be the considerations back of the deal, and they are these: You and your people are to be free from molestation and interference in any way. There will be no attempting to take from you your tax exemption, there will be no delay in the enlargement of your terminal facilities, and there will be no obstacles thrown in the way of your acquisition of other rights, especially those connected with the tunnel you are preparing to construct under Howard Street. And last as a reward for yourself, as your personal share for the work you may do to bring about this combination it will be a part of our bargain that you will be elected to the United States Senate to succeed the present incumbent, Judge Wilson, when his term expires four years hence.

"And what will be your share of the emoluments of this, which might be called a Holy Alliance, but will probably be called an unholy combine," I asked.

"We are to have all the appointments made by the Governor and Mayor to city and state offices, and you and your reformers and those who may be allied with you, are not to interfere in any way with the control of the state and city patronage." "Is this a correct statement of the proposed deal?" said Mr. Cowen, turning to Mr. Gwinn.

"It is substantially what was proposed," said the ex-Attorney General, but when you have finished I hope the committee will give me a few minutes to make clearer some of the details of the plan."

CHAPTER LXIX.

IT WAS interesting to watch the faces of the several distinguished and really able men who were for the first time learning from Mr. Cowen's speech the inner story of what had been taking place in the inner circles of the leaders during the past year. Surprise, and at intervals amazement, was evident on the countenances of several of them—notably Mr. Wallis, Chief Judge Alvey, and Attorney General Roberts. That Mr. Wallis was astonished, was clearly manifest, and it was also manifest that he was pleased beyond measure at these revelations of the iniquitous rascality of the men who were now in control of the Democratic party machinery, and against whose control he had been fighting with voice and pen for many years.

Governor Lloyd sat there beside Chairman Johnson, with a phlegmatic smile on his rather youthful face, (he was then only thirty-five). If he was surprised there was no evidence of it in his looks, but he afterward said that he thought that he, as Governor, should have been told of the plans of the men who were at the helm, and who would have been obliged to have his aid in carrying out their desires.

That the others present were surprised, and to some extent astonished, was not concealed, and Senator Thomas G. Hayes, the supposed author of the bill before the committee, did not hesitate to express his disgust at what had taken place. To have it revealed in this open manner, that Mr. Gwinn was really the author of the bill, and that his introduction of it as the supposed author, was merely perfunctory, clearly had roused his ire, and, in a low tone, he said to Senator Rayner, "They played off on us a dirty trick."

During the short pause in Mr. Cowen's speech, those who made up the small audience were whispering excitedly, and evidently the curiosity of all was aroused to the highest point, in eager expectation as to what would come next. After Mr. Cowen had taken a drink of water, he whispered a few words to Mr. Wallis, who said, in tones loud enough to be heard by all, "Give us the whole story, Cowen, for it is the best thing I have heard in years."

"And now, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee," continued Mr. Cowen, "I am going to relate to you somewhat in detail, but only in substance, the astounding proposition made to me, through Mr. Jesse K. Hines, State Insurance Commissioner, and by many people looked upon as the real brains of the Gorman Ring, and, in the background, the author of the whole scheme, for I exonerate Mr. Gwinn from any part in this attempted plot, other than that of legal advisor—that he was, and is, the legal advisor of these plotters is well-known, but I am not going to accuse him of having any other part in it, except as a counsellor, who advised Mr. Gorman and his associates, just how far they could go without involving themselves in a legal tangle, which might involve court proceedings, before the very Judges whom they desired to put off the bench, and, whose election they had opposed a few years ago.

"When Mr. Gwinn had concluded his explanation of the basis on which Mr. Gorman and his co-conspirators wished to form this alliance, Mr. Hines turned to me and said:"

"Cowen, I believe you to be a practical man, as well as a very ambitious one, and no one here, or elsewhere, has any doubt but what you are about as smart a man as ever came into Maryland, for your rise since you came here shows that you are no slouch in anything you undertake to do. Now I am going to tell you, much more plainly than Gwinn has done, just what we want, and just what part we hope to get you to play in it, and if you join in with us you will find that it is going to be the biggest game that was ever played in Maryland, and one of the biggest ever played in the whole country, rivalling in its magnitude some of the games played by Jay Gould and Jim Fiske a few years ago, in New York.

"At the present time, you are the brains back of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway management. You are the dominating figure in that organization, and what you say goes all along the line. Bob Garrett is completely under your thumb. He does whatever you tell him to do, and it is well that such is the case, for he has very little sense, and knows nothing about business, hates work, and cares for nothing except to have a good time and his recklessness and dissipation not only here but elsewhere, have become notorious.

"Now, you may as well understand that what we are after is so to manage this business that we may be able to secure control of the Baltimore & Ohio Company, get rid of the Garrett control, join the forces under your management, not only of the Maryland Democratic organization and the Railway Company, but extend them through the states where the system has large influence, but especially in Washington. You can easily see what a stupendous proposition this is, and there is no doubt of its success, if you will join with us in carrying it out."

CHAPTER LXX.

WHEN Mr. Cowen had told the Committee the substance of the proposition, detailed to him by Jesse K. Hines, on behalf of Senator Gorman and his lieutenants, I recall the looks of surprise on the faces of the gentlemen present. Mr. Wallis was evidently delighted at this exposé of the designs of the Gorman Ring, while Chief Judge Alvey and the others appeared disgusted at this evidence of the perfidy of the leaders of their party, especially so far as Senator Gorman was concerned, probably, largely in view of the fact that only a few days before Mr. Gorman had been reelected Senator for his third term, by the members of his party in the joint Assembly of the two Houses. And Mr. Wallis remarked, in tones loud enough to be heard throughout the room: "That was the boldest proposition for the commission of a really great crime that I ever heard of, and it shows what that collection of rascals is capable of doing when they have an opportunity. Why, it was clearly a conspiracy to defraud, and Gorman and that crowd should all be indicted and sent to jail."

Mr. Cowen continued:

"When Hines had finished his bold statement as to what he and Gorman and Rasin expected me to do, I was so astounded that for a moment I was really unable to say anything. I had expected a proposition to enter into some sort of a political alliance, an alliance offensive and defensive so far as party and political affairs in the city and state were concerned and it had even been hinted to me by Rasin that they were ready to send me to the Senate at Washington at the expiration of Judge Wilson's term, but I never imagined that it would be brazenly proposed that we should enter into a conspiracy, for that is the only word to express it, to enter in a deal of a character clearly criminal in its nature, to secure control of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company, and I have often wondered since then in whose fertile brain that really amazing idea was first conceived—and in justice to Mr. Gwinn I found he was as greatly surprised as I, and at the time promptly rapudiated any connection with or approval of it.

"The whole scheme was evolved by Mr. Hines," said Mr. Gwinn. "I told Senator Gorman and Mr. Rasin at the time that it was not only preposterous, but absurd, and could never be successfully carried out. But apparently they did not agree with me and sided with Hines."

"I am obliged to you for making this explanation, Mr. Gwinn," continued Mr. Cowen. "It only confirms what I thought. And when I had recovered from the shock caused by Hines' proposal, for it was a shock, I turned to Senator Gorman, and inquired if he agreed with the proposition made, and if he and Rasin were ready to back it. The Senator replied that he and Rasin agreed with Hines. That they had conferred on the subject several times, and had decided that it was the wisest thing that could be done. That it would strengthen and increase the power of the Democratic party, and that it would, in the end prove to be of inestimable value to the Baltimore & Ohio Railway. That the plan did not contemplate the commission of any fraud or wrong on the part of anybody, or to anybody, but, on the contrary, the proposition meant no more than a change in the control of the Company, the placing it in the hands of people who would realize that the prosperity of the road, the welfare and prosperity of the State of Maryland, and the City of Baltimore are so closely allied that any injury to one will result in injury to all, and that the closer the alliance and the management the greater advantage it will be to all concerned."

"When the Senator had finished, and in his cool, icy way had explained why he favored the proposition, I saw at once that he meant it in all seriousness, that he neither saw the moral obliquity, or anything else in it other than an ordinary business and political plan that in the inner workings of his peculiar mind, there was nothing extraordinary in what was proposed, that it was simply the opening of another chapter in a life made up of schemes and plans to overcome his opponents, and succeed in gaining a certain object, and, I realized then what subsequent events have confirmed, that in the minds of such men as Gorman, Rasin and Hines, real principle played no part whatever, that it never, in the slightest degree, entered into their calculations, and that why such a thing as principle should ever be considered by any one with common sense, was beyond their comprehension."

CHAPTER LXXI.

"AND now, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Committee," continued Mr. Cowen, "I need not tell you that I rejected this offer of an alliance with all the vigor and emphasis of which I was capable, and I expressed to those conspirators who wished to make me a fellow conspirator, what I thought of the whole affair, and one of the most surprising features of the meeting was the fact that all three, that is Senator Gorman and Messrs. Rasin and Hines appeared to be really astonished that I did not approve of their offer, and flatly rejected it. The surprise of Mr. Hines was almost laughable, for he probably has been in the habit all his life of judging the motives of others by his own rules, and when I had let them all know just what I thought of their nefarious proposition, he turned to me and said:

"Cowen. I thought you really had some practical sense, but I find, after all, that you are a good deal of a fool. Here is the opportunity of a life-time. You are still a young man, and, if you join in with us, there is no limit to the success you may attain, in both public and business life. Have some sense. Act in this matter as you know others would act by you. Together we can do everything. Going on as we are now, there is no telling what may happen. Don't throw this great chance away. You and Gorman working together in Washington with Rasin and the rest of us attending to the details here, can do anything we want to, not only in Maryland but in Washington and in other states."

"Senator Gorman said nothing. Mr. Rasin looked disappointed and shook his head. Mr. Gwinn smiled sarcastically and said, 'I told you he would not enter into such a deal.' And the conference broke up."

"Now, gentlemen, I have told you this story to show you what is back of this scheme to force on the people of Maryland this proposed Constitutional Convention, the basis of which is this unusual bill which you now have under consideration. There is no intention on the part of the promoters of this scheme to do anything for the benefit of the state or its people. It is simply and solely a scheme to enable these politicians and certain busi-

ness allies they have with them, to fasten their tentacles on the business affairs of the commonwealth, and especially on the state's greatest business asset, the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, and thus not only hold on to the political power they now possess, but also to add to it and be enabled to dominate the most important and powerful of all the business assets, not only of the City of Baltimore but of the whole state and large sections of the outlying territory.

"But I have already talked too long. I had no intention when I came here of saying half what I have said. But I am glad that I have done so, especially because of the presence here of the Governor, these distinguished lawyers, judges and other intelligent gentlemen, to whom it is well that all these facts which I have detailed to you should be known. And I am sure that my friend, Mr. Gwinn, who is probably more familiar with these matters than I am, will verify all that I have said—and I am quite sure that he will not contradict it in any important particular.

"In my opinion the proposed plans of the men who are now in control of the entire state, city and county governments of Maryland, especially their practically absolute control of this General Assembly, make a crisis in the history of the commonwealth. The first real step is to be taken by the action of this Committee. I hope, therefore, that you, gentlemen of the Committee, will take all these facts that I have laid before you into consideration and use your best judgment, unhampered by outside influence when you render your decision.

"And in concluding this long statement I must thank you from the bottom of my heart for honoring me with your attention, as you have done."

CHAPTER LXXII.

WHEN Mr. Cowen had ended his talk, the committee adjourned for the day, and an informal discussion took place which was enlivened by the views of Mr. Wallis, and the other able gentlemen present, but the greater part of the interest was that created by the differing views of Mr. Wallis and State Senator Thomas G. Hayes.

In his usual sarcastic and vitriolic style, Mr. Wallis, who was probably the greatest master of satire and vituperation at that time at the Baltimore Bar, gave his views on the plans and schemes of the state Ring, as revealed by the speech of Mr. Cowen, and corroborated by Mr. Gwinn.

Mr. Hayes defended the position taken by Senator Gorman and his aides, and endeavored to justify their course, although he was evidently at a loss to find any excuse for the bold proposition, openly made to secure control of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, and asserted that he was sure there must be some misunderstanding—that he would never believe Senator Gorman had sponsored any such a scheme, unless he had it from his own mouth. Others joined in the discussion, which was kept up at random, until after dark, and those present were leaving the room from time to time, the earliest to go being Chief Judge Alvey, Governor Lloyd and the Attorney-General, Mr. Roberts.

As a result of Mr. Cowen's argument action on the early convention bill, as it was familiarly known, was delayed, and, in the meantime the work of John W. Davis and those who had been acting under his direction throughout the counties, was having its effect. Men who had been openly favorable to the bill, and all that it implied, openly came out in opposition to it, when they understood the real intentions of those who favored it and were its champions.

In all parts of the state, protests against the scheme were signed, and sent to Annapolis. The Judges of the Courts, the Registers of Wills, the Circuit Court Clerks and a host of others, despite all the efforts of the Gorman and Rasin lieutenants, were aroused, and the members of the General Assembly, when they went home at the end of the week, were besieged with protests,

and while for a time the discussion of the proposition was continued in the General Assembly, there was a decided falling away among the regulars, as they were called, and it soon became evident that the scheme was doomed, and while the advocates kept up an apparently stiff front for several weeks, it was clearly apparent that the great plans to revolutionize the whole system of the state government by means of a new constitution, would be among the dead measures on the legislative scrap heap, when the final adjournment took place at the end of the ninety days session of the General Assembly of 1886. The Judges of the Court of Appeals and the Circuit Courts, began to breathe freely as they sat in solemn dignity on the bench in the State House or in their county Court Houses, the Clerks of the Courts and the Registers of Wills; in the city and the twenty-three counties, held up their heads once more and assumed their former airs of importance, while Mr. Cowen, Mr. Garrett and the heads and subordinates of the great state transportation system, after a period of nerve-racking unrest and uneasiness, visibly expressed their satisfaction. While Senator Gorman and his co-conspirators, outwardly calm and unperturbed, but inwardly raging at heart and vowing vengeance on those who were about to thwart their schemes, began to plan a new coup, not yet admitting other than a temporary defeat, but quietly asserting that the fight was not lost, even though the first skirmish had gone against them.

When discussing the situation, even before the close of the session, Senator Gorman said:

"We may lose out on this hand, but the game is not played out yet. Cowen has not won. We have just begun to play."

CHAPTER LXXIII.

THE speech of Mr. Cowen, as detailed in the last several chapters, together with the work done throughout the state under the direction of John W. Davis, assistant to President Robert Garrett, of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, aroused popular hostility to the early Convention proposition to such an extent that it was looked upon as practically dead, and would really never get out of the committee in any other shape than as a simple proposition to call for a vote on the question in the election to be held in 1887.

Senators Hayes, Rayner and the other advocates of the early call, continued to deliver sounding speeches in the Senate in favor of the bill, but no effort was made to have a vote taken on the subject. In the House of Delegates the matter was treated as dead and from that time on attracted no attention whatever. Toward the end of the second month of the session, without attracting any attention whatever, the bill to provide for a simple vote on the proposition in 1887, in accordance with the provision in the State Constitution was taken up and passed. So the great scheme of the old Ring to revolutionize the state government by means of a cut-and-dried Constitution, to turn out all the judges and other judicial officers of the state, and install in their places subservient tools of their own, died, unwept, unhonored and unsung. When the voters understood what was meant, what was back of the plot, they arose almost as one man and sent their protests to Annapolis and even Senator Gorman hardened as he was to all sense of decency and propriety, was obliged to yield, and, while only a few short weeks before he had been elected with great applause to a second term in the United States Senate by more than a hundred votes out of a total of one hundred and seventeen in the General Assembly, that same General Assembly, with practical unanimity, turned down his pet scheme, rejected it almost with scorn and contempt, and, as a consequence the Senator lost the respect and support of a large number of the ablest men in Maryland who had before that time been his loyal admirers and friends. And he

never regained what he lost when the sordid and, as Mr. Wallis called it, "criminal plot," had been exposed and it had been shown that it was in reality not only a plan to tighten his grip on the state and city governments, but over and above all that, a gigantic, and really criminal conspiracy, literally to steal the greatest industrial enterprise in the state, the Baltimore & Ohio Railway.

As an aftermath of the defeat of the scheme, a great many matters of interest connected therewith came slowly to sight and it became known that back of it all were certain vast and powerful railway interests which were anxious to gain control of Maryland's great railway system, and, it also became known that Gorman and his combination had been actually figuring with the Pennsylvania officials, with the New York Central officials and with the great railway interests represented by Jay Gould, who was then at the plenitude of his power as the greatest wrecker of railways this Country has ever produced—and it was reported at the time that back of the whole scheme was Jay Gould, and that while Gorman was professing loyalty to the Pennsylvania Company which had been of valuable assistance to him in his recent campaign, and had secured a large donation from the New York Central interests to aid him in his scheme he was really allied with Jay Gould and that Mr. Gould expected to secure the Baltimore & Ohio Company, and was making preparations in accordance with these expectations. And later on, when it became widely known that Mr. Gould was trying to secure the Baltimore & Ohio, and there was considerable excitement in regard to his plans, Robert Garrett said, as his last words when leaving Baltimore on a trip around the world, as he stood on the train as it left Camden Station: "Don't let Jay Gould steal the State of Maryland." Before he left it had been commonly reported that Mr. Garrett had accused Mr. Gould of trying to steal the railroad, and, as his health was then visibly failing what Gould might do in his absence was evidently preying on his mind.

And as a further confirmation of the belief that Gorman had not only been making preliminary deals with the railway interests mentioned above, that is the Pennsylvania, Gould and New York Central or Vanderbilt interests, in 1892 Chauncey M. Depew, President of the New York Central, delivered a lecture

in Baltimore under the auspices of the Journalists' Club, and was entertained at a supper by the newspapermen at the old Mt. Vernon Hotel after the lecture. The writer was one of the committee that escorted Mr. Depew from New York in his special car over the Baltimore & Ohio road. On the way down he talked freely about the Baltimore & Ohio and its future, which at that time appeared dark and unpromising, and he inquired as to the Gorman contest with Mr. Cowen, and those who were in control. Among other things, he said that at one time it had appeared possible for the interests he represented to gain control of the great Maryland Corporation, but that after some conferring with Senator Gorman and those he represented, it had been given up for the time being, but that he and others were still interested as all railway men were, as to what would be its fate. He asked many questions about Gorman's influence, and the sentiment of the people of Maryland in regard to the control of their great railroad, and had notes made of many of the statements given him by the newspaper men who were with him.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

AN INCIDENT connected with the fight between the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company and the Gorman Ring, occurred one day in the lobby of the State House, when the question as to the passage of the Constitutional Convention bill had been practically settled, and it was generally understood the Gorman bill, as it was called, would be shunted aside and the other measure, providing for a vote on the question, would be put through in its place

Mr. Cowen was at the State House that day, and, as he was about to ascend the steps to the State Library, which was then in that building, he met his rival, Mr. Bernard Carter, attorney for the Pennsylvania Railway, coming down into the lobby. Although these two distinguished gentlemen were rivals in a certain sense, largely owing to the fact they represented corporate interests which were arrayed in hostility to each other, both were gentlemen, and their courtesy to each other, whenever they met, was a marked feature of their lives.

At that time Mr. Carter was one of the official advisors of the Gorman Ring, while Mr. Cowen represented the opposition, which was made up of Republicans and anti-ring Democrats. After shaking hands, Mr. Cowen said to Mr. Carter:

"Well, how are you making out here with your large majority? I am of the opinion from what I hear, that it is too large, and that it is becoming unmanageable. Large majorities in such bodies as this, are usually hard to handle and keep in line."

"That is usually the case," said Mr. Carter, "but before long, I think the lines will be drawn so that we will be assured of a safe majority for all our measures. In fact, if it had not been for the underhand work of your agents, throughout the state there wouldn't be visible a ripple of trouble here. But Davis had worked matters up in the county districts to such an extent that he has demoralized a large number of the members and they are making all sorts of trouble, and have been getting worse ever since he went to work. Nobody knew what was going on, or who was at the bottom of all this defection, until it was well under way, and it was then too late to stop it. Your starting this

back-fire movement in the counties, arousing all the Judges and Court officials is one of the smartest tricks ever played in the politics of the state. But we believe we have it checked at last."

"So I understand," said Mr. Cowen. "But in order to do so, you have been obliged to give up your pet convention scheme. Otherwise you would have lost control of the whole General Assembly, and would have placed in jeopardy all your other bills. I hope now that you have arrived at this wise decision, it will not be necessary for me to come here as often as I have been doing, for I can see nothing at the present time in which I have the slighest interest. Do you think I can go home, and rest in peace so far as the interests of my clients are concerned?"

"I am not so sure of that," said Mr. Carter. "If I were in your place, I would look around, but so far as the interests of my clients are concerned where they might conflict with yours, at present I know of nothing. This is a peculiar place, and a peculiar situation exists—there is no telling what may come up, unexpectedly, over night, so I usually remain here much of the time. I have been coming here for more years than you have. You never know what may happen in the next hour, and the very people you trust, may have some scheme on foot to give you trouble and hold you up for money.

"And now that we are discussing this subject," continued Mr. Carter, "what do you think of the proposed Chesapeake and Ohio Canal scheme? I am not interested in it. You ought to look it up. I believe you will find that you have more work here when you look into this matter."

And in that way, Mr. Cowen found he had another interesting reason for observing the maneuverings of the statesmen at Annapolis.

And he also began to realize that Gorman was a more resourceful enemy than he had anticipated, and that the fight had only begun.

CHAPTER LXXV.

THE suggestion made by Mr. Carter in his talk with Mr. Cowen, that the latter might find some more interesting work at Annapolis caused him to make an examination and investigation of the situation, especially in regard to the report that the leaders of the Ring had some scheme under consideration in connection with the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. It was not long before he found out what the reported scheme really was, and the extent to which the men who were presumably in control of the General Assembly, had progressed in their plans.

He discovered that the plan was to authorize the Board of Public Works to sell or lease the canal to a company which they had formed, and that it was the further intention to authorize this proposed company to construct a railway down the bed of the canal, from Cumberland to Georgetown, where it ended. The bill also provided that the state should be paid by bonds issued by this proposed company, and that these bonds should be secured by a mortgage placed on the railway, which it was proposed to construct. The scheme was elaborate, and the sum and substance of it was, that the canal was to be paid for in the way indicated, and that if the state ever received any value for the property, it was to be secured by the state's property itself.

Without delay Mr. Cowen proceeded to raise what the newspaper correspondents at Annapolis in attendance on the General Assembly called a row. The newspapers took the matter up, (for some reason there had been no public mention of it up to that time) and the public was informed, that another Gorman scheme had been unearthed, and, as a result, it was heralded throughout the state that it was the intention of the Senator and his colleagues, some of whom were among the most distinguished men in the country, were preparing "to steal the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal," and that one of their objects in stealing the canal was to construct a railway to compete with the Baltimore & Ohio in the coal carrying trade between the mines and Baltimore and Washington. And that such was their intention is doubtless true, for the purpose was to connect this proposed

railway with the West Virginia Central railway (then largely on paper only) and the men who were associated with Gorman were members of the notorious Davis and Elkins syndicate and for years were engaged in exploiting the rich natural resources of West Virginia—all of whom waxed fat and rich and died in later years numbered among the multi-millionaires of the land, and three of whom later on were senators of the United States, and the elder Elkins a member of the Cabinet of Benjamin Harrison, President of the United States. James G. Blaine, United States Senator, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Secretary of State, and Republican nominee for President in 1884, was also a member of this syndicate—and there is no doubt of the fact that whatever the scheme they were engaged in might be called, their end and object was to steal the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and later on the Western Maryland Railway, the story of which will be related in a future chapter.

There is no doubt of it, for he admitted it at the time Mr. Cowen and the officials of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company were alarmed. On the one hand Gorman and his co-conspirators were trying to steal the Baltimore & Ohio, and, not content with that they were also working with skill and extraordinary shrewdness to steal the old Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Western Maryland Railway—all of which they were planning to do under the forms of the law.

As Mr. Cowen said: "Davis, Elkins, Gorman, Blaine and that crowd have already practically stolen the greater part of West Virginia. Now they want to steal Maryland. If they keep on they will go down in history as the most colossal thieves of the age."

CHAPTER LXXVI.

THE Chesapeake and Ohio Canal had been used by political schemers and corruptionists as a lever to raise themselves to power and prominence for years, and in 1872 Governor William Pinkney Whyte made Arthur Pue Gorman president and executive officer of the canal company as a reward for his services in securing for him the governorship. Gorman had already been made a director of the company and knew all about its possibilities as an aid to political ambition.

This appointment created an uproar throughout the state. In order to give the place to Gorman who was then comparatively unknown, James C. Clarke, later on President of the Mobile and Ohio Railway Company, was removed. Under Mr. Clarke's management the canal had become a strong money-making concern and was the best conducted and most profitable property owned by the state.

All this was changed by Gorman. He worked the whole scheme with great skill, in order to blind the public and even reduced his own salary as President from ten thousand a year to four thousand, but he so made up for all this pretended economy that after his incumbency of the office for a year the canal became a drain on the state, and gradually became the ruin it now is—a deserted and useless ditch with the boats and locks, the banks, bridges and abutments a pathetic ruin extending from Cumberland to Georgetown. He filled the canal offices with active, skilful, working politicians, from all parts of the state, and made scores of useless sinecures which enlarged the pay roll far beyond the revenues derived from the tolls, and even the gross earnings of the enterprise. By this means he controlled the politics of Garrett, Allegany, Washington, Frederick and Montgomery Counties, through which the great water way was operated—and by means of his control of these counties and their official representatives in the General Assembly and state and other conventions he became one of the most powerful political leaders in the state—and he kept on increasing his power by his control of the canal by using the funds to pack the pay rolls by neglect of the whole great enterprise until the business declined to a minimum, the works were all out of order and in a dilapidated and almost useless condition and then he withdrew, turned the management over to others, in order to escape responsibility for the ruin he had wrought—and his point was gained. He had built up his great political machine, had gained a seat in the Senate of the United States and was practically dictator of Maryland—largely through his influence as head of the great canal. And now he was ready for his next step.

Many people believed that Gorman had wrecked the canal for the express purpose of succeeding in his scheme to gain possession of it, in order to build on its bed a railway which would compete with the Baltimore & Ohio for the control of the great transportation business between the east and the west. Whatever may be said of this remarkable man, this most wonderful schemer Maryland has ever produced, it must be conceded that his plans and schemes were all on a gigantic scale and while he failed in the attainments of his ends, while his endeavors were all, in the end, in vain they were really vast in their conception and the means used to accomplish his ends were really worthy of a great and fertile mind, even if that mind was controlled by motives none of which were honest or would stand any test of a moral law or in any manner indicated the possession of moral principle.

He schemed to gain control of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway—he failed only after nearly twenty years of the most untiring and intensive effort.

He schemed to gain control of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and for years he worked to attain that object, but he failed.

He schemed to gain control of the Western Maryland Railway, and came nearer his goal in that attempt than in any of the others.

And he schemed to gain the Presidency of the United States, and there is no doubt his failure in that attempt of his last and greatest of his schemes embittered his declining years to a greater extent than all the others.

And his nemesis in all these schemes, the one man who did more to thwart him than all others combined, was that great lawyer John K. Cowen, the greatest man ever connected with the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company during the entire century of its existence.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

THE collapse of the scheme to force a Constitutional Convention on the people of the state, out of the regular order as prescribed by the Constitution of 1867, was so complete that it brought about a decided disorganization of the forces expected to carry through the plans for the sale of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal to the Gorman, Elkins, Davis combination, and Mr. Cowen had very little trouble in sidetracking the proposition. The members of both Houses of the General Assembly, outside of the city representatives, who were ordinarily most completely under the control of the Gorman machine, were those from the Western Maryland counties through whose borders the canal made its way. The sentiment of the people, regardless of party, in all this section was decidedly opposed to the sale of the waterway. Hundreds of them were employed in its operation, and depended on it for a livelihood. The coal they used in their houses, and in their industrial operations, in their public buildings of all sorts, and in their mercantile establishments, was all brought to them from the Allegany County mines in the canal boats, and they were fearful of the confusion and disorganization which would result should this time-honored sytsem of transportation be interfered with; so Mr. Gorman and his coconspirators soon found that they were facing a storm of protest which would probably wreck their political organization, should they attempt to force through the General Assembly the plans they had been preparing for several years. Reluctantly under protest, they decided to postpone action, expecting to take it up at the next session of the legislature to be held in 1888. In the meantime it was understood that those who favored the proposition would use all their influence to create public sentiment so that when the time was ripe the whole proposition would meet with the approval of the people of the state and the necessary laws could then be passed in its favor.

In the background, while all this scheming and plotting was going on at Annapolis, where Mr. Cowen and Senator Gorman, largely through agents and subordinates, were playing this great game in which was involved several of the really vital questions affecting the greatest material and political interests of the state, John W. Davis, Assistant to President Garrett, had

his agents at work in the counties from Garrett to Worcester, creating sentiment among all classes of citizens against the schemes of the Gorman organization—and this sentiment soon manifested itself among the leading members of both Houses of the General Assembly. Lawyers, bankers, merchants, farmers, and all sorts of people, were aroused, and, urged on by the judicial and other officials whose terms would be shortened by the proposed Constitutional Convention, they protested to their representatives at Annapolis in no uncertain terms. And their protests had so linked up the canal proposition with the early call for a new Constitution, that it was soon evident that both these schemes would go down to defeat together. And a strong feeling of distrust and suspicion of the motives back of the Gorman program became so decided that several weeks before the close of the session, it was tacitly understood that both would be allowed to die together. Even Senator Gorman's closest friends and really loyal backers, came to the conclusion that their chief had formulated plans which were of such a character that any drastic effort to put them through would throw the democratic party into a state of such confusion that it would endanger the future of the organization for years to come. Wisely, therefore, they gave up the proposed fight, and Mr. Cowen retired triumphant from the field.

Senator Gorman, notwithstanding his evident discomfiture, declined to admit defeat. He insisted that his plans were prepared to subserve the best interests of the state. At a dinner, which he attended about a week before the final adjournment of the session, he discussed the whole question as to the policy which had been pursued by his adherents during the session. He said the scheme, "to bring the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company to terms," and to turn "the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal into a railway," had only been postponed. That the people did not understand the advantages which would accrue to the state when these plans were carried out, and that every effort would be made to present the real facts before the next session of the legislature, two years hence. In the course of his address at this dinner he roundly scored Mr. Cowen and the Railway officials, paid his respects in no complimentary terms to the newspapers which had opposed his plans and prophesied that when it was thoroughly understood what the propositions of his friends really meant, there would be no difficulty in putting them across.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

EARLY in March of the session of 1886, it became evident that it would be impossible for the Gorman organization to force through the General Assembly any of the bills prepared to "get even" with the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company or any of the forces which had been allied with the reform element in the previous election, so it soon became quietly understood that they would be allowed to drop of sight. These measures included what was called the Early Call Convention bill, which has heretofore been explained in detail, the proposition to gain possession of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and construct a railway from Cumberland to Washington over its bed, and the forced sale or lease of the Western Maryland Railway to connect it up with the Davis and Elkins or West Virginia Central Railway at Cumberland—these three propositions formed the basis of all Senator Gorman's schemes and plans, and to the furtherance of them he had devoted years of cunning manœuvering, and their failure was one of the greatest disappointments of his whole career—next to his failure to become President of the United States, probably his greatest source of chagrin and disappointment was his failure to gain control of the Baltimore & Ohio. To the attainment of that end he devoted more skill and cunning ability than to all others—it was a gigantic plan and at one time it seemed possible of success, but it was too great and complicated in its scope for a man, even of Gorman's undoubted ability, to accomplish, notwithstanding the fact that he had at one time the active participation of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company and could have had the aid of other Nation-wide, powerful, financial interests, had he so desired. And it was believed by many people that had the wily Senator's reputation for reliability and square dealing been of a higher order he would have won out in the end. But even those who were allied with him and wished to see him succeed, distrusted him, and Chauncy Depew, in speaking of Gorman at the time these schemes of his were under consideration, said at a dinner in Baltimore (referred to in a former chapter) that he felt when he was talking with the Maryland Senator, that there was something kept back,

that he was not sincere, and that, as a consequence, he never felt that he could be trusted. And all through his career, which, so far as his success in winning his seat in the Senate was concerned was a triumph, he was always distrusted, even by a large proportion of those politicians and public men, both state and national, with whom he was associated. The late I. Freeman Rasin, to whom he was more closely associated than with anyone else from the beginning of his public career, never trusted him, and he made no secret of the fact. He often said that he never knew how long or under what circumstances Gorman would stick to him, or carry out a bargain either political or otherwise—and he knew that if at any time, "Arthur," as he always called him, would come to the conclusion he could do better by going over to the other side, he would not hesitate to do so, and that without any notice to his allies.

In the fall of 1886, months after the session of the General Assembly had adjourned, the Senator was at Radcliffe, the residence of Mrs. R. C. Holliday (later Mrs. Charles H. Gibson) in Talbot County. In discussing the work and the failures of the session, he said:

"The failure of the General Assembly to pass the bills favored by the party organization was one of the greatest misfortunes which could have happened to the whole people of the state, and I am at a loss even now to understand how it all happened. We had carried the state over the combined opposition of the reformers and the Republicans by an overwhelming majority. We had almost a unanimous representation in both Houses of the General Assembly, there being only four Republican Senators and ten members of the House of Delegates. We should have been able to do anything we pleased, and yet we failed to put through any of the really important measures and gained nothing as the fruit of our overwhelming victory.

"I look upon the defeat of the plan to have a Constitutional Convention as the most unfortunate thing that happened to Maryland since the close of the Civil War. We should have had everything our own way. There was no valid reason why we should not have put that bill through early in the session, submitted it to the people and had the Convention during the summer. But it seemed impossible to get the people to undertand what it all meant. Many of our best friends grew suspicious and

fought shy of it and would do nothing. We tried in every way possible to make them understand it. We explained that we would be able to tax the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, make that corporation pay its just share of taxes and in other ways put that Company, which has become a menace to the continued supremacy of the Democratic party, now that it is in open alliance with the Republican party.

"It will come to this, and will be determined at the next election—we thought it was settled at the last election, but it was not—is the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company to rule the State of Maryland or is it to be ruled by the white people of the state through the continued domination of the Democratic party? The Railway Company is now in alliance with the Republicans whose voting strength is made up largely of Negroes, and this combination of the Railway Company and their renegade white Democratic independent allies, based on the Negro and Republican vote is the enemy we must meet next year, and unless great care is taken they will win out against us. And, in my mind there is no doubt of it, the supremacy of the Democratic party is in greater danger than ever before since the War."

CHAPTER LXXIX.

EARLY in the summer of 1887 Senator Gorman invited the editors of the Democratic county papers to take luncheon with him at his Washington residence, "in order," as the invitation read, "to discuss the political situation, so far as it affected the Democratic party, and particularly in regard to the issues which would be brought before the voters for consideration during the ensuing campaign.

The writer, at that time, was editor of the Easton *Democrat*, a weekly paper published at Easton, Talbot County, and with eighteen other editors from different counties of the state he was present at the meeting at the Senator's hospitable home in the National Capital.

After a most generous luncheon (it was really a dinner), and while we were still seated at the table, the Senator arose, thanked us for our presence and in a prepared address told us why he had invited us there, and what he believed we should do in order to strengthen the Democratic party, and, as a further object, what we should advocate in our papers as a program to be carried out at the session of the General Assembly which would meet in the next ensuing January. The words of his speech so far as they are here printed, are exactly as he uttered them with the exception that certain sentences are omitted as they in no way refer to matters of any public interest or have any connection whatever with the subjects discussed in his address. The Senator said:

"I have called you, gentlemen, together to impress upon you the fact that the time-honored, conservative old Democratic party in Maryland is at the present time in greater danger of losing control of the state than it has been at any time since the adoption of the present Constitution of the state in 1867.

"There is now in process of formation a combination made up largely of the same people and the same interests who waged the fight against the Democratic organization two years ago, while they were defeated, at the polls, they managed through a misunderstanding on the part of the people to prevent us from securing the fruits of our victory—in fact, so far as any real

advantage was concerned, the great victory we won in the election was nullified by the lack of affirmative action on the part of the General Assembly, and as a consequence the whole fight will have to be gone over again. And it is in regard to preparation for that fight that I have invited you here to confer with me as to what we should do to meet this new crisis in our party affairs.

"The combination, which is now in a formative state, and which will go into the campaign with a determination to destroy the present party organization, and thus be enabled to oust the present leaders and seize the party control for themselves, is composed of the most powerful corporate and other business, professional and banking interests in the state. At the head of it, and really the basis of the entire scheme, is the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, with its vast wealth and great army of employes, and holding this great industrial and financial organization in his hand to use as he pleases in either political or business affairs, is John K. Cowen, undoubtedly one of the ablest, most learned, most skilful, as well as one of the most industrious and most unscrupulous lawyers in the entire Country. And allied with Mr. Cowen and the Railway Company are to be found many of the largest banking and other financial institutions of the city and state, together with the owners of several of the great industrial establishments—all backed by a collection of the ablest lawyers, gathered from all parts of the city and state. And all are out openly in the field, determined to destroy the old Democratic state and city organization and on its ruins build up a political machine of their own through which they expect to secure control not only of all public affairs of the State of Maryland and the City of Baltimore, but also dominate, to a large extent, the industrial as well as the general commercial development of our people.

"The State of Maryland and the City of Baltimore built and cherished the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. For half a century it has been the most highly favored of all the creations of our commonwealth. Money has been poured out for it in the most lavish way. The public funds of the city and state have been donated to its advancement from the very start. Private citizens of every degree of wealth have subscribed to its securities and throughout its entire existence it has been the proudest boast of the city and state, for the only state which has been the almost

exclusive developer of all her railroads has been Maryland and in that particular our people have led all the States of the Union.

"And now, after all those years of nursing care and protection, with liberal legislation, and almost complete exemption from taxation, with privileges of all kinds far beyond those enjoyed by roads in other states, this child of the people, now grown to great strength and vigor, has turned against its nursing and devoted mother, has joined the foes of the people to whom it owes its very existence, and, for a second time is making ready to smite down the authors of its being in order that certain ambitious schemers may be raised to power and to the control of public affairs."

CHAPTER LXXX.

"NOW, gentlemen of the Democratic County Press," continued Senator Gorman, "I have asked you to meet me here to confer with you on the conditions which confront the loyal Democrats, not only at the present time, but which presage a fight for the very life of the party, which may continue for several years. I do not believe that all of you understand what a real crisis confronts us, what a great task we have before us, in this struggle for existence—and throughout the whole of which the main dependence is upon you, to place before the people of the state just what it all means, and what the effect of it will be to the welfare of the whole people of the commonwealth.

"As I said before, there is no real dependence to be placed in the daily papers of Baltimore City. The *American* and the *Herald* are both openly against the Democratic party—they are owned, managed and openly allied with our opponents. We can expect no aid from them, but rather active hostility in our struggle to keep Maryland in the Democratic column.

"There is no hope of any steady support from the *Sun*. Its owner is a Democrat and the paper, in years past, has rendered great service to the party, and will probably continue to be nominally allied with us, but it is at best uncertain, and at any time is likely to turn against us and do us all the damage it can, so that we never are certain how far its support can be relied upon, to carry out the policies of the party, as they may be determined upon by the leaders as the representatives of the rank and file of the Democratic voters of the state.

"Our main dependence, therefore, is upon you, as the hereditary advocates and defenders of the old, time tried and time-honored, principles of the Democrats of Maryland, as represented in our present efficient state and city organizations, which have functioned so loyally and efficiently for the past twenty years—have given the state and city honest, efficient and economical government, have reduced the tax rate and are prepared for a still further reduction when the legislature meets next winter, and, altogether have made Maryland one of the best and most economically governed states in the whole Union.

"But I want to warn you, I cannot impress the fact too strongly upon you that the certain large and influential element of our party which allied itself with the Republicans two years ago is to be prepared to continue that alliance, and, backed by the great power and influence of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, these people are laying their plans to crush out the life of our party organizations, and are even now making their preparations to overthrow and destroy us this year. There is no doubt of it, their plans are already perfected to put the Democratic party, as it is at present constituted, completely out of power in the city and state, and already they are boasting as to what they intend to do. So confident are they of success in the election next November, that they are already parcelling out the offices, both executive, legislative and judicial, are openly saying to whom they intend to give the leadership, and what they expect to do in the way of legislation, when the General Assembly meets next winter. This time they are making no concealment of their plans. So confident are they of success, that in many cases they have already promised practically all the appointive offices, and announced their program.

"The active head of this movement is John K. Cowen, who is devoting much of his time, his great talent for such work, and much of his energy to preparation for the accomplishment of his plans. And in all this he is actively aided by ex-Governor William T. Hamilton, General Bradley T. Johnson, Severn Teackle Wallis, and others, some of whom are not only leading and influential citizens, but men who have held high rank and attained high honor as Democrats, during the past twenty years. These men are prepared to follow Mr. Cowen and aid this Ohio Yankee to disrupt and destroy the party, which conferred on them its highest honors. It is rule or ruin with them.

"And back of all this combination of able men, who are allied for the express object of capturing the organization of the Democratic party, and through it controlling the state, is the great Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company with its thousands of employees and its millions of dollars. Their mission is destruction first, and construction afterward. If they cannot gain control of the party organization, they are ready to join hands with

its hereditary foes and destroy it, expecting thus to be enabled to build up their own organization and govern Maryland as they and their allies may wish. It is a great scheme, has great force back of it, and will take equally great determination and still greater force to defeat it.

"Now, gentlemen," continued the Senator, "I have given you an outline of the situation. Doubtless some of you know matters connected with this continued attack on the party, which are unknown to me. I hope, therefore, that all will give us a free and open expression as to their views on the subject, and then we will be better able to form some plan to counteract these attacks on the party, which are sure to increase in force as the summer progresses and the campaign for the election of the Democratic ticket in November grows in interest."

CHAPTER LXXXI.

WHEN Senator Gorman had concluded his statement as to the situation in the Democratic party, and especially that part of it which referred to the sort of a fight which he expected would be made to overthrow the city and state organizations, he said:

"Understand, gentlemen, this is a conference. I have not called you here to give out any orders or even requests. I want your advice, for I realize, that without your sincere coöperation, we are helpless, as I have reason to believe that the city papers will be either passive or openly hostile to any program which we may outline. Regardless of any views you may believe I have on the subject, please give me your own honest views on all these questions. It is the only way we can reach an understanding as to what it is best for us to do. I am sure that the party, and especially the organization, is face to face with the most serious crisis which they have had to face since 1875."

"Col. Baughman, editor of the Frederick *Citizen*, was the first to speak. He said:

"Senator, as I understand it, you feel assured that the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, under the direction of Mr. Cowen, has reached a decision in this matter, and is determined to fight the party organization until it succeeds in putting it out of business—that with them it will be a fight to the death. Is that your candid opinion?"

"I have been informed that such is the case," said the Senator. Cowen told me so as emphatically as he could. He said there would be no compromise, until the organization either surrendered, repudiated me, or was defeated. In fact, he said there would be no compromise under any circumstances—that it would be war to the death."

"I have no doubt that Mr. Cowen said it," said Col. Baughman. "But I do not believe he meant it, and if he did mean it, we should remember that he is not the owner of the Baltimore & Ohio, nor is he the whole Board of Directors, and I do not believe the directors have any such a plan in view, nor do I believe they will back Mr. Cowen up in the furtherance of any

such a scheme. He wants to do all this. He wants to destroy your power in the public affairs of Maryland, and will do so if he can. And to that end, he will do all he can to turn the whole force of the Railway Company against you, and the organization on which your power is based. And he is scheming to bring all that about in order to accomplish his purpose.

"I know something about what he is doing. I know that he is using all his great influence to persuade a majority of the directors to back up his plans, but he has not yet succeeded, although he would like to have you believe that he has.

"I know, also, that he is trying to persuade certain influential leaders in the city and counties to break away from your leadership, and expects to succeed. He saw me a few days ago and broached the subject, assuring me that if I, and certain other county men who are allied with you, would break away, Rasin would do likewise, and that would practically end the fight. I declined his overtures. Rasin, I beliece, is still holding his proposition under consideration. And, we all know that if Rasin can get money enough he will do anything Cowen wants him to do. And other city leaders are in the same boat.

"But frankly, Senator, while I am ready to stand by you, as I have always done, no matter what my own judgment on the subject may be, I do not believe that Cowen will be able to carry out his scheme to array the Railway Company in open warfare against the Democratic party. Nor do I believe that we will ever be able to array a united Democratic party against the Baltimore & Ohio Railway. Cowen tried that two years ago. It is true he lined Robert Garrett and a majority of the railway officials against us, but he failed utterly in his effort to line up the great army of the subordinate employees, a large proportion of whom are Democrats, and will vote the Democratic ticket no matter what may happen.

"The whole truth seems to me to be, that Cowen's ambition to dominate the state and city is the real issue, from his standpoint. To a certain extent he is now the leading personality in the Railway Company, and through his influence there, he practically dominates the business affairs of Baltimore. He wants to dominate the politics of the state and city, and is ready to use the Railway Company as a basis on which to build up his political machine.

"You, and your friends, are in his way. He is a man of unbounded ambition. With him, it is rule or ruin. If he cannot rule through the Democratic party, he is ready to wreck that party, and rule through the Republican party. He tried that two years ago, and failed. He is ready to try again, but he is not as strong as he was then. But I do not believe the real interests back of the Railway Company will back him.

"It is well, however, that you have called this conference, so that the county editors may be prepared for anything that may confront them this fall. And I am sure that all of us, no matter what our personal views may be, will be ready to take up any gage that may be thrown down. Whether the challenger is the Baltimore & Ohio, Mr. Cowen, the Republican party, or any other force, you, as the leader, can rest assured that you will have our loyal support."

CHAPTER LXXXII.

AFTER Col. Baughman had finished his statement in regard to the proposition Senator Gorman had presented to the editors for consideration, there was a general discussion, which was taken up in turn by all those present, and while there was much difference of opinion as to what should be done in order to strengthen the party lines, there was a decided opposition on the part of all the editors from the Western Maryland counties, to the views of the Senator in regard to the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company. In this opposition, which in the end was championed by Colonel Baughman himself, several of the Eastern Shore editors took a leading part, and it soon became evident that a majority of those present were averse to making that the dominant issue in the approaching campaign—there were other issues which a majority considered more important, and several of the older editors could see no reason at that time for placing any emphasis on the difference between the railway people and certain of the party leaders.

Mr. Joseph M. Street, editor of the Harford *Democrat,* and the dean of the county editors, was emphatic in his opposition to any formal line-up in the party on this subject. He alluded to the fact that for years, that is from the close of the reconstruction period after the Civil War, with the single exception of the campaign of 1885, two years before, the Railway Company and the Democratic party in the state had always been in close and friendly alliance, and had worked together in harmony for the interests of the party and the people. He asserted that the present unfriendly relations had been brought about largely by the rivalry of certain individuals, and were personal, and he did not believe such matters should be taken up by the party—that the individuals concerned should settle them among themselves, and not drag the Democratic organization into a fight with the greatest, most important and most powerful business organization in the state.

Mr. Street stressed his appreciation of Senator Gorman's great services to the Democratic party, and said he was ready to do all in his power to aid the Senator in the attainment of whatever ambitions he might have—that he appreciated the services he had rendered the party, and was pleased when he was chosen for another term in the Senate as a result of the election the year before—that he had done all in his power to bring about that result, although there had been considerable opposition to his course in Harford County—that notwithstanding this local opposition he had supported the Senator for his second term. He did not believe, however, that the personal differences between Mr. Gorman and Mr. Cowen should be made party issues, and that he was opposed to any such action

Mr. W. W. Busteed, editor of the Centreville *Observer,* then, as now, one of the most influential county papers in the state, backed up the views of Mr. Street. Mr. Busteed, in addition to his ability as an editor, ranked as one of the ablest and most prominent Democratic leaders on the Eastern Shore. He had been a member of the General Assembly the previous year and had voted for the reelection of Mr. Gorman.

He was especially emphatic in his opposition to any break between the Democratic party and its old ally, the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company. There was no connection in any way between his County (Queen Anne's) and that corporation, and he was not acquainted with any of its officials, so that he was speaking solely in the interest of the party and state, when he deprecated any act of hostility to that organization.

He called attention to the fact that the Railway Company employed thousands of men, practically all of whom were Marylanders and Democrats, and that the road had been built and was largely owned by citizens of the state, and that the State and City of Baltimore were large owners of its securities, and some of the largest of the state's educational and charitable institutions had a considerable part of their funds invested in its stocks and bonds, and were therefore to some extent dependent on its prosperity for their maintenance.

"Mr. Busteed also insisted that it would be the height of folly for the Democratic party, as an organization, to take any part in such a fight so that which would be precipitated, should Senator Gorman's views prevail. Much as he admired and respected the Senator, looking upon him, as he did as the ablest man in the party, he must differ with him in this case. Plainly, he said, it was a general impression that all this friction between the

Railway Company and the party was caused by the rival ambitions of the Senator himself and Mr. John K. Cowen. He said that he did not know that such was the fact, but that a large number of excellent citizens, members of the Democratic party, asserted that such was the case. He was loth to believe it, but there were many signs, that at the bottom of this whole trouble were the rival ambitions of these two able men.

As a conclusion Mr. Busteed turned to Senator Gorman, and said:

"I am ready to follow your leadership, Senator, to as a great an extent as any other man in the state. I favored your election to the Senate seven years ago, when you were elected for the first time. I favored your reelection last year, and, as a member of the House of Delegates voted for you. I look upon you as our greatest party leader, but I think you are going too far when you advocate a fight with the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, and I am opposed to any such a program."

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

IT WAS clearly evident from the start, that Senator Gorman had called the conference of the Democratic county editors of the state, for the express purpose of enlisting them in the crusade he had planned against the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company. While he did not say so in so many words, all that he did say indicated that such was his desire, and the speeches of Col. Baughman, editor of the Frederick *Citizen;* Mr. Street, of the *Harford Democrat,* and Mr. Busteed, of the Centreville *Observer,* three of the most influential party organs in Maryland, all of whom openly objected to any such a program, did not please him, and he showed by the questions he asked from time to time during the course of the conference, that he did not like the attitude taken by these men, who, in addition to their newspaper connections were among the most powerful county leaders in the Democratic party. He did not make any attempt to conceal his disappointment, and, as one editor after another came out in accord with Messrs. Baughman, Street and Busteed, and expressed decided hostility to such a program, his chagrin became more and more apparent, and he interrupted the speakers to inject arguments of his own in favor of his plan.

He said that he had given this subject the closest study for several years. That he had come to the conclusion, even before the death of Mr. John W. Garrett, that it would only be a matter of a short time after that able and powerful executive had passed away, when the Democratic party in the state would be obliged to fight for its very existence, and that the greatest and most active enemy the party would have in that fight would be the Baltimore & Ohio Company, and, that what he had expected was now going on, that the very life of the Democratic party in Maryland was at stake, and that at the head and front of the enemies of the party, was the great Railway Corporation, which had passed under the control of John K. Cowen, who, through his influence over Robert Garrett, was able to use for his own personal ends, all the vast power of that great organization, and that his admitted aim was to destroy the Democratic party organization, and that the fight to accomplish his object had al-

ready begun. The Senator wound up his appeal, after he had, in a conversational manner talked with the editors in turn, as follows:

"That I am disappointed at the position some of you have taken on this question, I must admit, and I am sure if I could make plain to you the great danger in which our party is placed, you would agree with me and take up this fight with all the vigor you possess. There is no doubt of it—the party is absolutely dependent on you in this fight, which is now quietly going on. It is true we won the first battle of this war, for it is going to be war from now on, last year when we won out in the city and state, but the next fight in the open, may have a different result, so I cannot impress it too forcibly upon you that the very life of the Democratic party in Maryland is at stake—I repeat the party is in serious danger, and the greatest strength of our enemies lies in the fact that they have at their back, the most powerful single influence in the state, that is the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, with its vast monetary resources, and its thousands of employees, all of which will be used without scruple against us—led by John K. Cowen, who is without doubt one of the ablest and most unscrupulous men in the state. He has stated openly that he intends to put us out of power, that if we do not surrender, we will be crushed, and he makes no mystery of his intentions. He calls it "a grim fight," that it will go on until our power is destroyed in both city and state, and he means it. He has at his back not only the Railway Company, but many of the most influential Democrats, who have left their party to aid him. He has also acquired control of the Republican party, with their thousands of negroes—an illiterate, non tax paying horde of voters, who will do his bidding, and vote as he decrees, and I have serious doubts as to the result of this fight, unless you, gentlemen, with your newspapers, join me in the preparation, on the line I have indicated for the real campaign which will be started in a few weeks, for without you, we are practically helpless—of that there is not the slightest doubt.

"I have talked over this situation with several of the leading citizens who are interested in the Baltimore & Ohio Company, and who are also personally interested in the Democratic party —some of them directors in the Railway Corporation. Without exception, all said the same thing, that they were opposed

to the Company taking any such a stand in the political affairs of the city and state, but that they were helpless—that Mr. Cowen and his allies were in such a position that they could do as they pleased, and that if such was his desire Mr. Cowen could get the backing of the Railway Company to any extent that he saw fit, and that it would be useless for them to interfere.

"I must say again, the fight for the life of the party is before us, and that it will be a real fight, is certain, and Mr. Cowen says it will be a fight to the death. The question is, what part are you going take in it. Are you with us, or against us? Or are you going to sit silently on the fence, and see the party which you have been working for all your lives, wrecked and defeated, before your eyes, when your help would save its life? These are the questions which you must decide. Your interest, which is at stake, is as great as mine."

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

IT WAS a matter of surprise to all the county editors present when they realized that Senator Gorman was more persistent in his desire to persuade them to join in a concerted attack on the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, than he was in any other issue that might be brought to the front during the coming campaign. He did not appear to think any other matter which might be of interest to the people of the state, and especially to the Democratic party, would be of any great importance. He appeared determined to enlist us all in a hostile crusade against the Railway management—the one subject on which he placed the greatest stress, was that he appeared to believe was the increasing hostility between the people of Maryland and the great state Railroad Corporation. He tried to convince us that the men who were in control of that organization were bent on the destruction of the power and influence of the Democratic party, thus to be enabled to assume the sole direction and management of all public affairs in both city and state themselves.

While, usually very cool and careful in his statements, even when they concerned matters and things in which he was interested, in discussing the presumed hostility of the Railway Company to his party on that occasion, his desire to influence the newspaper men to take his view of the subject, appeared to have overcome his usual prudence, and toward the close of the discussion he became angry at what he considered the obstinacy of several of those present and their refusal to adopt his plans, and agree to make that the paramount issue in the campaign. At times he lost his usually equable temper and when several of the gentlemen present flatly told him that they could see no force in his arguments, and when Mr. Busteed, of the Centreville *Observer*, openly asked him if it was not a fight between himself and Mr. Cowen, rather than a fight between the Democratic party and the Railway Company, he completely lost his temper, and denied, with much heat that such was the case.

Mr. Busteed was quite as forcible in an argument as the Senator, and all his life was fearless in the expression of his

views on public questions and public men. When the Senator asserted that it was not a personal quarrel between himself and Mr. Cowen, the Centreville editor sail:

"I have listened with great care to all you have said, Senator, and, while you may not look upon this proposition you have made to us as based upon a desire on your part to enlist us, and through us the Democrats of the counties, in what at the bottom is a personal quarrel between you and Mr. Cowen, I am more and more of the opinion that I am right. I do not believe the people who control the Baltimore & Ohio Company have any hostile designs on the Democratic party, or the Democratic party organization. On the contrary, I am sure all these gentlemen, even including Mr. Cowen, and with two or three exceptions, all are Democrats, are interested in the party, and desire its success, and are ready to aid in maintaining its supremacy in the city and state.

"To tell the truth, I have made several careful inquiries on the very points on which you have placed so much emphasis, in what you have said. I have even talked with Mr. Cowen on the subject, and he assured me that the men in control of the Corporation, himself included, have every desire to aid the Democratic party to maintain control of the city and state—that their hostility is not to the party but to certain influential leaders, and that this opposition is not really to the leaders as individuals, but is directed to force them to do away with certain methods they have adopted, in maintaining their control of the party machinery, and are using it to their own personal advancement, and I am free to say, that, in the main I agreed with what he said. And I am also free to say (and we may as well discuss this whole situation without gloves, now that you have brought it before us) that the two individuals whom he blamed most severely for this condition of apparent hostility, between the Company and the Democratic organization, are yourself and Mr. Rasin.

"I also had a talk with Mr. Rasin on the subject. He and I have been lifelong friends, and, while I do not always agree with what he does, I hold him in the highest personal esteem, for I look upon him as one of the ablest leaders in the state.

"And I shall not betray any confidence when I repeat to you and these gentlemen, what Mr. Rasin said, for he assured me

that he had said the same to you on several occasions, and that you thoroughly understood his position.

"He said he would side with you and aid you in whatever course you might decide to follow, that your personal and political relations were of such a character that he felt obliged to aid you in this, or any other matter. But that he thought the proposition to make the attack on the Baltimore & Ohio Company, was unwise and that there was no necessity for it, that there was no desire on the part of any of them to engage in a fight, and that all the troubles, or rather imaginary troubles he called them, could be settled, and the railway people and the Democratic leaders could work together in harmony as they had done for so many years.

"He also said that for some reason or other you had become impressed with the idea that Mr. Cowen had determined to overthrow you, and deprive you of your party leadership. He said that Mr. Cowen undoubtedly would like to do it, but that he had become convinced, since the last election that it would be impossible to do so, and that therefore, he had given up all hope of accomplishing it, and that there was no reason for any conflict of interests between himself and his friends, and you and your friends, and, that while he was ready for a fight, if it became necessary to protect the interests of his Corporation, he could see no necessity for anything of the sort, and hoped that the peace which now existed would not be broken, and that it would continue indefinitely."

CHAPTER LXXXV.

THE determination of Senator Gorman to force his personal relations with Mr. Cowen on the county editors as the one important issue of the 1887 campaign surprised all, even those who were closest to the Senator, and who were supposed to be in his confidence, not only in political, but also in personal matters.

No one in the state was supposed to be closer to Mr. Gorman than Colonel Baughman, editor of the Frederick *Citizen,* and the Senator's right hand man in the Western Maryland counties where the influence of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company was greater than in any other part of the state, and it was evident from what he said that the "Little Napoleon of Western Maryland," as Colonel Baughman was familiarly known, did not agree with his chief on the subject. It soon became evident to the Senator that the "Bulwark of the Democratic party," as he often spoke of the county newspapers, were not in accord with his views—that with a few unimportant exceptions they would oppose taking up his fight with Mr. Cowen, and would vigorously oppose any attempt that might be made to drag into the campaign about to start any matters that would involve the party and the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company in an attitude of hostility to each other. And the Senator gave emphatic evidence of his surprise and his bitter chagrin at the unexpected situation which confronted him.

There is no doubt but that he expected the entire Democratic county press of the state to take up his side of the controversy and back him up in his determination to make the Railway Company the dominant issue at the coming state election. In the campaign of 1885 these papers with practical unanimity had backed him in his fight for reelection to the Senate for his second term—and there is no doubt of the fact that at that time the Democratic party county newspapers, together, made up the controlling force of public opinion in the counties of the state. They had a combined circulation of more than a hundred thousand. They reached the homes of practically all the conservative Democratic taxpayers in the counties. Among their editors were some of the ablest writers of Maryland. A large proportion of

them were college graduates, and practically all were of the old Colonial Maryland stock—descendants of families which had been prominent in the state from the earliest day—and all were devoted to Maryland and were anxious to maintain the honor and credit of the state above all other things, and they were not ready to do anything which they believed would jeopardize, or cast discredit on their honored commonwealth—even to please Senator Gorman, whom all acknowledged as the leader of their party, and whom all were ready to follow in all matters which they might consider would be for the best interest of the state and party.

At that time the Republican party in Maryland, except in the counties of the Western part of the state, was made up almost entirely of illiterate Negroes, and a minority of scheming, unprincipled whites—in fact, in a large part of the state at that time Republicans were held in bad repute, so bad in fact that in many sections when a Republican, either white or black, called at the house of any of the old-time Maryland gentlemen, he was sent around to the kitchen door. The feeling engendered by the Civil War had not died down, and in some places it has not died out even now (1927) and the editors of the local Democratic papers were decidedly averse to following any course, even to gratify Senator Gorman, which might in the end bring about an alliance between the state's great Railway Corporation and the Republicans (all of which actually happened through Gorman's machinations in 1895) and thus put the hated, and despised "black and tan party" in power.

And it was openly stated at the meeting under consideration that there were important and vital business reasons, which would influence the editors against taking up the Senator's proposition. It was told him, in the most positive manner, that the Railway Company was one of the largest advertisers in their columns, and, what was of equally great importance that all were riding on free passes given them by the Company. One of the editors in order to emphasize his reasons for refusing to enter into any agreement to take up the Gorman fight, pulled his Baltimore & Ohio pass out of his pocket, and said: "Why, the Baltimore & Ohio has been bringing me to Washington and to other parts of the state, especially to Baltimore, for years, and I have just received from them a check for a considerable amount for

advertising, and I know that we have all reached Washington today, free of expense, because of the courtesy of this Railway Company. And I know that you also, Senator Gorman, have been riding on a Baltimore & Ohio pass for years, and have one now. If the county newspapers have any better friend in Maryland than this Railway Company, I have never heard of it."

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

SENATOR Gorman, when he realized after what had been said by the editors of the papers, who were present at this conference, that he could not look for help in his proposed crusade against the Baltimore & Ohio, from any of those whose journals had real influence among the people, became really angry, and did not hesitate to express his displeasure, as well as his great disappointment, at what he clearly saw would be the outcome of his meeting—called especially for the purpose of lining them up back of his proposition. And that none of us could entertain anl doubt as to his feelings, in regard to the course we were prepared to follow, he said:

"All that I have said to you, gentlemen, has been dictated by my sincere interest for the future welfare of the Democratic party, in which you ought to have a more vital concern than I, for I am only the chosen servant of the people of the state to represent them in the Senate at Washington.

"Without egotism, I can truthfully say that I know much more about all these matters than you can possibly know, for I have been in close, personal contact with them more than any of you, and I am sure that my views of this case between the Democratic organization and the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company are accurate, and the great fight the party will have in the future, the fight which will really be a life and death struggle, will be with this great Railway Corporation, this octopus, which is preparing, day after day, to usurp and control all the power in the state, both business and political. It aims to control all the officials of the state, the counties and the City of Baltimore, for its own selfish purposes. It also aims to control the Senators and members of the House of Representatives of Maryland, at Washington.

"Under the domination of Mr. Cowen, the Company is preparing plans to put out of public life, as well as out of business life, every man or organization which may show the least opposition to any of its schemes—and, in order to succeed in any thing of importance, whether political or otherwise, all must bow down beneath the yoke of this ambitious alien from Ohio, all of

whose views are out of harmony with the views of the great majority of the people of this state, no matter what their party alliances may be—the great masses of the citizens of Maryland will never really be in harmony with the ideas of Mr. Cowen and his allies.

"But we can do nothing of moment to carry this fight to a successful conclusion without the active and loyal aid of the Democratic newspapers of the counties. As I have often said before this, you, gentlemen, with your newspapers form the great bulwark of the Democratic party in Maryland. We can place no dependence in the city newspapers, they will be either openly hostile, or lukewarm in any fight. They are tied up with interests which are largely indifferent or hostile to the fate of our party, and, our whole dependence for publicity, for placing our views before the conservative people of the counties, upon which the fate of this fight will depend, rests with you. It is up to you to decide it all.

"I am free to admit that the hostility you have shown here today is one of the greatest disappointments of my life. It is one of the greatest surprises, for, I had no idea that any of you would take such a stand. After the great fight we won last year against the combined forces of the Railway Company, the so-called independents in our party, and the united Republican forces of the state, I never for a moment, imagined that any of you held such views as you have here expressed today. I had no doubt that you all knew that this coming fight would be no more than a continuation of last year's fight, and that it would not only be based on the same issue, but would be against the same enemies. There is no change; you may imagine there is, but there is not. Our opponents have not changed, they are the same people, are holding the same views, and wish to accomplish the same ends. They started out to destroy us—they failed to do so last year, but they have not given up the fight. Mr. Cowen and his allies may tell Mr. Busteed, Mr. Winchester, Col. Baughman, and the others, that their fight is not against the Democratic party, or the Democratic organization, that it is directed solely against me, but they do not mean it—I am only one of the objects of their hostility. They are after the party, and their aim is to put it out of business for all time. They are using their hostility to me, as a pretense. Their real enmity is

to the party organization, and Cowen has told me on more than one occasion, that they do not intend to give up this fight until they have not only put me out of politics, but have also destroyed what he calls, our 'rotten and corrupt party machine.'

"But, without you and your newspapers, we can do little. We may be compelled to postpone the fight for a future campaign, if you refuse to take it up this year—but it will only be a postponement. It is bound to come. If not this year, or the next year, or the next, it will come; and the longer it is delayed, the more difficult will be the fight. I cannot carry it on alone; if you go back on me I shall be obliged to wait until you realize that I am right in the whole matter; that my views on this situation are correct; and then it may be too late. A delay may be fatal; it is certainly dangerous—let us hope, however, that the delay may not be too greatly prolonged.

"Now, as I do not think there will be anything gained by further discussion of this subject at the present time, I want to ask as a favor, and especially because I believe it to be to the vital interest of the party, that no public report be made by any of you, either verbally or in your papers, of this conference, or of anything that was said here; do not tell anything about our talk to anyone.

"And think this all over carefully, and let me know if at any time, your views have undergone a change.

"And I am sure that before another year has passed, you will agree with my views."

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

WHEN Senator Gorman had finished his talk to the county editors, as stated in the last chapter, he took us one at a time off in a corner of the room, and made personal appeals to us individually, to stand by him in his fight against the Baltimore & Ohio. He insisted, to each of us, that it was not a personal fight between himself and Mr. Cowen for party leadership—that the question of leadership had been settled the year before when he had been reelected to the Senate by such an overwhelming majority, which clearly indicated that the Democrats of the state were satisfied with him.

And while he was holding these individual conferences the rest of the editors were gathered in a group discussing what the Senator had said. The stress he had laid upon the importance of what he called the "vital issue," was surprising to all, even to those who were closest to him personally, and whose political fortunes were allied to those of the Senator, and all of whom had been his supporters in his fight for party leadership. While all had known that the relations between the Senator and the Railway management were not friendly, there had been no intimation that they had reached the stage of hostility, which was clearly evident from what he had said—indeed all of us had looked upon it as rather a personal struggle between the Senator and some of his allies on the one hand, and Mr. Cowen and certain of the older Democrats, whom Mr. Gorman had put out of power during the course of his contest for party leadership, which had reached its culmination when he defeated William Pinkney Whyte for the Senate in 1880, and had continued until two years before, when he gained another triumph in his second election to the Senate.

With possibly one or two exceptions, all the editors present were what were known as old-time regular, organization party men. They were anxious to unite the factions, so that contests within the party should be ended. They were all tired of having to fight each other at every campaign and were ready to meet the so-called reforming element half way, in order to bring about

unity of action. Year after year, they saw the Republicans increasing in strength, and slowly gaining character for their party by the acquisition of men of influence and high standing in the community, and the dying out of the old bloody shirt feuds, and hatred engendered by the Civil War. They could see no gain, from a party standpoint, in continuing these internal quarrels and jealousies—and were determined to do all in their power to secure peace within the Democratic ranks throughout the state.

And now, when the outlook was bright for peace, there comes Senator Gorman with a demand for the injection of a new issue, which would intensify the trouble, and bring into the field a most powerful foe—the most powerful foe the party in the state had ever had during its entire history, and possibly result in temporary confusion, which, in the end, would bring on a real party defeat. No reason could be brought forward, of sufficient force, to warrant any such action, and, there was no doubt of the fact, the editors were opposed to any such a program—Mr. Gorman's arguments had not brought conviction to any of them, even after he had almost begged them, collectively and individually, to join with him, and back up his proposed fight.

Usually, in such conferences, and Senator Gorman as a skilled politician was a great believer in conferences, he had his own way, and not one of those present had ever known him to appear so persistent and determined to force his views, as he was on that day. Calm and unruffled as he ordinarily was, at all times, he rarely became excited when engaged in such discussions, but on the occasion under consideration, he was not only persistent in his endeavor to force his views on the others, he, at times became really angry, when he found that he was not meeting with success. He became especially angry with Col. Baughman when that gentleman differed with him on every point he presented. In fact, the colonel was as determined in his opposition to Mr. Gorman's scheme, as the Senator was favorable to it, and both gentlemen, at times, became bitterly personal in their remarks to each other.

At one time the Senator bluntly told the Colonel that he was not presenting his own views on the subject, but was opposing him because his father-in-law (the late A. S. Abell, founder of the Baltimore *Sun*) had advised him what course to take. This

Mr. Baughman indignantly denied and said he not only had never mentioned the subject to Mr. Abell, but did not have any idea as to the view of that distinguished gentleman on the matter, and that he never had heard a word as to what course the Baltimore *Sun* would take, should the question ever come clearly before the public for discussion.

At last, after increased bitterness appeared evident, and there seemed to be no indication that there would be any sort of an agreement. Senator Gorman closed the session.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

THE determined effort of Senator Gorman to enlist the Democratic county papers in his proposed crusade against the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company was renewed from time to time, but he never tried to win them over as a body. All his later efforts were devoted to arguments, of all kinds, addressed to individuals—that is, he would, at intervals, invite one of the editors to dine with him, either at his home in Washington, to his country residence near Laurel, where he passed the summer, or at the party headquarters in Baltimore when they were open, which, in those days, was practically all the time, or at least two or three days in every week. In this way he succeeded in enlisting three or four of the most influential of the profession, one of whom was Francis M. Cox, of the Port Tobacco *Times*, at that time one of the ablest newspaper writers in the state. In the end, Mr. Cox was really the only editor who took up the cudgels of the anti-Railroad side, with any degree of enthusiasm and force, and he made several tours of the counties, to argue with his journalistic confreres, to join with him in what he said was "a necessary movement to preserve the integrity and power of the Democratic organization"—in other words, he asserted, wherever he went, that the Democratic party was in danger of losing control of Maryland, as he went around the counties, from time to time, he was earnest in his pleas for the enlistment of all the county papers, as absolutely necessary "to save the life of the party."

He met with very indifferent success. He did secure half-hearted encouragement from some of the less influential of the number, but a very large proportion of the ablest of the fraternity could not be convinced that there was any danger to the party, from anything the great Railway Company could do, and they doubted his assertions that the Company had any real designs on the party, or any desire "to take away its life," as he insisted, was its purpose.

It was a noticeable fact that not one of the several forceful Democratic papers published in the nine Eastern Shore counties joined Mr. Gorman in his proposed, and, in the end, attempted

crusade. The Eastern Shore Press was at all times more independent of machine domination than the Press of the Southern and Western Maryland counties. And the strange part of this is, that the papers of the counties on the Peninsula had never had any connection of importance with the Baltimore & Ohio Company. On the contrary, while the Baltimore & Ohio had not a mile of track on the shore, its great rival, the Pennsylvania Company, had control of all the railway mileage of that section of the state, and it was well known that this road which was controlled in Philadelphia, through its agents, was using all its influence to enlist the papers published along its lines to aid Mr. Gorman, that it was backing the Senator with all its forceful influence, not only in all his political aspirations, but was especially urgent in aiding him in all his schemes to destroy, not only the influence of the Baltimore & Ohio Company, but to involve it in financial ruin—for at the time, and for years afterward, when the great Maryland Corporation, finally almost ruined, was thrown into a receivership, the Pennsylvania Corporation devoted its power and large financial resources to that end. The war between the two rival companies was not only one of the outstanding features of every session of the General Assembly, at Annapolis, but, at times, extended to the National Congress at Washington, where Senator Gorman, aided vigorously by the Senators from Pennsylvania, Senator McPherson of New Jersey, Senator Frey of Maine, and other Senators, whose names the writer has forgotten, waged a secret and at times open warfare against almost every move the Maryland Company made at the National Capital. The only wonder is, as the writer looks back over those long gone years and the events here chronicled as of that time, that the Baltimore & Ohio, in view of the great power and unscrupulous methods of its extraordinary enemies, was able to hold out as long as it did—but, under the leadership of Mr. Cowen it made what was undoubtedly the gamest and bravest fight ever made in a similar situation. It was a fight against the most powerful, determined and unscrupulous band of railway wreckers and business pirates, that this country has ever produced—all of whom were men whose business and moral character was supposed to be of the highest sort, and yet they banded together in an unholy conspiracy to destroy the fortunes, and, in some in-

stances the personal reputations of men who were engaged in a great public enterprise, and whose predecessors had done more to advance the industrial prosperity of several states, than their selfish opponents had ever even attempted to do.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

THE complete failure of Senator Gorman to enlist the powerful Democratic county newspapers, in support of his war on the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, resulted in a marked cessation of all hostile movements by the State and City organizations against that great business enterprise, and, to all outward appearances, there was a temporary truce between the heretofore warring forces. To such an extent was this the case, that there was no perceptible hostility manifested by either side to the controversy during the state campaign of 1887, as a result of which Elihu E. Jackson was elected Governor, and the whole Democratic ticket was chosen, although by a reduced majority. Mr. Cowen took no active part in the fight, and it was a well-known fact that Mr. Jackson was not at all unfriendly to the Baltimore & Ohio Company, and, although he was a close friend and political ally of Senator Gorman, he deprecated any manifestation of hostility toward either the Railway Company or Mr. Cowen—and he refused, with emphasis, to allow any anti-railway, or anti-Cowen feeling, to have any effect on his acts during his entire administration. Governor Jackson frequently said that he was opposed to the party, as a party or the city and state organizations, as organizations, entering into any alliance of a hostile character against corporations or business concerns—unless there should be the strongest evidence that such corporations and concerns were using their influence, in a corporate or organized capacity, against duly nominated candidates of his party during the pendency of political campaigns—the fact that Mr. Cowen was hostile to the leadership of Senator Gorman, should not furnish any legitimate reasons for the Democratic party organization or a Democratic city and state administration, using their powerful influence to injure the greatest single corporation in Maryland. And, during his entire career not only when he was Governor, but later on when he was a member of the State Senate. Indeed, all his really great personal influence during his long and honorable career, not only as Governor, but as State Senator from Wicomico

County, and earlier, as member of the House of Delegates, was exerted to prevent friction, and to secure peace between the business interests, both public, corporate and private, and the officials in control of the city, county and state governments. And when the fight between Mr. Cowen and the Railway Company on the one hand, and Senator Gorman and his followers on the other, broke out in open warfare, he did not cease to keep up his work as a peacemaker. On several occasions, he tried to bring the Senator and Mr. Cowen together, in order that there might be found some basis of agreement; and on one notable occasion he arranged a meeting between the two in the committee room of Senator Brice, of Ohio, in the Capitol at Washington The meeting was said to have lasted for more than two hours. There were present Senators Gorman and Brice, Mr. I. Freeman Rasin, then the undisputed boss of Baltimore City, Mr. Thomas M. Lanahan, of Baltimore City, and two or three others whose names the writer has forgotten, together with Governor Jackson, and Frank Brown, who succeeded Mr. Jackson as Governor of the state.

It was reported at the time that the meeting would have resulted in the establishment of peace, had it not been for the disturbing presence of Mr. Lanahan, whom many well-informed people of that time, believed to have been the underlying cause of all the trouble. Frank Brown, who was especially friendly to Mr. Cowen, said afterward that Mr. Lanahan was the cause of the break-up of the meeting, without action. To this view he was backed up by Mr. Rasin, who was always opposed to any hostility on the part of the Democratic party to Mr. Cowen and the Railway Company. These two gentlemen said, at numerous times, later in life, that Mr. Lanahan had been scheming for years to get control of the Railway Company, and that it was his malign influence which had led Senator Gorman to enter into the plot, or conspiracy, as they called it, to overthrow the interests and individuals who owned and controlled Maryland's greatest business enterprise, to which the Senator devoted nearly all of his public life, which led to his overthrow in 1895, and to the crushing defeat of his party in the election of that year. As long as Mr. Brown was Governor, that is from 1892 to 1896, he kept the matter in the background, except during the last

six months of his administration, when the Gorman influence overwhelmed him, and captured both the city and state organizations, and rendered the Governor helpless before the attacks of the Senator, Mr. Lanahan and their allies. He then gave up the fight for peace, never attempted to interfere again with the Gorman-Lanahan plans, and passed the remainder of his term as Executive of the State, practically aloof from the fight, which soon became really red-hot, the reform elements of the Democratic party, which favored the elimination of the railroad question from party politics, and the Gorman elements, which were ready to follow the Senator to any lengths to which he might wish to go, without asking any questions as to the right or wrong, or even the political expediency of such a course.

CHAPTER XC.

THE election of Frank Brown to the Governorship, in 1891—continued the era of the truce between the Railway Company and Senator Gorman, and his allied conspirators, which had existed during the administration of Governor Jackson from 1888 to that time—the truce was only on the surface, however, so far as Gorman and Lanahan were concerned, for, in every way possible they were using their efforts to undermine the credit of the Baltimore & Ohio Company, to aid its rivals, especially the Pennsylvania Company, in its plans to thwart, in every way possible, the development and prosperity of the Maryland Corporation—for at that time there was no secret of the plans of the Pennsylvania people—aided by Gorman and Lanahan, they were, to use the words of Mr. Kenney, the superintendent of that company, "After the Baltimore & Ohio with hammer and tongs, and did not propose to stop until they had driven Cowen and his crowd out of control, not only of the property, but also out of the political field in Maryland, and elsewhere, wherever its lines extended." And, it was known, that Gorman and Lanahan and their political allies, were doing all in their power to aid in the accomplishment of these plans. But Governor Jackson and his successor, Governor Brown, were opposed to all this, and were particularly hostile to any alliance, whose object was to tie up the Democratic party organization and the state government, with forces whose object was to interfere with the prosperity and development of any business enterprise, especially such as the Baltimore & Ohio Railway. So, during the greater part of the eight years covered by the Jackson and Brown administrations, there were few open manifestations of hostility—but the conspirators were not idle—Gorman and Lanahan and their allies were at work all the time—they never lost an opportunity to get in some vicious cracks at Mr. Cowen and the others, who were in control of the corporation—they had a secret publicity service, which, week after week, sent throughout the state and county newspaper articles and paragraphs, directed against those who stood in their way, and while the county papers

throughout the state were opposed to the anti-Railway alliance, proposed by the Senator, many of those insidious paragraphs and poisoned articles found their way into print, especially during the Brown campagin, in the summer and fall of 1891. So evident did it become that the Gorman allies were endeavoring to ally their cause before the people with their anti-railway propaganda, that Mr. Brown protested to Senator Gorman, who at the same time was a candidate for reelection to the United States Senate—and as there was no really serious opposition to the whole Democratic ticket, including the reelection of Mr. Gorman by the General Assembly when that body should meet the next year. In his shrewd mind the Senator realized that he would gain a decided advantage should he have, as one of the issues of the campaign, the railway question, in view of the fact that the Republican fight was a joke—and should the railway issue be injected, it could be claimed that the great majority, which was sure to be polled for the Democratic ticket was an endorsement of his schemes against the Baltimore & Ohio. To all this, Mr. Brown was opposed, and determined to prevent it if possible.

The writer of these sketches was at that time acting as press agent for Mr. Brown, in his campaign. After a conference, it was determined to call on Senator Gorman and talk the matter over with him. This determination was hastened by the fact that Mr. Cowen and the Baltimore & Ohio interests were openly supporting the Democratic ticket, and through Mr. Cowen, had earnestly protested to the gubernatorial candidate against the publicity of a hostile character, that was given in certain Democratic county papers, in regard to the railway interests.

Before calling on Senator Gorman to protest, the editors of certain papers which had published the matter to which Mr. Cowen objected, were invited to Baltimore, and asked by Mr. Brown to explain the reason for their action, which, the gubernatorial candidate insisted, was really a breach of faith—as it had been the understanding, to which Senator Gorman had agreed, that the railway question should not enter into the campaign. In explanation, the three editors who were present (they were Joseph M. Street, of the Harford *Democrat*, Charles H. Vanderford, of the Westminster *Advocate*, and Francis M. Cox,

of the Port Tobacco *Times,* the ablest and most influential county editors in the state at that time), said that Senator Gorman had sent the copy to them, with the request that it should be published as a personal favor to him; and on that account the publication had been made. It also developed at this conference, that several other editors had received the same request from the Senator, and had not yet decided what course to take in the matter—that all realized that it was a blunder, and should not be repeated for party reasons, if for no other.

CHAPTER XCI.

THAT this proof that Senator Gorman, in his underhand way, was endeavoring to mix up the anti-Baltimore & Ohio question, to mix up his personal hostility to Mr. Cowen with the state campaign for Governor, the legislature, and other state offices, the candidate for Governor (Frank Brown) was filled with indignation, and swore like a trooper—and he was noted so as one of the most profane men in public life. He insisted that the three editors, Messrs. Street of the Harford *Democrat,* Vanderford of the Westminster *Advocate,* and Cox of the Port Tobacco *Times,* should go with him to Laurel, where the Senator was resting at his home "to have it out with him," as he said. And without delay after notifying Mr. Gorman that we were about to start, we took a train at Camden Station and about two o'clock reached Fairview, where we found Mr. Gorman seated on the porch, awaiting our visit. The writer was taken along to make a report as the candidate's press agent, should it be needed for publication.

After the customary salutations, in which the Senator greeted us with polite cordiality, Mr. Brown opened the discussion, for it turned out to be a discussion, which lasted until the evening shadows were gathering over the surrounding hills of Howard and Prince George's.

The candidate for Governor was definite, positive and emphatic in what he said to the Senator. He recalled to him the agreement which had been made early in the campaign, in which it was positively understood that the anti-Cowen and anti-Railway matter, which Mr. Brown insisted was personal rather than political, should have no place as issues in the contest, and that for the time should be kept in the background. That Mr. Cowen and his friends were loyally backing the whole state ticket, from the candidate for Governor down, knowing that the General Assembly to be elected would reelect Mr. Gorman to the Senate, and that it was clearly and emphatically agreed, that the controversy with the Railway Company, and especially the personal differences between Mr. Cowen and the Senator, were to have

no part in the campaigning in any part of the state. That with this understanding the work of the campaign had been started—that a press bureau had been formed, the expense of which Mr. Brown was paying out of his own pocket, and that he himself, was overlooking the whole business, was examining and passing on all the press matter that was sent out, and that he was careful to see that nothing of a character to violate the agreement with Mr. Cowen and his friends was allowed to go out to the Democratic county papers, all of which were publishing, week after week, a large amount of matter, in support, not only of the candidates for the State offices, but also an equally and generous and forcible amount of matter favorable to the reelection of Senator Gorman. He was surprised, therefore, to receive a call from Mr. Cowen who complained that the agreement was not observed, but that in certain papers, notably the Port Tobacco *Times*, the Harford *Democrat*, and the Westmister *Advocate*, sandwiched in the matter sent out from his bureau, were statements bitterly hostile to Mr. Cowen personally and to the Baltimore & Ohio Company, as enemies of the Democratic party, and, practically making these matters campaign issues, more important in their character, than the issues presented in the Democratic platform. In fact, the evident conclusion to be drawn from these surreptitious publications, was that the Democratic party contest was especially directed against Mr. Cowen and the railway interests, which he represented.

When he had reached this stage of his remarks to the Senator, Mr. Brown became very indignant, and said:

"Now, Senator, this is not fair to me, nor is it fair to the party whose candidate for Governor I am by a unanimous vote of the State Convention. There is no such issue before the people, and your candidacy for reelection is so well entrenched, that this matter cannot be made an issue—and I am opposed to any such tactics, and it must be stopped. And to my surprise, I have learned, not only from these gentlemen here, who are your friends and supporters as well as mine, that you are responsible—that the matter in question came from you, with the request that it be inserted as a part of the campaign material which I sent out—in fact Mr. Street, who is here to verify what I say, tells me, that it was sent by your secretary, to him, with

instructions to insert it in the way it was, so that it would appear to be a part of the article as originally prepared. And Mr. Street, Mr. Vanderford and Mr. Cox, all of whom rank as among the ablest and most loyal Democratic editors in Maryland, whose papers are among the most influential in the counties, have told me that when they talked to you about it, and expressed their doubts as to the policy of using it, you said without hesitation, that your object was to bring the whole business before the people, as a part of the issues to be discussed, and decided by the election.

"These gentlemen are here to speak for themselves, and, if I misquote them they are at liberty to correct me, and, the conclusion I drew from what they said was that you were determined to get this anti-Cowen anti-Railway discussion before the people in some form, and that was the best that could be devised—that it would have to be settled how the party stood, at some time, and that now, when there was every indication that the Democratic majority would be overwhelming in its size, was an ideal time to take it up, and have the people of the state, let it be known what their views were on the subject."

CHAPTER XCII.

IN a former chapter, it was related that Frank Brown, the Democratic nominee for Governor, together with Messrs. Cox, Street and Vanderford, editors of three of the leading county papers, had visited Senator Gorman at his home near Laurel, to protest against any further attempt on his part to inject the controversy with the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company and John K. Cowen, into the pending campaign.

Mr. Brown was not only positive, but was indignant and emphatic in his hostility to what he called the Senator's underhand work, and voiced his opposition to the Gorman program. In addition to what he said, as related in a former chapter, he said:

"Now Senator, this whole business must stop at once, or I shall come out in the press and on the stump, and denounce it. The understanding was definite and positive, when I became the candidate for Governor, that nothing was to be said about your differences with Mr. Cowen and the Railway Company—that your fight for reelection was to be made solely on your record in defeating the Force Bill in the Senate, and the fight for the state offices was to be made solely on questions affecting the taxation laws of the state, and, on this basis, we made an agreement with Mr. Cowen and the railway people, to which agreement you became a party, and to which you gave your open and unqualified assent. Mr. Cowen now comes to me, in fact has come to me several times, and accused us of having violated the agreement several times, and has presented the proof, in the form of articles sent out by our press bureau, as he alleges, in which the personal hostility you and certain of your friends are known to hold against Mr. Cowen and the railway interests, are so presented as to make them part of the issues of the campaign. There are no such issues. Our press bureau has sent out no such press matter, and we have found, upon investigation, that all this stuff was sent out from your office in Washington, by your secretary, with instructions, presumably given by you, that it should be inserted as it was, as a part of the

publicity matter prepared under my direction. These gentlemen, who are present, in whose papers the matter was published, have corroborated and will again corroborate, all that I have said, and am now saying on the subject, and I am justly indignant that such a breach of faith, of which I am not guilty, and of which I had no part, should be laid at my door. So I have come here to insist that it be stopped, and at once."

While Mr. Brown was thus expressing his indignant objection to the Senator, that gentleman sat looking at him with his usual cold and cynical expression, apparently unmoved and indifferent to what had been said. When the candidate had finished, and sat down, facing the Senator, in a soothing sort of a way, as if he were talking to an obstreperous boy, Senator Gorman said:

"Now Frank, there is nothing for you to get excited about, and nothing for you to become hysterical over, in all this business. The situation is now so well in hand that your election and that of the ticket is so well assured that it can be considered as an ended fight—in fact it never had been any fight.

"I do not deny that I had that press matter sent out, just as you have described it, and, while it is true you are paying the expenses of the party press bureau, I, as candidate for reelection before the legislature next winter, and as the recognized leader of the party in the state, believe that I have some right to say what the issues of the campaign are, and what publicity should be given to those issues. In fact, I have even more right than you to do so, for the same convention, which, rather unwillingly, nominated you for Governor, violated all precedents in the history of the party in Maryland, by nominating me for reelection to the Senate, and instructing the Democratic members of the General Assembly, who may be chosen throughout the state, to reelect me without the formality of caucus action.

"I have contended for the past six years that the greatest issue we have in Maryland is to curb the dominating power of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, as it has become under the control of Mr. Cowen, who has made it, under his authority the relentless and determined enemy of the Democratic party. No matter what he may say about the hostility being confined to me, personally, that is not true. I know what I am

talking about. The assumed hostility to me, is only an excuse—the hostility is to the party, which Cowen and his adherents are determined to overthrow and control, or destroy. What am I without the party? Their real fight is against the party and their loud and blatant assertions that I am the sole object of their hostility, that they love the party, and want to get rid of me, for the good of the party, is all buncomb and rot—they are after the party, and to accomplish their designs, they are bent on making me the goat for the time being. I know them, I know all their schemes, and, in view of these facts, and many more which you know as well as I, I made up my mind that now that there were really no side issues, or issues of any especial importance to the State, it would be just as well to put this question before the people and have it discussed and settled. It is bound to come up—it is the great issue before the people of the state, and the sooner we settle it the better, and I am emphatically in favor of settling it without further delay."

CHAPTER XCIII.

IT was a rather odd characteristic of Senator Gorman that he would often refuse, in discussing party matters with certain of the leading men of his day, to take seriously what they said, that is so far as his outward manner indicated what was in his mind, when he was hearing their views.

And one of these men was Frank Brown, who never stood very high in the esteem of the Senator, largely because of his rather independent views, and of the further fact, as the Senator often said when speaking of Brown, that he was a hard man to control, and would not take arbitrary orders from the bosses. In fact, Brown's independence of the city and state leaders, was irksome to them, especially to the Senator, who often regretted the prominence of the future Governor, and continued to regret it during the whole course of his career, for their views on nearly all the men and measures of those days, were divergent, and often, resulted in decided hostility.

And, on the occasion under consideration, when they were discussing the policy to be pursued toward the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company in the pending campaign, the Senator talked to the candidate for Governor, rather as if he were talking and laying down rules to an obstreperous boy, than to a man who was a candidate for Governor of the State, and who had been in public life almost as long as the Senator himself, although not as an office holder. He made his statements to him in a rather patronizing, but conciliatory way, as if they were final, and there was nothing to be said on the other side.

But Mr. Brown was not to be swerved from his position by any arguments of that sort. He was determined to have his way, and when the Senator paused, in his oily and patronizing statements, as to the course he wanted followed in the campaign, he opened up again in a vigorous and emphatic refusal to agree to any such a program. He said:

"Now Senator, I am unalterably opposed to all this. We gave our word to Mr. Cowen and his friends, that this whole matter was to be ignored, and was not to enter into the campaign, and I am determined that it shall not enter into it so far as the state

ticket is concerned. Your reelection to the Senate depends on the legislature to be elected—you are not on the ticket to be voted for, and you are not in reality an issue, as there is no opposition to your candidacy. The platform was made up by the State Convention, and there was no mention of the troubles between you and Mr. Cowen—they are not party issues, and you have no right to bring them into this contest in this surreptitious way.

"I am the head of the ticket, and I am the one to say what shall be done. I am paying, largely, the expenses of the campaign. I am paying every cent of the publicity expense, and I refuse absolutely, to countenance all this business which is a violation of our express pledges, and makes us out no more than common liars. When you make speeches, of course, you can say what you please on any subject, but I shall repudiate any attempt you or your friends may make, to drag this false issue before the people of the state.

"The more I look at it the more outrageous it appears to me, and the fact that it is measurably certain that our party will have a large majority in the election, the more questionable and unfair it becomes, to take the way you propose, to secure a popular endorsement, and ratification of a scheme about which there is great diversity of opinion. Aside from all other considerations, my views on this matter are not in accord with yours, and, I am sure that these gentlemen who came here with me have no sympathy whatever with this plan of yours, to create all this trouble for the ticket, when all is going on in the most satisfactory manner. And I must insist, with all the force possible that you drop it at once."

It was interesting to watch the usually placid and inscrutable face of the Senator, while Mr. Brown was really "laying down the law," to him. At first there was an amused and rather pitying smile, almost contemptuous, evident, later it was apparent that he was somewhat indignant, and toward the end of the talk there was no doubt that he was really angry, and he almost glared at the speaker, as he laid down one reason after another, to support the position he was taking, finally concluding with the emphatic, and flat demand, that the course he had laid out must be followed, and that the Senator must give up his scheme for the management of the campaign.

CHAPTER XCIV.

AFTER further discussion as to the course to be taken regarding the controversy between Mr. Cowen and the Baltimore & Ohio, and Senator Gorman, in which the plainest sort of language was used by both the Senator and Mr. Brown, the candidate for Governor, and in the course of which the three county editors who were present joined, the Senator said:

"Well, Frank, I suppose you must have your way in this matter, although I feel confident that you are making a great mistake. This fight is bound to come sometime, and the sooner it is over the better, and there would be no question as to the result, were we to fight it out this year—we may not be in such good condition to do it later on.

"But, as you say, this is your fight, and, as you are paying the bills, I shall not interfere any more, and you can have your way, and I will follow your lead in all the speeches I may make, and not allude in any way to Cowen or the Railroad Company—it is your campaign from now on, and I will take no other part in it, except as you may direct, and as you may ask—I am at your service from now on.

"From what I can learn it will be a one-sided affair, and, for that reason I believe it would be a good time to have this railroad proposition brought in as the dominant issue, and get a vote on it—but we will go on as you desire. As you say, it is not my fight, that there is no real opposition to me, and therefore it is not necessary for me to say anything except the usual commonplaces, used in ordinary campaigns.

"But you must not forget that the legislature to be elected will have much important work to do. I am not the only Senator to be elected next winter. The death of Judge Wilson leaves a vacancy, and already there are several candidates in the field for the place. Governor Jackson expects to get the place, John Walter Smith will also be a candidate, and, Rasin has informed me that James Alfred Pearce, of Kent, and John B. Brown of Queen Anne's, are possible candiates. Besides that, the legislature will have to elect a State Treasurer, and three Police Com-

missioners for Baltimore City. It is quite as important to make sure of a majority in the General Assembly as it is to elect the Governor, and, in your management of the campaign, you must not lose sight of these facts. As you say, there is no doubt of your election, and that I am safe, but my election depends on the election of a Democratic majority in the legislature, and the election of my colleague in the Senate, of the State Treasurer, and the Police Commissioners all depend on the election of a Democratic majority in the two Houses of the General Assembly—all these things must be taken into consideration—you are not the only person whose election is important—there are others as vitally interested in the result as you.

"And another matter you must take into account, and that is the possible alliances, of the men who may be chosen for the legislature. Cowen, and those who are allied with him in his schemes to wreck the party, are quite as smart as we are. They are quiet, at least outwardly so, at present, but there are signs that they are at work, backing certain candidates for the legislature in several of the counties, candidates whom they can control when they get to Annapolis, and we should all feel very cheap if we should find when the election is over, that this able and astute schemer from Ohio, together with his reform allies and renegade Democrats, together with the Republicans that are sure to be elected, should be able to form a combination at Annapolis and thwart all our plans, turn me down for reelection and elect two of their own crowd to the Senate. If they can accomplish all this, they will do it and I have no doubt but that they will attempt it. I have no fear, however, of the result, but it will be bad policy not to consider all these contingencies. There is an old saying, and a very true one, 'that there is nothing more uncertain than a dead-sure thing.' We believe we have a dead-sure thing, but nothing must be overlooked or it may be otherwise.

"Now I have given you my views, and have given you my reason for what I have done, and what I had proposed to do. I am yielding to you, really against my will, but you are insistent. I am going to turn over the entire management of the campaign to you. The responsibility is on you, and the Democrats of the state will hold you responsible for the result; especially will you be held responsible for the election of your colleagues on the ticket, but above all for the election of a safe majority in the General Assembly on which so much depends.

"And, here in the presence of these gentlemen, I want to caution you against placing any confidence in the loyalty of Cowen, and his railway and reform allies. They will knife you in a moment, if they find they can gain anything by doing so. It is true they are making no open fight against anyone on the state ticket, and have ceased to abuse me. But I know they are secretly at work. Cowen has his agents in the western Maryland counties backing up certain men, both Republicans and Democrats, for nominations for the legislature. Eugene Grannan, who is one of the shrewdest political manipulators in the country, is traveling around in the counties along the lines of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway, putting men on both tickets, whom he can control, and that Cowen and his reform combination are quietly at work, in other parts of the state. They are not fighting anyone—they are loud in their advocacy of you for Governor, but they want to have as large a representation in the legislature as they can get—and they mean no good to the Democratic party."

CHAPTER XCV.

THE campaign of 1891 was carried on as the candidate, Frank Brown wished. There was no mention of the differences between Senator Gorman and Mr. Cowen, the possible and probable controversy with the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company was not even mentioned, either by the candidates on the one side and Senator Gorman and his friends on the other. Mr. Cowen and his followers were also silent, and it was the general belief that they supported the whole Democratic ticket, and, as a result Mr. Brown was elected by the largest majority that had been given any ticket since 1867, the whole Democratic state ticket, including a large majority of the members of the General Assembly, thus insuring the reelection of Senator Gorman to the United States Senate for the third term, a Democratic Senator to succeed Charles H. Gibson, who had been appointed to succeed Judge Wilson, a State Treasurer, and a board of three Police Commissioners for Baltimore City. In fact, the Democrats, under the leadership of Governor Brown, swept the state, in addition to which they reelected Ferdinand C. Latrobe, Mayor of Baltimore City for the sixth time. As a result, when the legislature met in January, 1892, Mr. Gorman was reelected to the Senate with a wild hurrah, and Mr. Gibson was reelected his colleague at Washington, after a struggle, for the remaining five years of Judge Wilson's unexpired term.

Before the General Assembly had finished its work for the session the controversy between Mr. Cowen and the Baltimore & Ohio and Senator Gorman broke out anew, and the section of the old state machine which had always clung to him and his fortunes with desperate loyalty, parted company once more. In fact the truce, had been very loose at its best, and it was not expected that it would last, and the break which occurred was desperate in its character, and never became healed, until these two able and at that time famous Marylanders, were trodden down and crushed out of power and not much later laid at rest with their fathers. And the struggle which started anew in 1892, was not altogether brought into action because of the personal and business jealousies engendered by the hostility of the forces allied with the Baltimore & Ohio to the Gorman organization, nor yet by the enmity of the Senator, Mr. Lanahan and their followers to Mr. Cowen and the Railway Company. Other and equally potent forces joined in the struggle, and its extent was not confined to the State of Maryland, but extended throughout the Democratic party in the entire country, and was not settled until the National Democratic Convention had met in Chicago, in June of that year, had renominated Grover Cleveland for President, and had sent Senator Gorman home, a thoroughly crushed and defeated man, not only crushed and defeated but actually despised and really discredited, not only throughout the entire country, but also among his own home people as well. It was not only a defeat, it was a disgraceful rout, and could not possibly have been more humiliating under any circumstances than it was, and not a few people who were inclined to be personally friendly to the Senator, did not hesitate to characterize the whole affair as a shameful reflection on Maryland, and on the conduct of a man, who had been looked upon throughout the country, as one of the state's ablest and most eminent sons. As a well-known and able Southern member of Congress said at the close of the Convention, when it was known what the course of Mr. Gorman had been: "I always thought the Maryland Senator was a statesman. Why, he has turned out to be nothing but an unprincipled, trickey, peanut politician. His performance here in this Convention has been that of a common ward politician. It has been disgraceful." And others said the same thing.

The trouble all started before the legislature had adjourned. It became known then, that, contrary to the well-known sentiment for Cleveland of the Maryland Democrats, by a large majority, Mr. Gorman was secretly working to secure the election of delegates to the National Convention, favorable to himself. He had his lieutenants at Annapolis before the close of the session, scheming to secure the choice of delegates to vote as he desired, and he was meeting with some success. He was making no parade of the work, which was going on all over the state, and a week or more before the final adjournment, it was noticed that several well-known personal adherents of the Senator, were announcing that they would like to go to the National

Convention. There was no open opposition to the renomination of Cleveland by any of them; it was all based on the supposition that the well-known sentiment of the Maryland Democrats in favor of the ex-President, would be respected, and, in all parts of the State, it was understood that Cleveland was the overwhelming choice. The city papers, and all the leading county papers, were for Cleveland, and many of them had his name and his candidacy displayed at the head of their editorial columns, and articles favorable to the renomination of the great New Yorker, were prominent in nearly all the papers throughout the state. All was going with apparent, and outwardly, undisturbed serenity.

All this was rudely and violently disturbed with a bang, which startled the state. Mr. Cowen, as he had often done before, came out with an explosive warning, letting the people know what was going on, and asserting his belief as to the plans of the Senator, and calling on the people who wished to see the renomination of Cleveland, as to their duty in the matter, and he, and those who had been allied with him, as well as many others, among whom was Governor Brown, backed by the newspapers, both city and county, proceeded to concert plans to thwart the men who were preparing to block the work of those who were endeavoring to secure the renomination of their favorite, for the conspiracy was as wide as the whole country.

CHAPTER XCVI.

FEW people realized at the time, and little has ever been written and published about it, but it is a fact nevertheless, that Mr. Cowen, with the great influence of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company at his back, brought about the situation in the Chicago Convention, in 1892, which resulted in the renomination of Grover Cleveland as the Democratic candidate for President of the United States—to which office he was elected for a second time by an overwhelming majority, both popular and electoral later on, as a result of one of the most thrilling and dramatic campaigns in the history of the nation.

In an underground way, Mr. Gorman and his lieutenants worked to secure the election of delegates throughout the country to the National Convention, who would be subservient to the will of the Senator and his friends, although there was no open contest in Maryland and all were chosen by the State Convention without friction, and the presumption was that all would vote for Cleveland, in accordance with the well-known sentiment of a large majority of the people of the state, regardless of party.

But Mr. Gorman was at work in his usual mysterious way. He was holding conferences with the Tammany leaders, who were working to secure the nomination of Senator David B. Hill, of New York, or in case they failed in that plan, to take up any one else in order to beat Cleveland, and they held out hopes to Mr. Gorman, and gave him to understand, that should they fail to secure the prize for Senator Hill, they would throw their strength to the Maryland Senator, and that they would be able to give him a very considerable number of votes from other states, and that should Cleveland fail to secure the necessary two-thirds of the delegates on the first ballot, he would withdraw, and then would come Gorman's chance in case they failed to nominate Hill—for they expected that the delegates from the Southern States would join with them and, with certain Western delegates, they would be able to control the majority and later on secure the two-thirds necessary to nominate.

Mr. Gorman joined these anti-Cleveland conspirators, and, for a time he and his friends were full of hope. They believed it

would be impossible for Cleveland to obtain two-thirds of the delegates on the first ballot, and in this they were backed up by the general impression of the crowd in attendance at the convention from all sections of the country—and, had Gorman and his lieutenants been able to control the Maryland delegates and certain others on whom they depended, they would have won out. But in this they failed.

Mr. Cowen and certain of his influential friends, most of whom were allied with the Baltimore & Ohio Railway interests, were on hand, and were in constant communication with the able and distinguished men who were managing the fight for Cleveland. At their head were William C. Whitney, of New York, former Secretary of the Navy, Don M. Dickinson, of Michigan, former Postmaster General, and a dozen or more others, of the most reliable and skilful public men of the country, all of whom were devoted friends of the great Baltimore & Ohio lawyer, and together they worked—and won out, although only by the barest majority, for had it not been for the votes of certain Maryland and other delegates, which were secured by the influential friends of Mr. Cowen, the necessary two-thirds would not have been secured for Cleveland on the first ballot, and the anti-Cleveland schemers would have probably won out.

For there is no doubt of the fact that the votes of Governor Frank Brown, Isaac Freeman Rasin, the boss of Baltimore, Colonel Buchanan Schley and certain other Maryland delegates, were influenced almost wholly in their determination to vote for Mr. Cleveland by the arguments of Mr. Cowen—and that their refusal to vote for Mr. Gorman broke up the alliance with Hill and Tammany Hall, which had for its object the defeat of Cleveland and the nomination of anyone else—even Gorman himself, who for a time confidently expected to win out. The whole exposé of the anti-Cleveland conspiracy, which was the work of Hill, Gorman and Tammany was the result of the skilful work directed by Mr. Cowen, and throughout his life, the Maryland Senator held the conviction in his mind that he would have been nominated and elected President of the United States in 1892, had it not been, as he himself said on more than one occasion, "for the dastardly and malevolent machinations of John K. Cowen, and the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company."

The writer of these sketches was present at the Convention as correspondent of the Baltimore *News*, and saw Mr. Cowen, and the men associated with him, while the preliminaries and other matters connected with those memorable, historic days, were passing. As assistant to the late Charles H. Grasty, one of the ablest newspaper men in the country, who was then manager of the *News*, he was reporting the convention and it was the conclusion of both, that had it not been for certain work done by Mr. Cowen in Chicago at that time, Cleveland would not have secured the nomination—and it later became known that Mr. Cleveland himself thought so, for when, as President of the United States, Mr. I. Freeman Rasin was his guest at his summer home at Buzzards Bay, as the Baltimore Boss told the story: "Mr. Cleveland asked me as a personal favor to send Cowen to Congress from Baltimore. He said he wanted him there. He said at the same time that he believed he owed his nomination to Cowen, and I said, 'I know it, Mr. President. He got me and several others to vote for you, and we did the trick.' "

CHAPTER XCVII.

At the close of the Chicago Convention of 1892, at which Cleveland was renominated, practically by the skin of his teeth and in reality by the active influence exerted by Mr. Cowen and certain other quiet work which was done by Mr. Cowen through the means of his influence with the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, under the direction of Mr. Charles H. Grasty, who had taken me to the Convention with him to aid him in reporting the great national meeting of the Democrats (as stated in a former chapter), I wrote an account of the great railway attorney's work there. Before putting it on the wire, we decided to consult Mr. Cowen about it, and the story was submitted to him. He read it over carefully, and, after some discussion, he decided that he did not want it published, although not a few knew it at the time, all of whom are now dead. He said that it would do no good—that it might arouse hostility (in certain quarters) against the corporation. And as the conversation continued, he became more and more determined that it would be decidedly inadvisable to have it published, or even hinted at and his advice was followed. At first, Mr. Grasty differed with him, and insisted that it ought to be published, and, that despite Mr. Cowen's prohibition, he would publish it in the *News*. After some argument, however, he was brought around to see it in the same light that the great lawyer saw it, and he directed me not to wire it to Baltimore. I brought it home and have it yet, yellow with age of thirty-five years, and the story as I have written it down here is abbreviated, from the more extended account which was written on that early summer morning, in the Palmer House, Chicago, in 1892.

At the close of the Convention, when the men who had managed the Cleveland forces under the leadership of William C. Whitney, who had been Secretary of the Navy in the Cabinet of the former administration of the renominated candidate, were congratulating each other over the victory they had won, Mr. Whitney and Mr. Dickinson went up to Mr. Cowen who was talking with Mr. Grasty and said:

"Mr. Cowen, we are under the greatest obligation to you, for what you have done here.

"The Democrats especially and the people of the whole country, are also under many obligations to you—to you as much as to any one man, this renomination of Mr. Cleveland is due. You came to our aid at the most critical period of our fight, and brought to us a force which we did not expect, and the votes you and your friends brought gave us the bare two-thirds majority which enabled us to win out. I want to thank you for what you have done—you have rendered a great service to the cause of good government."

Mr. Cowen thanked Mr. Whitney, and turning to Mr. Grasty, said:

"This gentleman, here, is as much entitled to the credit for what we did as I am. Without his skilful work I could not have accomplished much. And we are both conscious of the fact that we did no more than our duty, for we were as greatly interested in the success we obtained as you, or any others.

" And I want to congratulate you and General Dickinson for the great skill you showed in your management of the entire fight from the very beginning, several months ago. It was the untiring work of you gentlemen and your ability as organizers, that won the fight. The little we did, would have been of no effect, had it not been for the really marvellous way in which you gentlemen marshalled all the forces and carried us on to the great victory won. The events of the last few days will mark an epoch in the history of the country, for it emphasizes what Mr. Lincoln said in his great Gettysburg speech of thirty years ago, that, "Government of the People, by the People, and for the People shall not perish from the earth."

"Yes," replied Mr. Whitney, "while the battle we won here was not fought with shot and shell, it was in reality a great battle, and the result may be as important to the welfare of the country, as that of any of the great battles of the Civil War. But have you seen Senator Gorman this morning? I wonder how he takes the outcome of the Convention?"

"I have not seen him since early in the Convention," replied Mr. Cowen. I have been told that he dropped out of sight early in the fight, yesterday. The part he played here has not in-

creased his reputation for shrewdness, and some of his closest friends and supporters are bitter in their denunciation, for what they call his treachery. He played 'Gorman politics'—he has succeeded in that sort of a game in Maryland, but he has found that he cannot work it, when the field of operation is the entire country."

While the above conversation was taking place, Governor Frank Brown and Mr. Rasin, the Democratic leader of Baltimore, both of whom were delegates to the convention, came in. After the usual salutations and congratulations Mr. Cowen said:

"Mr. Whitney, more obligation is due to these gentlemen than to me. From the start they have been loyal and outspoken in favor of the nomination of Mr. Cleveland—without their support I could have done very little."

Mr. Whitney extended his thanks to both, after which Mr. Cowen asked Mr. Rasin if he had seen Senator Gorman since the nominations were made.

Mr. Rasin said: "I have not, Gorman is very indignant with both Governor Brown and me. He says we proved false to him. I told him a day or two ago that these men who were fighting Cleveland were only fooling him, but he did not believe me. They filled him with the notion that if he would help them deadlock the Convention, they would nominate him, and he believed them. They said that as soon as it was found that Hill could not be nominated, they would start a boom for him, and that the delegates would be so worn out they would take him. Croker (the Tammany boss) told me that so far as he was concerned, he had never given Gorman any encouragement, except that he had said to him, that the only possible chance he had, would come from a deadlock, after Cleveland and Hill were both eliminated."

CHAPTER XCVIII.

IN looking back over the many interesting features connected with the history of the great Maryland Railway Company, those who have read the earlier chapters, will doubtless be surprised at the great amount of real tragedy evident in the chronicle—and much of it tragedy of the most dramatic sort—tragedy the like of which cannot be found in the history of any of the other great railway systems now operating in the United States.

And the tragic features began to appear early, in fact, the financing of the project was a dramatic succession of tragedies—here was a great enterprise of an entirely new sort started out by a few gentlemen of no great wealth, in a town which was just bginning to grow into a city, in a small state of moderate resources almost entirely agricultural and it was not long before the promoters discovered that they had on their hands an enterprise far-reaching in its character, of an unknown and doubtful value—but they were not discouraged and aided by subscriptions from the city and state, held back and delayed by all sorts of financial and natural handicaps—experimenting as they went along over the rough and stubborn country, developing new aids and sytems of construction and operation, aided by the people of the counties through which they were making their untried and difficult way, often without money to pay their current expenses, and the wages due, after twelve years of almost incalculable discouragement, labor and hardship, in 1842 they reached Cumberland, one hundred and ninety-four miles from their starting point at Baltimore—and it was a great and unheard of triumph, for it was at that time the longest stretch of railway line in the world.

And the first great tragedy was the fact that for ten years it was extended no further. And, when Thomas Swann took charge in 1849, he had almost innumerable tragic experiences when he finally overcame all, and at last on New Year's Day, 1853, landed a train of cars at Wheeling, on the Ohio River—and the future success of the enterprise was assured—for the first time in his-

tory an iron highway four hundred miles long extended from the tidewater to the great central valleys of the west.

During the four years of the Civil War the railway was the scene of a succession of destructive tragedies as the centre of the great conflict between the states, and it was several years before it fully recovered from the effect of those tragedies.

After the war comparative peace reigned and there were no more tragic events, until the death of President John W. Garrett, who died before his time, as a martyr to his devotion to the service of the Company.

CHAPTER XCIX.

IT IS rather surprising to the older generation of Marylanders, that so little attention has been paid by the people of the past or present generation to the memory of the man who from many points of view, did more for the economic and industrial benefit of the whole commonwealth, and particularly of the City of Baltimore—and the work he acomplished benefited not only Maryland and Marylanders, but added vastly to the prosperity of the whole country; for John W. Garrett, for twenty-six years was the dominant personality, not only of Maryland but also of the large section of the country included in this state, in parts of Virginia, of West Virginia, and also of a great portion of Ohio, Western Pennsylvania and the Middle West.

He was the first of the great railway operators of the country. He was the first man, who, almost alone and single-handed, developed a great system of transportation, opening up the Middle West, and providing means to ship to the seaboard, and thus open up the markets of the world to the producers of all sorts of food stuffs, coal, iron and other raw materials of the country. He extended the Maryland system farther into the west than any other system in existence at that time, and the railway lines under his control, were, at the opening of the Civil War in 1861, the longest in the entire world.

During the four years of the Civil War, through his patriotic exertions, he was, to use an expression of President Lincoln, "the right arm of the Federal Government in the aid he rendered the authorities in preventing the Confederates from seizing Washington, and securing its retention as the Capital of the loyal States"—in fact, on several occasions, he literally saved the Capital from capture, and thus prevented the confusion which would have resulted, the probable capture of Baltimore and Philadelphia, and the possible disruption of the National Government. That such was the opinion of Mr. Lincoln and other statesmen connected with the Administration, was known at the time and corroberated by letters and other documents written by official and other contemporaries.

In company with Chief Justice Taney, Johns Hopkins, John H. B. Latrobe, and other loyal Marylanders, Mr. Garrett actually prevented secession sympathizers in the state, who were ready on several occasions to take such action, from marching on Washington, and, in conjunction with a large number of people in the capital, a great proportion of whom were bitterly hostile to the Union, and taking possession of the government, which could easily have been done in the early months of 1861. It is also known that a large band of these young and enthusiastic Maryland Confederates, conspicuous among whom were the late Col. Louis Victor Baughman, afterward Governor Frank Brown, the late General Charles S. Winder, the late Col. Edward Roberts, (all of whom went South and fought for the Confederacy during the entire war), had organized a large company, and were preparing to enter the Capital, seize Mr. Lincoln, and bring him into Maryland, or take him over to Virginia, and hold him prisoner, and force him to recognize the Confederacy, and thus bring the war to an end. Mr. Garrett, hearing of this conspiracy, dispersed those who were engaged in it, and, as a result all the plot failed, and the young enthusiasts went South, before the time they had expected to go, and Mr. Lincoln was saved from capture.

During the whole period of the war Mr. Garrett was working, literally day and night, in his endeavor to aid the Federal Government in its efforts to prevent the destruction of the Union. As Mr. Lincoln said at the time, the Government was under the greatest obligation to the President of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, and that no man in the country was doing more to aid him in his arduous work.

When the war was over, he took hold of the rehabilitation of the railway system, and before long had it back in good working shape, and up to the day of his death in 1884, he worked with all his ability and energy to extend the lines, increase the efficiency of his employees, better the equipment, and, it is a well-known fact, as stated in former chapters, that he literally worked himself to death in the service.

He was a great man, probably the greatest constructive genius in the transportation business in the country a half century ago, and his work redounded more to the general material and industrial benefit, not only to the state and city but also to the country, than that of any man in his day.

He was one of the really great men produced by the state. He was great in many ways—great as a patriot, great as a promoter of everything that brought prosperity and, no man in the entire history of the state ever accomplished anything like as much for the general welfare of Baltimore and his native Commonwealth as John Work Garrett.

And no monument of a public and adequate character, can be found to commemorate his memory, either in Washington, which he saved to the Union, in Baltimore which he developed and made one of the great ports of the nation, or in the state, along the lines of his great iron railway, from the mountains to the sea.

CHAPTER C.

ONE of the greatest, and, in some respects the most important factor in the troubles of the Baltimore & Ohio arose from the hostility of the Pennsylvania Railway Company, which did not become openly manifest until after the death of the elder Garrett, in 1884. While the rivalry between the two great transportation companies, as business organizations, had been evident at intervals after the close of the War between the States, it was rather a half-friendly rivalry, based on a competition to secure extensions and to gain business in sections where their lines were in real competition for trade, than the sort of a fight to the death, which it really became not many years after the death of Mr. Garrett, and the accession to power of Mr. Cowen and his backers who easily gained control over the Maryland Corporation, under the weak and ineffective administration of Robert Garrett, who never appeared to have any realizing sense of his responsibilities in the position, which he assumed on the death of his father—and his failing health, before many years had passed, practically eliminated him from all power in the management of his great inheritance—which, as time passed, was transferred in succession to others—none of whom ever sized up to the job.

When the break took place between the Gorman Democratic organization and Mr. Cowen, who drew into it the forces of the Baltimore & Ohio Company, the Pennsylvania Corporation saw its opportunity, and, immediately, under the leadership of the late Bernard Carter, its Maryland Counsel, proceeded to throw all its influence back of Senator Gorman and his allies, and, the fight at once began, as related in former chapters of this narrative, and continued almost without cessation for many years.

Mr. Carter was, in his day, one of the ablest lawyers and most powerful figures in the public life of Maryland, and the rivalry between him and Mr. Cowen, was for years one of the most striking and picturesque features of the history of the state. Like Mr. Cowen, he was a stately, imposing figure, an orator of great force, ability, and at times really eloquent, and over and above all else, a hereditary Maryland gentleman of the old régime

—and one of the most learned and successful lawyers at the bar of his day. His family connections on both sides extended back to the proudest Colonial times, and, among them were judges, members of the National House of Representatives, Senators of the United States and Governors, not only in the days before the Revolution but down to the days at the close of the Civil War, the last of whom was Oden Bowie, who held the executive chair at Annapolis from 1868 to 1872. He it was, who for years, led the fight so far as the professional and advisory side of it was concerned, on behalf of the Pennsylvania Railway Company, when it took up the Gorman side, in the long drawn-out war, which had for its object the wresting of the Baltiomre & Ohio Railway Company from those who had succeeded to its control after the death of John W. Garrett.

In those days the two giants of the Maryland Bar, which numbered among its members some of the ablest lawyers in the country, were Messrs. Cowen and Carter. They were well matched and public opinion in the state was about equally divided as to the one who was the greater—but the general opinion was that the difference was so slight that they were looked upon as equal, intellectually and otherwise.

Both were men of the highest character in every respect. There was never a whisper even among their enemies against the personal honor and integrity of either. They were gentlemen, educated and honorable, and no two men lived in those days in any part of the state who were held in higher esteem by everybody than those rivals at the bar and on the hustings, and they were heard in the courts and in the political campaigns year after year from one end of Maryland to the other.

Some of their greatest and most picturesque contacts took place at Annapolis when matters were before the General Assembly in which they were arrayed against each other in forensic contests, involving the interests of the Corporations which they represented. When it was known about the State House that Messrs. Cowen and Carter were to be heard before any of the committees, the usual rooms would not hold the crowd, and the Hall of the old House of Delegates would be filled to overflowing when the hearings were transferred to that place, and, usually everything else in the State House would be suspended, and, not only all the members of both House and Senate, the

Governor, and all the state officials and others not connected with public affairs, would crowd the Hall—and there was never a time when these two giants, in debate did not present for their instruction and entertainment what would now be called "A great show," of a value, beyond money and beyond price—in all their fiery and brilliant discussions, there was never a word uttered by either which could be criticized as improper or vulgar in the slightest degree—not a word to which the most refined captious could take the slightest exception.

And both these distinguished gentlemen were devout Christians. Mr. Cowen was an old time Presbyterian, while Mr. Carter was a devout communicant of the old Anglican, known in America as the Protestant Episcopal Church.

And for more than twenty years these two great Marylanders were the conspicuous figures on different sides in the really marvellous contest for the control of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway.

CHAPTER CI.

ONE of the most extraordinary features of the history of the Baltimore & Ohio Company, in its identification with the career of Mr. Cowen, was the great influence that distinguished lawyer had over President Cleveland, during his second administration lasting from March 4, 1893, to March 4, 1897.

In a former chapter was related the part Mr. Cowen took in securing the renomination of Mr. Cleveland in the Chicago Convention of 1892. The intimacy of the great Democratic President and the great railroad lawyer, had begun early in the first Cleveland administration, during the years of 1885, '86, '87 and 88. It continued without a break as long as they lived. And probably no man in the whole country was more frequently consulted by the President on all sorts of public matters, than his Baltimore friend.

They had much in common. Both were real Democrats of the old fashioned sort—both believed in what have always been known as real Democratic principles, subject, of course, to such changes and modifications as were demanded by the changing times. Both were believers in the most rigid sort of a tariff for revenue only, such revenue as the government required, administered in the most economical way, and neither believed in the Republican theory of protection even of the most incidental sort—and, what was the most important of all their beliefs, they were especially firm in their devotion to the most celebrated of all Mr. Cleveland's many publicly expressed maxims, "Public Office is a Public Trust," and should be observed not only by those who were entrusted with duties of great magnitude, but equally observed by officials of all grades from the highest to the lowest, and least important. In fact, it may be said, with truth, that the cardinal principle of Mr. Cleveland's whole public career, was summed up in those few words—in all his great professional and business career, Mr. Cowen carried out the same maxim, that office and responsibility of any kind was a public trust.

In other respects these two eminent men were much alike, and thought alike. Both were Presbyterians of the old Calvin-

istic school, which has furnished so many of the outstanding men in the history of the political and business affairs of the country. In other words they had what has been known as the Calvinistic conscience, which compelled them to judge every act as a matter of conscience, and permitted no deviation from the most conscientious sort of rectitude.

Before half of his first term in the White House had ended, Mr. Cleveland had, to use his own expression, "found Senator Gorman out," and thereafter never trusted him, although the outward and formal relations between the President and the Maryland Senator were not interrupted until the second term—that is, in 1894, when they had a succession of serious breaks, and thereafter were not even on formally good terms. But it became noticeable late in 1886, that the intimacy between the President and Mr. Cowen was displeasing to Senator Gorman, and he did not hesitate to express his disapproval of it, and his fear that it boded no good to the Democratic party in Maryland. Indeed, in October 1886, when the Senator was visiting on the Eastern Shore, he said that he did not like the Cleveland-Cowen intimacy—that he had noticed a growing coldness on the part of the President, when they had met recently, and that Mr. Cleveland had on more than one occasion quoted, with approval, some of Mr. Cowen's remarks, and that only a few days prior to that time, when he called at the White House to see the President about a certain appointment pending before him, he had been told that before it was decided Mr. Cowen's opinion would be asked, to which he had replied that Mr. Cowen had no standing whatever among the Democrats of Maryland—that on the contrary he was looked upon as the leader of all those in the state, who were working to overthrow the very organization which had given the President his majority in 1884, and that he was an open, vigorous opponent, of all that he (Senator Gorman) represented not only in politics but in business. At this, Mr. Gorman said, the President seemed greatly interested, and asked him if he did not think it would be possible for him and his friends to come to an agreement with Mr. Cowen, not only in party matters but also in the troubles regarding the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, which were then becoming acute, of which the President said he had heard, not only from Mr. Cowen, but from other friends of his who were interested in the

Railroad. Indeed, Senator Gorman said, that the President said, he himself would be willing to help bring about a rapprochement, and sincerely hoped that harmony would be brought about. He appeared to take the matter very seriously, the Senator said, and expressed the fear that the outcome of the quarrel might be a schism, which would be harmful to the Democratic party beyond the bounds of Maryland. He also said that some of his most intimate friends in New York, who were interested in the welfare of the Baltimore & Ohio Company, and were apprehensive that the trouble in Maryland would have a bad effect on the property, and that now the subject was under discussion, he was free to say that he was ready to do all in his power to aid in bringing about an amicable settlement of all the troubles, which, he said, appeared to him to be personal rather than political or business, and in conclusion he said:

"Senator, I think you and Mr. Cowen should get together on these matters, and fix them up. I can see no reason why you should not do so, and I do not think it is wise for two such men as you, for personal reasons, to jeopardize the success of the party to which you owe allegiance, and, what is of equally great importance, to jeopardize the prosperity and success of one of the greatest transportation organizations in the country."

CHAPTER CII.

"THE statement of the President, that he was really anxious to bring about an agreement between Mr. Cowen and myself, was a great surprise to me. I never had any intimation that he knew anything about our differences in any such a way that would cause him to take the least interest in what was going on in Maryland, aside from the mere political gossip that would come to him in an indirect way; but before he was through, I was given to understand that he had not only heard about the differences, which had arisen since the death of Mr. Garrett, but that he had been making inquiries of the most searching sort, and that much of the information he had received was correct, while more of it was one-sided and prejudiced—and that he had formed erroneous notions as to the part I and my friends, were taking in the controversy.

"As he seemed anxious to know all about it, I told him. I gave him in detail, an account of Mr. Cowen's interference with the management of the organization, and his joining with the Republicans in their endeavor to wrest the control of Maryland from the Democratic party. I related his actions in the last campaign, where he had engineered a fusion with the Republicans, and, aided by a contingent of sore-head Democrats, under the pretense that the organization, of which I was the head, was corrupt, he had used all his ability and influence to overthrow us, and had been able to enlist on his side of the fight, the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company, with all its strength, as a corporation, and that the fight was still going on, and that Cowen and his faction, had boasted that there would be no cessation, until the Democratic organization was overthrown, and I was out of power as the Democratic leader of the state.

"I told the President that we had no desire or intention to injure in any way the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, but that the regular Democrats of the state, were determined that it should keep its hands out of party affairs, and attend to its great business, and let the party alone. I also informed him that a large proportion of the stocks and bonds of the Company were

owned by citizens of the state, who were opposed to its meddling with party affairs. That it was a Maryland Corporation—had been founded and built by Maryland people, and that the State and City of Baltimore, were among the largest owners of its securities, and that those who were in control of the state and city governments, were opposed to its course in politics. But that Mr. Cowen, who was not a native Marylander, had acquired such a hold on those who were in control of the management of the road, that they had made it the real basis of their fight, the object of which was to gain possession of the state and city governments—that in order to gain their point, they had worked hard to get a dominant influence in the Democratic organization, but, having failed in that, they had now allied themselves with the Republicans, hoping by this alliance to attain their object.

"I also called the President's attention to the fact, that the basis of the Cowen Republican alliance, was the negro vote, and that the whole Republican party in our state was really a negro party, and, that should the Cowen-Republican alliance win out, the result would rank Maryland as a Republican State—and that any aid he as a Democratic President would give Mr. Cowen and his backers, would really aid the enemies of the party which had elected him to his present position.

"I talked to the President in the most open way about all these matters, as he had asked for the information, and, apparently did not lose his interest during the entire time I was there. On the contrary, he asked me all sorts of questions, from time to time, and did not show the least sign of impatience throughout—and I gave him, in detail, an account of the party troubles back to the close of the Civil War.

"When I had finished, he thanked me, said what I had told him had enlightened him, and after expressing again the hope that a reconciliation might be brought about, he said as I left:

" 'Senator, I am going to have another talk with Mr. Cowen about this affair, and later on I shall probably wish to confer further with you.'

"I was glad to have the chance to tell the President the whole story, especially, as he had opened the way himself for me to do so, but what will come out of it the future alone can tell. That he has the highest opinion of Mr .Cowen is very evident. The two men, so far as I can judge from their actions, and from what

they say when I meet them, look upon public affairs, and especially upon practical politics, in much the same way, and their way is not my way, nor the way the Democrats of this state have been accustomed to look upon them—and had we followed the Cleveland-Cowen system of party management, the Republicans would be in control of the city and state, and our organization, which has been built up with so much trouble and care, would be either a helpless wreck, or have gone out of existence.

"I am still curious about one subject, on which Mr. Cleveland did not enlighten me, and that is why he is so much interested in bringing about a cessation of hostilities against the Baltimore & Ohio Company. and should he talk to me again, as I believe he will, I shall ask him in the plainest way, to tell me, and possibly solve what to me is still a real puzzle."

CHAPTER CIII.

SENATOR Gorman at times appeared to be obsessed with hostility to the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, and, while the general impression was that all this enmity was based on his jealousy, and to some extent fear of Mr. Cowen, at times there were indications that he had other reasons for this hatred, that it was not all brought about on account of his controversies with Mr. Cowen, that back of it were other reasons, which had no connection whatever with the great railway attorney and which had their basis on the Senator's hostility to other officials of the Company, not because of any business or political acts, but on purely personal grounds—in which the family of the Maryland statesman and their desire for social recognition had more to do than anything else.

In those days, the days following the election of Mr. Gorman to the United States Senate in 1880, what was known as "Society," in Baltimore and throughout the state, extending into Washington, was rigidly controlled by the representatives of the old slave-holding, land-owning families, practically all of whom had been Southern sympathizers during the War between the States; and it was no easy matter for any one, not a Marylander or Virginian, to receive any recognition—and it was practically impossible for a Marylander who had been loyal to the Union, and who, what was a greater handicap, had ranked among what was known as the "plain people," to be taken into consideration at all from a social standpoint. Prominence, whether political or business in its character, did not count. Wealth was no aid, the one absolute necessary consideration was family descent, and without that social recognition was almost an impossibility, and were the same rules now in operation a large proportion of the estimable people who rank as social leaders in the city and state would be on the outside, longingly looking into the charmed circle, just as their fathers and mothers were obliged to do prior to 1890, and, to some extent for a few years after that time.

The Gormans had no claim to social recognition, and never received any in Maryland, and only in Washington from what was known as the official set. The old Maryland and Virginia families of the National Capital never recognized the Maryland

Senator and his family—to them they were, to use the expression of the grand old ladies who lived up well into the nineties, "simply impossible," for many, many reasons.

And among the Maryland, and especially the Baltimore families, who refused to give any social recognition to the Gormans were several who were connected with the Baltimore & Ohio Company, and with whom the Senator had come in contact before his break with Mr. Cowen, and even before the death of John W. Garrett. And Mrs. Charles H. Gibson, wife of the Senator, who was intimate with the Gormans, related a story told her by Mrs. Gorman in which the latter lady had expressed her indignation at the snub she had received at a reception from a lady whom she characterized as "one of the Garrett women."

Mr. Gorman never forgave or overlooked any possible discourtesy, whether it was intentional or otherwise, to Mrs. Gorman, or any member of his family and down in his rather vindictive mind there probably rankled for years, the fact that despite the fame and wealth he had achieved, Baltimore Society and the old, exclusive Washington Society never recognized in any way whatever any member of his family, that the bars were kept up to the day of his death—and among those who were unwilling to see his family given the place he desired for them, among the social elect of his native state were families prominent in the management of the great Maryland Railway in those years of long ago—and, as a consequence of the above facts unusual bitterness was added to whatever he did when the fight between himself and the railway was under way. And the writer who was in a position to know of these matters at the time of their occurrence, has a great amount of information as to what took place at that time, and, as the hand of death has removed all the real, outstanding actors in that great drama, the most interesting phases of which have never been made public, in the not distant future, they may appear in print. It is certain, however, that a considerable portion of Senator Gorman's hostility to the Baltimore & Ohio Company, at the start, was based on certain social slights he believed his family had received. Later on it developed other phases which overshadowed everything else, and in the end it became a mere sordid, political and crooked business scheme back of which was neither principle, sentiment or decency—a gigantic conspiracy to commit grand larceny on a scale until then almost unprecedented in the land.

CHAPTER CIV.

IN looking over some old letters, written by the late Senator Gorman to his colleague in the Senate, Charles H. Gibson, which I inherited as Mr. Gibson's secretary, I came across one, of which the following is a copy, and it is published here, because it shows the close relations between the two men, and sheds light on the reasons why Mr. Gorman was so persistent in his determination to do all in his power to add to the troubles which were then threatening the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company.

SENATOR GORMAN'S LETTER

U. S. SENATE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 1st, 1892

"*Dear Charlie,*

I have just heard that a few days ago in the course of a conversation with Vic Baughman, you said that you did not understand why the party leaders should be hostile to the Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Company, and, that for your part you were not disposed to take any side in the proposed fight with that corporation. And that you had refused to ask certain members of the General Assembly, over whom you are credited with considerable influence, to vote in favor of certain bills which are stated to be against the interests of that corporation.

I thought you had a thorough understanding of the relations now existing, between the state and city party organizations, and the Baltimore & Ohio, for the contest has been going on, except for the period covered by the campaign last year ever since the death of Mr. John W. Garrett, in 1884, and the probabilities are that the truce will continue, although of that I am not sure, until after the Presidential election the coming fall.

There can be no end of this fight until one side or the other gives up, and there is no possibility of that at the present time, or in the near future. Under the leadership of Mr. Cowen, the B. & O. people started out determined 'to put out of business' to use Mr. Cowen's own words to me, not only the present or-

ganization, but, especially to put me out of politics, or to take all the power of the state leadership from me. And he further said, in the presence of Robert Garrett, that he and his followers considered me, 'a menace to decent government and an obstacle to the progress of the state.' And I accepted the challenge, and, while the political exigencies of the past year have rendered it expedient that there should be a sort of a truce, which was agreed to at the urgent request of Governor Brown, it has only been an armed truce—for the fight has only fairly begun. And I was under the impression that you were aware of these facts.

Now it is not wise for you to say anything on these matters which will compromise either you or me, so far as the position we will certainly be obliged to take before many months have passed. And, above all, you should be careful how you talk to Vic Baughman on the subject. No one thinks more of Vic than I do, but you know as well as I do, that he is one of the most indiscreet men in the state when it comes to talking, and he has certain alliances, family and otherwise, which tie him up, to a certain extent, with the Railway people, and, in matters like this, he is not to be trusted—not that he intends to do any harm, but simply because he has a very loose tongue, and lets out things before he realizes what he has done.

Already it has come to me that Cowen is claiming he has won you away from me, and that you will not aid in any further fight against him, or his corporation.

And, another matter I must caution you to be very careful about—and that is the candidacy of Cleveland for the presidential nomination this year. It may not be to the interest of the Democrats of Maryland, to support him this year; indeed, I am strongly inclined to think that it will not be to our interest to support him, for his views on most subjects are not the views of our people, and, beside all this, you are aware of the fact that overtures are now being made, which it will be to our interest to accept, which, in the end may result in the nomination of a Marylander to succeed President Harrison.

Now, Charlie, I must urge you to be careful how you talk. We have just secured your election to the Senate. There is much expected of you by myself and your other friends, who,

together overcame so many difficulties to secure your retention of your seat here. You can be of greeat use to us and to the party, but do not let me hear of any more indiscreet remarks about the B. & O. business, or the nomination of Cleveland.

I am sending this letter to you at Easton, and before your reeturn to Washington next week, you had better come over by way of Annapolis, and correct any misapprehensions that may have been caused by what you said last week.

And with warmest regards to Mrs. Gibson, I am,

Very Truly yours,

A. P. GORMAN.

CHAPTER CV.

PEOPLE of the present day have difficulty in realizing the extent which public and all sorts of political controversies entered into the life of the community both in a social, professional and business way, a generation ago—in fact from the time of the War between the North and the South, up to a quarter of a century ago. Social relations, professional and business alliances, were affected by the political views of a large proportion of the people of the State, not only in the counties, but also in Baltimore. The professional careers of lawyers and doctors, were based, in a majority of instances, on their political alliances,—the trade of merchants was frequently confined to those of their own political party, and, next to their church connections, the political faith of a large proportion of the people of all classes was dominant in all their intercourse with their friends and neighbors—and all this was largely in consequence of the bitter feelings left over by the Civil War, and the course of the Federal Government, not only during that period of terror and alarm, but also by the course of the national authorities when the reconstruction of the former slave states, of which Maryland was one, was casting its blight over the border states; as well as the entire South. And that feeling has not entirely died out yet, even though the events which brought about the trouble took place more than sixty years ago.

It was not strange, therefore, that in the great controversy, which in the end almost resulted in the permanent wreck of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, which finally disrupted and brought about the defeat of the Democratic party in the city and state, should have been seriously affected by the old-time political jealousies of the people of the entire state. When the trouble arose in 1885, and became a real issue, almost at once, Senator Gorman and his allies saw what a great force they would have on their side, should they be able to arouse the old hostility then existing in great strength against the Republican party and against those who had taken part in the Federal tyranny, which almost ruined the state, had defranchised for

several years large numbers of the best citizens, had imprisoned many of them, and had otherwise interfered with their rights in the most arbitrary manner. With all these forces on his side, he felt confident that he could form the Democratic party into an almost solid phalanx against Mr. Cowen and his Railway allies, and, in the end, gain all that he desired.

And able and shrewd as he was in almost all other respects, Mr. Cowen, without any delay proceeded to take action which played into the Maryland Senator's hands. For it is a fact that the great railway attorney never really acquired a thorough understanding of the peculiarities of Marylanders, and was never able to enter into the real Maryland feeling on these matters. For, as long as he lived, he was tinged with Ohio ideas of men and affairs, for he was a native of Ohio, and had lived there, had received his early education at a Presbyterian school, the Vermillion Institute, at Hayesville, Ashland County. Thoroughly Ohio in all its teachings, he, later had gone to Princeton where he continued, and completed his education. As a result the entire formative period of his life, from the days, when as a boy he worked on his father's farm, near Hayesville, had been passed in an atmosphere, in every respect, social and political, the exact opposite to that of the state where he won his fame and passed the active years of his life. As a consequence, he never entered into the Maryland way of thinking and living, and was never able to appreciate the Maryland view of public affairs as it existed then, and, to a certain extent, exists among the children of the old-time Marylanders at the present day.

As a result of Mr. Cowen's inability to comprehend the prevalent Maryland sentiment on public questions, he proceeded to form alliances, as a so-called Independent Democrat, with the Republican party, as a Republican party—to back or really to organize, fusion movements in order to control elections, and in this he was backed by a considerable number of the old-time Maryland Democrats—Democrats who were members of old, Southern sympathizing families, whose hostility to the "Upstart Gorman," was so great that they were ready to form combinations with Republicans, carpet baggers, negroes or any other class of people, in order to rid the state of the Gorman incubus,

which many of them likened to, "the hoof of an unclean beast," and the fight was thus mixed up, in a strange and utterly incongruous manner, with blacks and whites, old-time Maryland aristocrats, and carpet baggers (some of the Gorman contingent did not hesitate to call Mr. Cowen a carpet bagger) and, back of all this heterogenous collection, which, at times operated together in a sort of harmony, was the great power of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company realizing after the first two or three years that the fight was really their fight, and that, not only the control, but the very existence of their great corporation was at stake.

CHAPTER CVI.

IT was a matter of much serious and at times animated and acrimonious discussion throughout the state, but particularly in Baltimore, as to the amount of sincerity that was back of Mr. Cowen's vigorous and able efforts to dethrone the Gorman Ring, and, to use his own expression, "make decent the party management of city and state affairs."

During the years under consideration, that is subsequent to 1884 to the close of the last century, Mr. Cowen and the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, were so completely identified in the public mind, they were supposed to be so thoroughly in harmony, that there was no thought of the one without the other. Especially was this the case in the counties and among the masses of the people in Baltimore. In the view of the people, Mr. Cowen was the personification of the Baltimore & Ohio Company, and Senator Gorman and his adherents, utilized this to the fullest extent, and therefore, at every opportunity, attacked the sincerity and honesty of his motives, in his course as the outstanding opponent of the Gorman Ring. The people did not recognize Gorman's hold on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad which he used to the limit, many of the officials being active members of the Gorman organization.

Gorman asserted that the railway lawyer was using his admittedly great power, not because of any real desire to better the political and civil affairs of the city and state, but simply and solely, for the purpose of securing control of party and governmental affairs, in order to gain all sorts of advantages, and the political aggrandizement of himself and that coterie of able and ambitious young men whom he had gathered around him, and who, as representatives of old, historic Maryland families, gave tone and distinction to the cause he represented. and of which he with Severn Teackle Wallis, whom Mr. Cowen and his associates recognized as their leader, was an outstanding factor. And it not infrequently happened, that things were done, or attempted to be done, which gave color to the accusations so far as Mr. Cowen was concerned. And all these acts were used as arguments to prove the assertions of Senator Gor-

man and his followers, that Mr. Cowen was not sincere in his protestations in favor of reform, and his desire to purify public and political affairs—that, on the contrary, he was an unscrupulous politician, with a keen desire for power, to be used in a practical way, not only for the benefit of his corporation, but also for the benefit of his retainers—that all his, "loud cries for reform," as they were sneeringly called by his opponents, were based on insincerity and pretense, were used as a cloak to cover his real designs, which were to gain power, in order to use it for the benefit of his followers, and not only to secure all possible advantages in the way of favorable legislation, but to head off the Pennsylvania Railroad Company from gaining any special privileges, through its open alliance with Senator Gorman, whose chief aid it had become, in the war he was waging against the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, and Mr. Cowen.

And many of these charges against Mr. Cowen were given strength, because of certain acts of his which were based on his admittedly great influence with President Cleveland, who rated the Maryland lawyer as one of the ablest of his profession, as well as one of his closest personal friends. So great was President Cleveland's respect for Mr. Cowen that he was anxious to have him in his cabinet, but the offer was declined. So. when Mr. Cowen asked the President to appoint two of his ablest lieutenants to prominent offices namely, Mr. William L. Marbury as District Attorney for Maryland and Mr. S. Davies Warfield as Postmaster of Baltimore, there was no hesitation on the part of Mr. Cleveland, both of these able and highly esteemed young men were promptly appointed notwithstandidng the fact that both were looked upon by Senator Gorman as bitter, personal enemies, and both of whom had been allied with Mr. Cowen in his anti-Ring, anti-Gorman crusade.

In a former chapter it was related that Mr. Cleveland, during his first term as President, had exerted himself to bring about a reconciliation between Mr. Cowen and Senator Gorman—but had met with failure. At that time, the relations between the President and the Maryland Senator, while not overly cordial, were friendly, and there had been no break—Mr. Cleveland at that time had not found the Senator out, as he did in later years, and, consequently they frequently met and conferred on public affairs.

Soon after the beginning of the second term, that is in 1893, the break became open and complete, and thenceforth, that is as long as Mr. Cleveland was in the White House, he and the Maryland Senator rarely ever met, and then only on the most formal occasions, and on the most formal terms. They were openly, and, so far as Senator Gorman was concerned, bitterly hostile to each other, and, the Maryland Senator became the leader of that small coterie of the older Democratic Senators, who were in flagrant alliance with the Republicans, to thwart the successful enactment of the policies of the administration of the party to which they owed allegiance, and among whose leaders they had been for years.

And while affairs were in this unpleasant condition, Mr. Cowen secured from the President, the appointment of Mr. Warfield as Postmaster of Baltimore, and Mr. Marbury, as District Attorney for Maryland.

CHAPTER CVII.

THE movement to have President Cleveland appoint Independent Democrats to two of the most important Federal offices in the state was part of a well laid out plan conceived by S. Davies Warfield to sidetrack the Gorman-Rasin machine which had now grown to proportions which menaced the integrity of the state and the City of Baltimore. While the youngest man ever appointed to the position of Postmaster of Baltimore, and because of his organizing faculty on which Mr. Cowen relied for future independent movements against the Democratic machine, the name of S. Davies Warfield was selected to be presented to the President for the appointment as Postmaster of Baltimore. Mr. Warfield did not wish to accept for he feared he would injure the Warfield Manufacturing Company, which he had organized. William L. Marbury, also active in independent circles, was slated for the position of District Attorney. Mr. Warfield was the son of Henry M. Warfield, who had been cheated out of the Mayoralty through fraud, later admitted by the Rasin machine. The enormity of this offence was left a heritage to Mr. Warfield, and as he grew to manhood he determined to right the wrong in some fashion which animated him finally to accept the position as a means to that end.

The fight that was made on Mr. Warfield and Mr. Marbury by Senator Gorman forms an interesting chapter in Maryland political history. Mr. Cleveland sent the two names to the Senate and both were held up in their respective committees by Senator Gorman, whose power there was greater at that time than that of any other Senator.

Senator Gibson, the junior Senator from Maryland, by reason of personal relations with the Warfield family, endeavored to prevail upon Senator Gorman to permit the confirmation of Mr. Warfield, but he declared that he never should be confirmed.

The circumstances attending Mr. Warfield's confirmation were related to a friend of the writer during the sojourn of Senator Eppa Hunton, of Virginia, at White Sulphur Springs; Mr. Hunton was Chairman of the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads. He said that Senator Gorman had asked that this

appointment be held indefinitely in committee and he had ordered that this be done.

The Clerk of the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads one afternoon, upon reporting a number of postmasters to the Senate during an executive session, by mistake got the name of Mr. Warfield among the others that were sent to the desk for confirmation. Senator Hunton gave a graphic description of his feelings when Mr. Warfield's name was read in the Senate, owing to his personal relations with Senator Gorman. Gorman rose from his seat in the Senate and rebuked Senator Hunton for this show of lack of friendship and senatorial courtesy, and during the turmoil that ensued, Senator Gibson, the junior senator, came to the rescue of Senator Hunton, and argued with Senator Gorman now that the name was before the Senate it would only lead to greater criticism if he made a fight against the appointment in executive session. Senator Hunton offered to recall the nomination from action, but the insistence of Senator Gibson, for whom Senator Gorman had a great affection, led to Gorman turning on his heel and walking off, with the result that Mr. Warfield was confirmed that day in executive session.

The conduct of the Baltimore Post Office under Mr. Warfield's administration was marked by strict adherence to the Civil Service rules and business principles, with the result that he brought it to the highest state of efficiency of any office in the country, as evidenced in the reports of the Post Office Department at Washington. He applied business principles to the conduct of the office, treating Democrats and Republicans alike under Civil Service rules, and would not permit the old-time policy which had gone through every former administration of that office, whether under Democratic or Republican control, to obtain. When appointments were not under Civil Service rules, he appointed to office men of Independent Democratic proclivities, and appointed some Republicans, recognizing that many Republicans had stood behind the Independent Democrats in their efforts to secure a clean administration in party politics in Maryland and in Baltimore. As evidence of this he was reappointed by President McKinley and offered reappointment by President Roosevelt, serving eleven years under three Pres-

idents, resigning, actively to pursue his duties as President of The Continental Trust Company which he had chartered and organized.

William L. Marbury was never confirmed, President Cleveland sending in his appointment at every interim between sessions of the Senate, with the result that Mr. Marbury served out his entire term without confirmation.

During President Cleveland's second administration and after Senator Gorman's violent attack upon him in the Senate, Mr. Cleveland looked to Mr. Warfield to advise him on matters in connection with the postmasters throughout Maryland generally, and it has been said that he did not permit appointments to post offices, even of the fourth-class in Maryland, without first consulting Mr. Warfield in respect thereto. He was a frequent visitor at the White House and was on terms of close friendship and had the confidence of the President.

These two appointments of Independent Democrats in Maryland, the first that had ever taken place during the Gorman-Rasin régime, gave color to the views of many, that the backbone of the machine was hurt, through notice to their political followers, that Mr. Gorman, after all was not invincible.

It was during Mr. Warfield's administration that Govanstown, now Govans and Towsontown—now Towson, became substations of the Baltimore Post Office and many other outlying fourth-class post offices, were brought in as substations to the Baltimore office. Senator Gorman violently opposed this policy, and in one of his speeches in the Senate, upbraiding President Cleveland he alluded to this action on the part of Mr. Warfield as evidencing a wish to subject to the Baltimore post office, outlying territory, which was not properly within its jurisdiction. At any rate, it did give to the Postmaster of the city a power in the counties, which proved to be of far-reaching importance, when the fight was made against the return of Senator Gorman to the Senate, which resulted in his defeat by Lewis E. McComas in 1898, whom the Independent Democrats aided to defeat the powerful Gorman.

And it is one of the notable facts in that stirring period of the state's history, especially during the whole of the second Cleveland Administration, that the Marylander who was personally closest to the President, was Mr. Warfield. In truth, he was one of the most trusted friends of the great Democratic President to the day of his death.

CHAPTER CVIII.

THE appointment of Mr. Warfield as Postmaster of Baltimore, and Mr. Marbury as District Attroney, gave color to the accusations, made by Mr. Cowen's enemies, that his efforts to reform the public affairs in Maryland, were mere pretense, that he was just an ordinary politician looking out for spoils, and that he was really working to build up a machine with which he could counteract the work of the Gorman machine, gain control of the State and City governments, and maintain his supposed hold on the Baltimore & Ohio Railway, and, adding the vast influence that the corporation gave him to the influence he would be able to exert with the independent Democrats, and their Republican allies, he could crush out the Gorman Ring and have full sway, not only in the Baltimore City Hall, but also in the State House at Annapolis. Those who knew the real conditions were aware of the fact that every step taken was in accordance with the well thought out and far reaching plans of Mr. Warfield from which he never deviated, and that Mr. Cowen followed his lead. It was undoubtedly a well-planned scheme, and with Mr. Warfield in the Post-Office, and Mr. Marbury in the Distract Attorney's Office, two of the ablest and most skillful among the younger men of oustanding character would be allied with the anti-Ring forces in the Democratic party. Especially was Mr. Warfield well-equipped for the sort of work planned, for Maryland has never produced a better and more forceful organizer, than the gentleman whom the President appointed to the important position of Postmaster of Baltimore. He had shown his great ability in political management before that time and he demonstrated it to a still greater extent later on, when he and George L. Wellington planned the campaign of 1895, in which both the Democratic city and state oragnizations were overthrown. He added to his fame later on, in 1896, when he was one of the leaders who again upset the old Ring and carried Democratic Maryland for the Republican candidate for President. His was the silent but skilful brain that secured the defeat of Mr. Gorman for re-election of 1898, in perhaps the most dramatic campaign ever fought in Maryland; and again when he led the combined forces

of the Republicans and honest money Democrats, and won the state, for McKinley in 1900 another dramatic event. And since that time he has demonstrated his wonderful capacity in the constructive business world, by his practical rehabilitation and recreation of the Seaboard Air Line Railway, which, under his untiring hand has become one of the really great railway systems of the country—a system which is growing in importance and usefulness, almost by leaps and bounds, as the leading line of transportation in all the states of the Atlantic seaboard from Richmond and Norfolk down to and in every part of Florida and west through the Gulf States to the Mississippi. He again demonstrated his foresight in organizing the National Association of Owners of Railroad Securities with a membership representing $11,000,000,000 of railroad securities. Mr. Warfield became its president, he thought out, initiated and laid before Congress the plan of rate making which became part of the Transportation Act of 1920 as Section 15-A which revolutionized rate making methods by the Interstate Commerce Commission, and is regarded as the most important railroad legislation ever put on the statute books, thus he became a national railroad figure. As Mr. Cowen's chief lieutenant, in all the tragic struggles which only ended with the death of the great railway lawyer and executive, Mr. Warfield stood in the first place. Mr. Cowen trusted him probably as he never trusted any other man of that coterie of remarkable men around him, to whom he was not only leader, but friend; and, in addition to the political and business bonds which united them, there was a strong and decidedly sentimental feeling of affection, which entered into all their relations with each other. And to this day, many years since the death of the elder of the two friends, Mr. Warfield retains the same feeling of fine sentimental affection for his memory—he has never forgotten him, and never loses an opportunity to show his reverence for his memory. And one of the strongest desires of his life is to see erected in Baltimore, a monument to Mr. Cowen, worthy to commemorate his great career and to hand down to posterity a memento of the esteem in which he was held by his associates and contemporaries. in his adopted state; and as this portion of the first volume of the stories of the history of the great Maryland railway system, is to a large extent devoted to Mr. Cowen and his work, it would be incomplete without this tribute to his closest and most highly esteemed friend and lieutenant, S. Davies Warfield.

CHAPTER CIX.

IN 1891, the old line independents, under the leadership of Mr. Cowen, and backed by certain corporate and banking interests, including the Baltimore & Ohio, which were hostile to the Gorman Ring, held an independent convention, and nominated Mr. Warfield for Mayor, and the nomination was endorsed by the city Republicans, and a fusion formed, in which were lined up the independent or reform Democrats, and the Republicans. A strenuous campaign was carried on, but failed, as the Democratic Ring was too strongly entrenched, to be overthrown by anything less than a tidal wave movement—which did not materialize.

The strange feature of this campaign was the fact that the regular Democratic Ring candidate was Ferdinand C. Latrobe, who had been the Ring candidate in 1875, and in that election had as his anti-Ring fusion candidate opponent, Mr. Henry M. Warfield—the father of the energetic and vigorous young man who was in the field in the same sort of an independent fight, against the same forces, under the same Ring leadership. Mr. Warfield made a game fight, but General Latrobe won out—not as he did against the elder Warfield in 1875—for in the earlier contest the fusionists really won—there was never any doubt of the election of the elder Warfield in 1875—the election was the most scandalously fraudulent ever held in the city, and General Latrobe was counted in, and his opponent was counted out in the most open and brazen manner. But in the 1891 campaign the situation was different—the Republicans were not loyal to the fusion candidate—had they supported him, he would easily have defeated General Latrobe, and it would have been poetic justice had the son won out sixteen years later in a fight with the same man as his opponent, under the same leadership, but under rather similar circumstances.

And one of the strangest features of the 1891 contest was the fact that the forces of the great railway corporation did not back up Mr. Warfield. Mr. Cowen loyally supported his young friend and lieutenant, and used all his great influence in his

behalf, but a large number of the most influential of those connected with the railway company were favorable to General Latrobe.

And it was not strange that such was the case. The Latrobes were one of the most influential families in the city and state—and for practically half a century they had been allied with the Baltimore & Ohio Company, in all sorts of important capacities.

Mr. John H. B. Latrobe, Ferdinand Latrobe's father, had been for years Counsel, not only for the Garretts, but also for the Railway Company. Charles Latrobe had been the civil engineer who made the survey of the line over the Alleghanies, and had as much to do with the construction of it from Cumberland to the Ohio, as any other one man.

Thomas Swann, later Governor of Maryland and Mayor of Baltimore City, had been President of the road, during the whole period of time used in its construction from Cumberland to the Ohio, and had done more to raise the money to pay for its construction than any other one man, except Johns Hopkins. He was connected by marriage, by business, social and other ties of the strongest sort, with the Latrobes, and, therefore, that family had been so thoroughly identified with the Baltimore & Ohio for a long period of years, not only in Baltimore but throughout the whole state, that it was a matter of impossibility to wean any large number of voters who were connected in all sorts of capacities, from the lowest up to the highest, away from any one of the Latrobe name, or connection, in any way. And, therefore, when the campaign between Davies Warfield and Ferdinand Latrobe was fairly under way, in the fall of 1891, Mr. Cowen was unable to swing more than a very few over to the fusion candidate, who was his closest friend. As a result, the great mass of the people connected with the Baltimore & Ohio voted for Latrobe, many of them had been doing so year after year, despite the influence of Mr. Cowen in behalf of Mr. Warfield. Latrobe had been elected Mayor five times before 1891, and all told he held the office for seven terms. He had also been a member of the House of Delegates, Speaker of that body in 1870, and the last office he ever held, a few years before his death, was Speaker of the House of Delegates in the special session of 1902. People were used to voting for him, and

while his election as Mayor in 1875, was clearly and admittedly fraudulent, the same could not be said of the numerous other times he was successful before the public. And notwithstanding his alliance with the Gorman Ring, there was never any question of his loyalty to the Baltimore & Ohio Railway interests. He was opposed to Senator Gorman's schemes to wreck the railway, and often said the attempts of Gorman and Lanahan to overthrow those in control of the road were dastardly, and yet, notwithstanding all this difference of opinion, he was on terms of intimate personal friendship with both those distinguished railway wreckers.

General Latrobe was one of the last of that generation of the old-time Baltimore aristocrats to take an active part in the political affairs of the city. For years he was prominent in everything in which the city was concerned, and he often said he would rather be Mayor of Baltimore than President of the United States. And in all political and other mix-ups with which he was connected for a period of forty years, there was never any question of his personal integrity, and in one of his last public talks, he said that the Latrobes, all down the line, had always been loyal to the Baltimore & Ohio Railway.

CHAPTER CX.

"IT is a grim fight," said Mr. Cowen in one of his great speeches when he was attacking the Gorman Ring, ostensibly for the purpose of overthrowing it and changing the control of the city and state governments. "Baltimore City is controlled by the criminal classes," he said at another time, and he proved it by the facts and figures which he produced to sustain his contention, and he and his colleagues, among the independents and reformers, went on, year after year, at times apparently on the verge of victory, and later on going down in another defeat, with the Ring triumphant.

As stated in a former chapter, the regulars or Gorman Democrats, kept up their accusations against Mr. Cowen, asserting that all his hostility against those in power was what would now (1927) be called "camouflage"—a word not then in use on this side of the ocean. That back of all, these attacks were simply for the purpose of protecting the railway company in its endeavor to escape its just share of taxation, and to enable it to gain control of the state and city governments. That the so-called reformers were, a large proportion of them, disgruntled and disappointed office-seekers (which was true of many of them) and that they were men who had been ignored, or cast out by the regular party organization, because they were no more than common kickers, and were ready to destroy their party, because they could not control it—and that Mr. Cowen was using them in order to gain his own selfish ends— and so the fight went on. This was resented by the large class in the community standing back of Mr. Cowen, Mr. Wallis, Colonel Charles Marshall, Mr. Warfield and the other leaders in the fight against the Gorman-Rasin Ring.

In the Summer of 1894, Mr. Warfield enlarged his sphere of operations for the overthrow of the Gorman-Rasin Ring by driving a wedge between Gorman and Rasin when he conceived the idea of nominating Mr. Cowen for Congress from the Fourth Congressional District. He visited Mr. William L. Wilson, Member of Congress from West Virginia, and later Postmaster

General, a close personal friend of Mr. Cowen, who wrote President Cleveland asking him to follow out plans which Mr. Warfield would give to him. The result was that following Mr. Warfield's suggestion to Mr. Cleveland he invited Mr. Rasin to visit him at Gray Gables where he was passing the summer. As Mr. Rasin told the story himself, Mrs. Cleveland met him at the train. He had a long talk with the President, and at the request of that gentleman, Mr. Rasin, exercising his almost undisputed power as boss of Batlimore, nominated and secured the election of Mr. Cowen to the House of Representatives from one of the city districts—all against the protest of Senator Gorman—and the election of the great railway lawyer was secured by the organization, although the Republican candidate was an exceptionally strong and able man, (Mr. Robert H. Smith), and many Gorman Democrats, openly opposed and voted against their party nominee, despite Mr. Rasin's orders. But Mr. Cowen was elected, and that ended it. He took his seat in Congress, but never functioned there to any extent—indeed he attended but few sessions—his duty to the railway company, at that time became so exacting that it took all his time, and therefore his record in the public life, as a member of the House amounted to litle. He was little heard of, during his entire term, greatly to the disappointment of his friends and admirers, as well as to the President, all of whom expected great things of him—for he was probably one of the best equipped men who ever was elected to either House, not only in Maryland but in the entire nation.

This entrance of Mr. Cowen into the official life of the country, together with the appointment of Mr. Warfield, as Postmaster of Baltimore, and Mr. Marbury as United States District Attorney of Maryland, both of which, were done as part of the Warfield plan to break the Gorman-Rasin Ring from the inside, gave added force to the assertion of Senator Gorman and his followers, that Mr. Cowen was no more than a scheming politician, no better than themselves and that all his loud pretensions for reform were only pretensions—that what he wanted was power—power obtained in the usual politically crooked way to be used for his own aggrandizement, for the benefit of his clients, and to secure "jobs" for his lieutenants and friends—that back of

all that he had done, ever since he started out on his career of hostility to the Democratic organization, was based on an utter lack of real principle—that he was on the same plane as those whom he was seeking to destroy, that unlike him they had never made any pretense to act from principle, while he had loudly asserted that in all his acts he had been guided entirely by the highest sort of principle—and Senator Gorman, in an interview, sneeringly called attention to his opponent's "fall from grace," as he called it, and said that he had descended from his lofty pedestal and had placed himself on a level with what he had often called "the common crowd of boodling, place-hunting spoilsmen, ready to violate all law to gain their point." And in a speech delivered later on, the Senator said that "the great apostle of purity in politics and reform in government, and in the management of public affairs had fallen from the altar to which he had been raised for worship by 'the holier than thou crowd and the politically elect.'" And not a few of Mr. Cowen's own disciples were sorely troubled over this situation, the most able and influential of whom was Roger W. Cull, who had ranked with the most conscientious and influential of the Democratic reformers of the state. As a result, Mr. Cull and several other of the leading old-time reformers, retired from active participation in the movement Mr. Cull openly accusing Messrs. Cowen, Warfield and Marbury of "bowing the knee to the Political Baal of the day, and offering up incense in the temple of the Ashtoreth." But those who really knew the sort of a man Mr. Cowen was, knew that all these accusations were false and were part of the Gorman propaganda. Mr. Cull was thought by many as championing the old-time method of fight without result.

CHAPTER CXI.

ALL through the long drawn out struggle between Mr. Cowen and Senator Gorman, Cowen was constantly troubled with the hostility of a number of the official force of the Railway Company, who did not approve his course, and who did all they could to hamper him and thwart his plans. One leading official after another stood in his way, and the internal fights he was obliged to wage with his associates probably caused him more worry and uneasiness than the more open and public contest with Gorman and his political lieutenants.

It will be recalled that in the earlier chapters, the claim was made by many of Mr. Gorman's supporters in the Democratic ranks, that he was really raising a bugaboo, in his insistence that the Baltimore & Ohio Company had a desire, and had formulated a plan, to overthrow the Democratic organization. Many of the leading Democratic county newspaper men, who were closely allied with Mr. Gorman in all his political fights openly refused to follow him in his attacks on the Railway Company, insisting that the hostility between him and Mr. Cowen was a personal matter, and that the officials of the Railway Company did not approve of Mr. Cowen's course, for it was no secret that the great lawyer had several enemies among the directors and active officials, and that there was a serious division in the councils of the corporation on the subject, and, from time to time all this is evident from what has been related in earlier chapters; and there is no doubt but that perhaps the greatest source of uneasiness to him, in his turbulent, exciting and nerve-racking career, was caused, not so much by Senator Gorman, as it was by the machinations of the enemies in his own business household—for not a few of those who were associated with him there were filled with jealousy and hatred of the man, who had demonstrated in every respect, his superiority to all.

In this connection, the following statement, by W. Irvine Cross, Esq., who was a close associate and friend of Mr. Cowen in the Law Department of the Railroad Company, and who was consulted by Mr. Cowen on all occasions, is given below. Mr. Cross has ranked for many years as one of the leaders of the Baltimore Bar, and is known throughout the city and state as a gentleman of great professional and scholarly attainments, and, while the author does not agree with all his conclusions, they are given here as a most valuable and worthy addition to this volume.

STATEMENT OF MR. W. IRVINE CROSS

The idea that Mr. Cowen was in the Independent Movement in the interest of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company was loudly proclaimed by Mr. Gorman and his immediate followers. Mr. Cowen denied it at the time, and when examined carefully there is nothing to sustain it. He had come to Baltimore in 1872. He took no part in politics till 1882 although the Independent Movement had been begun by Mr. Wallis, Mr. Henry M. Warfield and others in 1875 and had kept up.

The friendship between Mr. Wallis and Mr. H. M. Warfield was close—both had been members of the memorable Maryland war legislature of 1861 on the principal committee, and were arrested with others by the Federal authorities at Washington, which prevented the secession of Maryland from the Union; they were confined at Fort Warren in Boston harbor for 1½ years. In 1882 the New Judge Movement took place and Cowen's political activity began with his entering that fight. It was a continuation of the Independent Movement started by Wallis and Warfield in 1875, complicated, however, by the fact that Mr. Gorman himself joined in it, under cover, of course, as a means of humiliating Governor Whyte, the former head of the Democratic organization in Maryland. It was an astute piece of politics on the part of Gorman and quite successful, the old judges being defeated by heavy majorities, and Mr. Gorman, who had been elected to the United States Senate in 1880, becoming leader of the State Democracy in place of Governor Whyte. Mr. Cowen's first entry into the Independent Movement, therefore, was made when it was being supported by Mr. Gorman himself. Cowen supported Judge Brown for Mayor in 1885 and from that time was active in each election till Mr. Gorman's power was broken by the defeat of John E. Hurst for Governor in 1895. During the years of that time, from 1882 to 1888 Mr. Cowen's course had not only the disapproval of all the Baltimore & Ohio officials, but, their earnest hostility. From 1884 to 1887 Robert Garrett was President. A warm personal

friend of Cowen, but who laughed at Cowen's position as sentimental and quixotic. Vice-President and practical manager of the road, however, was Samuel Spencer, absolutely opposed to Cowen's action and bitterly hostile to him personally. In 1887 and 1888 Spencer was President. Mr. William Burns during all this time was Chairman of the Company's Finance Committee, a strong party Democrat who not only was opposed to Cowen's political action, but, when Cowen and George S. Brown went into the Republican Convention, actually suggested the getting rid of him as Counsel. From 1888 to 1896 Charles F. Mayer was President of the Baltimore & Ohio. He had been a friend of Senator Gorman but took little interest in politics and none in Cowen's political activities. The efforts of Mr. Gorman to get rid of the City Judges and those of the Court of Appeals had somewhat shaken the confidence of Railroad officials in the Democratic Organization, as it had that of many business men. Moreover Mr. Gorman's putting his two allies William Keyser and Thomas Lanahan into the Board of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company as political directors, and the belief that this was part of a plan to wreck the Road, changed Mr. Mayer's attitude towards Mr. Gorman into one of open hostility. The Railroad was in serious difficulties, and its dependence upon Cowen for guidance gave him an influence in its Councils such as he had never had before, and he was free from any criticism by Railroad officials. The suggestion that Mr. Cowen's political career was inspired by his Railroad connection was a mere bit of partisan clamor, and very wide of the facts.

So too, the suggestion, so assiduously put forth by Mr. Gorman based on the appointments of Warfield and Marbury, and Cowen's own subsequent election to Congress, that Cowen in spite of his appeals for a reform in political methods was himself merely a seeker after political patronage and spoil.

This would be almost comic to those who know the facts. Questions of political philosophy had a fascination for Cowen. For matters of political management he not only had little taste but little faculty. Until Mr. Warfield became prominent in the Independent Movement, Mr. Wallis took far more interest in such matters than Mr. Cowen and was the recognized leader, as he was of the Baltimore Bar. A man of wonderful literary and

scholarly attainments, Mr. Wallis easily became the leader of all anti-Gorman sentiment.

Mr. Cowen was quick to recognize the political genius of Warfield, and to approve his plans.

Warfield soon after his entry upon the Reform Movement, grasped a fact that had not been recognized by Mr. Wallis, Cowen or any of those previously in the movement. That was, that in order to get rid of ring control in Maryland, it was not enough to arouse popular sentiment, but a break must be effected in the ring structure itself. It would be too long to go over the details with which he carried out this idea.

His first move was to take advantage of Rasin's growing desire for a quiet life, and make him consent to the sending of W. Cabell Bruce as Senator and six other independents as Delegates to the Legislature. It was a master stroke. Gorman recognized instantly that Rasin had made a mistake. Rasin probably did too, but he had been taken in the hour of his weakness. Warfield followed it up by making Bruce President of the Senate, creating much bitterness within the party organization. A disintegration had begun.

Taking advantage of the lack of harmony between Cleveland and Gorman, Warfield secured the appointment of Marbury as District Attorney and himself as Postmaster. It was part of his same scheme and was done at a personal sacrifice, for Warfield had lately started the Warfield Manufacturing Company and the assumption of the duties of Postmaster compelled Warfield to leave the management of that Company largely in the hands of others. Cowen, however, recognized that to allow any Independent except Warfield to accept that appointment would be a great mistake.

Warfield conducted the post office on strict Civil Service principles, and his business management won him great credit. But the taking of the post office with its large patronage and wide influence out of politics constituted probably the largest break made by Warfield in the ring structure.

Warfield's final achievement was the putting Cowen in Congress. It was a marvelous piece of political work. Cowen was away, and the larger part of Warfield's work had been done before Warfield broached the subject to him.

The different agencies by which Warfield brought this through would make quite a story—the arrangement with Cleveland, who willingly consented to help, but warned Warfield of the insuperable difficulties—the sending for Rasin to Gray Gables—the utterly puzzled state in which he came back, his sending for Warfield, their memorable conference at Rasin's house, where Warfield handled the old Democratic boss with consummate skill, and Rasin's final consent. Cowen was strongly opposed to going to Congress, but finally fell in with Warfield's plans, who went to Nantucket to tell Cowen what he had done. Cowen was overworked at the time and under a great strain, yet his campaign speeches were very strong. He was seldom able to attend the sessions of Congress and never made a speech there. The plan did not create a very active Congressman,, but in the working out of Warfield's plan it was a great success. It was a spectacular notice that the Democratic Ring could not control even its own nominations, and contributed much to the final result. To ascribe it to an office seeking proclivity on the part of Cowen, would be little short of comedy.

It was the last step taken by Warfield in a long effort to break down the morale of the ring. Few men more accomplished in their line than Arthur P. Gorman and I. Freeman Rasin have ever lived. The machine they had built up was a marvel of efficiency. The methods of "peaceful penetration" by which Warfield—an amateur—enfeebled and disintegrated it, would rank high in the annals of destructive art. In Warfield's skillful, patient use of the special features of the situation, one is even reminded somewhat of the task of Cavour, the foremost Italian statesman of the last century, in a larger field.

CHAPTER CXII.

As the years go on, and as changes occur, it is interesting to those of us whose recollections extend into the past, as far back as the beginning of the war between the states, in 1861, to note the vast difference in practically everything that concerns life, from what it was at that time.

Up from that time to the present, (1927) year after year, the changes in the personnel of the men who were the outstanding figures, in the business, professional, and political life of the city and state, were rarely startling, but it is evident in looking back over the vista of more than sixty years that up to the beginning of the second quarter of the twentieth century, and especially during the time which has elapsed since 1900, there has been a decided eclipse of reverence for the forefathers of the city and state, and, that men whose names were expected to go down in history, and be held in the highest honor by their descendants, and the descendants of their contemporaries, are practically forgotten by the present generation, and will have totally passed from the minds, even of those who were starting out on their careers before their elders have passed off the stage.

This was forcibly illustrated not long after the writer had begun the publication of the articles which have been the basis of these sketches. A member of the bar of excellent reputation, a man who was an honor student of the Johns Hopkins University, when met on the street, said:

"I would like to know something about those men of whom you are writing, and describing as such great figures in the history of the state. There are two of them of whom you assert, that they were great men, a lawyer named Cowen and a politician named Gorman, whom you describe as most extraordinary characters, and who played a great part in the history of the city and state, for several years. I have studied Maryland history, and I do not recall that I ever saw anything mentioned of either of them, and yet you are making them out the most important men of their time—as most extraordinary characters—Mr. Cowen as the greatest lawyer of his day, and Mr. Gorman as one of the great men of the Senate. I have never

before read much about them, and, in all the lectures I heard in the University during the years I was there as a student, lectures supposed to give the history of the state, I do not believe they were ever mentioned. In my opinion, the most interesting and important facts in history, especially in the history of the events in our own state, are what the men have done, who were the great and outstanding characters of the times under consideration, and the people who have written history, so far as Maryland is concerned, since 1861, have practically ignored the men who were the leaders in all that occurred during the last sixty-five years, have practically ignored the really great men."

Where do you find anything of importance regarding the really wonderful work of John W. Garrett, and those who aided him in the building and management of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway? Nowhere. There are short sketches of the railway, rather grudgingly given, but nothing of moment about the able men who did the work.

"Where is there anything of consequence about Mr. Cowen? Where do you find anything published about the great fight, of years, over the control of the railway, and the control of the Democratic party—undoubtedly the most interesting and dramatic events of the state's history for a quarter of a century? Nowhere."

"A high school graduate was recently asked some questions about the history of the state since the Civil War. He knew nothing. He had never been taught anything. He had never heard of Senator Gorman. He did not know who John K. Cowen was, nor could he give the names of any of the men who took the leading part in the history of the state during the last sixty years. He had never heard of them—they were never mentioned in the school, and the only Governor, whose name he had ever heard, was Governor Ritchie. The history of Maryland was a blank to him, while the New England lady, who was his teacher, never tired of discoursing to him of the great glories of Massachusetts, as the one great spot, where great men were produced, who carried the revolution to a successful conclusion, who defeated England in the War of 1812, and who conquered the South in the Civil War; and the only mention she ever made of Maryland, was to dilate on the treasonable act,

when the Massachusetts troops were fired on in Baltimore on April 19, 1861. She also asserted that all Maryland was disloyal to the Union, and that Marylanders were responsible for the assassination of President Lincoln.

Throughout the city and state, there are few memorials of the great men of the past two generations. Other states have glorified and erected monuments to their outstanding men of the same period.

Mr. Cowen, not only was a great man, but his public services were great, and the large number of men who are prominent now in professional and business life, who owe their start to his favor, have all, apparently forgotten their benefactor, and have raised no monument to perpetuate his name and fame.

John W. Garrett, who did more than any other for the material benefit of the city and state, has no public monument, and no Marylander ever did as much as he for the welfare and prosperity of the people. There are thousands of people, whose fathers owe the fortunes they have handed down to their children, to Mr. Garrett, and they have never heard of him.

Johns Hopkins worked and slaved his long life, to accumulate the fortune he devoted to the benefit of the people of his native state. And the only monuments he has are those raised by himself—an ungrateful and indifferent people would have forgotten him long ago, did not his benefactions stare them in the face, from the heights, where he himself directed them to be raised—and the public has never raised a stone to tell who he was and what he did—and the question is often asked, "Who was Johns Hopkins, and what did he do to have a university and a hospital named for him?"

And there are others, who deserve public recognition for services rendered. But the greatest shame of all, which attaches to the people of Baltimore and the whole state of Maryland, is due to the fact that the greatest of all their public benefactors, John Work Garrett, has no memorial raised by the people, for whom he literally worked himself to death. Even his descendants seem to have forgotten that he ever lived.

End of Volume I.

APPENDIX

CONTAINING sketches of President Willard; George McLean Shriver, Senior Vice-President; Charles W. Galloway, Vice-President in Charge of Transportation and Maintenance; Archibald Fries, Vice-President in Charge of Traffic and Commercial Development; and Francis X. Milholland, Assistant to the Senior Vice-President. Also a short account of the failure of the Baltimore & Ohio and its allies to secure the Western Maryland Railway a quarter of a century ago, when that road was sold by the City of Baltimore.

DANIEL WILLARD,

President,

GEORGE M. SHRIVER,

Senior Vice-President,

OF THE BALTIMORE & OHIO RAILROAD.

THESE two distinguished gentlemen today stand easily in the first rank of railway officials, acting together in the management of one of the two or three greatest systems of transportation in the whole world. In fact, not a few people who are familiar with the men who are active in the railway world, openly give the palm to Mr. Willard as the most competent railway official in the country, while Mr. Shriver is considered, among people who know the facts, to be one of the two or three ablest railway financiers in the United States.

After the long series of misfortunes which happened to the Baltimore & Ohio, which finally resulted in a receivership, there was a succession of executives, and the company was slowly, and at times painfully, being rehabilitated and placed on a sound basis, largely through the financial skill of Mr. Shriver, who had been connected with the corporation from early manhood, and who had been a tower of strength to all the officials for a period of years. When Mr. Willard became President, he at once realized the value of the modest and unassuming gentleman who holds the senior Vice-Presidency, and together they have worked strenuously for the benefit and rehabilitation of the vast interests intrusted to their care, aided by a force of capable and efficient subordinate officials, until now, no transportation system in any part of the world excels the Baltimore & Ohio in its capacity for doing its part in the development of the vast area of the country in which it is the chief factor for the transportation of all sorts of supplies, as well as passengers, from one section to another.

In 1894, when the celebrated Wilson Tariff Bill was before the Senate of the United States, and President Cleveland was

using all the great force of his administration to prevent its emasculation by certain predatory and powerful business interests, the late Senator Arthur P. Gorman, who was then the most influential factor in the ranks of those who were opposed to the President's policy, said, that the tariff was not the most important question to be considered by the government and people of the country, but that in a few short years the transportation question would overshadow all others. That the problem of getting the vast products of the West and Southwest to the great cities of the Atlantic Seaboard, would be paramount in importance, and that all others would be insignificant beside it. The Senator's statement was derided from one end of the country to the other. During the late war, and since that time he has been proved to have been a true prophet. The transportation question, and the regulation of transportation, is acknowledged by all competent judges to be paramount, and is growing in importance from day to day.

Through the energetic and capable management of Messrs. Willard, Shriver, and their associates, the Baltimore & Ohio has become one of the greatest lines in the transportation system of the country. It is now one of the standard railways of the world. In accuracy, care, and skill manifested, it is not excelled by any other system, and it has taken equal rank in the public mind with the great Pennsylvania, as a standard in all that goes to make up a combination of efficiency as near perfect as is humanly possible, and Mr. Willard's celebrated maxim, "Safety First," impressed from time to time on all the executive force, from the highest to the lowest, has made it a model of engineering skill and energy, manifested on a vast scale extending from the Mississippi Valley, in a perfect net-work, to the great seaport cities of the Atlantic Coast.

During the late war, Mr. Willard had charge of the transportation of Government supplies and troops—in many respects the most important part of the whole service connected with the vast preparations for the part this country took in that great struggle, and the late President Wilson spoke of the President of the Baltimore & Ohio as his "good right arm," and the most competent and satisfactory of all his aids during that dark and trying period in the history of the world. One of the greatest

difficulties Mr. Willard encountered in carrying out the plans for the rapid and safe transportation to the ports of embarkation of the vast amount of supplies of all sorts, as well as the millions of men, was the fact that both the War and Navy Departments were so tied up with red tape, that it seemed at first impossible to unwind them, and realize that before such an emergency the red tape must go, and expeditious business rules must prevail—and, backed up by the President, he finally succeeded in convincing the Moss Backs and Bureaucrats who dominated these two departments of the Government, that in time of war, ordinary routine rules must give way before the necessities of the case, and that expeditious action must govern in all that was going on. It is related that in one of his tilts with the red tape bureaucrats of the War Department, a certain general said: "Mr.Willard you may know how to run a railroad, but you know nothing of war." To which Mr. Willard retorted: "I know as much about the kind of war that is now going on as you do, General, and that is nothing. This is a new kind of war to you as well as everybody, and the matter now under consideration is purely one of transportation of men and supplies, and I have spent my whole life in solving such problems." The General then sullenly yielded and allowed Mr. Willard to do as he wished.

To go into further detail regarding these two of the most distinguished Marylanders of today, will be taken up in a later volume. Indeed, a volume could be written about them, every word of which would be of general interest. And it should be a source of gratification to every citizen that Maryland possesses two such able and deserving men as Messrs. Willard and Shriver. No men stand higher in the whole country in their respective spheres.

GEORGE McLEAN SHRIVER,

Senior Vice-President.

A MEDIUM sized, stockily-built man, with a vigorous, alert manner, a strong, determined, though kindly face, a pleasant and at times fascinating smile, Mr. Shriver easily ranks as one of the really great railway officials of the country, and, to use the language attributed to Wall Street, he is looked upon by men familiar with the railways and transportation systems of the United States, as one of the three or four really great railway financiers now connected with the leading corporations, controlling practically the entire transportation systems radiating throughout the States of the Union. And, at the same time, first-class railway financiers are reported to have made the statement quoted above, they added to it the following complimentary allusion to another Baltimorean when they asserted:

"Baltimore has produced two men, who, in the matter of railway financing, have not only won the confidence and admiration of financiers generally, but have risen to the front rank in their lines of business, and it should be a source of gratification to all the people of the State and City that such is the case, and these two men are S. Davies Warfield, of the Seaboard Air Line and George M. Shriver, of the Baltimore & Ohio."

As a tireless and indefatigable worker, he has few equals. He has lived his life with the road, which he has done so much to place in its present high position among the transportation systems of the continent. For practically forty-one years he has devoted all his time to the services of the great Maryland transportation company; he has worked with it and for it ably and honestly, for nearly half a century; he was faithful in his service through good report and evil report, he was efficient and dutiful when it was prosperous more than forty years ago, when it was enjoying its era of prosperity more than two decades after the Civil War when as a mere boy, he entered its service, and he was strenuous to the utmost during the more than a quarter of a century when it was engaged in its life and death struggle for existence, when Gorman and his allies with all their evil

and unscrupulous schemes, devoted themselves to its destruction.

And, after the fight for existence was over, and Gorman, Lanahan and their scheming crew of conspiring railway wreckers were defeated and thrown out, Mr. Shriver, as one of those who had done much to win the great fight, exerted himself as no other man had done to accomplish the rehabilitation and restoration of Maryland's greatest industrial asset, and, probably, if the whole truth of those nerve-racking years were known, it would be found that the cool, calm and wise judgment of George Shriver had more to do with the great success achieved than the work of all others who were engaged in the gigantic accomplishments.

The outstanding events of Mr. Shriver's career are as follows:

Mr. George M. Shriver, Senior Vice-President and a Director of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company, was born in Hightstown, N. J., in 1868, the son of the late Samuel S. Shriver, a Presbyterian minister, and Caroline McCluskey Shriver.

Mr. Shriver started his business career with the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad in 1886 as a clerk in the Accounting Department, shortly thereafter going with the United States Express Company, but in 1888 became private secretary to Charles F. Mayer, who was then President of the Consolidation Coal Company. In the fall of that year when Mr. Mayer was elected president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, Mr. Shriver continued with him as private secretary. In 1896 John K. Cowen became president of the company and Mr. Shriver remained as his secretary, likewise serving with the next president, L. F. Loree. In 1901, Mr. Loree elevated Mr. Shriver to the position of Assistant to the President and in that capacity he continued during the remainder of Mr. Loree's tenure and throughout the presidency of the late Oscar G. Murray, who was chief executive of the Baltimore & Ohio from 1904 to 1910.

In 1911, just one year after Daniel Willard took up the reins of management, Mr. Shriver was elected Second Vice-President of the Company and placed in charge of the financial and accounting departments. In 1916 the Board of Directors abandoned the numerical designations of the Vice-Presidents, there

being four at that time, and Mr. Shriver was elected Senior Vice-President, which office he still holds.

During the administration of John K. Cowen and from the early 90's, Mr. Shriver was in constant touch with the reorganization of the property and since, particularly during Mr. Willard's administration, has looked after the great financial problems that have made possible the vast improvements necessary for the development and maintenance of the Baltimore & Ohio, now one of the important trunk line systems of the country. During Federal control when the railroads were taken over by the Government as a war measure, Mr. Shriver was the corporation's only Vice-President, the others having become Federal officers.

At important rate hearings in the past decade before the Interstate Commerce Commission, Mr. Shriver has represented not only the Baltimore & Ohio Company, but the railroads generally, in their efforts to demonstrate the necessity for increased rates. During 1921, when the railroad rate inquiry under the Transportation Act was in progress, Mr. Shriver was General Chairman of the Accounting Committees, appearing before the Commission for the Class I Railroads of the country as a whole and for the carriers in the Eastern District particularly. Mr. Shriver has also appeared before the Senate and House Committees on several occasions during investigations of the railroad situation, most particularly when the question of the return of the carriers to their owners was under consideration resulting in the Transportation Act of 1920.

Mr. Shriver was elected a member of the Board of Directors of the Baltimore & Ohio, in addition to Senior Vice-President, April 26, 1922. He is also a director of the Central Railroad of New Jersey.

CHARLES W. GALLOWAY,

Vice-President in Charge of Operation and Maintenance.

CHARLES W. GALLOWAY, vice-president in charge of operation and maintenance of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company, at Baltimore, was born in Baltimore Decemer 11, 1868, the son of Charles B. Galloway, a locomotive engineer. His grandfather was William Galloway, who drove the first horse car on the original Baltimore & Ohio line from Mount Clare Station to Ellicott's Mills, now Ellicott City, Md., afterwards becoming a locomotive engineer and running an engine for 50 years.

Vice-President Galloway started his long and successful railroad career with the Baltimore & Ohio as a messenger boy August 23, 1883, when he was not quite 15 years old. In 1886 he became a clerk in the telegraph office where he started, becoming a stenographer in 1888. He was promoted to train master in 1897, assistant superintendent in 1898 and to superintendent of the Cumberland Division July 1, 1899, being transferred to Baltimore in the same capacity in 1901. On December 20, 1906, he was advanced to superintendent of transportation for the entire system and was made general superintendent of transportation July 1, 1910, being promoted to general manager of all lines April 24, 1912. He became vice-president of the Baltimore & Ohio Southwest and general manager of western lines July 1, 1916. During Federal control of the railroads he was made federal manager of the Baltimore & Ohio western lines and the Dayton and Union from June 1, 1918, to February 1, 1919, when he became federal manager of the Baltimore & Ohio eastern lines, the Western Maryland, Cumberland Valley, the Coal and Coke and other smaller roads. On March 1, 1920, he became vice-president of operation and maintenance of the company.

Mr. Galloway's identification with the Railway has not only been life-long but also hereditary. He has literally lived with and been a part of that historic Maryland institution all his life, and his father and grandfather were both in the employ of the company during their lives, and the subject of this sketch

is a worthy successor of those fine old Marylanders who were part and parcel of the greatest industrial institution of the state. As one of the outstanding figures in the present operation of the Company, Mr. Galloway rounds out the service of the family devoted to the same organization for a century, a record probably not equalled by any other man in the history of the state.

His record as an official is of the highest, he is known throughout the country as one of the best railway executives now in the service, and it should be a matter of pride to his corporation that the descendant of one of its earliest employes in the third generation, is now rounding out the full century of connection with the service.

Personally, Mr. Galloway is one of the most genial and popular men in the state. He has a host of friends of all ranks, sorts and conditions, from Presidents of the United States, Cabinet Officers, Senators, Governors, and railway officials and financiers, from the highest to the most humble, and all pronounce him worthy of every honor he has ever received.

ARCHIBALD FRIES.

Vice-President in Charge of Traffic.

ARCHIBALD FRIES, vice-president in charge of traffic and commercial development of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, was born at Cincinnati, Ohio, February 27, 1864. He entered that service August 1, 1880, as entry clerk in the general freight offices at Cincinnati. On January 1, 1886, he was made chief rate clerk and was advanced to freight and claim clerk of the Continental Line January 1, 1890. He was promoted to chief clerk in the general freight offices in Cincinnati January 1, 1892, becoming general agent, October 15, 1898. On the first of the following year he was made assistant general freight agent at Cincinnati, where he remained until January 1, 1913, at which time he was transferred in the same capacity to Pittsburgh. Three years later he was appointed freight traffic manager and on July 1, 1918, he was made Traffic Manager of the Allegheny Region under the Railroad Administration and on January 1, 1920, was appointed general traffic manager of the Baltimore & Ohio Lines, being promoted to vice-president in charge of traffic and commercial development March 1, 1920.

Mr. Fries now ranks as one of the most efficient of the higher officials of his company, and during the nearly half century he has devoted to its service, his rise to his present responsible position has been based on merit alone.

F. X. MILHOLLAND,

Assistant to Senior Vice-President.

FRANCIS X. MILHOLLAND, assistant to the senior vice-president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company, was born August 21, 1880, at Baltimore, Maryland, and attended the public schools of that city for three years prior to entering Loyola College, Baltimore, Maryland, in September, 1892. From this institution he was graduated with the degree of A. B., in 1899, immediately pursuing a post-graduate course, and received the degree of A. M. in 1900. In August of that year, he entered the service of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company as stenographer and clerk in the transportation department, subsequently becoming secretary to the general superintendent of transportation, remaining in that position until April, 1904, when he was transferred to the President's office under Mr. George M. Shriver, who was then Assistant to the President. On December 1, of the same year, Mr. Milholland was appointed secretary to Mr. Shriver, which position he retained until Mr. Shriver was elected Second Vice-President in January, 1911, at which time he was appointed chief clerk of that department, being advanced to Assistant to Senior Vice-President on September 1, 1920, which position he still occupies. In addition to his duties as Assistant to the Senior Vice-President, Mr. Milholland is Secretary of the Company's Central Committee on Public Relations, which was organized in April, 1923.

Besides his primary and collegiate education, Mr. Milholland pursued the study of law, receiving the degree of LL. B. from the Baltimore Law University in 1910, being admitted to the Maryland Bar and the Baltimore City Bar in the summer of that year. Subsequently, when the Johns Hopkins University inaugurated its course of night lectures during the winter of 1916-17 in Business Economics, Mr. Milholland was one of the charter students, completing the course in "Corporate Finance" and receiving the University certificate therefor in June, 1917.

Mr. Milholland is admirably adapted for the duties of his important position. He is courteous and polite to all those with whom he comes in contact—has the faculty of pleasing, and, like his immediate superior, he is a thorough Marylander, and a capable and tactful representative, not only of his chief, but also of his company and his state, wherever he may be required to go.

WHY THE BALTIMORE & OHIO COMPANY FAILED TO SECURE THE WESTERN MARYLAND RAILWAY A QUARTER OF A CENTURY AGO

MR. S. DAVIES WARFIELD and Mr. John K. Cowen, Mr. Warfield especially, were responsible for the selection of Judge McComas as Senator Gorman's successor. They prepared a statement which they succeeded in getting Governor Lowndes, the leading candidate for the place, to sign, announcing that he would not consider himself a candidate for the vacant seat; thus withdrawing from the fight which he had already practically won.

Since the very beginning of its hostility to the Democratic party in the eighties, the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company in every way favored McComas. That Company was a powerful friend. During all his years in Congress it supported him, and helped him to return every time his campaign occurred. And as a judge it was still his friend, and was still prepared to support him should he ever again need support.

When the friends of Judge McComas went down to Annapolis in January of 1898 to manage his fight for the Senate, they found much bitter and decided hostility to him. In fact, they found a very respectable contingent in the Republican party which wanted him almost as little as it did Gorman. Major Alexander Shaw, now dead, but then one of the richest and most popular Republicans in Baltimore, was the candidate of the anti-McComas faction in his party. Major Shaw was not particularly distasteful to the Democrats, while Democratic hatred of Mr. McComas was intense.

Had it not been for one thing, Major Shaw *would* have been elected, and had it not been for one other thing, McComas *would not* have been elected, in spite of Cowen and Warfield especially, who made him possible in the first place. What lost the seat to Major Shaw, was the fact that, although he was a liberal campaign contributor, where he could salve his conscience with the thought that his money went for legitimate expenses,

he would not give one cent toward the purchase of the members' votes at Annapolis. He did not want a seat in the Senate in that way, he said, and he let it go.

In spite of this obstacle to the Major's election—there were the anti-McComas men who would not vote for McComas at all—some of them eventually did bolt the caucus—and there were the Democrats who were ready to unite on Shaw, in order to defeat McComas. McComas would have been defeated too, but for the money which was poured into the state house like water at that time, and but for the fact that with it the opposition was drowned out.

Eight thousand dollars had been raised by the Judge's friends for his use, but that was not nearly sufficient. When the expenses were calculated, it was found that enough votes to elect would cost over $30,000. The candidate's friends were in possession of less than a third of that sum.

Roughly speaking, at that time the Baltimore & Ohio controlled 6,000 votes in Baltimore and in Maryland. This meant that 6,000 employees of that road would vote as its managers requested. They *understood* that the company's interests were their interests, to be protected at times, even by their votes. In the campaign of 1897, for the election of the legislature, this strength of the Baltimore & Ohio had of course, been with the Republicans.

But even after all that, when the legislature convened at Annapolis, these were the conditions and the seat was hopelessly lost to McComas unless $22,000 more was produced from somewhere.

Then friends of the Baltimore & Ohio came forward once more; contributed the money, and McComas was elected. He slipped in so easily, that the mechanism, it was said, seemed to have been "greased." Obstacles were all removed. The ways had been rough, but hard cash as a lubricant, is a powerful quantity, and $22,000 was a large amount, especially to greedy members who needed funds. So, McComas took his seat; and the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company used its influence that he might do so.

The next turn of fortune's wheel, however, found that the Baltimore & Ohio, at last in need of McComas, all-powerful

largely through its influence. Especially was he powerful in Baltimore, because with the Republican majority of the City Council he could do practically as he pleased.

At any rate when the Wabash Railroad Company, enemy of the Baltimore & Ohio, began scheming for an entrance into Baltimore and a terminus on the coast, this same Baltimore & Ohio felt no uneasiness at all. Its confidence in Senator McComas was sublime. With him, the old ally knew what the Western Maryland, owned by the City of Baltimore and through which the Wabash expected to reach the sea, could be bought up by one of the Baltimore & Ohio's allied lines and the rival kept out.

The Baltimore & Ohio accordingly sent for Senator McComas, and with him went over all its plans for the purchase of the Western Maryland by the allied line. It naturally thought that in consideration of a strong supporting friendship of twenty years' standing, it had in him a firm friend, willing to do almost anything in the world for it. So plans were discussed freely, and nothing was held back. And the Senator smiled and listened, and through this confidence in him knew as much about Baltimore & Ohio plans as the Baltimore & Ohio knew itself.

Then, in consideration of a large fee, he went over to the other side, and became an attorney for the Wabash Company. The Western Maryland was lost to the Baltimore & Ohio. The old enemy at last touched the coast. It slipped in through McComas, for the Wabash, the last man in the world, one would have thought.

And the Baltimore & Ohio saw the difference between its treatment of McComas in his hour of need, and McComas' treatment of the Baltimore & Ohio in a similar position. And for this reason after nearly twenty years' hostility to the Democratic party, the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company finally deserted the fusion end of the see-saw, and went back to its early friends. McComas, had turned out to be, like Gorman with Whyte, a snake hugged close to the breast.

Such was Senator McComas, the man who succeeded Mr. Gorman, and such was the result of nearly two decades of frantic effort on the part of frantic reformers who wanted Mr. Gorman

brought low, because they said he was not honest, and because they said he stooped to "things." They wanted a fitting man to represent Maryland with fitting dignity in the National Senate. And they got him—in Senator McComas.

NOTE:—*This chapter in the history of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway Company is published out of the regular order, in reply to several requests for information in explanation of the reasons why the Baltimore and Ohio failed to secure control of the Western Maryland Railway, when that property was sold by the City a quarter of a century ago. The account here published was written at that time, and later published in a book entitled, "Men of Maryland Since the Civil War."*

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NOTE—The names of Senator Gorman, John K. Cowen, John W. Garrett, Robert Garrett, and I. Freeman Rasin occur so frequently that they are not indexed.

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