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Thomas H. Carter 1890-1910

Eugene McAndrews
Carroll College

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THOMAS H. CARTER
1890-1910

EUGENE V. McANDREWS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT
OF CARROLL COLLEGE IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR HONORS AND
THE BACHELOR'S DEGREE

CARROLL COLLEGE
HELENA, MONTANA
APRIL 1960
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer of this paper is greatly indebted to Mr. Thomas A. Clinch, chairman of the History Department at Carroll College, for his valuable suggestions and help in the preparation of this thesis. Special thanks are due, also to the library staff at Carroll College, and the staffs at the city libraries of Helena; Thompson; and finally to the staff of the State Library.

Thanks are also due to Miss Carolie Zecher for the typing of this final draft.

by Thomas A. Clinch

Date April 1, 1960

Final thanks go to all those who have helped in some way, be it large or small, with this thesis.

Eugene V. McAndrews
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The writer of this paper is greatly indebted to Mr. Thomas A. Clinch, chairman of the History Department at Carroll College, for his valuable suggestions and help in the preparation of this thesis. Special thanks are due also to the library staff at Carroll College, and the staffs at the city libraries of Helena, Anaconda and finally to the staff at the State Historical Library.

Thanks are also due to Miss Carole Sechser for the typing of this final draft.

Special thanks are also due to my mother, Mrs. Helen McAndrews, who has helped me obtain this college education.

Final thanks go to all those who have helped in some way, be it large or small, with this thesis.

Eugene V. McAndrews
INTRODUCTION

Seventy years ago there existed a state of
"war" in Montana. This was not a war of great generals,
nor was it a war between military staffs of proud
nations, nor was it a war of infantrymen.

This "war" was between two men, two magnates,
two "copper kings," two pioneers of Montana industry,
who were destined to fight it out to the death.

Numerous reasons have been offered concerning
the "cause" of this fight. The subject of this
book cannot be considered in the "cause" of
this war.

So on November 16th, the "War of the Copper
Kings," began. On November 16th, William J. Clark
conceded defeat to his Republican opponent who had been
supported by Daly. On November 16th, the giant Clark had
been defeated for territorial representative by a young,
but seemingly very capable, political upstart who came

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INTRODUCTION

Seventy years ago there existed a state of "war" in Montana. This was not a war of great generals, nor was it a war between military staffs of proud nations, nor was it a war of massed infantrymen.

This "war" was between two men, two magnates, two "copper kings," two pioneers of Montana industry, who were destined to fight it out to the death.

Numerous reasons have been offered concerning the "genesis" of this fight. The subject of this dissertation may be considered in the "genesis" of this war.

The "war" may properly said to have begun on the 10th of November, 1888, the day on which was born the enmity between William Andrews Clark, Butte millionaire and part owner of the great Anaconda Company.

For 12 years these two men fought it out in Montana.

So on November 10th, the "War of the Copper Kings," began. On November 10th, William A. Clark conceded defeat to his Republican opponent who had been supported by Daly. On November 10th, the giant Clark had been defeated for territorial representative by a young, but seemingly very capable, political upstart who came

from Helena, Montana. Thomas H. Carter had won; the
2
war had started.

Merrill Burlingame & K. Ross Toole, A History of
Montana (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1957),
p. 241. Thomas H. Carter was born on October 25th near the
town of Portsmouth, Sandusky County, the State of Ohio in
the year of 1834. He was a bright lad and completed his
secondary education in the states of Ohio and Illinois.
He completed his education by studying law at Burlingame,
Iowa, and upon his graduation was admitted to the Bar. In
1862, he moved west to Montana, taking up residence in Hel-
ena and joining with another lawyer to form the law firm
of Carter and Clymer, Attorneys at Law.

Being both an orator and staunch Catholic, a fact
that was to ensure his in battle with the American Pro-
tective Association, Carter was chosen to address the first
Consecration Synod in 1886. This occasion was also the kick-
off drive to collect funds for a new Cathedral.

Carter first entered politics on an elective basis
in that important victory over Clark for the territorial
representative in 1888, a position Clark desperately wanted.
When Carter beat Clark in 1888, it was the first time a
Republican had held the office since 1871.

1 Helen Sanders, A History of Montana, Vol. II
2 L. H. Bullard, Indian and White in the Northwest
3 John Fada & Marcelo Buck, The Montana Blue Book
A BRIEF SURVEY OF CARTER'S LIFE

Thomas H. Carter was born on October 30th near the town of Portsmouth, Scioto County, the State of Ohio in the year of 1854. He was a bright lad and completed his secondary education in the states of Ohio and Illinois. He completed his education by studying law at Burlington, Iowa, and upon his graduation was admitted to the Bar. In 1882, he moved west to Montana, taking up residence in Helena and joining with another lawyer to form the law firm of Carter and Clyber, Attorneys at Law.

Being both an orator and Roman Catholic, a fact that was to engage him in battle with the American Protective Association, Carter was chosen to address the first Diocesan Synod in 1884. This occasion was also the kick-off drive to collect funds for a new Cathedral.

Carter first entered politics on an elective basis in that important victory over Clark for the territorial representative in 1888, a position Clark desperately wanted. When Carter beat Clark in 1888, it was the first time a Republican had held the office since 1871.

Since Carter was a newcomer he was not highly regarded. According to many, Carter had been put up by Daly just for the purpose of defeating Clark.

When the votes were counted, it was discovered to the amazement of all except Daly, that Clark had been humiliatingly defeated by an upstart of a young Republican lawyer and former book agent, Thomas E. Carter, who had swept every district in which Daly had any influence; he even won Clark's own ward.

Carter entered the House of Representatives as our Territorial Representative to the 51st Congress. Upon Montana's entrance into the Union in 1889, Carter was subsequently elected its first Representative to Congress. Later, as a Senator, Carter represented Montana in the 54th, 55th, 56th, 59th, 60th, and 61st Sessions of Congress.

Upon losing the bid for re-election in 1891, Carter who was becoming prominent in national circles, was chosen Secretary of the Republican congressional campaign committee. That same year, President Harrison appointed him Commissioner of the General Land Office. In the presidential campaign of 1892 he was again chosen by Harrison to be National Chairman of the Republican National Committee.

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In 1805 Carter was sent back to Washington, this time as Montana's Senator. It was Carter who challenged the right of William A. Clark to hold a seat in the United States Senate and who by his demands brought about the subsequent investigation.

Once again, in attempting to be re-elected, Carter was defeated in 1901. However, again by Presidential appointment, he was named Commissioner of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in Saint Louis. But Carter was not a quitter and was returned to the Senate in 1905. In 1911, upon choosing not to run again, he was appointed by the President to be Chairman of the United States Section of the International Joint Commission which was created to prevent disputes over boundary waters of the United States and Canada.

On September 17, 1911, shortly after passing from the Washington scene, Thomas Carter passed away, leaving his wife, the former Ellen Galen, whom he had married in 1886, and two sons. He was buried from St. Paul's Cathedral in Washington.

On October 15, 1911, Carter's eulogy was delivered by

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8 Howard, op. cit., p. 68.
9 Sanders, op. cit., p. 914.
10 Biographical Directory of the American Congress, loc. cit.
11 Ibid., p. 954.
the Honorable Lee Mantle in the Helena Civic Center. In
it Mantle said:

In endeavoring to do honor to the memory of Senator Carter, it is necessary to say that which truth requires and justice demands, for in view of the magnitude of his labors and the value of his public services to both the state and nation, there is scant opportunity for exaggerating eulogy.

On February 22, 1917, Carter County was organized from parts of Fallon County. It was named in memory of Thomas H. Carter, Montana's first Representative in Con-

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12 Sanders, op. cit., pp. 912, 913.

Christopher Connolly also adds fuel to the fire in the nationwide McClure's Magazine:

Butte, Clark's home—was certain to be the host of Carter's campaign, although Carter was practically a stranger to the county.

In describing Carter, Connolly throws a little light on the campaign:
CARTER IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thomas H. Carter first entered the political scene in Montana during the election for territorial representative in 1888. It was an office that was earnestly sought by William A. Clark of Butte, a "copper king" and future enemy of Marcus Daly.

How and why Carter defeated Clark was a mystery to many but is now being unveiled. It has led to speculation that this election was the spark that set off the war of the "copper kings." (See introduction.)

Did Daly put up Carter to oppose Clark?

In 1888 a political upset of consequence took place when Thomas H. Carter, a Republican, defeated William Andrews Clark in the race for delegate. This upset, which launched the Clark-Daly feud... also launched the political career of Carter.

Christopher Connolly also adds fuel to the fire in the nation-wide McClure's Magazine:

Butte, Clark's home—even his own ward—repudiated him, his defeat was not considered for a moment. Daly's strongholds gave Carter immense majorities although Carter was practically a stranger to Daly.

In describing Carter, Connolly throws a little light on the campaign:

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A book agent at thirty, he was a lawyer and congressman at thirty-five. He beat up every brush and sounded every keynote, going from cow country to cow country, inquiring as sympathetically after the flocks and herds as a pastor after the souls of his flock.

The official returns gave Carter 22,468 votes compared to Clark's 17,360. Clark, who fervently desired this position, blamed Daly for his defeat.

According to Clark, the rival Irish mining magnate, while professing to be in accord with his candidacy and the party ticket, so directed affairs on election day that thousands of men in his mines and smelters were prevented from voting or were influenced to vote for the Republican candidate, Thomas H. Carter.

Besides Daly supporting Carter, it was suspected that timber interests from Montana also backed Carter. Butte needed timber for the smelters; this timber came from the Missoula area.

The beleaguered Montanas found themselves at odds with President Cleveland's Interior Department...they desperately needed a friend at Court. Hammon and Bonner (lumbermen) approached Daly. They convinced him that it was in his own interests to support Carter.

The majority of Montana newspapers declared that this defeat of Clark's was an injustice thrust upon him.

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The Great Falls Tribune Editorial page asked:

What was the influence brought to bear on the mill men to "induce" them to vote almost solidly for Mr. Carter? We wonder if the people in Missoula County can answer this?

It is a fact that after reaching Congress as a delegate, Carter supported legislation favoring the timber interests. But, was this wrong?

His most notable act as Delegate was that of prevailing on the Dept. of the Interior to drop indictments pending against Montana lumbermen for encroaching on the public domain in their timber cutting activities. However real the violations committed by the lumbermen may have been, Montanans regarded federal legislation bearing on timber cutting as too restrictive, and Carter was reacting to popular will as well as to mining and lumber interests when he prevailed on the Department to drop the suits.

The Butte Miner, concerning the election of 1888, said:

Mr. Clark was not defeated by Republicans. Probably at least 1,000 votes were cast against him... solely as a result of potent influences which are well understood and deeply deplored.

Clark himself did not think that Carter was implicated with Daly and his associates but thought that Daly used this election as an opportunity to have a voice in Washington. In an interview with Mr. Clark recorded

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Great Falls Tribune, November 21, 1888.

Burlingame & Toole, op. cit., p. 242.

The Butte Miner, November 14, 1888.
in the *Anaconda Standard*, it was said by Clark that he had heard rumors "that Daly intended to defeat me because he has the power to do so." Clark continued, "I am sure that Mr. Carter did not know of this." However Clark did state that Daly was "out to get him...and the next morning, the shift bosses (Daly's) were furnished posters with the name of Carter on them."

The *Anaconda Review* was shocked by Clark's defeat.

That Mr. Clark is an excellent gentleman, a skilled politician and, in the broadest sense, a formidable candidate will be everywhere admitted.  

The "war of the copper kings" had begun, but so had the political career of Carter. In 1889, the Territory of Montana became a state and as a State was allowed a Representative in the Lower House of Congress.

Carter chose to become, against the opposition of the Democratic Party's candidate, Martin Maginnis, Montana's first Representative. Carter defeated Maginnis 10,826 to 18,278.

The *Helena Journal*, in endorsing Carter, commented on the "splendid campaign carried on by these two gentlemen."

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On December 2, 1882, Carter was recognized and seated in the House, despite many rumors concerning his previous election in 1882.

On December 18, 1889, he was named Chairman of the Committee on Mines and Mining along with being named to the committees on Coins and Measurements and Post Offices and Post Roads. He was one of the few newly elected members of Congress ever to head a committee.

Jerre Murphy, a renowned foe of the "combines of Montanans," described Carter in a far different light than the company tool he was said to be.

Carter was a consummate politician, popular orator, tireless evervy, and charmer of good personality and good fellowship. Actions which involved serious menace to his party, which was his source of strength, sometimes caused him to pause or avoid proceedings sought by the corporations.

Carter's first bill was introduced on December 21, 1889; it was a bill "to sell the west portion of the Crow Indian reservation."

Carter immediately set up a friendship with Thomas Read, the Speaker of the House, who wanted to defeat Free-

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14 Congressional Record, 51st Congress, 1st Session, December 2, 1889.
15 Congressional Record, 51st Congress, 1st Session, December 18, 1889.
17 Congressional Record, 51st Congress, 1st Session, December 21, 1889.
silver. Although a silver-Republican, Carter "did not
commit political hari-kari by any votes on the silver is-
18
sue. Montana's Senator Power disliked and distrusted
Carter's alliance with Speaker Reed:
It was well understood that he (Senator Power)
was watching Tom Carter with whom he was in
constant political disagreement and who was
supposed to be seeking Power's seat—which he
later did.19

One of the first actions of several "green" Congress-
men was to form an association called the Western Congres-
sional Association. It was formed by Carter and several
other Congressmen who were the live wires of the newly
admitted States." As a new delegation they formed a
voting bloc with the admitted aims of gaining help for the
irrigation of arid land in their states. Most often, they
fought over the issue of free-silver.

Carter saw the thing was going on the rocks
and suggested that the members did not have
to agree on all subjects, but they could
come together and discuss, and if possible,
adjut differences.

With the new year just passed, Carter became an ac-
tive and prominent member of the House. On January 3, 1890,
in a speech before the Committee on Ways and Means, he
fought for a duty on incoming wool. Said Carter, "Protection
is absolutely necessary to the existence of the sheep

16
Arthur W. Dunn, From Harrison to Harding, Vol I
19
Ibid, p. 42.
20
Ibid, p. 52.
21
Ibid, p. 56.
industry." On January 13, he introduced his second bill "to dispose of Fort Ellis for educational purposes."

In February of the same year, on the sixth of the month, he introduced a bill "to grant right of way to the Duluth and Manitoba Railroads across the Fort Pembina Reservation."

On March 4, 1896, Carter was excused from duty on the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads. Why he wished to be relieved from this post is unknown. However, Carter became involved in a fight against the railroads which he reported had gobbled up over one-half of the mineral land of Montana. In a speech in the House on behalf of the protection of mineral rights, Carter said:

The committee (Mines & Mining) is of the opinion that Congress intended to preserve mineral portions of the public domain within the exterior limits of the grant to the Northern Pacific Railroad company open to the exploration and location by citizens...and that land in which valuable minerals have actually been discovered were not only reserved, but likewise all lands which were recognized as mineral-bearing lands.

As a result of this controversy, Carter introduced a bill to "investigate and determine and examine mineral

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22 Congressional Record, 51st Congress, 1st Session, January 3, 1896.
23 Congressional Record, 51st Congress, 1st Session, January 13, 1896.
24 Congressional Record, 51st Congress, 1st Session, February 3, 1896.
26 Congressional Record, 51st Congress, 1st Session, March 21, 1896.
lands."

The next notable House debate in which Carter participated was on House Bill 4653, the question of Alien Mine Owning. On April 16, 1890, Carter delivered his speech advocating the prospector's right to sell his claims wherever he can obtain the best terms. Said Carter, "Shall we allow petty provincial prejudice to limit the avenue wherein labor may be profitable employed in this country?"

In the same month of April Carter offered Amendments to two major bills. The first was an amendment to "provide more funds for land office officials;" the second was an amendment "to the land law relating to certain public lands from entry."

In May, Carter was involved in the tariff fight of 1890. On May 15, 1890, Carter delivered his famous speech in support of the proviso taxing Mexican ore, the first part of which was imprinted on his campaign ribbon in the election for Senator in 1895.

Above petition and free-trade; above party lines and geographical sections; above the fleeting excitement of this house, reigns the eternal principle of justice, in the name of which I ask pro-

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27 Congressional Record, 51st Congress, 1st Session, March 21, 1890.
28 Congressional Record, 51st Congress, 1st Session, April 16, 1890.
29 Congressional Record, 51st Congress, 1st Session, April 26, 1890.
30 Campaign ribbon found in the Carter file at the Montana State Historical Library. This ribbon contains the first paragraph of Carter's tariff speech (above). See footnote thirty-one.
tion of these petitioners who delve by day and night in the crust of the earth, mining ore for the smelter combine, whose every product you have heretofore protected.

The opposition requires us to believe that nature was careful to locate all the dry ores within the territorial limits of the United States and all the wet or lead-silver ores were dropped into the same long mountain chain at a point just south of the north boundary line of Mexico, as defined by the treaty of peace. Do you believe that nature performed this freak, or do you believe that the statement is mere makeshift used to mislead and deceive? 31

That Carter was a master of and with words is evident in this and other pieces or oratory. But his style of delivery concerning the tariff is even more colorful.

There were few dramatic scenes in connection with the tariff bill. . . Tom Carter wanted one thing in the tariff bill and he wanted it very much. That was a tariff of 330 a ton on all lead ores whether coming in with other minerals or otherwise. Leading the fight for this duty, he one day charged down the aisle into the area in front of the speaker and from one arm he flung a roll of petition up the Democratic aisle, and from the other arm a like petition on up the Republican aisle, and raising both hands aloft, he shouted, "Sixty thousand miners dwelling in the bowels of the mountains to make this nation richer and more prosperous ask for this legislation. Dare you deny them?" 32

Following Carter's speech on the tariff, he was ordered boycotted in the newspapers of the Associated Press. Carter had claimed that the press was misrepresenting the truth as William Smith (head of the Associated Press) said, "Carter's name should not be used in the papers."

31 Congressional Record, 51st Congress, 1st Session May 15, 1880.
32 Dunn, op. cit., p. 46
33 Ibid., p. 47.
Dunn advised Carter that this boycott could kill him. Carter wrote a letter of explanation and used the influence of the First Assistant postmaster General, James Clarkson, to clear up this matter with Smith.

The next debate Carter was to engage in took place the following month of June. On June 6, 1890, Carter delivered his speech in favor of full and unlimited coinage of silver.

As a nation we can no longer expand our strength and impoverish ourselves in the effort to increase the trade of India while running our government counter to natural laws and the common interests of the people. We must return to the double standard. We must restore by legislation the equilibrium we destroyed by legislation. We must open our mints to the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

On the 18th of the same month, Carter proposed an Amendment to the Indian Appropriations Bill. He attempted to increase the amount of payments to the Indians whom he felt were mistreated.

July of 1890 proved to be a trying and busy month for Carter. It was in this month that he was to clash openly with the American Protective Association, who opposed his support of Indian Schools administered by the Catholic Church, of which Carter was a member; he also

34 Dunn, ibid., p. 48.
35 Congressional Record, 51st Congress, 1st Session, June 6, 1890.
36 Congressional Record, ibid., June 18, 1890. (Also reference made to fight with American Protective Association in a letter from Carter to Father Palladino, which is found in the Appendix of Palladino’s work.)
fought in behalf of the settlers who had filed on arid lands.

His fight with the American Protective Association came on July 25, 1890, after introducing two measures:

Concerning the mission at St. Ignatius: an act of Congress by which the monthly per capita was raised to $12.50 and the number of pupils contracted increased to 300. Credit for this is given to Mr. Carter. A bill for the education and support of 100 Blackfeet Indians was introduced in the Congress by the Hon. T. H. Carter and passed the Senate by a 27-19 vote.

In writing to Father Palladino concerning this legislation Carter said, "The A.P.A. Society published a circular, violently assailing me for introducing and passing the measures. ... It was my privilege to defend the assault at the time it was made."

On that same day Carter came to the defense of western settlers. This same day he delivered his speech in advocacy of the repeal of the law withdrawing arid lands from settlement.

The present law paralyzes the energies of 3,000,000 American citizens who have become familiar by residence and by practical experience with the irrigation problems. The question presented to this House is, will you respect the rights of your fellow citizens who went upon the public domain in good faith to settle there, before the passage of this wholesale abrogation of pre-existing rights? That is the question pure and simple.

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37 Palladino, op. cit., pp. 155, 228.
38 Ibid., Letter from Carter to Palladino, found in the Appendix.
39 Congressional Record, 51st Congress, 1st Session, July 25, 1890.
Carter's last piece of legislation in the First Session of the 51st Congress was a bill "to dispose of Fort Marinnis for educational purposes."

Carter's work in the Second Session was not as colorful as his work during the First Session. On December 5, 1890, he introduced an amendment to a bill "to provide arms for Montana citizens for defense against Indians."

His most notable bills in the Second Session were first: a bill "for the territorial government of Alaska to be established;" the second was a bill "to ratify an honorable treaty with the Crow Indians."

He was also named to a committee indorsed by a Republican caucus to investigate and commend "the principle of Federal control of elections." This came about from charges that Negroes were being deprived of the franchise in several Southern states.

In his bid for re-election Carter was defeated. In offering an explanation for Carter's loss, Dunn says:

He really didn't want to be a candidate but was forced to run; he wanted to retire and attempt to attend to his law business, and was glad, that he would not have to serve another term.

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40 Congressional Record, 51st Congress, 1st Session, September 27, 1890.
41 Congressional Record, 51st Congress, 2nd Session, December 5, 1890.
42 Congressional Record, ibid., January 13, 1891.
43 Ibid., January 24, 1891.
44 Dunn, op. cit., p. 60.
Although Carter lost in his bid for re-election, his energy and political acumen had caught the eye of top-ranking Republican officials including President Harrison himself. From this defeat, Carter rose in nation-wide political circles to become an outstanding figure and leading citizen and later, United States Senator from Montana. His rise to prominence in national politics will be seen in the following chapter.

In this position it was claimed that Carter worked against the best interests of Montana. It was during this term of office that Carter was to begin his feud with George Patrick Ahern.

Carter disliked Ahern because of his systematic forestry plan of conservation. Carter favored the mining and timber interests in all his dealings and became a particular thorn in the side of Ahern and other disciples of forestry. After he became United States Senator he blocked the full usefulness in Montana of Ahern who had underestimated his too much.

In 1899, Ahern’s appointment as Superintendent of Yellowstone National Park was blocked by Senator Carter.

1892 was an election year and it appeared that former President Grover Cleveland was going to get the Democratic bid. In a political move Carter was said “maneuver of forces favorable to the renomination of General Harrison.”

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1 Biographical Directory of the American Forester, 1891, p. 54.
In March of 1891 President Harrison named Carter commissioner of the General Land Office, a position which he held until July of 1892. In this position it was claimed that Carter worked against the best interests of Montana. It was during this term of office that Carter was to begin his feud with George Patrick Ahern.

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1 Biographical Directory of the American Congress, op. cit., p. 954.


3 Joaquin Miller, An Illustrated History of the State of Montana (Chicago, 1894), p. 131.
Following this, Carter was made Chairman of the Republican National Committee. Carter set a precedent by being the first man to be named Chairman without being previously, a member of the National Committee. Carter had made such "a successful manager that he was asked to take charge of the presidential campaign as secretary." The following results are considered by many as a political feat second to none.

Before Carter took charge at Minneapolis he had a conference with the President. In his suave, convincing manner he told Harrison that he would accept the responsibility if he could have with him an older man of experience and standing, and suggested Phileetus Sawyer.

Carter engineered a move at that convention which I never saw equaled but once. He rounded up in a hall the entire Harrison strength, a majority of the convention. Harrison was nominated on the 1st ballot. 6

This account of the Minneapolis convention is given by Mr. C. O. Stealy in his memoirs, Twenty Years in the Press Gallery:

At Minneapolis, Carter performed one of those bold strokes in politics which mark the man of genius. Much was said in the way of claims for Blaine and there was some talk for McKinley, but the count of delegates by the Harrison managers showed they had a majority. Carter decided to make their pledges effective and a meeting of the Harrison delegates was called. . . . their names were read and each man was compelled to stand up and declare for Harrison. When the results were announced everybody was aware that the noise for

5 Dunn, op. cit., p. 98.
6 Ibid., pp. 91, 92.
Blaine was all that was left.7

The Democratic Party charged that the Republican members of the Congressional Naval Committee had received contributions accounting to $400,000 from a certain manufacturer. It was alleged that this contributor would be given prime government contracts. Carter as chairman vigorously denied these charges.

The Searchlight, an independent Helena newspaper, charged that "while holding the chairmanship, huge contributions of money to the national convention were unaccounted for." Upon investigation, it seems that the paper was nothing but a radical release intended to smear Carter for it offered no proof of its charges.

Cleveland won the election. "Carter did the best he could, but no one could have won the campaign." But it seems Carter was thinking ahead to the coming presidential election of 1886. "...to get McKinley in in 1896 Carter made his conscious on the Harrison stump of McKinley to President, aided and assisted across the country." the venerable Mark Hanna, of Ohio, our venerable brothers were invited to return without asking, the figures west of the Mississippi

In 1886 Carter had been elected Senator (see follow-

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9 The Searchlight, November 5, 1904.
10 Dunn, op. cit., p. 36.
ing chapter) but was still a mainstay in the Republican National Circles. However, a split had occurred in the Republican Party over the silver issue.

Political dynamite for the Republican Party... was inherent in the issues that were before the nation in the election of 1896. Silver production was going strong. The issuance of free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16-1, backed by the eloquence of Bryan... drew many staunch Montana Republicans away from the fold and caused them to join with the "Silver Republicans."

Carter was a "silver Republican" and "fought Reed and his friends over the money plank." At the convention a large delegation of "silver Republicans" bolted the party. Carter did not. "Many asserted that because he had been Chairman of the National Committee, he was therefore catering to the gold element in the party."

In nominating Senator Fairbanks as running mate for Theodore Roosevelt in 1904, Carter held out a plea for the renegades to return.

Under the kind, considerate and wise management of William McKinley as President, aided and assisted by the venerated Mark Hanna, of Ohio, our wandering brothers were invited to return without humiliating conditions... With Roosevelt and Fairbanks, the states west of the Mississippi will, without exception, return to their Republican alliance."

Donnelly, op. cit., pp. 216, 217.
Dunn, op. cit., p. 179.
Ibid., p. 154.
Henry Kneegsberg, Addresses at the Republican National Convention, 1904 (New York: Blanchard Co., 1904), p. 188.
In 1897, Carter was appointed to a committee announced by John Sherman, President of the Republican caucus to:

devise proper means for keeping the pledge of the National platform and establishing international bi-metallism in concurrence with other nations. 16

Thomas Carter had gained prestige and respect as a politician on the national level. He had been a "voice from Montana" and this activity in national politics was to catapult him into the job of Montana's Senator in 1895.

CARTER IN THE SENATE

Returning from a successful venture into national politics, Carter returned to Montana to become its Senator in 1894. However, according to the records, it was not an easy victory. It took the state legislature "three caucuses and twenty ballots to elect him."

Senator Carter served his first term from March 4, 1895 until March 3, 1901. His second term, after being defeated for re-election in 1901, was from March 4, 1905 until March 3, 1911.

However, it was not until December 2, 1895, that Carter was recognized and seated in the Senate. On December 30, 1895, he was appointed to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, Conferences, and the Committee on Public Lands.

Carter's friend Dunn was amazed by his election.

"The A.P.A. (see para 3) was a power in politics at the time, and it is surprising that Carter, a Catholic, was al-

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3 Biographical Directory of the American Congress (n p. 354.
4 Congressional Record, 54th Congress, 1st Session, December 2, 1895.
5 Ibid., December 30, 1895.
Carter's first bill as a Senator was legislation "to grant land for an Industrial school for Indian children from Fort Keogh."

It was sensed in the Senate, that although Carter had not bolted the Republican Convention, he was still a "silver man;" it was not definitely known.

Not long after entering the Senate, Carter found it necessary to make a silver speech. Many thought he was catering to the gold element in the Party. Carter's position assured him a good audience and his speech represented the sentiment in his state. 8

So, on February 26, 1896, Carter delivered his speech on bi-metallism, a speech that was to make enemies for Carter.

The Republicans of the East cannot maintain this position of total opposition to legislation in behalf of silver without openly, clearly, and distinctly proclaiming that the plank of the Party platform relating to silver and gold was in their view, a fraud, a delusion, and a snare. He who follows the President (McKinley) antagonizes the principles and purposes of the Republican Party. 9

This speech left no doubts in anyone's mind as to Carter's position. Aldrich of Rhode Island tried to ruin Carter, but Dunn killed this attempt. He pointed out the speech was given to keep Carter's grip on Montana. In after years, Carter and Aldrich worked in close alliance and

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6 Dunn, op. cit., p. 92
7 Congressional Record, 54th Congress, 1st Session, January 3, 1896.
8 Congressional Record, 54th Congress, 1st Session, February 26, 1896.
9 Dunn, op. cit., p. 154.
were mutually helpful. They became close friends and later
companions. To further point out where he stood,
Carter, who was still national chairman in 1896, openly
voted against the gold platform.

During the month of March, Carter introduced a bill
"to give a land grant of 50,000 acres of land for a blind
asylum." This apparently was one of the few bills intro-
duced by Carter that was defeated along with a bill pro-
posed in February to "admit Arizona as a state."

In May, Carter introduced legislation to build site-
Baronett's Bridge and Mammoth Hot Springs Lodge in Yellow-
stone Park—which are still used and visited.

Carter did not enter any vigorous debates until the
Second Session of the 54th Congress; the fight was over free
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His opponent defended the high prices by saying, "Louisiana
was purchased for public defense, and Jefferson never sup-
posed, nobody supposed, that it was bought for the purpose

10 Dunn, op. cit., p. 155.
11 O. C. Stealy, op. cit., p. 252.
12 Congressional Record, 54th Congress, 1st Session,
March 23, 1896.
13 Congressional Record, 54th Congress, 1st Session,
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14 Congressional Record, 54th Congress, 1st Session,
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12 Congressional Record, 54th Congress, 1st Session, March 23, 1896.
13 Congressional Record, 54th Congress, 1st Session, February 12, 1896.
14 Congressional Record, 54th Congress, 1st Session, January 7, 1897.
of settling on it." Carter was to be the victor.

Following this debate, Carter introduced successful legislation "to provide relief of citizens under homestead laws."

In the following three days, Carter was to introduce important legislation and become involved in a fierce debate over immigration laws. On February 2, 1897, he proposed a bill "to issue stock if the Harriett Canal Co. of Nicaragua proved successful." On February 4, Carter was involved in fighting against what he thought as "unfair immigration laws." But the bigotry towards foreigners prevailed and the bill was passed.

In 1897, Carter was appointed to a special committee by John Sherman, president of a special caucus to:

- devise proper means for keeping the pledge of the National Platform and establishing international bi-metallism in concurrence with other nations.

In 1899, Carter once again was involved in a strange controversy centered around his state of Montana. In 1896, the man whose defeat had started Carter's political career, was once again determined to become a Congressman, by hook or by crook. The man was William Andrews Clark.

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15 Congressional Record, 54th Congress, 2nd Session, January 7, 1897.
16 Congressional Record, 54th Congress, 2nd Session, February 1, 1897.
17 Congressional Record, 54th Congress, 2nd Session, February 2, 1897.
18 Congressional Record, 54th Congress, 2nd Session, February 4, 1897.
19 Hoar, op. cit., p. 251.
On December 4, 1930, Senator Thomas H. Carter of Montana presented in the United States Senate, memorials against the holding of Clark's seat, and petitioning the Senate to investigate his election and declare it void.

This subsequent investigation was to lead to the discreditation of Clark, the loss of his Congressional seat, and the Seventeenth Amendment, the "Montana Amendment."

Carter was to gain his greatest prominence in the Senate as a fighter during the 56th Congress. His oratory was used to oppose such differing things as the proposed government for the Philippine Islands, the River and Harbor Appropriations Bill and forest reserves.

Through January 4th to the 10th, Carter attacked the type of government proposed for the Philippine Islands. His argument was that these people were not ready for our type of government. These people were of such an entirely different racial and cultural background, we could not force our governmental system on them. Much of Carter's documentation was based on letters from his friend, Henry C. Corbin, who was serving with the Army in the Philippines.

In a letter to Carter, a few years after the fight in the Senate, Corbin praised him for his stand, describing in much detail the culture of the Moros, whom the army was at this time fighting. His picture of the Philippine culture pointed out clearly that we could not force our cul-

21 Congressional Record, 56th Congress, 1st Session, January 4-10, 1931.
ture on them and be successful.

To insert a bit of humor into Carter's career, we look to a bill introduced by Carter in 1899 and not passed until January 21, 1901. It was a bill "to retire Middleton V.D. Johnson from the Army, honorably, without the attached letters of V.D."

On February 27, 1901, Carter introduced an amendment to the Medal of Honor bill concerning the Spanish American War, so that certain Marines in the Philippine Islands would also be included for nomination.

Carter's biggest fight in the 56th Congress came over the famous River and Harbor Appropriations Bill. Carter fought this bill tooth and nail, practically alone, and killed it.

His brilliant and long sustained efforts on opposition to the passage of the river and harbor bill at the close of the 56th Congress will be remembered in the annals of our political history.

It is an undoubted fact, that the defeat of this extravagant measure, fostered by corporate greed, was due to him.

The bill had passed its primary stages and was pending in the Senate. Carter planned to filibuster the bill.

22 Correspondence from Corbin, HQ, Philippine Division, Manila, March 30, 1903. (Corbin and Carter wrote frequently and their letters are on file at the State Historical Library.)
23 Congressional Record, 56th Congress, 1st Session, January 21, 1901.
24 Ibid., February 27, 1901.
25 Ibid., February 27, 1901.
saying, "This bill cannot become a law unless my strength falls between this time and twelve o'clock on the 4th of March." Upon checking the Congressional Records for Carter's speech, I found that in length it took up twenty-six pages of printed oratory.

Of Carter's Filibuster, Stealy says:

Carter's idea in defeating the bill was to emphasize the fact that the Mountain States had been for years asking for appropriations for irrigating their arid lands and had never received any recognition, and it was a notice to the more favored states that the arid country meant business.

Carter's last big fight came over the question of the use of forest reserves, especially by cattle owners. Carter fought openly with several eastern Senators. One of the latter said that there was not enough land in the public domain to allow cattle to graze on it. Carter replied by pointing out that the Lewis and Clark forest reserve in Montana was twice as large as this eastern Senator's state and that the availability of land in Montana for grazing was not a problem.

Once again, in 1901, Carter was defeated in his bid for re-election to Congress, this time by Mr. Paris Gibson of Great Falls.

But once again, as in his previous defeat, Carter

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26 Stealy, op. cit., p. 254.
27 Ibid., p. 255.
28 Congressional Record, 56th Congress, 1st Session, March 1, 1901.
29 Montana Almanac, op. cit., p. 145.
was not allowed to retire from the public limelight. After this defeat, he was called upon by President Theodore Roosevelt to be the Commissioner of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. However, during this four-year period, Carter was formulating plans to regain a Senate seat with the coming election in 1898. As Commissioner of this Exposition, Carter proved to be worthy of Roosevelt's nomination. Once again, calling on his oratorical ability, Carter delivered the opening Address at the Dedication ceremony, April 30, 1903.

One hundred years ago today, the Government of the United States acquired sovereignty over the vast territory west of the Mississippi, known to the geographical nomenclature of the world as the "Louisiana Purchase." Beyond the rivers, the boundaries and the resources of the territory were ill-defined, and but vaguely comprehended. The purchase price of $15,000,000 was pronounced exorbitant—the free navigation of the Mississippi being the only part of the property deemed worth serious consideration. The transaction was considered by some as a violation of the Constitution and a menace to our form of government. The grave doubts of President Jefferson were only resolved into action by his patriotic desire for the national supremacy over the river, and his prophetic faith in the possibilities of the mysterious country beyond it. The revolutions of a century most justly justified his faith.

Many charged that Carter had been a lame-duck appointee, citied by Roosevelt. However, a public repudiation of this charge appeared in the April 20, 1901, edition of the Montana Standard, shortly after the announcement of Carter's appointment in the same year. It was written by J. D. Easter and reads in part:

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30 Murphy, op. cit., p. 142.
31 Sanders, op. cit., p. 215.
32 The Treasure, November 5, 1904.
And along with his arduous toil, Mister Carter was an indefatigable student. ... I do not know of a single instance where he has wronged any man.  

However, during this four year period, Carter was formulating plans to regain a Senate seat with the coming election in 1904.

Jerre Murphy in commenting on the election says:

The man, whose suave manner and subtle ways in harmonizing differences earned him the distinction as "Bishop of the Flock" of standpatters in the United States Senate in insurgent times, was not a victim to blind obedience to anybody's orders. ... Amalgamated was informed that the refusal to impeach a Heinze judge was attributable to the decision of a secret conference between Mr. Carter and other republican (sic) leaders. The combine interests had determined that he (Carter) would serve best in private life.

This was to be the beginning of one of the most vicious smear campaigns in any Montana election. Leading this attack was an independent Helena newspaper, the Searchlight. Notable on the front page is a cartoon of Carter with dollar signs in his eyes. It made many charges of scandal, graft, and immorality on Carter's part.

A vote for the Republican legislature ticket is a vote for T. H. Carter for the Senate. As a delegate to Congress... there was scandal arising from his actions favoring railroad corporations and other corporate, timber, lumber and copper interests.

The paper compared Carter and his associates to

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32 Montana Standard, April 28, 1901.
33 Murphy, op. cit., p. 142.
34 The Searchlight, November 5, 1904.
"specimen of a political Sicilian Mafia."

But Carter was to win:

In the legislative assembly of 1905, ... the Republicans returned Thomas M. Carter to the United States Senate to succeed Senator Paris Gibson. The anti-Carter forces prevented a Republican censure, so the contest was fought in open session. Carter lead at all times in numbers of adherents, starting on the first day with thirty votes, on the sixth getting fifty-two which elected him. 36

However, Carter's election had not gone without ill-feeling on the part of the Montana combines.

The following three years, an armed neutrality was maintained between Senator Carter and the combines were the understanding, ... that Mr. Carter had some punishment coming as soon as the combine managers could find ability and opportunity to inflict it. 37

Carter immediately joined forces with a group of western Senators to attack Roosevelt's policy on public lands. But Carter's close friends talked him out of it. In order to offset and kill a rumor that the Republican Party was being split, Carter defended Mr. Roosevelt against Senators Bailey of Texas and Raynor of Maryland, the latters having attacked the Allison Railroad Bill.

Of Bailey and Raynor Carter said:

The statesmen of the country (ironic designation of Bailey and Raynor) have been somewhat delayed in assailing the majestic and supposedly invincible railroad power. No one familiar with Pres-

35 Ibid.
36 Sanders, ibid., p. 427.
37 Murphy, ibid., p. 143.
38 Dunn, Vol. II, ibid., p. 32.
ident. Roosevelt's record upon this railroad legislation can justly charge him with either cowardice or shiftiness. 35

Many charged this speech was just to cover up the party split. In answering their attack Carter said:

The fact that we got together is due to a certain, clearly defined principle. The people who believe in doing things, who believe in reconciling differences, who believe in results, are on this side of the chamber. 40

In the 59th Congress Carter introduced several noteworthy bills. On December 14, 1905, he introduced a bill "to amend the Constitution of the United States relative to uniform marriage and divorce laws." On January 14, 1906, he openly advocated a lock-style canal across Panama.

On December 11, 1907, Carter introduced the bill which established Glacier National Park. On January 7, 1908, he introduced a bill "to purchase machinery, tools, implements and animals for the Indians on the Fort Belknap Reservation." On March 21, 1908, a bill was put forth by Carter "to investigate the causes of mining accidents

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40 Ibid.

41 Congressional Record, 59th Congress, 1st Session, December 14, 1905.

42 Ibid., April 17, 1906.

43 Ibid., January 14, 1906.

44 Congressional Record, 60th Congress, 1st Session, December 11, 1907.

not only in the territories, but in all the states." On April 7, 1908, Carter introduced a bill "to grant land for the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament for Indians and Colored people."

In his second term as Senator, Carter's two most notable speeches were on land patents and postal savings. Carter, in making his speech on land patents, was mad. He pointed out that 125,000 American citizens had migrated into Canada because of dishonest land officials. Commenting on this situation Carter said:

It may be inquired why we bring this matter into the Senate? Because an appropriation of $500,000 is called for to aid in carrying forward an insidious policy, not supported by any facts, based only on suspicions, and that suspicion without foundation. I do not wish to see the legislative department of the government tainted with any kind of participation in the wholesale questioning of the integrity and veracity of the people living beyond the Mississippi.

On May 7, 1908, Carter introduced his plan to establish a postal savings bank. The plan called for a $1,000 limit, with 2% per annum, the money of which was non-taxable and non-seizeable. Of the plan Carter said:

The postal savings system has furnished financial ballast for every country in which it has been adopted, and in my humble opinion it would do infinitely more to stay the return of panic and give

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46 Ibid., April 7, 1908.
47 Congressional Record, 59th Congress, 2nd Session, January 30, 1907.
stability to the finance of this country.

While in the Senate, Carter found the time to help construct Saint Helene's Cathedral in the capital city. "The Advisory Board and Building Committee contained one actual United States Senator, the Hon. Thomas H. Carter."

Carter also found the time of June 17, 1907, to deliver the dedication speech of the new Cathedral.

This is an occasion in which every citizen is concerned because we place an important milestone in Montana's history. It signals the development of the state on the basis of Christianity. The good fathers came here first, and found and ministered to the Indians; then they ministered to the nomadic miners, then to the settled communities; today we have taken part in the ceremonies which have witnessed the laying of the cornerstone, a visible evidence and a significant one, of the growth of the state in that which is preferred to riches.

In 1910, following his political pattern, Carter was defeated in his bid to return to the Congress. He was defeated by the periodicals, newspapers, the copper magnates who were still mad since the election of 1905, and finally, his dealings with big business.

It was a bitter and hard fought campaign with a great deal of "bud-slinging" directed towards Carter. The Helena Independent featured headlines of this type, "SENATOR CARTER AND THE LOOTING OF MONTANA." The following by-line

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Congressional Record, 60th Congress, 1st Session, May 7, 1908.


Ibid., p. 41.

The Helena Independent, October 9, 1910.
read, "thrilling narrative of highhanded judicial infamy—the Senior Senator from Montana and the part he played."

The editor of the Independent said:

This is but a part of the record of Senator Thomas Carter. It shows in unimpeachable statements just the kind of man he is. It holds him up in the light of shame and infamy.

Carter's opponent, Mr. T. J. Walsh, felt that "Carter had voted consistently against every reform demanded by the people." Thus it was, that T. J. Walsh was Carter's leading opponent, but neither of them was sent to the Senate in 1910.

Corporations backed Carter against Walsh. Carter men controlled the legislature but Carter lost the election. The Senate vote in the Legislature was deadlocked by the refusal of ten Democrats was broken by corporation support of Henry L. Meyers.

Following the pattern of events characteristic in his political life, Carter was once again called upon by the President to perform public service. In 1911, he was named Chairman of an International Joint Commission composed of the countries of Canada and the United States to settle disputes over the natural water boundaries between the two countries.

52 Ibid.
53 Ibid.
54 Toole, Montana, An Uncommon Land, op. cit., p. 213.
55 Murphy, op. cit., p. 150.
56 Sanders, op. cit., p. 215.
Carter was not to know that this would be his last service to his country. On September 17, 1911, Thomas H. Carter died in Washington, D.C. His funeral was held in Saint Paul's Cathedral in Washington with the Apostolic Delegate, Diomede Falconic, giving the final absolution. On October 15, 1911, the Honorable Lee Nantie delivered Carter's eulogy in the Helena Civic Center.

In endeavoring to do honor to the memory of Senator Carter, it is only necessary to say what truth requires and justice demands, for in view of the magnitude of his labors and the value of his public services to both the state and nation, there is scant opportunity for exaggerated eulogy.

There is, indeed, much more likelihood of failing to do full justice to a character so strong and well poised, to a record so replete with achievements, and to a life filled with usefulness and high promise.

He was an ardent believer in the faith and tenants of the Republican Party, proud of its history and a devout worshipper at the shrine of its patron saint, Abraham Lincoln, for whom his reverence and admiration knew no bounds.


Sanders, op. cit., pp. 912, 913.
CONCLUSION

When I first started this thesis, I had but one opinion of Thomas Carter—that of a crooked politician and a tool of the copper magnates, a man who could not think for himself. If he could think for himself, he spoke only when the bosses did.

However, my conclusions regarding Carter are of an entirely different type of man. First, he openly fought with the copper magnates and even went so far as to refuse to grant key jobs to men designated by the company. Jerre Murphy, in his critical book on the "subjugation of Montana" by the copper companies, points out that although Carter was influenced by these magnates, he was not entirely subject to their wishes. Murphy has described Carter as a tireless, honest politician not subject to the whims of others.

As a Catholic, Carter risked political ruin by openly fighting with the American Protective Association, commonly known as the A.P.A., in attempting to pass legislation to help the Jesuits educate Montana Indians. He professed his religion openly and was not ashamed of it. He introduced many bills to help numerous minority groups.

Several Presidents and very high officials held Carter in high esteem and respect because of his ability as
an organizer and because of his ability as a skilled politician. He was respected by his fellow Senators, his friends and even his enemies.

E. Ross Toole, in criticizing Carter, seems to base the entirety of his argumentation on certain papers run by anti-Carter forces in order to smear Carter in the elections of 1888, 1904, and 1910.

My final conclusion is that Carter did have the copper interests at heart in order to better Montana and its main industry—mining. That Carter did a commendable job; that he possessed political courage and religious conviction is clear from the evidence presented.
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