



Cornelius Hedges : uncommon hero of the common life
by Thomas Edward White

A thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE in APPLIED SCIENCE

Montana State University

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Abstract:

Only recently has the history of cultural development in Montana begun receiving adequate attention. Cornelius Hedges exerted a major influence on the cultural, social, moral, intellectual, aesthetic, and religious development of early Montana.

Several factors were influential in causing Mr. Hedges to contribute so liberally and integrally to Montana's cultural development. These factors were: (1) his abiding faith in the essential goodness of man-kind, (2) his multifarious interests and avenues of activity, (3) his dedication to the improvement of Montana and the world about him, and (4) perhaps most important, his moral beliefs which were supported by ideas of charity and brotherly love.

One of the major primary tools used in this thesis was Mr. Hedges' voluminous journals. These journals, which he kept from the time he entered Yale College in 184-9 to his death in Helena in 1907 with some omissions, have never previously been extensively used to study the personality of Mr. Hedges.

The major contributions which Cornelius Hedges made to Montana and our Nation are those which have stood the tests of time and can now be considered living memorials to this early Montana pioneer. Mr. Hedges was significantly involved in movements responsible for the National Park system, the development of an adequate system of Territorial public schools in Montana, the Helena Public Library, the Montana Masonic Home, and the development of Freemasonry as a cohesive element in Montana society.

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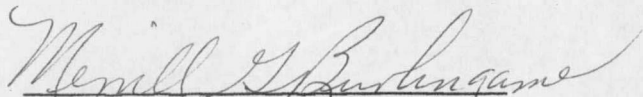
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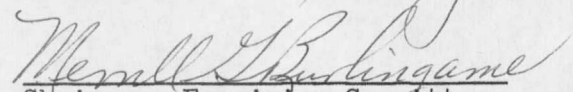
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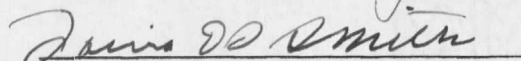
in

APPLIED SCIENCE

Approved:


Head, Major Department


Chairman, Examining Committee


Dean, Graduate Division

MONTANA STATE COLLEGE
Bozeman, Montana

August, 1963

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is with distinct pleasure that I acknowledge the aid and assistance rendered to me by so many people in the research and writing of this paper. Miss Mary K. Dempsey, Librarian, and Mrs. Harriette Melloy, Assistant Librarian, at the Montana Historical Society Library in Helena, were of invaluable help in locating manuscript material among their collections and most generous in the courtesies they extended.

To Robert E. Miller of Helena, I am indebted for suggesting the investigation of the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Montana, Ancient Free and Accepted Masons for 1866 to 1907. Walter M. Adams, Secretary of Livingston Lodge #32, A.F. & A.M., kindly consented to let me use the set of the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Montana, A.F. & A.M., belonging to Livingston Lodge #32.

Byron L. Gaither, Grand Secretary of Montana Grand Lodge, A.F. & A.M., Lyman B. Smith, Assistant Grand Secretary, and their staff at the Montana Grand Lodge Library and Archives in Helena were most kind in making available to me their archival materials and historical collections.

My thanks are also extended to Edwin Grafton of Helena, Sovereign Grand Inspector General of the Scottish Rite for Montana, and Dr. Claud F. Young of Washington, D.C., Grand Secretary General of the Scottish Rite, for assistance in answering problems concerning Mr. Hedges' Scottish Rite record.

Mrs. Paul Brazier of Helena extended kind help concerning her Grandfather's Journals and private papers. And Mrs. John G. Brown warrants my appreciation for her gracious assistance in helping me obtain

microfilmed copies of the Hedges' Journals from Yale University Library.

My major advisor and personal friend, Dr. Merrill G. Burlingame, has supplied endless help in making essential contacts, locating useful materials and documents, and furnishing many helpful suggestions.

From the time of my early youth, friends, associates, and colleagues who are National Park Service personnel have succeeded in instilling in me the philosophy and idealism of that great branch of our government which preserves the nation's natural and historical heritage. The same National Park idea and philosophy which had its origins with Cornelius Hedges in 1870. To those National Park Service personnel and their families I will forever be indebted.

Finally, and perhaps most essential, gratitude is due my parents, Mr. and Mrs. J. Henry White, for providing a Masonic and Christian home atmosphere which has enabled me to more fully appreciate the great moral, social, and religious principles that were so eminently displayed in the daily life of Cornelius Hedges.

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ABSTRACT

Only recently has the history of cultural development in Montana begun receiving adequate attention. Cornelius Hedges exerted a major influence on the cultural, social, moral, intellectual, aesthetic, and religious development of early Montana.

Several factors were influential in causing Mr. Hedges to contribute so liberally and integrally to Montana's cultural development. These factors were: (1) his abiding faith in the essential goodness of mankind, (2) his multifarious interests and avenues of activity, (3) his dedication to the improvement of Montana and the world about him, and (4) perhaps most important, his moral beliefs which were supported by ideas of charity and brotherly love.

One of the major primary tools used in this thesis was Mr. Hedges' voluminous journals. These journals, which he kept from the time he entered Yale College in 1849 to his death in Helena in 1907 with some omissions, have never previously been extensively used to study the personality of Mr. Hedges.

The major contributions which Cornelius Hedges made to Montana and our Nation are those which have stood the tests of time and can now be considered living memorials to this early Montana pioneer. Mr. Hedges was significantly involved in movements responsible for the National Park system, the development of an adequate system of Territorial public schools in Montana, the Helena Public Library, the Montana Masonic Home, and the development of Freemasonry as a cohesive element in Montana society.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The historian Thomas Carlyle once said in his treatise On History that "History is the essence of innumerable biographies". Montana's history can perhaps be well examined in that manner. The personalities of Nathaniel P. Langford, Wilbur F. Sanders, Conrad Kohrs, W.W. ("Brother Van") Van Orsdel, Granville Stuart, Joseph K. Toole, and Samuel T. Hauser are representative of those who contributed much to the early years of Montana's growth. The names of Conrad Kohrs, Nelson Story, and Granville Stuart are prominent important figures in the cattle industry. Samuel T. Hauser and C.A. Broadwater have left their marks on our state's history because of their banking and numerous other business interests. Marcus Daly, William A. Clark, F. Augustus Heinze, and Tommy Cruse are well-known in mining developments. William Clagett, Martin McGinnis, Benjamin F. Potts, Joseph K. Toole, Wilbur F. Sanders, and Thomas J. Walsh have been rightly recognized for their contributions to Montana through the media of politics. However, there is one important phase of the development of our Treasure State which has somewhat regrettably been neglected. That aspect is its cultural and non-material growth, with all its facets -- social, moral, intellectual, educational, aesthetic, and religious. To me, one personality shines most brightly in this composite field -- Cornelius Hedges.

Although the motivation of the magnates of cattle, banking, business, mining, and politics was largely the material gain and emolument, the motivation of Cornelius Hedges was his dedication to promote a better place to live in a not so perfect world.

Because of his abiding faith in the essential goodness of his

fellow men, his moral beliefs which governed his daily life, his multifarious interests and avenues of activity, and his dedication to the improvement of Montana and the world around him, Cornelius Hedges was one of the prime forces responsible for the cultural, social, moral, intellectual, aesthetic, and religious development of Montana in her formative years.

It is my purpose in this thesis to show the many facets of Cornelius Hedges' character and personality which fit so well into a harmonious whole. A character which can most succinctly be described in his own words, taken from his Address as Grand Master of Montana Masons in 1871:

Good men and true are best seen and known in times of trial and difficulty. While fair weather adventurers break, fall and disappear, men of character and moral strength, the genuine heroes of common life, loom up with grander and firmer front, like firm-set rocks in an ocean storm.¹

It would be quite misleading to represent Hedges' character as absolutely impeccable. However, the flaws in the character of this man are certainly secondary to his significant contributions to the total development of Montana.

In the remainder of the paper I will first include a biographical sketch to familiarize the reader with his life. Next, I will discuss the motivating forces of his dynamic character, which were largely based on his Masonic ideas of total charity. And finally, I will discuss some of the manifestations of his moral character and ideas, and his multifarious

1. Reprint of the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of Montana, 1866-1872 (Helena, 1876), pp. 210-211.
(This source will hereinafter be referred to as "Reprint Proceedings.")

interests. These detailed manifestations discussing the most important aspects of Hedges' life will show his major contributions to Montana, along with the necessary material endeavors for a comfortable existence for himself and his family. The following topics will be considered in detail: economic ventures for support of himself and his family, the National Park idea, education, the Helena Public Library, literary ability, his love of books and knowledge, Masonic activities and writings, and religion.

Chapter II

CORNELIUS HEDGES -- A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

In order to familiarize the reader with the life of this outstanding Montana Pioneer, the following chapter is included. Knowledge of his life will help in appreciating his philosophy on life and place in proper context the chapter discussing detailed information.

Childhood, Youth, and Early Manhood, 1831-1863

Cornelius Hedges was born on October 28, 1831, at Westfield, Massachusetts, in the Connecticut River valley near Springfield. His parents, Dennis and Alvena Noble Hedges, were both of sturdy Puritan stock that had originally settled the Connecticut valley in the mid-Seventeenth Century. During his boyhood and adolescent years, as in later years, he was more fond of reading, studying and learning than of exerting himself or manual labor. Thus he was not inclined to learn farming and blacksmithing, the trades and occupations of his father. He was educated in the public schools and the local "academy" in his home town of Westfield.²

After completing work in the "academy," Cornelius journeyed down river in the Connecticut valley to enroll in Yale College at New Haven, Connecticut, in the fall of 1849.³ His first year of college was interrupted by an acute illness caused by drinking poisoned milk. Because of this, he not only lost a semester term, but he felt some effects of this weakened condition for the next 12 to 14 years.⁴

2. Wyllys A. Hedges, "Cornelius Hedges," Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana, Vol. VII, pp. 181-182. (This source will hereinafter be referred to as "Contributions.")

3. Ibid., p. 182.

4. Progressive Men of the State of Montana (Chicago: A.W. Bowen & Co., n.d., but ca. 1901), p. 1. (This source will hereinafter be referred to as "Progressive Men.")

His college days were marked by the painful processes of trial-and-error. His journal shows that he was extremely sensitive to success and failure, and in the process very self-critical and demanding of himself. His thoughts and emotions are well expressed in this excerpt of his journal entry for October 31, 1851:

I am now in my twentieth year & my parents who have been so long looking for some display of my abilities will yet be disappointed. Would I wish to graduate as I am, would I want to go forth into life as I graduate & continue in the same course until -- No! answers something from within by no means. All this results by misguided zeal. I never shall be free from failures till I adopt reason as the guide of my actions & labour with reason in view - Reason I will try to pursue, till I find her developed into my life -- As much as I can do I will aim to follow the bounds that nature has set . . . & when I have come to these limits I will go beyond -- But for me thinking as I do sometimes that I can do any thing & know any thing, it is all foolish. There is no soundness or sense in such thoughts and yet it is with such that much of my time & strength is employed --⁵

During his collegiate years, Hedges used his journals as instruments of self-evaluation,⁶ and his entries were much more voluminous than in later years.

Along with the serious side of gaining a college education, his routine also included the lighter side of life. Hedges was a very active member of Delta Kappa Epsilon fraternity at Yale.⁷ To Cornelius, like any male matriculant of the Twentieth Century, the fairer sex was a

5. Journals of Cornelius Hedges, October 31, 1851. Hedges kept a journal for most of his life after entering Yale. Significant periods of omission are from mid-1860 to February 21, 1863, and from January, 1894 to August 22, 1906. The original journals are in the possession of his granddaughter, Mrs. Paul Brazier of Helena. A three-roll microfilmed positive copy of most of the journals is in Yale University Library. (These will hereinafter be cited as "Journals.")

6. See Journals, for November 15, 1851.

7. See Journals, November 7, 1851. Also, I believe Mrs. Brazier has his fraternity pin among her mementos.

distracting attraction. On November 5, 1851, he related one such distraction:

I returned with Carie & Augustus' wife to their home, there I fell in with Miss Sheldon & was prevailed upon to stay for tea in spite of prayers -- Oh! who can stand before woman's solicitations, her words are logic of the heart and cannot be refuted - suffice it to say I fell victimized before them & remained conversing till half-past six, returned & got out my Tacitus ...⁸

He also met another young lady, a student at York Ladies' Seminary in New Haven, who was to play a much greater role in his life than the charming Miss Sheldon. The young lady was Edna Layette Smith, his future bride.⁹

As his college days neared completion, Hedges' views became more stabilized and mature. But his journal entries for the remainder of his life show decisively that he did not leave his self-criticism and impatience with himself behind when he received his Bachelor of Arts degree from Yale in 1853. Usually he had boundless patience while dealing with others, but he was not so lenient with himself. Cornelius Hedges was not the only member of Yale's Class of 1853 who left a distinct impression on our country, his famous classmates included Andrew D. White, Cornell's famous president, U.S. Supreme Court Justice George H. Shiras, and U.S. Attorney General Wayne MacVeagh of President Garfield's cabinet.¹⁰

Upon graduation from Yale, he taught in an academy at Easton,

8. Journals, November 5, 1851.

9. W. A. Hedges, "Cornelius Hedges", Contributions, VII, p. 182.

10. Ibid.

Connecticut, west of New Haven near Bridgeport. Then he returned to Westfield, where he studied law prior to entering Harvard Law School.¹¹ In 1855, he completed law studies at Harvard and later on was examined and admitted to the Massachusetts Bar, upon the motion of the Honorable Benjamin F. Butler.¹² Hedges' interest in the fortunes of Ben Butler continued for many years; in November, 1878, he noted in his journal, "Little news from the states in the evening - Butler beaten".¹³

On July 17, 1856, he and Edna Layette Smith were married at Southington, Connecticut.¹⁴ Edna's endeavors to improve the condition of society around here were certainly complementary to similar activities of her husband. Mertie M. Brattin, in 1941, wrote this thumb-nail sketch of her life:

Edna L. Hedges was a most remarkable woman. She was equally devoted to her family, her church, and her chapter [of Eastern Star]. She was dignified, yet most courteous and considerate. Her womanly virtues were early engrafted upon the Order [of Eastern Star] in Montana, and to that is due fact that Grand Chapter sessions have ever been remarkable for their harmony and good feeling. She was Very Worthy Grand Chaplain of General Grand Chapter at the triennial of 1892 to 1895, and Right Worthy Grand Conductress the succeeding triennial. She survived Judge Hedges five years [died in 1912], and was active in Eastern Star work to the end.¹⁵

To complete this thumb-nail biography, Mrs. Hedges was instrumental in organizing the Grand Chapter of the Order of Eastern Star for Montana in

11. The Helena Independent, April 29, 1907.

12. Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of Montana. 43rd Communication, 1907, p. 61. (This source will be hereinafter be referred to as "Proceedings").

13. Journals, November 7, 1878.

14. Progressive Men, p. 2.

15. Mertie M. Brattin, et. al., Golden Jubilee History: Grand Chapter Order of Eastern Star of Montana, (Helena: State Publishing Co., 1941), p. 11.

Livingston on September 25, 1890, and was elected its first Worthy Grand Matron.¹⁶ Her reception at her home in Helena held for the ladies accompanying the members of the 35th Annual Grand Lodge of Montana Masons, on September 21, 1899, is an excellent example of her graciousness.¹⁷

Immediately after their marriage, Cornelius and Edna moved from New England to Independence, Iowa. This move was undoubtedly influenced by the fact that his sister and brother-in-law, Margaret and Asa Smith, were residing in that town,¹⁸ along with Hedges' own urge to find a place to provide a good home for his family in a developing area where opportunity abounded. He set up a law practice, and shortly thereafter obtained the Independent Civilian, which he edited and published to provide a supplementary income to his lawyer's fees.¹⁹

Their first child, Wyllys A. Hedges, was born there on July 3, 1857, and on June 3, 1860, yet another child, Dennis H. Hedges, graced their happy home. The first of his long and illustrious Masonic career started here in Independence, when he was made a Master Mason in Independence Lodge #87, on the eve of his 27th birthday, October 27, 1858.²⁰ Late in 1860, the Hedges returned to New England, where Cornelius resumed teaching, in the Sally Lewis Academy at Berlin near Edna's home at Southington, Connecticut. Sorrow entered their home in 1862 with the death of their

16. C.W. Pomeroy, et al., History of the Order of the Eastern Star of Montana, (Butte, 1922), pp. 7-9.

17. Proceedings, 35th Communication, 1899, p. 77.

18. W.A. Hedges, "Cornelius Hedges," Contributions, VII, p. 182.

19. Progressive Men, p. 2.

20. Proceedings, 43rd Communication, 1907, p. 61.

younger son, Dennis.²¹

The entries of February, 1863, in his journal, chronicle the return of Cornelius to Iowa, where he pursued his law practice and again published the Independent Civilian, but his family was still in New England.²² Edna and Willy arrived by train in Independence on April 3, 1863. Immediately preparations began for the occupation of a new home on April 8. On that same day, he recorded, "Took supper in the new home -- Edna & Willy & myself -- warm biscuits, custard pie, ginger cake & green tea. It was the happiest meal that I have eaten for years".²³ He was a devoted family man!

At Independence, a problem came into focus which was to plague him most of his life, "making ends meet" financially. A major cause of this was his kindly nature and benevolence. Cornelius Jr., better known among friends and family as Toby, was to say after his father's death, "He was a man of infinite tenderness and remarkable sentiment for these days. He couldn't have amassed a fortune if he had lived a thousand years ..."²⁴ He much preferred his law practice to the publishing of the Independent

21. W. A. Hedges, "Cornelius Hedges," Contributions, VII, p. 182, and Journals, August 27, 1881, this entry records a return visit to Berlin, Connecticut, on a visit East.
22. W. A. Hedges, "Cornelius Hedges," Contributions, VII, p. 183, and Journals, February 21 to 23, and March 31, 1863.
23. Journals, April 8, 1863. See also entries for April 4, 6, 10, 14, and May 1, 4-6, 8, 9, 1863, for additional efforts to make the house and yard homey and enjoyable.
24. Cornelius Hedges, Jr., to M. M. Miller, October 27, 1907, Correspondence of the Grand Secretary of the Montana Grand Lodge, A.F. & A.M., Letter Box "1907", Montana Grand Lodge Library and Archives, Helena, Montana. (This source will hereinafter be referred to as "CGS.")

Civilian²⁵ or other necessary sideline work to provide for his family.²⁶

His enthusiasm for the legal profession is exhibited in this journal entry:

Had a trial of Jacob Charouse for obtaining money
under false pretenses --

Great sport, two attorneys on a side --

Got \$4. for the aid society & \$3. in costs ²⁷

He preferred editorial writing to the details and drudgery of printing and distributing the newspaper. Thus he attempted to lease the paper to Warren and Alson Barnhart on contract.²⁸ But he finally had to hire them simply as employees.²⁹ His reticence and apprehension was largely due to the fact that it ran him "into debt constantly."³⁰ However, by summer and fall, his job printing increased sufficiently to make the operation profitable.³¹

In his true form of extreme self-criticism, in 1863 Hedges was lamenting partial failure at the time of the Tenth Reunion of his Yale class, "To day & to night is our class meeting at Yale College -- It has made me feel bad to think that I have not succeeded better in life, so that I could return with credit".³²

Getting Established in Montana, 1864-1868

In the spring of 1864, Cornelius Hedges began making preparation to

25. Journals, April 17, 1863.

26. See Journals, August 4, 1863, for an example, he stacked wheat and oats for Dr. Bryant and took his pay in wood.

27. Journals, July 21, 1863.

28. Ibid., March 21, April 13, 16, and 22, 1863.

29. Ibid., April 23, 1863.

30. Ibid., May 19, 1863.

31. Ibid., June 11, September 23, and October 10, 1863.

32. Ibid., July 29, 1863.

seek his fortunes in the gold mines of Idaho, and he received a pamphlet about Idaho and a map of Idaho from a friend, J. R. Devrery, on February 13, 1864.³³ Since there are many missing entries in his journal for the early months of that year prior to the actual day of departure, his reasons for going west can only be speculated. Ostensibly, it was to seek his fortune and in response to a yet newer challenge.

The day of departure was April 20, and Hedges' son, Will, well-remembered that day:

It was a memorable day in our memory when my father, Cornelius Hedges, started to "cross the plains" in company with Timothy Wilcox, and Henry H. Clark. Weeks had been spent in preparation and fitting up of their wagon, made by a local blacksmith and wheelright.

Those who have known my father eminently a man of Peace, can only reconcile his appearance at departure, to a changed condition of environment, long since passed away; and only existing are the pages of History, and the memory of a living few. With closely cut hair, lest in some unlucky time a "red skin" might try to remove his scalp, a "six shooter" in his belt, and a rifle on his shoulder, my recollection points him as the typical pioneer of his day, when on that early Spring morning in '64 he bade my mother and myself "goodbye" as he started for Idaho.³⁴

In addition to the wagon, pistol, and rifle already mentioned in Will's reminiscence, the following supplies were taken on the trek: team of mules, harness, tent for wagon cover, 40# of sugar, 40 ft. of rope, 29# of ham, 6# of lard, sundries, 5-gallon water cask, 10# of coffee, screws and bolts, 2 papers of tacks, bake oven, hay, milk, bushel of

33. Ibid., February 13, 1864.

34. Brief Sketch of the Life of Wyllys A. Hedges. This is an undated, handwritten, autobiographical MS with no page numbers, in the possession of the Montana Historical Society Library, Helena, Montana. (This MS will hereinafter be referred to as "Life of Wyllys A. Hedges.")

corn, apples, peaches, lead for bullets, fresh pork, 3# of nails, gold pan, sack of flour, 3 woolen shirts, pair of woolen blankets, pair of rubber blankets, pair of boots, shovel, 2 other rifles, one pint of Brandy, 1 oz. of quinine, and 4# of smoking tobacco.³⁵ On that day, he left Edna with \$60. They managed to travel 12 miles on hard roads that day before night fall.³⁶ His destination was originally the mines of Idaho, however, the portion he finally reached was included in the new Montana Territory. While Hedges was enroute, Montana was created by Congress on May 26, 1864.³⁷

Hedges travelled with his partners southwesterly across Iowa, passing through Vinton, LeGrand, Newton, and they reached Des Moines on the 25th of April. Continuing, they passed through Adel and Lewis, crossed both forks of the Nishnabota River and reached Council Bluffs on April 30.³⁸

On May 2, they crossed the Missouri River by ferry and camped just west of Omaha. Travelling along the north bank of the Platte, they reached Columbus, then the outpost of settlement, on May 6 and Hedges utilized his last opportunity to stay in a hotel before crossing the plains. By May 11, they reached the struggling frontier settlement of Kearney, and it was that day he recorded first eating buffalo meat.

35. See Journals, front pages of 1864 for these listed items.

36. Journals, April 20, 1864.

37. James M. Hamilton, From Wilderness to Statehood: A History of Montana, 1805 - 1900, Merrill G. Burlingame, ed., (Portland, Ore.: Binfords & Mort, 1957), p. 277.

38. This entire account of Hedges westward trek is taken from his detailed journal entries, April 20 to July 13, 1864; no further footnoting in this section will be therefore necessary.

Travel on May 15 and 16, put them into the sand hills region with tougher travelling; so on the 17th, they lightened their load by 328 pounds and pocketed \$19.68 from the sale. On the afternoon of May 20, they "passed Ash Hollow, saw teams comming (sic) on opposite side of Platte". They were in sight of the landmarks of Chimney Rock and Court House Rock during the days of the 21st and 22d, passed Scotts Bluff on the 23d, and camped on the north side of the North Platte River opposite Fort Laramie on May 25. Hedges walked six miles each way to visit the Fort just to receive the dejecting news that there was no letter waiting from Edna. However, he did learn that the Major commanding the post was a Royal Arch Mason.

From Fort Laramie they continued travelling west on the north side of the North Platte, but they were detained four hours on the 26th by a false accusation and arrest for taking stray cattle. They reached Platte Bridge Station (the site of present Casper, Wyoming) on June 2, and Hedges crossed the Platte by bridge to deposit letters for Iowa. As they crossed the Wyoming plains, more and more small trains banded together for added protection and by June 5, he noted "more teams came in today, our train is over 100 [wagons] now." Notwithstanding their drunken guide, a Frenchman named Rouleau, they averaged 20 to 25 miles on most days. They reached the Wind River, known as the Big Horn River north of the Wind River canyon, on June 11 and crossed it on Sunday, June 12. The wagons were ferried, but they "swam" the horses and mules. That evening on the other side, Hedges for the first time since leaving Council Bluffs noted "Preaching in the evening" and he added "good sermon".

Moving northward into the Big Horn Basin, they camped on the "Grey Bull" River on June 15. The route they were following was a new cut-off which Jim Bridger was in the process of blazing. And on the 17th, their train learned from two of Bridger's men that the Bridger train was but 12 miles ahead. A portion of his journal entry for June 23, read: "went up mountain and saw Yellowstone & junction of Clarkes fork with it - water cool & good - good grass".

On the 25th, the journal contains two points of special interest; first, they overtook Jacob's train, and second, his true love for books and knowledge was shown by the fact that he was reading Rithard's Exposition on Masonry out there on the trail.

Near the end of the trip, their wagon broke down. They reached the Yellowstone River on July 2, and on July 3, he sadly recorded:

Up before 3 & began the melancholy work of cleaning our wagon preparatory to leaving it - I repacked everything to suit a man who was willing to carry our things & double team -

Old wagon soon disappeared - It almost brought tears & made one feel more like being homesick than anything else - Nothing can be got without much trouble.

The next day, Independence Day, they overtook Jim Bridger and his train and travelled with them the remaining distance to Virginia City. They also crossed the Yellowstone that day by ferry, with the ferry charge of \$2.50.

On July 7, he recorded "passed the headwaters of Yellowstone [undoubtedly the confluence of the Shields River with the Yellowstone] & struck those of the Gallatin". By the 9th the Madison River was reached and on July 10, he finally recorded:

Started out at $6\frac{1}{2}$ [6:30] to go up to Virginia City

estimated 15 miles, found it 40 & much up hill at that - got very tired before I got through - reached the city about 2½, got some lunch . . . Everything going on - auctions, goods selling cheaper than in the states - found it much different than what I expected - no letter - walked back 6 miles to wagons - pretty tired -

The next day their train rumbled into Virginia City and finally on the 13th of July, a letter reached Cornelius from his wife.

On his third day after arrival at Virginia City, Hedges attended Masonic Lodge.³⁹ He was later to write and describe situation which he found in Montana Territory and at Virginia City upon his arrival:

In the early organizing history of no single state in the Union, were there such rough, discordant elements brought together as in the case of Montana, and to render the situation still worse almost the entire population was gathered in a few camps where the sentiment of the majority represented the whole.

There was no recognized circulating medium but gold dust. Greenbacks were at a discount, when received at all their only use was for the merchants to send east to purchase goods. There was no Sunday as distinguished from the other days except by increased gambling and dissipation. The very ease with which fortunes were made in the mines encouraged recklessness in squandering them and every sort of dissipation and crime.

In such a devil's hot-bed were scattered a few seeds of Masonry.⁴⁰

About the same time Cornelius was arriving in Virginia City, Edna and Willie left Independence to return to Mrs. Hedges' girlhood home at Southington, Connecticut. There they remained until the spring of 1867,

39. Journals, July 14, 1864. The Lodge he attended was either Virginia City, #43, chartered by the Grand Lodge of Kansas, or Montana, #9, chartered by the Grand Lodge of Colorado; see Reprint Proceedings, p. 3.

40. Cornelius Hedges, "Early Masonry in Montana," Rocky Mountain Magazine, Volume I, No. 1 (1900), p. 14.

with Cornelius joining them in the late fall of 1866.⁴¹

Meanwhile, Hedges was going through the agonizing, often heart-breaking, process of putting himself on a solid financial footing. For the first month and one-half, he and Henry Clark worked for wages shoveling tailings and providing the "elbow grease" for some of the windlasses in Highland Gulch near Summit City, just above Virginia City. Their initial wages were \$5.00 per day.⁴² On July 20, he commented "the sweat rolled off, my hands soon blistered - It seemed as though I could not long hold out - somehow survived . . . Hardest day's work I ever did". By the 22d, he confided "learned to slight my work some, find that no one else will do the work at the wages . . . wrists lame and swollen".⁴³ On July 28, their sugar gave out and they went without, thus by August 2, they were living on beef steak, bread, and butter.⁴⁴ In the ensuing time, Tim Wilcox wanted to trade their team for a ranch and had found a chance for such a trade. Henry and Cornelius were at first opposed, but they finally allowed him to sell the mules and harness for not less than \$275 and then divide the money. Tim succeeded in selling them for \$300, and on August 10 and 11, they divided communal property and paid joint bills. "So we separated amicably," wrote Hedges on the 11th, "at Tim's sole request - Hope he will do well".⁴⁵ The separation was of business interests only, for Tim, too, moved near Helena in 1865, and the friendship

41. Life of Wyllys A. Hedges.

42. See Journals, entries from July 16 to August 31, 1864.

43. Ibid., July 20 and 22, 1864.

44. Ibid., July 28 and August 2, 1864.

45. Ibid., July 31 and August 1, 5, 6, 9, 10, and 11, 1864.

of the Wilcox's and Hedges' continued for years.

Both his luck and mood ran in streaks. On August 20, he wrote "Saw many of our fellow travellers - very few have acted wisely or have done as well as we have". But by the 24th, with a prospect of a reduction in wages, he was contemplating returning home. He reasoned "It looks more & more discouraging - claims working out - hands discharged - pilgrims coming - prices going up & wages coming down - we'll see".⁴⁶ For the sake of the future of Montana, its extremely fortunate that his luck took an upturn.

On September 1, they finally were able to buy a claim. They (He, Henry, and two fellows by the name of John and Whit) bought into Claim #66 in Highland Gulch, complete with cabin, tools, boxes, and a set of gold scales. The 2d was spent moving their effects from their tent to the cabin; and on Sept. 3, he wrote "we all went to work on our claim - stripping for a pit - took turns with wheelbarrow - Did a hard days work, but enjoyed being my own master." On the cultural side, he noted that day that he had read The Montana Post for the first time.⁴⁷

The acquisition, however, of a claim was not the magic answer to success; the total run from their pit was only \$60.60, and of that, \$33.85 came out of one day's run. Thus by September 14, they were back to working for wages.⁴⁸ On the 17th, they took up a new claim, and with renewed hope sent one of their number, Dave, to join in on the Yellowstone gold rush.

46. Ibid., August 20, 23, and 24, 1864.

47. Ibid., September 1 to 3, 1864.

48. Ibid., September 9, 13, 14, 1864

By October 1, he was back with the discouraging news of a false alarm. And the next day, Hedges related "traded my pistol to Dave for his share of the pony . . . traded one rubber blanket for his bake oven - Dave is going home."⁴⁹

His luck continued to run in streaks, on October 19, he traded his gold watch for a \$27 lumber bill, but the very next day they had their best run yet, cleaning up \$51.30. And by November 9, they had contracted for yet another claim at \$750, payable in monthly installments as it came out of the ground.⁵⁰

In spite of the long, hard days of toil, there was diversion, and occasionally a few bright spots. On October 22, because the ditch broke and he could not work, Hedges went to town to hear Samuel McLean and Wilbur F. Sanders debate. Even though still a Democrat, Hedges confided "Liked Sanders best, almost persuaded to vote for him."⁵¹ As it turned out, he did not the first time,⁵² but that day did begin a life-long friendship which ended only with Sanders' death in July, 1905.

One of the happiest days of the year for Cornelius was November 22, when he received news of the birth of another son on October 28, at Southington, Conn., and his response was "How thankful for such good news." The new-born was named Henry Highland, because Hedges was then working in Highland Gulch.⁵³

Problems continued, in mid-December, due to disputes over water

49. Ibid., September 17 and 21, and October 1 and 2, 1864.

50. Ibid., October 19 and 20, and November 9, 1864.

51. Ibid., October 22, 1864.

52. Ibid., October 24, 1864.

53. Life of Wyllys A. Hedges, and Journals, November 22, 1864.

rights and side ditches, could not get the necessary water to work their claim.⁵⁴ But to off-set that, "lady luck" smiled in time to give them an early Christmas present -- three days of good run. On the 22d, they took out \$98, with one nugget worth \$11.10, they cleaned up \$30.85 on the 23d, and just \$22.50 on the 24th. His first Christmas day in Montana was marked by a visit from Tim Wilcox.⁵⁵

In January, 1865, Cornelius Hedges moved on over to Last Chance Gulch and the infant settlement called Helena City, arriving in town on January 16.⁵⁶ Thus he took up residency in a town he was to call home for more than 42 years. The town grew to be the capital city and it also grew to appreciate Cornelius Hedges and his unselfish contributions to its development. Soon after arrival, he "stuck out his shingle," and opened a law practice with a library containing only one book, Everybody's Lawyer, so he was to later tell his former townsmen at Independence, Iowa.⁵⁷ He was admitted to the Montana Bar by the Montana Territorial Supreme Court in 1865,⁵⁸ and in the same year began serving his first term as U.S. Attorney.⁵⁹ In 1875, Cornelius commented on an account of his first case in Helena:

The first law suit in Helena, before Squire Miles was an action of forcible entry and detainer over a jumped town lot, in which Messrs. [Warren] Toole and [Cornelius]

54. Journals, December 12 to 18, 1864.

55. Ibid., December 22 to 25, 1864.

56. Ibid., January 16, 1891. This entry is in the form of an anniversary reminiscence; he remarked "How changed!"

57. Independence (Iowa) Conservative, November 9, 1866.

58. Michael A. Leeson, History of Montana (Chicago: Warner, Beers and Company, 1885), p. 321.

59. The Helena Independent, April 29, 1907.

Hedges were the attorneys, and as the Justice reserved his decision, not being very clear either as to the law or the facts, the lot in the meantime, by a sort of a compromise, was sold for the benefit of the attorneys.⁶⁰

Hedges also worked a mining claim in the summer of 1865 to supplement his law income. It was located in the Mount Hope Lode on the east side of Grizzley Gulch.⁶¹

During 1865, Hedges also became chiefly responsible for organizing a Masonic Lodge under dispensation, with the able assistance of Mark A. Moore. It was only the third Masonic Lodge organized in Montana, and it was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Colorado as Helena City Lodge No. 10 in the same year. "The inestimable Cornelius Hedges," as William C. Campbell referred to him, was chosen Worshipful Master upon organization and again at the election in December, 1865, he was elected to serve another year as Master of his Lodge.⁶²

On January 24, 1866, Cornelius Hedges was among 19 Master Masons representing Virginia City Lodge #43, Montana Lodge #9, and Helena City Lodge #10, who met in Virginia City to form the Grand Lodge of Montana, A.F. & A.M. After two days of writing the By-Laws, Rules of Order, and Standing Resolutions, officers of the new Grand Lodge were elected and

60. Cornelius Hedges, "Historical Address," Contributions, II, p. 111.

61. My documentary support for this statement is a MS Certificate of Claim issued to Cornelius Hedges by H.H. Harding, County Recorder, Edgerton (now Lewis and Clark) County, Territory of Montana on June 10, 1865. The original certificate is in the MSS collections of the Montana Historical Society Library, Helena, Montana.

62. William C. Campbell, From the Quarries of Last Chance Gulch (Helena: Privately Printed, 1951), pp. 14-15.

Hedges was elected to the position of R.W. Senior Grand Warden.⁶³ It was of this organization that Robert Morris, poet laureate of Masonry and founder of the Order of Eastern Star, was to comment in Helena in 1887:

That he remembered very distinctly the establishment of the Grand Lodge of Montana in 1866, for it excited at the time much interest among the fraternity in the States. So little was known of this distant Territory, only reached by long and painful pilgrimages by wagon or stage-coach, that we should not have been much more surprised to hear of the organization of a Grand Lodge at the North Pole than here.⁶⁴

In June, 1866, Cornelius Hedges was among the members of the Helena Bar signing a request for permission from Territorial Supreme Court Justice L.E. Munson to publish the June 4 decision upholding a motion to dissolve the most recent legislative session and declare their legislation null and void. The permission for publication was addressed to W. Chumasero, C. Hedges and other members of the Helena Bar,⁶⁵ indicating that Hedges was quite instrumental in making the request and certainly that Hedges was opposed to that 1866 session of the so-called Legislature.

In the fall of 1866, Hedges made his first trip home from Montana. This was not the return of the vanquished but rather a trip to escort his family back to his adopted home in Montana. By early November, he reached his old home town of Independence, Iowa. The Independence Conservative remarked "Mr. H looks very rugged, and we are impressed with the idea that he has succeeded in accumulating a good amount of

63. Reprint Proceedings, pp. 3-21.

64. Proceedings. 23d Communication, 1887, p. 12

65. The Montana Radiator (Helena), June 9, 1866.

'this world's.' "66 By mid-month he had left Independence for the east and soon was reunited with his family, Edna, Willie, and Henry, in Southington, Connecticut. The winter was spent visiting relatives and friends both at Southington and at Westfield, Massachusetts.⁶⁷ Again Will's boyhood recollections of his father's return were quite vivid:

It is needless to say that Ulysses returning from his wanderings was no more a hero, than was father to my young imagination. The gold nuggets he actually produced from a buckskin bag, assured me that he in very truth had found and "cached" the "golden fleece" somewhere among these mountains. The genuine Indian bow & arrows, the former covered with the skin of a bad rattlesnake, and the latter from a full buffalo skin "quiver" and which I had shown to every boy in town before noon of the next day after receipt, convinced me of his physical prowess and I felt sure that it could be no uncommon thing for such an (sic) one to kill a few bear and buffalo for breakfast most any day; and that without doubt a few Indian scalps were laid away in the bottom of his⁶⁸ "grip" to be exhibited to the "natives" a little later on.

In March, 1867, the Hedges family moved west accompanied by Mrs. Timothy Wilcox and her daughter Clara, and by April 4, they were in Independence, Iowa. On April 6, they learned the river was open and relatively free of ice. Thus the Hedges, the Wilcoxes, and now Mrs. Henry H. Clark and her two children, James and Jenny, left Independence by train for Council Bluffs on April 8. They arrived in Council Bluffs on the following day, traveling via Cedar Rapids, Boone, and Woodbine.⁶⁹

Their river-steamer, the "Waverly", arrived on April 10, and they

66. Independence (Iowa) Conservative, November 9, 1866.

67. Life of Wyllys A. Hedges.

68. Life of Wyllys A. Hedges.

69. Life of Wyllys A. Hedges, and Journals, April 4 to 9, 1867.

boarded even though all their baggage had not arrived on the loading dock. The steamer finally got under way late on the 11th and traveled 7 miles that first day. After being held up by ice jams in the Missouri on April 12 and 13, they reached Fort Randall, Dakota Territory, on the 22d and Fort Sully on the 24th. On May 9, they docked at Fort Berthold and they reached the mouth of the Yellowstone and Fort Union by the 14th. Hedges noted in his journal that large herds of bison, numbering into the thousands, were in sight on the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th of May, and that on the 18th, they ran over 5 bison, but they all survived. The mouth of the "Muscle Shell" River was passed by the "Waverly" on May 21, and they finally docked on the levee at Fort Benton on May 25.⁷⁰

On the third day out, April 14, Henry was playing and broke his leg. By overtaking the "Walter B. Dance" just ahead of them, they obtained the surgical services of James Stuart to set the leg. Thus Henry's broken leg became the point of major concern for Cornelius for the entire trip. Will remembers that "At all Posts where there was a surgeon, his services were called on to dress Henry's broken limb, which mended rapidly, and ultimately became quite well."⁷¹

At Benton, Mrs. Wilcox and Clara left immediately by stage for Helena. However, because Mrs. Clark was badly affected with rheumatism, Hedges hired Johnnie Leach and his two wagons to convey the party with

70. Journals, April 10 to May 25, 1867.

71. Life of Wyllys A. Hedges, and Journals, April 14, 17, 22, and 24, and May 9. 1867.

their baggage to Helena for \$70. They departed on May 26.⁷² They "encountered the 'usual rainy' season which was such a terror in those early days. The Dearborn was very high; and wagon boxes had to be raised up in order that the sick and our goods might not get wet,"⁷³ according to Will. Their route carried them through Wolf Creek Canyon on King & Gillette's Road, and past Malcolm Clarke's ranch in the Prickly Pear Valley, reaching Helena on June 1.⁷⁴

It was then time again to get settled. On June 10, Hedges leased his old law office for a period ending January 1, 1868, for \$125 in bankable gold dust. And on the 11th, he moved his family into a small house on Joliet Street, from Ten Mile where they had been staying with Widow Durgus until the tenant vacated the house.⁷⁵ The family moved again when Cornelius purchased the house, furniture and books of J. E. Vinton on July 22, 1867.⁷⁶

In 1867, Hedges joined in a law partnership with Robert Lawrence and L.M. Burson; their offices were on Broad Street, near the Post Office, and their professional advertisement boasted "Will practice in all the Courts of the Territory."⁷⁷ From the tone of his journal entries, all of his time after returning west in June, 1867, was spent for the next year in legal practice. He was still U.S. Attorney, on October 1, 1867, when he sent a bill of \$175 to the Secretary of Interior for services rendered

72. Life of Wyllys A. Hedges, and Journals, May 26 and June 1, 1867.

73. Life of Wyllys A. Hedges.

74. Life of Wyllys A. Hedges, and Journals, June 1, 1867.

75. Life of Wyllys A. Hedges, and Journals, June 10 and 11, 1867.

76. Journals, June 19 and July 22, 1867.

77. The Helena Herald, July 31, 1867.

as U.S. Attorney as well as paying \$25 to renew his "Law License."⁷⁸

The birth of Emma Marion was recorded on September 19, and as always, it served as a source of pride and happiness to the entire family.⁷⁹

Another office of public trust was accorded Hedges on February 7, 1868, when he was appointed U.S. Commissioner. On the 10th, he took the oath of office and filed his commission with the Clerk of the District Court. However, his first action as U.S. Commissioner was not performed until March 31, when he issued a warrant against W.H. Gernhart for selling liquor to the Indians on the little Blackfoot.⁸⁰

The item of a home again became important to the Hedges family, when Cornelius spent most of June 10 making preparations to build, which included drawing plans and making estimates. That evening he noted "materials cheaper than I expected all but lumber." The building progressed through summer into early fall, then on November 4, the growing Hedges family moved into the new home on Broad Street, or Broadway. "Most tired to death," recorded Hedges, "got the beds up & nothing else - paint not done nor dry."⁸¹

To add to Hedges very crowded schedule, on July 10, he was prevailed upon by Rev. A.M. Hough to become a trustee of the Methodist Episcopal Church.⁸²

One cannot fully appreciate the activity and influence of Cornelius

78. Journals, October 1, 1867.

79. Ibid., September 19, 1867.

80. Ibid., February 7 and 10, and March 31, 1868.

81. Ibid., June 10 and November 4, 1868.

82. Ibid., July 10, 1868.

Hedges in Helena until he realizes the schedule that Hedges maintained. I have chosen the week of July 13 to 19, 1868, as a fairly typical week in his life. Through the years, the specific activities might change but rarely the frequency of occurrence. On Monday night, he attended Council meeting of York Rite Masonry, and on Tuesday, he tried to attend a meeting of the New England Society, but the Judge had preempted the court house for the evening. He and Edna attended Good Templars on Wednesday. Thursday, he attended both his Chapter of Royal Arch Masons and a Republican caucus, but in doing so missed a meeting of the New England Society. The meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Methodist Church occupied his time on Friday evening. Saturday evening he again did double duty by attending both Helena Masonic Lodge #3 and the Republican County Convention, where he was nominated for the legislature. Sunday, as was his custom, he attended two services, morning and evening, with the family and spent the remainder of the day reading. Finally on July 30, this terse entry appears in his journal, "Spent the evening at home -- my wife thinks it a rare thing."⁸³

In August, Hedges was elected the Chief of the Good Templars, a temperance movement, and held the office until January 20, 1869, when due to some sort of a conflict, he "with several others withdrew from the Good Templars." He, of course, resigned as Chief and recorded in his journal "there was considerable feeling & some improper language, but I am not sorry for what I did & said." There is no indication of the exact

83. Journals, July 13 to 19, and 30, 1868.

nature of the dispute. Although Will later joined, Cornelius never returned to a Good Templars meeting. On January 23, Hedges received a gold chain and seal in appreciation from the seceding Good Templars.⁸⁴

Years of Accomplishment and Contribution, 1868-1900

On November 20, 1868, Cornelius Hedges began a labor of love that was to last the remainder of his life. On that evening, he was chosen Chairman of a committee to solicit subscriptions and also draft a constitution for the Helena Library Association. At its organizational meeting, December 5, he was chosen Vice-president and about one year later he was elected President.⁸⁵ Speaking of his father's life-long interest in the Library, Will referred to the Helena Public Library as a:

Monument to Judge Hedges' interest in the educational and substantial matters concerning Helena, which he wanted to become a city of homes, with citizens of the most desirable and substantial character.⁸⁶

The greatest tribute paid Hedges with respect to the Library, in my estimation, was a silent tribute. On the day of his funeral, out of respect to its founder, the entire Helena Public Library was closed from noon to 6 p.m.⁸⁷

For some reason, unexplained in his journal, Hedges declined the nomination as Probate Judge at the Republican County Convention on

84. Journals, August 5, 1868, and January 20 and 23, 1869. For further information concerning the Good Templars, see Hamilton, op. cit., pp. 513-514.

85. Journals, November 20 and December 5, 1868, and December 18, 1869, and Tom Stout, Montana, Its Story and Biography: A History of Aboriginal and Territorial and Montana and Three Decades of Statehood (Chicago and New York: The American Historical Society, 1921), p. 757.

86. W. A. Hedges, "Cornelius Hedges," Contributions, VII, p. 188.

87. The Helena Independent, April 29, 1907.

June 19, 1869.⁸⁸

The summer of 1869 brought unexpected pleasure into Cornelius' life in the form of a surprise visit from his dad, Dennis Hedges. The elder Hedges arrived in Helena on July 24, and when he left to start home on August 11, Cornelius, seemingly gratefully and admiringly, entered in his journal "It seemed like a dream."⁸⁹

One of the first entries Hedges made in journal for 1870 was "I am going to try to do more thinking this year."⁹⁰ In light of the influential suggestion which he made later on in the year -- the National Park idea -- one could easily assume he fulfilled his goal.

The extent of Hedges' civic contributions were again demonstrated in March, 1870. On the 12th of that month, the citizens of Helena held a protest meeting against Indian depredations. Wilbur F. Sanders chaired the meeting, and Cornelius Hedges drafted the resolutions, which included a statement pointing out that 200 white men had been killed and 2000 horses had been stolen since 1865, and a statement "criticizing the government for reprimanding the Army for quelling the redskins."⁹¹

In August, 1870, Hedges began a trip that became important beyond all expectations. The excursion he took was the famous Washburn-Langford-Doane Expedition into the Yellowstone region. They left Helena on August 17 and entered the area now known as Yellowstone National Park on August 25. Their journey of exploration took them from the Gardner River

88. Journals, June 19, 1869.

89. Ibid., July 24 and August 11, 1869.

90. Ibid., January 2, 1870.

91. Campbell, op. cit., p. 33.

to Tower Falls, then to the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone, then around Yellowstone Lake and into the Firehole Basin. On the evening of September 19, at a camp where the Gibbon and Firehole Rivers unite to form the Madison,⁹² Hedges planted an idea which has borne fruit and has since become important to a large number of our nation's citizens. The party was to leave the Yellowstone region the next day, and that night they sat around the campfire discussing the wonders of nature they had seen and the possibilities of its development as a resort area for pecuniary gain. Hedges listened awhile and then spoke. What he said was completely in harmony with his total nature marked by unselfishness. N.P. Langford's Diary states it well:

Mr. Hedges then said that he did not approve of any of these plans -- that there ought to be no private ownership of any portion of that region, but that the whole of it ought to be set apart as a great National Park, and that each one of us ought to make an effort to have this accomplished.⁹³

Thus the "National Park idea" was born. A more detailed description of Hedges part in this will be handled in Chapter V. To complete the story of the journey, they reached Virginia City on September 23, and Hedges returned to Helena on September 27.⁹⁴

About a month later another very important event of his life

92. "Journal of Judge Cornelius Hedges: A Member of the Washburn Expedition of 1870," Contributions, V, pp. 370-391. (This source will hereinafter be referred to as "Journal of Judge Hedges".)

93. Nathaniel P. Langford, Diary of the Washburn Expedition to the Yellowstone and Firehole Rivers, In the Year 1870, (Privately Printed, 1905), pp. 117-118. (This source will be hereinafter cited as "Dairy of the Washburn Expedition").

94. "Journal of Judge Cornelius Hedges," Contributions, V, pp. 391-394.

occured. On November 2, at the 6th Annual Communication of Montana Grand Lodge, he was elected Most Worshipful Grand Master of Montana Masons, and the next day he was installed and received the gavel from N.P. Langford, retiring Grand Master.⁹⁵ A year later, after serving a very admirable term as Grand Master, near the end of his Grand Master's Address, he said the following, again completely in harmony with his benevolent nature:

The hour has arrived when I may devolve upon you the heavy responsibilities that you entrusted to my keeping one year ago. They have been in my hands a sacred trust, which I believe I can restore to you unimpaired. The honor of the high position to which your unsought suffrages exalted me, in my estimation results only from the credit and success attending the discharge of its duties and trusts. I have sought with single purpose to serve Masonry and you, and thus to deserve your approbation and the resulting honor. With this end attained my highest ambition is satisfied, and I lay aside them emblems of power with more pleasure than I assumed them.⁹⁶

In yielding the gavel of authority to James R. Weston on October 5, 1871, Cornelius Hedges retired to the ranks of the Past Grand Masters,⁹⁷ not yet having reached his 40th birthday.

Upon reaching his 40th birthday on October 28, 1871, the self-critical Hedges commented:

My 40th birthday - Truly I have become a man if ever I am going to be --
Have felt very irritable & cross, unworthy of my character -- Must I always be so weak in this respect?⁹⁸

In 1871, while he was serving as Grand Master, he was reappointed

95. Reprint Proceedings, p. 192 and p. 199.

96. Ibid., p. 216.

97. Ibid., p. 233

98. Journals, October 28, 1871.

U. S. Attorney by President Grant.⁹⁹

While attending a session of the Supreme Court at Virginia City in the capacity of U. S. Attorney, Cornelius noted "Gov. tendered me the ap[pointment] of Supt. of Public Schools."¹⁰⁰ Governor Benjamin F. Potts gave him the commission as Superintendent of Public Instruction on January 17, 1872.¹⁰¹

In the ensuing six years, until he was replaced by Clark Wright on January 14, 1878, and the two years he served from February 22, 1883, to March 18, 1885,¹⁰² he did much to improve, promote and strengthen Montana's public schools. Undoubted, his greatest contribution to Montana education was the promotion of compulsory annual Teachers Institutes in every Montana county.¹⁰³ Dean James M. Hamilton, another prominent early Montana educator, says "Hedges more than any other person deserves the title of founder of the Montana territorial public school system."¹⁰⁴ Chapter VI will be entirely devoted to Hedges and his educational interests and contributions, therefore I will leave all further discussion of this topic to that chapter.

The promotion of Montana as a place for settlement of families was an ideal to which Hedges subscribed. Many of his journal entries show that he was active in such endeavors during the 1870's and early 1880's. On April 1, 1872, he noted he had attended an emigration promotional

99. Leeson, op. cit., p. 320.

100. Journals, January 5, 1872.

101. Ibid., January 17, 1872.

102. Ibid., January 14, 1878, February 22, 1883, and March 18, 1885.

103. See Hamilton, op. cit., pp. 496-497.

104. Ibid., p. 495.

meeting in the afternoon, and in the evening, he attended a Railroad meeting. On April 3, he recorded in his journal that he had telegraphed Delegate Clagett for a Railroad charter. It was quite likely the later action was done in the capacity as a secretary of a Railroad promotional group. Again on November 5, 1872, he wrote a Railroad petition to send to Governor Benjamin F. Potts.¹⁰⁵

Cornerstone laying ceremonies for a new Masonic Temple in Helena at the corner of Edwards and Main, on June 24, 1872, by the Grand Lodge of Montana Masons.¹⁰⁶ During that day, Hedges received an interrump appointment as Acting Grand Secretary from Grand Master J.R. Weston.¹⁰⁷ Such a move was necessitated by the removal of Grand Secretary Hezekiah L. Hosmer.¹⁰⁸ Judge Hosmer had been Chief Justice of the Territorial Supreme Court.

On October 8, 1872, during the 8th Annual Grand Lodge Communication, he was duly elected R.W. Grand Secretary.¹⁰⁹ Twenty-five years later in 1897, on the occasion of his Silver Anniversary as Grand Secretary, he was presented a cut-glass inkstand on a suitably inscribed silver tray by Grand Master Edward C. Day on behalf of the Grand Lodge. In reporting such action as part of his Grand Master's Address, he added:

His modest nature did not permit him to do more than formally acknowledge the gift, but the following day I received from him a letter so characteristic of him, that I read it to you for the reason that in no

105. Journals, April 1 and 3, and November 5, 1872.

106. Campbell, op. cit., p. 42.

107. Journals, June 24, 1872.

108. Proceedings. 8th Communication, 1872, p. 246.

109. Ibid., p. 250.

other manner can I convey to you his expressions of thankfulness for your kind remembrance.¹¹⁰

In part of that letter Judge Hedges, had the following to say about his work as Grand Secretary and his Masonic philosophy:

Little did I think when I took the office of Grand Secretary on the departure of Brother Hosmer, that it would occupy so much of my time and service through the best years of my life. Surely it was not for the higher honors, and still less for the slender emoluments of the position, but altogether from the encouragement and approbation of my brethern and the growing conviction that I might accomplish as good a life work here as any where else in aiding to build up an institution whose influence on the individual is at the same time inspiring and restraining, while upon society it is harmonizing, elevating and liberalizing.¹¹¹

He held the position until his death on April 29, 1907.

Hedges resumed his affiliation with a newspaper, when on July 4, 1872, he accepted a retainer of \$30 per week to write one editorial per day for the Helena Herald. He continued this editorial writing, with some periods of irregularity, until March 16, 1891.¹¹² The memorial written on Hedges for the Grand Lodge Proceedings at the time of his death summed up his contribution to Montana in this field, "thus [he] contributed his part toward the formation of a sound and healthy public opinion."¹¹³

The year 1872 also brought a change in his law partnership. On October 11, 1872, he dissolved his partnership with Robert Lawrence and

110. Proceedings. 34th Communication, 1898, pp. 24-25.

111. Ibid.

112. Journals, July 4, 1872, and March 16, 1891.

113. Proceedings. 43d Communication, 1907, p. 64.

"sold him books & accounts for \$500," and L.M. Burson had earlier left the Territory. On the 11th, he expressed his sentiments "Rather tired, but it seems good to be alone . . . It pays to be alone in business - Nearly everybody congratulates me on being by myself." The next day his worth as an extremely capable attorney was shown well; he noted "Lawrence beggar [sic] to come in with me, Wheeler also proposes to come in."¹¹⁴

Yet another event of 1872 continued to make that year important in his life. It was that year he switched denominations from the Methodist Church to the Presbyterian Church and noted on August 15, a meeting of the fledgling Helena Presbyterian Church in his office. Four years later, almost to the day, he wrote "Communion at our church - I was ordained elder, with some hesitation and misgiving - I hardly know what was my duty."¹¹⁵

There were also times in Montana, that the lack of reliable communication was very disturbing to Hedges with his inquiring mind. The following comment expresses the point well: "Presidential election in the states - We got very little news - in the evening just as we expected to hear the results, the wires gave out most provokingly."¹¹⁶

Grief struck the Hedges family again at the opening of 1873. Edna and the children were visiting in New England and had been for most of the year 1872. On the evening of New Years Day, 1873, he received

114. Journals, October 11, 17 and 18, 1872.

115. Ibid., August 15, 1872, and August 13, 1876.

116. Ibid., November 5, 1872.

news of Langford's death [his youngest son, named after N.P. Langford] - Overwhelmed by it - Sat up all night alone in my office - It seems too bad to believe possible - Tried to write a comforting letter to Edna - Thus ends my Happy New Year - even at its beginning - Our loss is the child's gain - Gods will be done ¹¹⁷

The year 1873 did bring some joy nevertheless. On October 23, along with several others, he was elected to membership in the Historical Society of Montana. Here also his talents were recognized and utilized by his being immediately elected Recording Secretary. ¹¹⁸

If the year 1873 opened with grief, it could at least be said that the year 1874 opened in discouragement for Hedges and most of the other residents of Helena. Helena's most destructive fire occurred on January 9. Cornelius' version of the holocaust was written in his journal.

The Greatest Fire for Helena - The alarm sounded first about 7 in morning as I was getting up - I went at once - Wind was blowing a hurricane . . . tried to save some things from my office but lost all - Feared for dwelling house till 2 p.m. when we started a [cooking] fire & took first meal - Lost much but saved more - The miracle is that anything is left - Both banks destroyed - Had only 75 cts in pockets - Thank God - Take Courage. ¹¹⁹

Again the sweet came with the bitter, another son was born to Edna and Cornelius on March 14, 1874. He was named Cornelius, Jr., nicknamed "Toby", and succeeded his father as Grand Secretary of the Montana Grand Lodge in 1907 after serving several years as Assistant

117. Ibid., January 1, 1873.

118. Leeson, op. cit., p. 372

119. Journals, January 9, 1874.

Grand Secretary.¹²⁰ And in late spring and early summer, he returned east for a family reunion on the occasion of his parent's, Mr. & Mrs. Dennis Hedges, Golden Wedding Anniversary on May 13, 1874.¹²¹

He left Helena for the east on April 15, and arrived in Corinne, Utah Territory, on the 21st and travelled by rail to Massachusetts, visiting for about a week in late April in Independence, Iowa. He returned to Helena in early July to learn he had been nominated on the Republican ticket for Territorial Delegate. For the remaining twenty days prior to election day, he campaigned vigorously.¹²² However, he was a Republican in a predominantly Democratic Territory, and that off-set even his highly respected character and acknowledged ability. Hedges himself, the day after the election day, acknowledged the final verdict, "news comes in discouraging - Trying to reconcile myself to disaster."¹²³

At this point of the paper, I would like to briefly account Hedges' political sentiments and affiliations, since it has bearing with the preceding account of his defeat for the office of Territorial Delegate.

120. Journals, March 14 and 15, 1872, and March 14, 1876, and Proceedings. 43d Communication, 1907, p. 26.

121. Journals, April 15 to 30, and August 1, 1874, and a newspaper clipping of May 13, 1874, newspaper name and place of publication unknown, but probably a Westfield, Mass. newspaper. The clipping is now in the MSS collection of the Montana Historical Society Library, Helena, Montana.

122. Journals, April 15 to 30, and August 1, 1874; It is very regrettable that there are missing entries during this important period of his life, from May 1 to July 31. Also, see clippings from the Springfield (Massachusetts) Union, August 21, 1874, and the Southington (Connecticut) Journal, August 28, 1874. Both of these clippings are in the above mentioned scrapbook.

123. Journals, August 3 and 4, 1874.

From early manhood until about 1867, he was a Democrat.¹²⁴

Progressive Men of the State of Montana, of which Cornelius Hedges was a compiler, and Will Hedges in an article on his father, ascribe the point of change as the Civil War and Lincoln's election.¹²⁵ But Cornelius Hedges' daily journal entries contradict this contention. While in Independence, Iowa, he helped organize a Democratic Club.¹²⁶ During the Civil War, he took the position that both sides were responsible for the war, and personally, he favored any action that would bring about an honorable peace.¹²⁷ Upon Lincoln's re-election in 1864, he wrote "saw newspaper account of Lincoln's election - more war, debt and disaster."¹²⁸

At the first election after his arrival in Montana, October 24, 1864, Hedges recorded "we all went down & voted - I voted the Dem. ticket, but didn't like it, neither the men nor their principles."¹²⁹ The switch to the Republican party occurred sometime between then and mid-summer of 1867. Since he either kept no journals for 1865 and 1866 or they are presently unavailable, it is impossible to state anything more specific concerning the conversion. By July, 1868, he was definitely a dedicated Republican.¹³⁰ Thus it appears that his movement to Montana and the

124. Progressive Men, p. 2.

125. W.A. Hedges, "Cornelius Hedges," Contributions, VII, p. 183, and Progressive Men, p. 2.

126. Journals, February 28, 1863.

127. See entries in Journals for March 28, April 2 and 30, July 8, 11, and 13, 1863.

128. Journals, November 20, 1864.

129. Ibid., October 24, 1864.

130. Ibid., see entries for July 27, August 3, September 2 and 3, 1867, and May 21, July 16 and 18, 1868.

conditions he found here, and not the Civil War and Lincoln's election, was the stimulus to switch from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party.

As to his effectiveness as a political orator, the Virginia City Madisonian offered one opinion:

Hon. Cornelius Hedges, of Helena, arrived in the city the first of the week. Mr. H. talks better on educational topics than he did on politics when he stood for Congress on the Republican side last August.¹³¹

Cornelius Hedges' office was the scene of a variety of meetings. It was ever at the disposal of those interests which would benefit the entire community and territory. For three days in 1875, April 21, 22 and 23, he was very much involved with a railroad convention and his office served as the meeting chambers of the executive committee.¹³² On the evening of May 7, 1875, his office was occupied first by a School Board session and then by a meeting of the Presbyterian Church Trustees.¹³³ The Helena Board of Trade, forerunner of the Chamber of Commerce, met in Judge Hedges' office on December 2, 1878, and his office was again the scene of another meeting December 4, 1878, this time of the Agricultural Society.¹³⁴ Through much of Hedges' lifetime, several meetings of this type were held in his offices each month.

Because of his "acknowledged professional ability,"¹³⁵ Hedges was

131. April 17, 1875.

132. Journals, April 21 to 23, 1875.

133. Ibid., May 7, 1875.

134. Ibid., December 2 and 4, 1878.

135. W. A. Hedges, "Cornelius Hedges," Contributions, VII, p. 195.

appointed reporter for the Territorial Supreme Court on August 9, 1875.¹³⁶ On May 25, 1876, he wrote his first abstract of a Supreme Court decision.¹³⁷ This position carried the right to abstract the Supreme Court Cases, publish them, and hold the copyright on all the volumes of abstracts written. He held the position until January 28, 1888, when he was asked to relinquish the position, and in the intervening 12 years he published several volumes for which his manuscripts were "always a model for the printer to set up."¹³⁸

During the later years of his life, Cornelius Hedges was admiringly and affectionately known as "Judge Hedges." The right to this title was his public service as Probate Judge for Lewis and Clark County from December 1, 1875, to December 18, 1880.¹³⁹ He first became the Republican nominee for the office on July 3, 1875. On August 2, election day, he noted that there were even "several Republicans working against me." The efforts of these party renegades were unsuccessful however. His journal entries for August 3 and 4 contain the story. On August 3, he wrote the following:

Independent [the Democratic newspaper of Helena] announced my defeat this morning, but the figures indicate a different result - Heard from all but Sun River during the day & am about 100 ahead - Democrats concede my election.

And the next day he added, "Heard from Sun River about noon - my election assured."¹⁴⁰

136. Journals, August 8, 1875.

137. Ibid., May 25, 1876.

138. Journals, January 28, 1888, and W.A. Hedges, "Cornelius Hedges," Contributions, VII, p. 195.

139. Journals, December 1, 1875, and December 18, 1880.

140. Ibid., August 2, 3 and 4, 1875.

His duties as Probate Judge included performing civil marriages, registrar of town lots, and the hearing of civil and criminal misdemeanors and minor felonies.¹⁴¹ An example of a case he handled was the criminal case against Tom Travis, a Helena youth, charged with hitting a Chinese laundryman with a stone. He was found guilty, and fined \$10 plus costs, which totaled \$60.¹⁴²

On November 5, 1878, he was reelected Probate Judge with a majority in excess of 300 votes.¹⁴³ His comments concerning the election are rather interesting. On November 2, he wrote: "The confounded election is a continual bother," and on the 3d, he added "Election matters break up business . . . Running around to accommodate people all day."¹⁴⁴ When he ran for reelection in 1880, however, he was concerned with more important matters. In October, 1880, three of his children caught diphtheria, and during the election Hedges was much more concerned with their serious conditions than campaigning. Less than a week after his defeat, Ellen Caroline Noble Hedges, his youngest child, on November 8 died at the age of $2\frac{1}{2}$ years. Judge Hedges' last day in office was December 18, 1880.¹⁴⁵

141. See Journals, June 6, 1887. The final pages of his 1876 journal contain a record of the marriages he performed as Probate Judge, with the names of the witnesses, for 1876 and 1877. The final pages of his 1878 journal contain a similar record for 1878, and the final pages of the 1879 and 1880 journals contain similiar records for 1879 and 1880 respectively, plus a record of fines charged in his court, listed by date, name, charge, and amount of fine for each of the two years, 1879 and 1880.

142. Campbell, op. cit., p. 89.

143. Journals, November 5, 1878.

144. Ibid., November 22 and 3, 1878.

145. Ibid., April 27, and Oct. 6, 1878; Nov. 1 to 3, and 8, and Dec. 18, 1880.

Hedges often attended the sessions of the Territorial Legislature during his tenure in office as Superintendent of Public Instruction to lobby for better school laws. He attended the 1876 legislative session in such a capacity, and his comment on February 11, indicates he was not too impressed with its accomplishments. He wrote:

Legislature closed today
Was up till 12 to see it out
Calamities like all else have an end
No school laws changed
Railroad bills all signed
No Insane bill passed -
Helped Gov. in looking over some bills ¹⁴⁶

In acknowledgement of his oratorical ability, Judge Hedges was selected to make the Fourth of July Address for Lewis and Clark County in 1876, in conjunction with the National Centennial celebration of that year.¹⁴⁷ When ever he made a major speech, he always spent much time in preparation, and this was no exception. He began historical research for the address on the afternoon of June 14, 1876.¹⁴⁸

As has been already shown, Hedges had varied interests and he was interested in beneficial improvements. Therefore, it is not surprising that he noted on February 20, 1878, "Witnessed the operation of the Telephone in [the] evening." At that time the telephone was one of the newest marvels of the invention age.¹⁴⁹

146. Ibid., February 11, 1876.

147. This address was later published in Volume II of Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana, pp. 107-118.

148. Journals, June 14, 1876.

149. Journals, February 20, 1878. The telephone was developed by Bell between 1873 and 1876, and patented in 1876 and 1877; see Webster's Biographical Dictionary (Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam Co., 1960), p. 129.

Those who knew and respected Judge Hedges as a trusted friend were legion, and ranged from the Chinese of the upper Gulch district of Helena to the highest territorial officials. As an example, the friendship between Territorial Chief Justice Decius Wade and Hedges was very close. Many an afternoon, the residents of Helena would see Judge Wade and Judge Hedges out for a vigorous walk of usually a considerable distance.¹⁵⁰ Neither was it uncommon for these two, with several others, to meet for an evening game of whist.¹⁵¹

As the Hedges' family grew and as their resources increased, there was a need for a newer, more commodious residence. On March 2, 1878, the Judge signed a contract to have built a new, brick-veneer home at the corner of Broadway and Rodney Streets. The cost was \$4550, (to be paid in five installments as follows: \$1500 on June 1, \$1000 on July 1, \$1000 on August 1, \$300 on August 15, and the final payment of \$750 on September 1.¹⁵² On March 14, he let an additional \$310 contract for excavation and laying the foundation, and excavation began on the 18th for the two-story, fourteen-room residence with a cupola. On April 24, they ordered new furniture and carpeting. The brickwork was complete by late July, and the interior finishing began in early August. General painting began on September 18, and the carpeting was laid and furniture was moved to the new house in early October. Finally, on October 22, the furniture moving was finished and the entire family slept in the new home

150. Journals, March 9, 13, and 16, 1878, are typical examples.

151. Selected references to support this are Journals, April 27, May 5 and 11, and June 19, 1883.

152. Ibid., March 2, 1878.

that night.¹⁵³ Perhaps the greatest source of pleasure of the new home for Judge Hedges was the library.¹⁵⁴ In later years, Toby wrote to one of his father's friends concerning Judge Hedges and his library, "in Helena with a vast amount of wealth and a good deal of culture, his was undoubtably the largest and most expensive private library."¹⁵⁵ Later, the Hedges added significant improvements for further comfort and appearance. In July, 1886, the boiler and complete apparatus for steam heat was installed.¹⁵⁶ Between September 19 and 23, 1889, an eight-foot concrete sidewalk on the Hedges property was laid bordering Broadway and Rodney Streets.¹⁵⁷ This remained the family home until after Cornelius' death on April 29, 1907, and it is still standing on the northwest corner of the intersection of Broadway and Rodney Streets.¹⁵⁸

153. For a schedule of progress on the building and furnishing of the new home, see Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 76, and *Journals*, March 2, 14 and 18, April 24, May 31, June 14 and 17, July 20 and 26, August 5, 14, 16 and 29, September 18, and October 9, 15 and 22, 1878.

154. *Journals*, October 25 and 27, 1878.

155. Cornelius Hedges, Jr. to M.M. Miller, Oct. 27, 1907, CGS, Letter Box "1907," Montana Grand Lodge Library and Archives, Helena, Montana.

156. *Journals*, July 15, 16, and 29, 1886.

157. *Ibid.*, September 19 and 23, 1889.

158. This home remained in Toby's possession for several years after his mother's death in 1912, although Toby never married. Sometime in the 1920's, it was sold to a family who abused it quite badly. In the early 1930's it was purchased by the Crumm family, and the interior and the Broadway Street entrance was radically remodeled for use as a funeral home. During the severe Helena earthquake of 1935, the brick veneer was so seriously damaged that it had to be removed for safety. Due to lack of funds the owners then covered the exterior with ruberoid shingles instead of brick. Only a small portion of the 1878 brick veneer remains, and that on the small buggy house adjacent to the residence. The building is now an apartment house managed by Mrs. Harold L. Benson, sister of the owner. The foregoing material was obtained in an informal interview with the owner, Mrs. Crumm of Laurel, Montana. The interview was held at Helena on July 16, 1963.

Judge Hedges not only moved into a new home in the fall of 1878, but also new offices. Henry Parchen, a prominent early Helena druggist and Grand Treasurer of the Montana Grand Lodge, A.F. & A.M., built a new building that fall. When it was completed in mid-November, Judge Hedges rented the second floor for his courtroom and law offices.¹⁵⁹ His offices remained there until early December of 1885, when he moved into offices in the newly completed Masonic Temple at the corner of Broadway and Jackson. While Hedges had his offices in other buildings, a portion of the rent was borne by the Grand Lodge because he, as Grand Secretary, conducted the business of the Grand Lodge from his law offices. However, the new office with an adjoining room for use as the Grand Lodge Library was provided rent free by the Trustees of the Masonic Temple. Judge Hedges elaborated further on the situation in his "Grand Secretary's General Report" for that year:

In the matter of filling up and furnishing, some expense will be involved, which for the coming year, may be covered, perhaps, by the ordinary appropriation for rent.

Hedges suggestion was followed.¹⁶⁰

On April 27, 1878, the Hedges' last child was born. The reader will recall that she died of diphtheria in 1880, shortly after her father's defeat for reelection as Probate Judge. And on September 17, 1878, Will, their oldest son, left home for his own ranch on the Sun River.¹⁶¹ This

159. Campbell, op. cit., p. 81.

160. Campbell, op. cit., p. 161, and Proceedings. 21st Communication, 1885, p. 24.

161. Journals, April 27, and September 16 and 17, 1878.

was the beginning of the natural dispursion of a large, very close family.

Hedges was not immune to sorrows, but his Christian faith never let a sorrow or even a series of sorrows drive him to despair. Shortly after he had seen his youngest, Ellen, die of diphtheria in her mother's arms and had been defeated for reelection as Probate Judge, he wrote this somber, but expectant, farewell to 1880: "So another sad year has gone -- May its experiences be blurred to me & may all my future life show that I have not suffered in vain."¹⁶²

The citizens of Helena waited nearly 17 years after the first discovery of gold in Last Chance Gulch to incorporate, and when they finally voted to accept a charter, Judge Hedges played an integral part. He was an important member of the committee which drafted the charter submitted to the citizens of Helena, and he drew up the poll books. On election day, March 7, 1881, he served as an election judge. When the votes were counted and the charter had been accepted by a vote of 620 to 56, Hedges simply commented that he was "well pleased with the result."¹⁶³

In order to organize a city convention to nominate candidates for the first mayor, city treasurer, and police magistrate, President Paynter of the Board of Trade appointed initially two persons from each ward. Those persons in turn chose 18 others from their own ward, and the entire 100 persons, twenty from each of the five wards, met as the city convention. Cornelius Hedges, along with S.C. Ashby, was selected from the 2d

162. Ibid., December 31, 1880.

163. Ibid., February 10, 11, and 16, and March 6 and 7, 1881.

ward.¹⁶⁴ On April 14, the organizational City Council meeting was held in rented rooms on the third floor of John H. Ming's Opera House, and Cornelius Hedges was appointed Helena's first City Clerk and City Attorney.¹⁶⁵ On the 18th, Hedges spent most of the day drawing up the first set of City Ordinances for Helena, and the following evening the City Council adopted them. He was also sworn in as City Clerk and City Attorney on that evening.¹⁶⁶ It was not until November 10, 1881, however, that the Council fixed the amount of his salary. It was set at \$50 per month; he had expected \$75.¹⁶⁷ He held the position as City Clerk and City Attorney until June 1, 1882, when he resigned.¹⁶⁸

As a useful instrument in his law practice, Hedges maintained, almost perpetually, a commission as a Notary Public. He held one in Iowa,¹⁶⁹ as well as in Montana Territory. An example of this would be the Notarial Commission he received from Gov. B.F. Potts on May 31, 1881, which was to be valid for three years.¹⁷⁰

In the late summer and early fall of 1881, Cornelius, his wife Edna,

164. Campbell, op. cit., p. 97.

165. Journals, April 14, 1881, and Campbell, op. cit., p. 99.

166. Journals, April 18 and 19, 1881.

167. Ibid., November 10, 1881.

168. Ibid., June 1, 1882.

169. Ibid., July 6, 1863.

170. See Journals, May 31, 1881, and Department of Interior Territorial Papers: Montana; Executive Proceedings and Official Correspondence, June 1, 1877 to June 24, 1887, Record Group 48, General Records of the Department of Interior, National Archives. Taken from microfilm roll #301, Montana State College Library, Bozeman, Montana. (This source will hereinafter be referred to as "Territorial Papers.")

and his son Toby visited in New England and New York.¹⁷¹ They left Helena on July 7 for Fort Benton and upon reaching Benton, they took passage on a river steamer and arrived in Bismarck, Dakota Territory, on July 19. They traveled on the Northern Pacific Railroad from Bismarck to Duluth, arriving there at noon on the 21st. The Hedges then journeyed by boat across the Great Lakes via the straits of Sault Ste. Marie, Lake Huron, Lake St. Clair, and into Lake Erie, reaching Cleveland on July 26 and arriving in Buffalo on the 27th. From Buffalo they traveled on the New York Central RR. to Albany and then to Westfield, Massachusetts, Cornelius' boyhood home, reaching that destination at 6 a.m. on July 28.

During their stay in the east they visited Cornelius' family and friends in and around Westfield, Massachusetts, including a visit with Spooner who was an old Yale classmate, and also with Edna's family and friends in and around Southington, Connecticut. They also visited Boston, August 12 to 15, where they visited the Commons Art Museum and Judge Hedges bought more books. From August 22 to 24, they visited New York City and saw Coney Island on the 23d. Among Cornelius' other activities while visiting in New England were: hunting family records in both Westfield and Southington; visiting at Berlin, Connecticut, where he formerly taught in the academy; sailing on the Connecticut River; and visiting with Grand Secretary J.R. Wheeler of Connecticut's Grand Lodge of Masons at Hartford.

171. The entire account of this visitation trip east is taken from Journals, July 7 to September 22, 1881; no further footnoting in this section will be therefore necessary.

On September 8, they began their return trip by rail to Chicago, and then to Independence, Iowa, for a brief visit. They left Independence on September 17, and reached Omaha the next day. There they boarded the Union Pacific RR. for Ogden, Utah Territory, and at Cheyenne, they received the expected but sad news of President James A. Garfield's death. From Ogden they rode a narrow-gauge railway to Dillon, and finally returned to Helena in the evening of September 22.

In November, 1881, after 50 years of extensive reading and writing as a lawyer, judge, newspaperman, and lover of books and knowledge, his vision was weakening and he remarked in his journal "My eyesight is failing perceptibly - I can hardly read or write . . . now without glasses."¹⁷²

The year 1882 was the low point of morale in the remarkable career of Judge Hedges. The cause of it was chiefly financial difficulties, which were not infrequent during that year. His journal entries for June 26 through July 5, tell of some of his financial problems, but also of some relief brought about by an increase in business and consequently a boost in morale. He closed his journal for that year with "Good Bye to 1882. It has been the most miserable year of my life. May God grant that I never see another like this."¹⁷³

The big excitement for Montana Territory in the summer of 1883 was the completion of the Northern Pacific as a transcontinent railroad, and Hedges again was integrally involved. He was a member of the committee which arranged the welcoming celebration on July 4 for the first

172. Journals, November 20, 1881.

173. Ibid., December 31, 1882.

railroad train to arrive in Helena.¹⁷⁴ And on August 22, he was one of the few of the privileged local citizens who was extended an invitation to attend the "Golden Spike" ceremony at Gold Creek. Among the other Montana celebrities who journeyed to Gold Creek on the special train consisting of the "St. Paul", Chief Engineer Anderson's private car, and two cabooses were: Acting Governor and Territorial Secretary Isaac D. McCutcheon, Chief Justice Decius Wade, Helena's Mayor T. H. Kleinschmidt, Colonel and Mrs. Wilbur F. Sanders, Samuel T. Hauser, Russell B. Harrison, Nick Kessler, R. E. Fisk, and Samuel Langhorne of Bozeman.¹⁷⁵

An election was held on November 6, 1883, to choose delegates for the 1884 Constitution Convention, and Hedges was a candidate. However, it was not until November 21, after an official canvas and a vote recount, that Hedges learned that he had been elected over J. R. Weston to a seat in the Convention.¹⁷⁶

The Constitutional Convention of 1884 opened at noon on January 14. On the 17th, he was appointed chairman of the Education Committee; the reader will remember that at the same time Hedges was Territorial Superintendent of Public Instruction. On January 26, the report of the Education Committee was submitted, debated, and voted upon. At the end of the day, Hedges disappointedly entered in his journal "The [Education] Article went thru with little improvement & more mutilation." Judge Hedges chaired the convention session on the 28th. Finally, he was a member of the

174. Leeson, op. cit., p. 711.

175. Journals, August 21 and 22, 1883, and Campbell, op. cit., p. 125.

176. Journals, November 6 to 21, 1883.

revision committee to draft the final form of the document, and he contributed greatly in that capacity. On February 9, he noted in his journal the formal signing of the Constitution, and the "Convention closed in the eve with little ceremony - singing - Star Spangled Banner sung."¹⁷⁷

Judge Hedges, along with about 250 other men and women who entered Montana and established homes on or before December 31, 1864, signed the constitution of the Society of Montana pioneers on September 10, 1884, and became a charter member of the Society.¹⁷⁸ On August 28, 1885, he was elected Corresponding Secretary of the organization and held that office until 1886. On August 24, 1888, Hedges was elected Secretary of the Society at a salary of \$150 and served in that capacity until 1892, when he became the Society's Treasurer. He served two years in that position, and he finally served as the President of the Society of Montana Pioneers in 1904 and 1905.¹⁷⁹

Again in August and September, 1885, Hedges was involved in another activity for the benefit of the community. On August 10, along with Colonel Samuel Bird, John W. Eddy, William B. Reed and A.E. Bunker, Cornelius Hedges was instrumental in the organization of Helena's Young Men's Christian Association. On August 12, he was elected a Vice-President of the Y.M.C.A. The object of the Y.M.C.A. was to work closely with the churches of the city and maintain reading rooms and facilities of like nature for the young men of the city. The formal opening of the "Y" in

177. Ibid., January 14 to February 9, 1884.

178. Hamilton, op. cit., pp. 519-521.

179. Journals, August 28, 1885, and August 24, 1888, and The Montana Daily Record (Helena), April 29, 1907.

rooms over Fred Gamer's store on South Main Street was September 1, but Hedges was unable to attend because of a Knight Templar Commandery meeting that evening.¹⁸⁰

In October of 1885, in the "Conclusion" section of his "Report on Foreign Correspondence" in the Grand Lodge Proceedings, he apologized for the slowness of publication and adds "But to tell the truth, we have been having our first encounter with rheumatism, in which we [have] come out second best for about three weeks."¹⁸¹ This affliction continued to irritatingly hinder him from time to time in his active schedule for the remainder of his years.

After experiencing the grief of losing three children of childhood diseases, Dennis, Langford, and Ellen, Cornelius and Edna again experienced the sorrow of the death of a beloved child. This time it was their first grandchild, Hattie Layette Hedges, daughter of Will and his wife Ida. News of her death due to the croup, on January 6, 1886, was received in Helena on January 9, 1886.¹⁸²

Cornelius, in a spirit of independence that he very much enjoyed, had practiced law alone for many years, but on February 1, 1886, he formed a new partnership with a Mr. Miller. However, the partnership was to last less than nine months. On October 20, the notice of Hedges' dissolution with Miller appeared in The Helena Herald. The source of friction was Miller's unending passion for financial experiments; after the failure of a butter company scheme, Miller immediately became

180. Journals, August 10, 1885, and Campbell, op. cit., p. 175.

181. Proceedings. 21st Communication, 1885, p. 153.

182. Journals, January 9, 1886.

enthusiastic about investment in a new quartz mining scheme and wanted Hedges to invest also.¹⁸³

Because of his dedication to and belief in the future of education in Montana, it was a source of great personal pride for Cornelius when his daughter Emma became the first of the Hedges' off-spring to be graduated from a Helena High School, on June 3, 1887. The Herald termed it "one of the largest [classes] in the history of the school," it had a total of eight members.¹⁸⁴ Both Will and Edna Cornelia had graduated from high school or "academy" in New England. Will attended the academy at Westfield, Massachusetts, and had spent nearly two years at Yale College.¹⁸⁵ Edna Cornelia attended Wellesley College in the early 1880's, according to her father's journals. Emma was married to John Woodbridge at the family home on October 17, 1888.¹⁸⁶

Judge Hedges had been a member of the Bar of the territory since he had first opened a practice in Helena in 1865. On January 4, 1888, he was elected treasurer of the Bar Association. Often, because of his recognized professional knowledge and ability, he was the person who conducted examinations for admission to the Montana Bar. As an example, he examined C.R. Connelly and David B. Carpenter on January 10, 1888.¹⁸⁷

The Omnibus Enabling Act to admit Montana, North and South Dakota, and Washington to statehood was passed by Congress and signed by President

183. Ibid., February 1, 1886, and October 20, 1886.

184. Journals, June 3, 1887, and Campbell, op. cit., p. 187.

185. Life of Wyllys A. Hedges.

186. Journals, October 17, 1888.

187. Ibid., January 4 and 10, 1888.

Cleveland on February 22, 1889. On the second Monday of May, political conventions were held in the 25 special districts, so designated for that purpose, to nominate delegates to draft a constitution. Nominated from District 14, which was one of four districts in Lewis and Clark County, was a very talented group. It consisted of Republicans, Cornelius Hedges and L.H. Hershfield, and Democrats, Martin Maginnis and Montana's future first Governor, Joseph K. Toole. At the election on May 14, three of the four were to be elected delegates, and the results chronicled the defeat of Hedges.¹⁸⁸ On May 15, his journal entry lends insight to the reason for his defeat. He wrote "My opponents and their associates spent lots of money to beat me."¹⁸⁹

When the Convention opened in Helena on July 4, 1889, though not a delegate, Hedges was on hand for its opening. "Saw the convention sworn in," he wrote, "Though the oath came rather hard to Hershfield."¹⁹⁰ I believe the latter is in reference to the banking interests of L.H. Hershfield, one of the three men who defeated Hedges for a seat. On the 6th, Toby Hedges was elected a page and eventually received a salary of \$172 for his work during the convention.¹⁹¹

On July 22 and 23, he attended the convention during the consideration of the Judiciary bill. On the 23d, he wrote in his diary, with no

188. Hamilton, op. cit., pp. 536-537, and Campbell, op. cit., p. 233 and p. 235.

189. Journals, May 15, 1889.

190. Ibid., July 4, 1889.

191. Journals, July 6, 1889, and Senate Journal of the Second Session of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana (Helena: Journal Publishing Co., 1891), p. 47. The session ran from January 5 to March 5, 1891. (This source will hereinafter be referred to as "Senate Journal, 2d Session.")

small sense of accomplishment since he was not a delegate, "I got through one amendment."¹⁹² Needless to say, Judge Hedges was an influential person. When they considered the education provisions of the proposed constitution, his journal reveals that he was very disappointed and dissatisfied with the convention's action, especially with their refusal to retain school lands.¹⁹³

Judge Hedges' acknowledged ability as an orator was again utilized on the occasion of the Silver Anniversary of territorial status for Montana. He was the featured orator at ceremonies held in Helena on May 25 at Ming's Opera House. The celebration was held the day before the actual date of May 26, which fell on Sunday.¹⁹⁴

On August 17, 1889, Cornelius Hedges was named Republican nominee for State Senator from Lewis & Clark County. He was nominated on the second ballot at a Republican Caucus from a field that included A.M. Holter, T.H. Kleinschmidt, and W.A. Chessman, and at one point he wanted to decline.¹⁹⁵ On the day of the election, October 1, Hedges was concerned about the negligence of the County Republican Committee, and at one point he thought "There were signs not only of negligence, but treachery." On the 2d, he led by a meager majority, and the results were still inconclusive on October 9. However, upon returning from a Presbytry meeting in Missoula, Cornelius learned he had won by a majority of

192. Journals, July 22 and 23, 1889.

193. Ibid., July 31, 1889.

194. Campbell, op. cit., p. 234.

195. Journals, August 17, 1889.

121 votes.¹⁹⁶

On November 8, 1889, as a very proud Montanan, Hedges wrote "Montana was admitted as a State today at 10:40 & news received here by 11 a.m. Great rejoicing; All the flags afloat!"¹⁹⁷ In his Masonic Grand Lodge Correspondence Report for 1889, he further elaborated on his proud, but somewhat over optimistic opinion of Montana's potential:

With Statehood and the control of our resources in our own hands we may reasonably expect a larger ultimate, if not rapid growth. Our area is equal to that of the empire of Japan, with its 37,000,000 inhabitants. We have single counties larger than Maine or Indiana, and our sage-brush desert lands, with only water, would yield more wheat, acre for acre, than the richest bottom lands in any part of the Mississippi Valley. It is the destined home for millions in the great future. Stored away in our mountains is enough precious metals to pay all the debts of the world and fill everyone's pockets besides.

Masonry and our Gr. Lodge have a career propo-
tioned to the area and resources of Montana. We have no
occasion to envy others.¹⁹⁸

The First Legislative Assembly was scheduled to convene on November 23, 1889, but it was not until December 19, that the Republican Senators organized to transact some business. Efforts for organization of the entire Senate had been thwarted by boycotting Democratic Senators. On that day, Lt. Gov. J.E. Rickards, President of the Senate, appointed Hedges to the Committee on Rules.¹⁹⁹ On December 30, Hedges' patience was wearing thin, he wrote "Most of the day spent in caucus & taking compromise - It came to nothing, thoroughly disgusted & will try no more." On

196. Ibid., October 1 to 13, 1889.

197. Journals, November 8, 1889.

198. Proceedings. 24th Communication, p. 95 of Appendix "C".

199. Journals, November 23 to December 19, 1889, and Hamilton, op. cit., pp. 568-573.

the 31st, the Republican members of both houses met in joint session and proceeded to elect U.S. Senators. Hedges supported W.F. Sanders, who was elected on January 1, 1890. The next day T.C. Powers was elected. Although they were contested by W.A. Clark and Martin Maginnis for Montana's seats in Washington, they were eventually seated.²⁰⁰ On the 15th of January, he commented that he was appointed to all the Senate Committees which he wanted without any previous request.²⁰¹

On February 8, after Senator Becker had been brought back to Helena under guard, Hedges wrote:

Great Day in Senate - Becker brought back on special - Released from contempt [of] Legislature till 2/12 but contemplated nothing - Trusted Becker's word that he would be present Monday.

But when Becker left the state, Hedges exhibited his indignation and anger in his journal. To Hedges, honor was a sacred virtue and Sen. Becker had violated it. In bold strokes he wrote "When we met today found that Becker had skipped - All confusion . . ."²⁰² On the 18th, Hedges was appointed by the Republican Senators to address the people of Montana and explain the situation to them.²⁰³ The session expired by law on February 20, without any organization of the Senate.²⁰⁴

The Second Session of the Legislative Assembly opened on January 5, 1891. On that day, Hedges was defeated 10 to 6 by Sen. William M.

200. Journals, December 30 and 31, 1889, and January 1 and 2, 1890, and Hamilton, op. cit., pp. 574-575.

201. Journals, January 15, 1890.

202. Ibid., February 8 and 10, 1890.

203. Ibid., February 18, 1890.

204. Hamilton, op. cit., p. 576.

Thurston of Deer Lodge County for the position of President pro tempore on a strict party-line vote.²⁰⁵ On the third day of the session he was appointed to a three-man committee to meet with the House to decide joint rules.²⁰⁶ During that session, Senator Hedges was a member of the following standing committees: Corporations other than Municipal, Education, Federal Relations, Judiciary, Public Morals, and Rules.²⁰⁷ Senator Hedges' term expired in November, 1892.²⁰⁸

In a biographical sketch of his father, Will summarized his dad's contribution as a member of the State Senate. As the first Senator from Lewis and Clark County, he "exhausted every honorable means to rise above consideration of partisan advantage" in the enactment of wise laws for the future, which to him was much more important than trivial partisan politics.²⁰⁹

At a meeting of the Historical Society of Montana on February 1, 1890, Hedges was elected Vice-president. He succeeded Granville Stuart, who was elected President in place of W.F. Sanders. Sanders had just been elected U.S. Senator and would be in Washington, D.C., much of the time.²¹⁰ And on April 3, 1895, Hedges was elected President of the Historical Society.²¹¹

In July and August of 1891, Cornelius, Edna, and Toby took another

205. Senate Journal, 2d Session, p. 7.

206. Ibid., p. 55.

207. Ibid., pp. 77-78.

208. Ibid., p. 3.

209. W.A. Hedges, "Cornelius Hedges," Contributions, VII, p. 191.

210. Journals, February 1, 1890.

211. "Transactions," Contributions, II, p. 43.

vacation trip, this time to the Pacific Northwest and up the "inland Waterway Passage" to Sitka, Alaska. They left Helena on July 31, and sailed from Seattle on August 6. They reached Wrangel on the 8th and Sitka on August 12. On the way up, Judge Hedges was much impressed with the "wooded mountains on both sides & with patches of snow & cascades" in the inland waterway passage. At Sitka, they were the guests of Territorial Governor Knapp at dinner and an evening Ball. They returned to Seattle on the 18th of August and visited at Olympia with Grand Secretary Read of the Washington Grand Lodge that evening. They proceeded on to Portland on the 19th and arrived home on August 21.²¹²

Cornelius Hedges was also off travelling in the summer of 1892. He attended the Templar's General Grand Commandery Triennial in Denver, and he commented, "The chief pleasure and reward anticipated from our Denver Trip was the meeting of fellow laborers in the Masonic vineyard and in this respect we were not disappointed."²¹³ In August, 1895, he attended a similar Triennial in Boston. In remarking that he attended that Templar's reunion, he added "In fact, that is one of the chief attractions to us in making a long pilgrimage to the east at a season when we would much prefer to be in the mountains."²¹⁴

By 1893, his Masonic writing was taking precedence over all other types of writing. He was then writing the voluminous Fraternal

212. Journals, July 31 to August 21, 1891, and Proceedings. 27th Communication, 1891, p. 107 of Appendix "A".

213. Proceedings. 28th Communication, 1892, p. 1 and p. 131 of Appendix "A".

214. Proceedings. 31st Communication, 1895, p. 1 and p. 135 of Appendix "A".

Correspondence Report for not only Grand Lodge, but also for Grand Chapter and Grand Commandery because he was the Grand Secretary and Grand Recorder of those respective bodies.²¹⁵ Judge Hedges and his wife Edna attended the Masonic Congress in Chicago held during the Chicago World's Fair in 1893. He was appointed as one of five Past Grand Masters to attend and represent Montana, but due to the financial panic of 1893, Hedges was the only one to attend, and he went at considerable personal financial sacrifice.²¹⁶

Cornelius Hedges along with W.B. Hundley and Martin Maginnis, acting as a Committee of the Grand Lodge of Montana, selected and collected the materials for the metal corner-stone of the State Capitol Building in 1899.²¹⁷

Also in 1899, during the long, bitter Clark-Daly fight over the election of the U.S. Senator, Judge Hedges was nominated as a dead-lock breaking candidate, and received full support of the Republican party in both Houses.²¹⁸

The Twilight Years, 1901-1907

Early in 1901, rheumatism, which first afflicted Judge Hedges in 1885, grew more acute and he found it necessary to go to southern California for two months of vacation to seek relief. He noted that the

215. Proceedings. 29th Communication, 1893, p. 2 of Appendix "A".

216. See Pomeroy, et al., op. cit., pp. 11-12; Proceedings. 28th Communication, 1892, pp. 45-46; and Proceedings. 43d Communication, 1907, p. 62.

217. Cornelius Hedges, "Special Communication of the Grand Lodge, A.F. & A.M. of Montana, To Lay the Corner-stone of the State Capitol Building," Contributions, IV, p. 35.

218. Progressive Men, p. 2.

rheumatic pains were still bothersome in the fall.²¹⁹ Also on July 4, 1901, in commenting on a "sumptuous banquet" spread "under the shade of Fruit trees of all kinds" after a Grand Lodge cornerstone laying at Stevensville, he stated:

The occasion will long be cherished in memory of those who participated and even the Grand Secretary for the occasion almost forgot the pains and disabilities of his rheumatism.²²⁰

In 1901 and 1902, he began to indicate that his rheumatism no longer allowed him free use of his limbs, and that the writing of Fraternal Correspondence Reports, which were a source of pleasure to him for over 30 years, was now a painful and wearisome job.²²¹ And in 1902, the year he had an extended and almost fatal illness, he gave indication that he was perhaps almost ready to lay down his working tools for his just reward. He wrote:

It is usually a pleasure to write these reports, but we confess the pleasure has been materially lessened thinking of old associates in this work. We often envy them that this life of limitation and disappointment is over. Yet there is pleasure in living and watching the mighty strides of progress, not only in Masonry, but in all the arts and sciences that minister to higher civilization.²²²

Hedges condition was so acute in December of that year that his close personal friend, Past Grand Master Charles H. Gould wrote Toby:

219. Proceedings. 37th Communication, 1901, p. 35.

220. Ibid., p. 8.

221. Proceedings. 37th Communication, 1901, p. 121 of "Report on Fraternal Correspondence," and Proceedings. 38th Communication, 1902, p. 135 of "Report on Fraternal Correspondence."

222. Proceedings. 38th Communication, 1902, p. 135 of "Report on Fraternal Correspondence."

A few days since, the press dispatches reported your dear father ill nigh unto death. Daily, since then, I have scanned the papers, each morning, with anxious eye and heaved a sigh of relief as I found his name had not been added to the scroll of immortals . . . Kindly tell him that I grieve that one whom I deem so true and noble should be called to undergo such suffering.²²³

An erroneous report of Judge Hedges' death even reached E.T. Carr, 33⁰, Sovereign Grand Inspector General, A. & A.S.R., in Leavenworth, Kansas. Carr wrote to Toby expressing condolences and requesting a personal history. The next day, he wrote another letter expressing relief that his first report had been in error.²²⁴

However, Cornelius Hedges' temporal joys and pleasures were by no means at an end. In 1903, he gained restored health, and with much pride returned to New Haven, Connecticut, in the early summer to attend the 50th Anniversary of his Yale graduating class. In his own words:

It was a great privilege and pleasure to return after fifty years to our old college and renew the acquaintances formed a half century ago though under greatly changed conditions.²²⁵

On July 17, 1906, Edna and Cornelius Hedges, with great pleasure, celebrated their Golden Wedding Anniversary in Helena. All of their living children were in attendance at the celebration; Will Hedges from his ranch in Fergus County, Henry H. Hedges from his ranch in Valley County, Mrs. Emma Woodbridge from Boston, Massachusetts, and Mrs. Edna

223. Charles H. Gould to Cornelius Hedges, Jr., December 20, 1902, Lincoln, Nebraska, CGS.

224. E. T. Carr to Cornelius Hedges, Jr., December 12, 1902, and December 13, 1902, Leavenworth, Kansas, CGS.

225. Proceedings. 39th Communication, 1903, p. 31, and pp. 135-136 of "Report on Fraternal Correspondence."

Cornelia Palmer and Cornelius Hedges, Jr., both of whom lived in Helena.²²⁶

Judge Cornelius Hedges' final illness began in August of 1906.²²⁷

The last communication of the Grand Lodge of Montana which Hedges attended was the special communication held to lay the corner-stone for the Masonic Home near Helena on December 27, 1906. He described the sleigh ride of about eight miles out into the valley to the Masonic Home site:

The sleigh ride was greatly enjoyed, though the snow was light and thin. The sun shone out occasionally, and the fog lifted, showing the trees covered with a glistening array of hoar-frost, and the circling mountains in white winter apparel. There was no wind, and the sun shining through fleecy clouds seemed to be smiling a benediction.²²⁸

The establishment of the Masonic Home for Montana was very dear to Hedges' heart. The Grand Lodge Memorial written at his death tells of his contribution in this field:

The efforts of his later years have been devoted to furthering the cause of Masonic charity, and especially the work of building a Masonic Home in Montana. By his writings and conversation, he inspired a brother of this jurisdiction to devise a large estate, the income of which is to be used for the support of a home for aged and infirm Masons and Masonic widows and orphans.²²⁹

Hedges kept a journal until approximately two weeks before his death, but the last two weeks of entries are extremely difficult to read and the final entry is all but impossible to decipher. He suffered a heart attack

226. Cornelius Hedges, Jr. to M.M. Miller, October 27, 1907, CGS, Letter Box "1907".

227. Proceedings. 42d Communication, 1907, p. 126 of "Report on Fraternal Correspondence."

228. Proceedings. 43d Communication, 1907, pp. 4-5.

229. Ibid., pp. 63-64.

during the first week of April, 1907, and lived approximately three more weeks. As proof of the high respect held of him by the citizenry of Helena, The Helena Independent recorded that "since his last illness scores of people have inquired daily about his condition."²³⁰

Death came to this grand old Montana pioneer at 12:30 a.m., April 29, "worn out after a struggle of almost three weeks with disease which ravaged the once strong constitution, unconsciousness came as a relief to the patient." At his bedside at death at the family home were his wife Edna, his son Toby, and his daughter Edna.²³¹

Judge Hedges' funeral was held at the First Presbyterian Church at 2 p.m. on May 1, 1907. The funeral sermon was given by Rev. Dr. W.N. Sloan.²³² The Public Library was closed from noon until 6 p.m. that day out of respect and tribute. All of his living children attended except Emma and her health did not permit her travelling from Boston.²³³ All but five of the Grand Lodge Officers were in attendance along with eight Past Grand Masters.²³⁴ The group of gentlemen paying their last respects for the Society of Montana Pioneers read like a roster of the most important living pioneers. It included W.A. Clark, Walter Cooper, Granville Stuart, Henry F. Edgar, Conrad Kohrs, and A.M. Holter.²³⁵ Also, large numbers of Masons from all over Montana and others "of every walk and

230. The Helena Independent, April 29, 1907.

231. Ibid.

232. The entire text of this funeral sermon was printed in the May 1, 1907, issue of The Montana Daily Record (Helena).

233. The Helena Independent, April 29, 1907.

234. Proceedings. 43d Communication, 1907, p. 7.

235. The Montana Daily Record (Helena), April 29, 1907.

station" attended the services. He was buried with Masonic honors at Forestvale Cemetery at Helena.²³⁶

Hedges' influence reached beyond the boundaries of Montana, he was known as a dedicated scholar throughout the Masonic world which included Australia, New Zealand, Canada, most of Latin America and western Europe, and the Grand Orient of Egypt, as well as the remainder of the United States. His death was felt in many parts of the globe. I have been able to locate letters of condolence written to Toby after his father's death from five states, Maine, Virginia, Ohio, Wisconsin and Minnesota, the Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia and the Gran Logia de la Isla de Cuba.²³⁷ And a telegram was received from Grand Secretary Christopher Diehl of the Utah Grand Lodge on the day of his funeral.²³⁸

Grand Master A. D. Macdonald "on May 11th issued a general letter in the form of a dispensation to all the lodges, directing them to meet in their lodge rooms . . . On Sunday Afternoon, May 26th, to hold either public or private Memorial Services [] for Cornelius Hedges"²³⁹ At such

236. Proceedings. 43d Communication, 1907, p. 8.

237. Letter from the Norway, Maine, Masonic Library to Cornelius Hedges, Jr., Norway, Maine, June 14, 1907; Thomas G. Davis, P.G.M., to Cornelius Hedges, Jr., Fredericksburg, Virginia, May 18, 1907; William M. Perry, Grand Secretary, to Cornelius Hedges, Jr., Milwaukee, Wisconsin, May 7, 1907; J.H. Bromwell, Grand Secretary, to Cornelius Hedges, Jr., Cincinnati, Ohio, June 22, 1907; Thomas Montgomery, Grand Secretary, to Cornelius Hedges, Jr., St. Paul, Minnesota, May 23, 1907; W.S. Wombay, Grand Secretary, to Cornelius Hedges, Jr., Halifax, Nova Scotia, October 17, 1907; and Carlos G. Harles, Grand Secretary, to Cornelius Hedges, Jr., Havana, Cuba, July 1, 1907. All of which are in CGS, Letter Box "1907."

238. Proceedings. 43d Communication, 1907, p. 8.

239. Ibid., p. 25.

a Lodge of Sorrow in Livingston on that day, Past Grand Master Edward C.

Day delivered the Memorial Address. In conclusion, he remarked:

I said, in opening, that his death marks the closing of an era. He is among the last to pass away of the great founders of civilization in Montana. He was the last of the great founders of Masonry in Montana.²⁴⁰

In conclusion of this biographical sketch, the words of Grand Master Alexander D. Macdonald very succinctly sum up the life of Cornelius Hedges:

[He] was the very best product of the cultured East, developed and broadened by association with the generous and vigorous spirit of the West.²⁴¹

240. MS copy of the Memorial Address delivered by P.G.M. Edward C. Day in Livingston Lodge #32, A.F. & A.M., at Livingston, Montana, May 26, 1907. It is in CGS, Letter Box "1907."

241. Proceedings. 43d Communication, 1907, p. 21.

Chapter III

MOTIVATING FORCES OF CHARACTER

Behind Cornelius Hedges' accomplishments and contributions to the positive development of Montana was a set of ideals which permeated every activity and concern with which he was associated. Because Hedges believed in and practiced the virtues of honor, brotherly love, and charity, he accomplished uncommon things in relatively common ways.

To Hedges, honor was sacred and he enjoyed no greater pleasure than to be trusted as a friend. Will Hedges described the extent to which honor was important in his father's life when he said, "He believed a good name was worth more than riches and thus spread good will far and wide."²⁴² Also to him, reliability was an important part of honor, thus it too was exhibited in Hedges' life. An excerpt from N.P. Langford's diary of the Yellowstone expedition shows how that virtue in his life was appreciated by others:

Hedges is to be my comrade-in-arms in this service. He has expressed to me his great satisfaction that he is to be associated with me throughout the trip in this night guard duty, and I am especially pleased at being assigned to duty with so reliable a coadjutor as Hedges, a man who can be depended upon to neglect no duty.²⁴³

Even the once hostile Helena Independent wrote of him:

. . . from the time when he first came to the state he was honored with positions of trust by the people. Never did he violate those trusts, but did the duty that devolved upon him with fearlessness and rare ability.²⁴⁴

²⁴². W.A. Hedges, "Cornelius Hedges," Contributions, VII, p. 196.

²⁴³. Langford, Diary of the Washburn Expedition, p. 6.

²⁴⁴. The Helena Independent, April 29, 1907.

In 1887, a man by the name of George Foote called on Hedges and questioned his handling of public moneys as Probate Judge, and attempted to accuse him of betraying a public trust. The charge was made seven years after Hedges had last served as Probate Judge, but it concerned him to the point that he laid awake most of that night and was not satisfied until the next afternoon when he had located all the old vouchers to account for every cent of money handled in his five years in office.²⁴⁵

The second cardinal virtue of Hedges' life was brotherly love, and along with it an undying faith in the essential goodness and worth of mankind. Speaking of the qualities exhibited in Hedges' writing, Edward C. Day commented:

And through it all runs as a clear, limpid stream that grand characteristic of his life -- Brotherly Love -- that love which is broad enough and wide enough to embrace suffering humanity everywhere and to seek for its amelioration.²⁴⁶

A complement to brotherly love was Hedges' third and perhaps most important cardinal virtue -- charity. Judge Hedges held a more inclusive concept of the meaning of charity and what constituted charity than is held by most of us. To most of us charity involves some form of the distribution of material wealth to the indigent or unfortunate, but to Hedges it meant much more. His ideas on charity are brilliantly expressed in his Masonic writings, but more important to him those ideas were translated into beneficent actions in his daily life.

There were many facets of charity which were important to Cornelius,

245. Journals, June 6 and 7, 1887.

246. Proceedings. 34th Communication, 1897, p. 59.

and each of them will be examined briefly. First of all, he was convinced that personal charity practiced daily as the need of others arose was much more effective than the efforts of large institutional charities. Secondly, a charity to be most effective must promote usefulness in the lives of the recipients. He also felt that if charity is not cheerfully and inconspicuously given, then the purpose of the charity is all but defeated. And finally he believed in what I would like to call "total charity." this is the charity of not only material possessions and money, but the charity of all the intangibles that a person has at his command, or the general giving of one's time and talents. In a speech as Worthy Grand Patron before the Grand Chapter of the Order of Eastern Star in 1893, Cornelius Hedges expressed it this way:

Rituals, ceremonies, regalias and such are good in their place, but while you pay tithes of these lesser things, forget not the weightier matters of the law. Study and practice charity; charity of thought, judgment and speech, as well as in acts of feeding the hungry and clothing the naked. The field is everywhere. There are objects of charity in palaces as well as hovels. It is not money or meat that is needed half as much as kind words of advice and encouragement. Your treasuries will never be empty if your hearts are full. Be fruitful in good works and never wait for a more convenient season.²⁴⁷

And another time, he wrote:

Not only disease and evil habits are contagious, but happily this is true of bright examples of high and noble living, giving, and doing. The more one does, the more he sees to do; the more one gives, the more one is disposed to give and finds means to give and the good Lord, who "loves a cheerful giver" never fails to observe and reward such a giver. None are so poor but that they can give something if it be only a word of cheer, comfort, sympathy, or counsel. No one was ever poorer for giving

²⁴⁷. Brattin, et al., op. cit., p. 22

to a worthy brother or sister in distress.²⁴⁸

Judge Hedges' ideas on the value of personal acts of charity as compared to the operations of massive, often impersonal, charity organizations were very definite. He cautioned against the possibility in a large charity that the things that are everybody's concern often suddenly become nobody's concern. In his meaningful style, his own words express his ideas best:

What we need most to cultivate is the spirit of private, personal beneficence. Let every Masonic heart become an asylum, warmed, lighted, and expanded from internal, connecting with infinite and eternal, sources of supply. We want even more than our organized, concentrated systems of charity, fed by tithes, perhaps grudgingly paid, a diffusive system in which each individual member shall strike out and pursue his independent career of beneficence continuously, intelligently, energetically, and as a necessary consequence, profitably and successfully.²⁴⁹

He went on to clarify his position:

We do not mean to say that organizations to dispense charity are not good institutions, or that it is not desirable to have funds raised by general assessment to answer the most pressing, extraordinary calls, but we are very clear that it is unwise to make this the only or principal channel through which to bestow charity. It neither promotes liberality in the soul of the giver, nor gratitude in the recipient.²⁵⁰

And finally he leaves us in no doubt concerning his beliefs about large, organized charities:

We would not for anything discourage any effort

248. Proceedings. 38th Communication, 1902, p. 1 of "Report on Fraternal Correspondence."

249. Proceedings. 15th Communication, 1879, pp. 115-116.

250. Ibid., p. 115.

in any direction, however bungling, expensive and ineffective the machinery; but if it is thought that these and any other substitute that can be devised will take the place of individual exertion, it is an error that cannot too soon be exploded and our train switched on to the right track.²⁵¹

Hedges also warned against those who might unworthily apply for charity.²⁵² The need to be inconspicuous in giving and the need to promote a usefulness among recipients of charity were common themes in Hedges' writing. Again I will use his own words to best express his thoughts:

When we have learned to do our charities in secret, anticipating the request, and have really learned to do kindness for sweet charity's sake, without thought or hope of praise or pay, we shall have found our way into the sanctum sanctorum by the only path or doorway through which mortal can ever enter it. We want aggressive, discriminating charity, not that passive, blind sort that encourages mendicancy and begets helplessness.²⁵³

How were these ideas manifest in Hedges' daily life? In the broad, general sense, because of his integral concept of charity, every time he aided or supported a movement that was noble and beneficial, he was really rendering an act of true charity and brotherly love.

Specifically, an excellent example of personal charity, which promoted usefulness, is recorded in Hedges' journal in the early months of 1888. On January 20, a night when the temperature was somewhere between -10° and -25°, he noted "Have a tramp sleeping in the cellar." By the 24th and 27th, Judge Hedges had found usefulness in the "man in the

251. Ibid., p. 116.

252. Ibid., p. 115.

253. Proceedings. 19th Communication, 1883, p. 123.

cellar" and had given him a job tending the furnace and glazing the cupola. By March, Hedges noted that Carl Johnson, his "cellar boarder," was still there, and he had put him to work painting. Thus Hedges had brought out the usefulness in a former outcast of society. On March 31, Carl left with Cornelius' "old suit of clothes."²⁵⁴

Another case of Hedges' personal charity is revealed in an answer to a request for Masonic charity from the widow of Past Grand Master James W. Hathaway:

Yours of the 13th ultimo was received some days since and I have showed the letter to some of your husband's friends in Morning Star lodge, and I find there was a general strong feeling that you neglected your husband in his last days and they were unwilling to do or suggest anything to help you. For myself, I was a warm friend of your husband, and I am willing to do what I can to assist you and your son.²⁵⁵

These were the motivating forces of his inimitable character. However, there were many other character traits which were distinctive in Judge Hedges' life.

He had a fine sense of devotion to duty in any endeavor he undertook. This is a direct outgrowth of his charitable giving of time, talent, and intellect. An outstanding example of the devotion to duty was recorded in 1876. In preparing the report on Fraternal Correspondence, he noted the receipt of the Proceedings from Brazil. Instead of entirely disregarding it, he wrote:

254. Journals, January 20, 24, and 27, and March 5, 15, and 31, 1888.

255. Cornelius Hedges to Mrs. J.W. Hathaway of Seattle, Wash., Helena, Montana, December 5, 1906, CGS.

we are not familiar enough with Portuguese to read it readily, and not finding a dictionary of that language in the limited stock of our book stores, we shall have to defer a proper attention to our foreign brethern till we have leisure to learn that language, or can secure the services of a polyglot assistant.²⁵⁶

Another trait most noticeable in the lives of both Judge Hedges and the rest of his family was unselfishness. Oscar O. Mueller, son-in-law of Charles W. Cook of the 1869 Folsom-Cook expedition to Yellowstone, wrote the following about that trait of the Hedges:

In all his activities Hedges was primarily motivated by the best interests of the state, and Montana citizens speak of the Hedges family as "unselfish to the extreme." They enjoyed working for the public even to the disadvantage of their personal matters. This is the one criticism that has been made of them!²⁵⁷

And by Judge Hedges' own admission in 1882: "Seem to be spending most of my time working for other & doing little for myself."²⁵⁸ This spirit of unselfishness again can be traced to charity, charity which at times demanded all the talents he possessed.

Because of his many and diverse interests, Hedges enjoyed doing a variety of work, and he sometimes expressed wishes for more variety when the pace of activities seemed to slacken.²⁵⁹

Total compassion for all living creatures, as well as for human beings, was another of his character traits. Cornelius tells of one

256. Proceedings. 12th Communication, p. 173.

257. Oscar O. Mueller to William Turrentine Jackson, Lewistown, Montana, June 22, 1938, excerpt quoted in William Turrentine Jackson, "Early Exploration and Founding of Yellowstone National Park" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Texas, Austin, Texas, June, 1940), p. 158.

258. Journals, January 18, 1882.

259. See Journals, entry for July 15, 1887.

incident involving a fish in Yellowstone Lake. The incident took place on the 1870 Yellowstone Expedition, and briefly it was this:

I returned along the narrow rim of this partition [between a hot spring and the lake], and catching sight of some expectant trout lying in easy reach, I solicited their attention to a transfixed grasshopper, and meeting an early and energetic response, I attempted to land my prize beyond the spring, but unfortunately for the fish, he escaped the hook to plunge into this boiling spring. As soon as possible I relieved the agonized creature by throwing him out with my pole, and though his contortions were not fully ended, his skin came off and he had all the appearance of being boiled through. The incident, though excusable as an incident, was too shocking to repeat.²⁶⁰

One unique quality in his life was his attitude concerning office-seeking. Hedges said:

There is one, and only one Masonic way to seek office, and that is by best deserving it. Office gained and held by merit is an honor to the bearer, and to those who bestow it, otherwise a dishonor . . . There is more satisfying enjoyment to the well-balanced and trained soul in deserving success, though not attained, than anyone can feel by attaining it undeserved.²⁶¹

It was therefore said of him at his death:

His record speaks for him and tells in unmistakable terms that he had "sounded all the depths and shoals of honor" at the call of his brethern. He sought not preferment, and his honors were literally thrust upon him in recognition of disinterested and distinguished devotion to the order [of Masonry].²⁶²

He also had his own ideas on the value of money. On May 6, 1884, after he had given his wife Edna a pair of diamond earrings for her birthday in the early morning which "made her happy all day," Hedges recorded

260. Helena Daily Herald, November 9, 1870.

261. Brattin, et al., op. cit., p. 22.

262. Proceedings. 43d Communication, 1907, p. 63.

in his journal, "Really can the value of money be better estimated than by the satisfaction it affords."²⁶³

When our nation turned its eyes toward the Pacific and the Carribean areas in an era known as that of "expansionism," Hedges decisively defended his expansionist views. Two selections from his Masonic writings state his beliefs well. In 1899, he wrote: "We are not ashamed to confess that we are an "expansionist," especially for the expansion of Masonic charity and the extension of Masonic influence for peace among nations."²⁶⁴ And in 1902, he further explained:

With the Philippines we have a hard problem, made harder by the foolish transcendental sentimentality in this country that encourages in the natives ideas of independence for which the mass of people cannot be prepared in a hundred years. Of our own free will our people are disposed to give the inhabitants of those islands all the liberty they can use to advantage, but we bought the islands from Spain to gain a "pou sto" in the far east and for that purpose they are well worth all that we paid and all that it will cost to hold them. Filipinos in the mass are pretty hard subjects for civilization. Besides being ignorant, they are the most accomplished liars in the world, naturally cruel, treacherous, unreliable and without the industry of the Chinese. They have fallen share to our share of the "white man's burden" and we must do the best we can for them. Perhaps in a hundred years by missionary labor and helpful instruction they may be made into fair citizens. But for Dewey's visit and the subsequent cession and occupation by the United States they would still be oppressed subjects of Spain.

Masonry may well assume a share of this burden and much of the work must be done at home in keeping this question from becoming a political foot-ball as seems to

263. Journals, May 6, 1884.

264. Proceedings. 35th Communication, 1899, p. 2 of "Report on Fraternal Correspondence."

be its present fate.²⁶⁵

Civil law and order was also a concept which Hedges highly valued, but there were times that he, like many early Montana pioneers, found it necessary to resort to extra-legal means of maintaining order. This, of course, was the Vigilante movement, which Hedges later defined as the time when, "The habeas corpus act and the criminals were suspended simultaneously."²⁶⁶ His son Will claims that Hedges assisted "by wise council and active support the wresting of peace and safety from the terror of Henry Plummer and his gang of road agents." Will went on to say, "At no time and in no sense one to appeal to force, he was so great a lover of peace and civil quiet." However, Hedges felt "that the lives of notorious renegades should be sacrificed" for civil order for the many. Finally, Will added, his father "stood with the Vigilantes" from 1864 to 1870 when Wilson and Compton were hanged in Helena. However, he was grateful for the legal conviction and execution of Wheatly on August 13, 1875 for the murder of Frank Hale.²⁶⁷ Oscar O. Mueller claims that Cornelius Hedges, along with N.P. Langford, C.W. Cook, David E. Folsom, and others, was a

265. Proceedings. 38th Communication, 1902, pp. 2-3 of "Report on Fraternal Correspondence."

266. Cornelius Hedges, Art Work of Montana: Published in Twelve Parts (Chicago: The W.H. Parish Publishing Co., 1896), p. 15. Hedges wrote the 17 pages of narrative in this volume of photographs of Montana buildings, structures and scenery. (This source will hereinafter be referred to as "Art Work of Montana.")

267. W. A. Hedges, "Cornelius Hedges," Contributions, VII, pp. 183-184. Also his satisfaction over the legal execution of Wheatly was expressed in his Journals, August 13, 1875. He noted that his editorial to the Herald that day was entitled "Public Execution."

member of the Vigilante executive committee which met monthly in Helena.²⁶⁸ Some signs of the true passing of the "Vigilante era" appeared in Judge Hedges' own Probate Court in October, 1876. He commented, "Had several vigilantes up for threatening young Campbell - Waived examination & gave bond."²⁶⁹

Judge Hedges was a devoted family man, and "He believed that the well-regulated home is the foundation of our institutions, and was blessed with domestic happiness such as few men enjoy."²⁷⁰ He took time out of his busy schedule to take his family fishing and to circuses.²⁷¹ He was a man so close to his family that when they had been gone for an extended visit in the East, he would remark upon their safe return, "Thank God the long agony is over."²⁷² There were also times in his life when he was hesitant to help around the house, and also times of domestic disagreeableness, as he termed his disagreements with Edna. For these instances, he was sorry and apologized in this journals and undoubtedly to Edna. He was only human.²⁷³

He was also concerned about the problems of his offspring as they

268. This statement is attributed to Mr. Oscar O. Mueller by William Turrentine Jackson, using a letter from Mr. O.O. Mueller, dated June 1, 1938, as a source; W.T. Jackson, "Early Exploration and Founding of Yellowstone National Park" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Texas, June, 1940), p. 143.

269. Journals, October 16, 1876.

270. Proceedings. 43d Communication, 1907, p. 64.

271. See Journals, July 11, 1863, and September 24, 1863, and Proceedings. 41st Communication, 1905, p. 126 of "Report on Fraternal Correspondence."

272. Journals, June 13, 1873. In this instance his family had been visiting in New England for almost a year.

273. See Journals, entries for April 5, and May 18, 1863, and October 9, 1881.

approached adulthood. On October 2, 1880, he wrote, "Worried about Will's conduct & prospects - He is going to be discharged from the [cattle] company's service."²⁷⁴ However, Will accounted well for his life. At the time of his father's death, he was a respected stock man in Fergus County and Speaker of the Montana House of Representatives.²⁷⁵ Another instance of this concern came after Edna Cornelia had broken an engagement with a Mr. French in 1889. Hedges wrote, with justifiable pride:

But as I feel for Edna's disappointment & even humiliation, I am glad at the bottom of my heart - There is hardly a man living worthy of that girl & I feel almost selfish enough to hope that she will never fancy another man, enough to be engaged to him - A great mistake has been corrected.²⁷⁶

While Judge Hedges' life was very purposeful and often quite serious, he did not neglect the lighter, more jovial side of life. He was far from being "long-faced". And he was by no means as naive as N.P. Langford attempted once to show. On the Yellowstone Expedition, Langford wrote:

as we have been writing [Hedges and Langford], there has been a lively game of cards played near my left side, which Hedges, who has closed his diary, says is a game of poker. I doubt if Deacon Hedges is sufficiently posted on the game to know to a certainty that poker is the game which is being played, . . .²⁷⁷

He enjoyed fishing and he was very proud of his "piscatory skill,"²⁷⁸ he was not averse to a practical joke,²⁷⁹ and he definitely enjoyed an

274. Journals, October 2, 1880.

275. The Helena Independent, April 29, 1907.

276. Journals, December 13, 1889.

277. Langford, Diary of the Washburn Expedition, p. 18.

278. Helena Daily Herald, November 9, 1870.

279. Langford, Diary of the Washburn Expedition, pp. 71-72.

outing with the Algeria Shrine nobles.²⁸⁰ There were also some occasions when he "indulged in slight dissipation." On October 27, 1881, he confided in his journal, "[Templar] Encampment in the afternoon - Went out to Nick Kesslers. . . . Too much beer, most made me sick."²⁸¹

Included in the numerous friendships which Hedges enjoyed were those with whom he had joking relationships. In this respect, his good friend Lew L. Callaway remarked in a letter to Toby:

I am sorry to hear of your father's continued poor health. Hope he will discover a fountain of youth in California; presume your mother will accompany him so as to keep him straight in case he does.²⁸²

Perhaps Cornelius' greatest source of pleasure in his leisure time was playing whist, the forerunner of bridge.²⁸³ The intellectual exercise of the game is well in keeping with his love of books and knowledge. He even organized a Whist Club at one time.²⁸⁴

The concise expression of Judge Hedges' character, spoken by Dr. W.N. Sloan in his funeral sermon on Hedges, is a fitting close to this chapter:

As to the character of our dear brother there seems to me no language which so fittingly describes him as the words of the prophet Micah, when he sums up the duties God requires of men by saying: "What does the Lord require of thee but to do justly and to love mercy and walk humbly with thy God." Never has there been a better definition

280. Journals, July 30, 1890.

281. Ibid., October 27, 1881.

282. Lew L. Callaway to Cornelius Hedges, Jr., Virginia City, Montana, 30 November, 1902, CGS.

283. See Journals, entries for April 27, May 5 and 11, and June 9, 1883. These are only a few of hundreds of examples which might be cited.

284. Ibid., January 2, 1885.

of true religion written than this, and very few, if any,
have more perfectly met these conditions than has Judge
Hedges.²⁸⁵

285. The Montana Daily Record, May 1, 1907.

Chapter IV

ECONOMIC VENTURES

With the exception of the last decade and one half, proper financial support for his family's need was a definite problem. Hedges, often gave more of his time, talent and moral support to movements than money because he was only of adequate means. However, had he always been well-to-do financially, he would have probably given more of this talent and intellect because he was so well endowed with such qualities. And he had developed his potential well.

Hedges literally enjoyed paying his debts, and not being in debt with anyone. He illustrated this in 1868. After paying a bill of \$34.50, he proudly remarked, "Don't owe a bill in town."²⁸⁶

In order to provide adequately for his family, Cornelius often engaged in economic pursuits other than his law profession and public offices such as Probate Judge, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and State Senator. Hedges was never fully content when he had to limit his family, such as was the case on Christmas Day, 1869. On that day, he wrote in his journal, "Christmas - Sun[day] Sch[ool] festival last evening - I was busy getting something for the children - Spent \$5.00 in presents - Times are too hard to do much."²⁸⁷

In most cases his economic ventures were means of simply maintaining a source of revenue, however, in a few instances, such as in the sheep industry and the Home Building and Loan Association, Hedges again succeeded in substantially contributing to the growth and development of Montana.

286. Journals, February 1, 1869, and May 2, 1868.

287. Ibid., December 25, 1869.

Mining was a field of interest which Hedges maintained from the time he bought his first claim in Highland Gulch in September of 1864²⁸⁸ until his death. Aside from early claims in 1864 and 1865, which he worked himself, his first venture in this field was the purchase of a 5-stamp quartz mill in partnership with Capt. George Woods in the spring of 1867. The mill was shipped up the Missouri to Fort Benton, and around the mill and with additional funds, a Quartz Mill Company was formed. The company was disbanded and the mill sold for \$3000 in September, 1868.²⁸⁹

In August, 1873, Hedges drew up the by-laws for another mining company and invested \$250 in 25 shares.²⁹⁰ Again in 1880, he noted the purchase of one-tenth interest in the Black Alder and Black Swan Lodes for \$600.²⁹¹ In April, 1887, he bought into the Helena and Rimini Mining Co.,²⁹² and he helped organize the Queen Esther Mining Co. on June 22, 1888, and was elected attorney.²⁹³ Judge Hedges invested \$6800 in 3400 shares of the Morning Star Mining Co. in 1889.²⁹⁴

His investment in the Bald Butte Mining Company was perhaps his most successful financial venture in mining. On July 21, 1890, he noted that he owned stock in that company and that on that day he was elected Vice-president of the company, whose mines were located above Marysville.²⁹⁵

288. Ibid., September 1 to 3, 1864.

289. Journals, February 19, and September 19, 1868, and W.A. Hedges, "Cornelius Hedges," Contributions, VII, pp. 184-185.

290. Journals, August 23, 1873.

291. Ibid., March 4, 1880.

292. Ibid., April 9, 1887.

293. Ibid., June 22, 1888.

294. Ibid., May 24, 1889.

295. Ibid., July 21, and November 21, 1890.

In January, 1891, the company paid a 4% dividend.²⁹⁶ Four months later, Hedges wrote that at a recent sale of Bald Butte stock, the price was established at \$2.50 per share, and on that basis commented that his 10,000 shares of stock were now worth \$25,000.²⁹⁷ Many of those 10,000 shares were purchased in November, 1890, when he received \$1200 for the copywrite to his volumes of Montana Supreme Court Reports and his extra copies of those volumes. He also gave Bald Butte stock as Christmas presents to his family in 1890, 500 shares to Edna and 100 shares to each of his five children, and he noted that they seemed very pleased.²⁹⁸ Judge Hedges still held his interests in the Bald Butte Mining Co. at the time of his death.²⁹⁹

Often his editorial writing for the Herald was an important source of income. Such was the case in August, 1876. Hedges lamented, "Much puzzled what to do to provide for all my wants - No business to bring in money - Disappointed in not getting money from Herald - Continue to write because I don't know what better to do."³⁰⁰

An interesting, but unsuccessful, speculation which Hedges helped organize in December of 1885 was a butter company.³⁰¹ For a short time the company prospered, and on May 10, 1886, the company directors met to

296. Ibid., January 12, 1891.

297. Ibid., April 6, 1891.

298. Ibid., November 2, and December 24 and 25, 1890.

299. There are numerous letters between Toby and Will, and between Toby and Henry concerning the matter of disposal of their father's Bald Butte Mining Company stock in Letter Box "1907," of CGS.

300. Journals, August 4, 1876.

301. Ibid., December 22 and 23, 1885.

contemplate purchasing the patent for the remainder of the territory. But prosperity was short-lived and on June 9, Hedges admitted "Butter Co. is making no sales of product & I am wanting money." And Edna was quite displeased with the situation.³⁰² On the 21st of June, Mr. Miller, Hedges' law partner, left for Oregon and Washington to try to sell the butter patent, but he returned on October 17 completely unsuccessful. In the meantime, Hedges was chosen President of the ailing company. The butter company was formally dissolved on October 20, along with the Miller-Hedges law partnership.³⁰³ Later, when Miller finally settled accounts with Hedges, Cornelius did regain some of the money he had invested in the butter company.

Some of the other enterprises with which Cornelius was associated were the Home Building and Loan Association in 1885,³⁰⁴ the Montana Navigation Company in 1878,³⁰⁵ and the ownership of some downtown real estate.³⁰⁶

Aggregately, livestock raising became the most lucrative business in which Judge Hedges invested. Most of his interests were in sheep growing, but he was for a time Vice-president of the Montana Cattle Company. He resigned the position and sold all his stock at par value for \$900 in 1882.³⁰⁷

302. Ibid., May 3 and 11, and June 7 and 9, 1886.

303. Ibid., June 21, September 6, October 17 and 20, 1886.

304. Campbell, op. cit., p. 156.

305. Leeson, op. cit., p. 734, and Journals, September 20, 23, and 27, and October 9 and 10, 1878.

306. Campbell, op. cit., pp. 136-137, and Journals, May 18, 1870.

307. Journals, February 7, 1882.

Hedges journals indicate that he first became interested in sheep growing in March, 1863, and his interest was revived a decade later, but not until October of 1880 did he actually invest in sheep growing. On October 13, 1880, he invested \$3000 in sheep with Carr and Diamond by contract.³⁰⁸

The first winter, 1880-1881, due to severe conditions on the range, about half of his band of sheep perished.³⁰⁹ In September, 1882, Will sold 277 head of his dad's sheep at only \$2.00 a head. Hedges remarked that it was enough to make him sick.³¹⁰ In 1883, Hedges bought out Shaffer, his sheep partner, for \$3800, and entered this comment in his journal, "higher than I intended to pay but want him out & can trust Will and Henry."³¹¹

On August 30, 1886, Cornelius incorporated his sheep interests and formed the Hedges Sheep Company. The articles of incorporation were filed with the Territorial Secretary on September 2.³¹²

Severe weather on the range significantly depleted Hedges' band of sheep in September, 1887. On the 3rd, he wrote, "First mail for many days brought bad news of loss of 1250 sheep in a storm - Went home crushed & didn't sleep at all." The next day, he wrote this, showing his dominant true self, "Wrote letters to the boys [Will and Henry with the sheep] & tried to encourage them as much as I could."³¹³

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308. Ibid., March 3, 1863, March 29, 1873, and October 2, 7, and 13, 1880.
 309. Ibid., January 29, 1881.
 310. Ibid., September 1 and 22, 1882.
 311. Ibid., April 16, 1883.
 312. Ibid., August 30, and September 2, 1886.
 313. Ibid., September 3 and 4, 1887.

On October 28, 1888, Cornelius made an agreement with his son Will to buy all the sheep and hay land, assume the existing debt, and lease the sheep to Will. In payment, he would receive annually half the products of the wool and 1000 lambs.³¹⁴

On July 2, 1890, Judge Hedges was running a band of 5200 sheep, 4300 ewes, 863 lambs, and 37 rams. On July 29, he shipped 37,968 pounds of raw wool and received a profit of \$5504.20 from the wool. Half of that sum was placed in Will's account.³¹⁵

Joaquin Miller claimed that in 1893, Cornelius and his son Will were running "no less than 10,000 head of sheep" in the Musselshell county "and during the present year (1893) expect to largely augment than number."³¹⁶

Cornelius Hedges was among those who formed the Montana Wool Growers Association as a statewide organization in Helena on November 11, 1895. He, like the other delegates, was elected at a county meeting the previous month to attend the convention. He also chaired the committee which drafted the constitution for the Wool Growers Association on November 12.³¹⁷

Again in 1897, Hedges was instrumental in further promoting the sheep industry in Montana. On January 6, 1897, he was one of a group who approved the formation of the cooperative Montana Wool Commission

314. Ibid., taken from a memorandum page among the final pages of his 1888 journal.

315. Ibid., taken from a memorandum page among the final pages of his 1890 journal.

316. Joaquin Miller, An Illustrated History of the State of Montana (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1894), p. 62.

317. Robert G. Raymer, Montana, The Land and the People (Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1930), p. 337.

Company, which was perhaps the first "wool pool" organized in the state. Again he was on the committee to draft the constitution.³¹⁸

In 1897, when the State Board of Sheep Commissioners was formed, Judge Hedges became its first Secretary and held the position until 1906.³¹⁹

As has been shown, Cornelius was involved in many economic endeavors, but he never forgot the noble beautiful things of life, and always conducted his business with ethics beyond reproach. The Helena Independent paid tribute to Hedges for his high ideals in this realm:

The material pursuits which engrossed much of his time in youth, in middle life, and in old age, never blurred or eclipsed his appraisal of the beautiful things, never hindered his persistent devotion to the good of the community, never cooled the ardor of his charity for others or his zeal to help them. More than wealth or fame, he prized the high and spiritual things which become at last the best and most beautiful characteristics of a people as of an individual and it must be that his name and his deeds will linger with an almost majestic tenderness in the heart of his neighbors and in the best and bravest traditions of Montana. ³²⁰

318. Ibid.

319. W.A. Hedges, "Cornelius Hedges," Contributions, VII, p. 195.

320. The Helena Independent, April 30, 1907.

Chapter V

THE NATIONAL PARK IDEA

It is not my purpose in this chapter to discuss in detail the entire Washburn-Langford-Doane Expedition to the Yellowstone country in 1870. That has been written several times.³²¹ This chapter is concerned with a solitary idea -- the National Park idea -- and its relationship to the total character of Cornelius Hedges.

The background of this idea began when several prominent citizens of Helena heard the reports of the Folsom-Cook Expedition into the upper Yellowstone in 1869. An expedition was planned for 1870 into that area, and after several alterations of their plans, the expedition left Helena on August 17, 1870.³²² The party reached what is now the northern boundary of Yellowstone National Park on August 25, via Bozeman, Trail Creek, and the Yellowstone Valley.³²³ From that point, they visited and explored the Tower Falls area, the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone, the eastern and southern shores of Yellowstone Lake, the Firehole basin, and were camped at the headwaters of the Madison River on the evening of September 19.³²⁴

During the trip, Cornelius was extremely impressed with the magnificent mountain scenery, and the unique features of the area such as the hot springs and geysers served further to implant the natural grandeur of

321. Two of the better accounts are W. Turrentine Jackson, "The Washburn-Doane Expedition of 1870," Montana: The Magazine of Western History, Vol. VII, No. 3 (July, 1957), pp. 36-51; and Merrill D. Beal, The Story of Man in Yellowstone, Chapter VIII, "Final Discovery in 1869 and 1870," pp. 116-135.

322. "Journal of Judge Hedges," Contributions, V, p. 370.

323. Ibid., pp. 371-374.

324. Ibid., pp. 375-391

the area in his mind. On August 28, as he sat viewing the portion of the canyon of the Yellowstone near Tower Falls, he described his view and expressed these thoughts:

as there was no prospect of moving camp I returned on our trail to Prospect Point, about one thousand feet above the river where is altogether the finest view I ever had. Here I sit on the brink writing these lines. The mouth of the Falls Creek is directly in front, from the base of this rock bounded by creek on right and river on left is a sunken tract hundreds of feet below me, filled with coarse fragments of a crumbled mountain, tall pines spring up irregularly over its surface and many lie prostrate as they bowed before the tempest fiend. On the opposite side of the river rise precipitous bluffs almost at my level and running nearly horizontal as far as I can see through the gorge. About two-thirds down the bank is another similar but more irregular layer, out from which near its upper part and opposite beautiful rapids in the river a singular rock has slid out from this layer and looks like the grim, shaggy head of a bison. I call it Bison Rock. The color of this bluffy bank is singular, appropriate to the name of the river its general color is yellow, from dark below growing brighter up the stream, and at the point where it descends to river becoming almost white and so continuing one-half mile up stream. The general course of the river seems from southeast with graceful curves. I see two men fishing who started from camp as I left to come up here. Away beyond bluffs on opposite bank is a bare hill, and beyond and running back in a canon between rugged and partly pine-clad mountains seems to be the bed of another stream, perhaps East fork of the Yellowstone [undoubtedly the Lamar River]. Through an opening in these mountains I see snow-covered mountains beyond -- the horizon limits the view on the opposite side -- to the right on some barren mountains right across the ravine through which which river comes from S.E. stretches a pine-clad mountain. At my extreme right the land rises fast in barren hills, mostly pine covered at extreme right the land rises fast in barren hills, mostly pine covered at extreme right and above tops of pines, rise two peaks of more distant mountains. I thank God for creating such scenery and again for permitting my eyes to behold it.³²⁵

The above was expressed early in the expedition, and by the time the

325. Ibid., pp. 377-378. Underscoring mine.

expedition was ready to leave the area his thoughts and ideas were well formed. In perfect harmony with his idea of total charity, Hedges was ready to do what he could to share the natural beauty, which he had seen, with others.

As the expedition sat around the campfire on the evening of September 19, and discussed the area and its potential as a resort development, Hedges' sense of unselfishness, of giving and sharing, would not allow him to agree with narrow, mercenary ideas of restricting this wonderland of nature for exploitation of a few. It was then that Hedges spoke:

he did not approve of any of these plans --- that there ought to be no private ownership of any portion of that region, but that the whole of it ought to be set apart as a great National Park, and that each one of us ought to make an effort to have this accomplished.³²⁶

It is interesting to note that Hedges' own journal for the 19th and 20th contained nothing of his important idea. He wrote this about the night of the 19th, "Didn't sleep well last night - got to thinking of home and business, seems as if were almost there ..." ³²⁷ Hedges' humility and unobtrusiveness would explain most of this lack of notation of the idea in his journal. And the following written in 1904, also sheds some light on the matter:

It was at the first camp after leaving the lower Geyser basin when all were speculating which point in the region we had been through, would become most notable that I first suggested the uniting all our efforts to get it made a National Park, little dreaming that such a thing were possible.³²⁸

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326. Langford, Diary of the Washburn Expedition, p. 117.
 327. "Journal of Judge Hedges," Contributions, V, P. 391.
 328. Ibid., p. 372, footnote. Again underscoring mine.

But that night, September 19, Hedges' "disturbing National Park proposition" kept N.P. Langford awake half the night pondering the idea.³²⁹ To all but one of the party, the idea was "met with a quick and favorable response."³³⁰ A nucleus of gentlemen were now inspired with an idea which would ultimately grow to mean much to millions of Americans who visit the National Parks each year.

On November 9, 1870, as one of a series of articles on the Yellowstone country, Hedges first publicly proposed the creation of a National Park, within an area to be attached to Montana. He wrote,

This beautiful body of water [Yellowstone Lake] is situated in the extreme northwest corner of Wyoming, and, with its tributaries and sister lakes of smaller dimensions, is entirely cut off from all access from any portion of that Territory by the impassable and eternally snow-clad range of the Wind River Range of mountains. Hence the propriety that the Territorial lines be so re-adjusted that Montana should embrace all that lake region west of the Wind River Range, a matter in which we hope our citizens will soon move to accomplish, as well as to secure, its future appropriation to the public use.³³¹

From that point, many persons aided in the effort to establish Yellowstone National Park. N.P. Langford delivered a series of lectures on Yellowstone in New York and Washington, D.C., in January, 1871. Many, such as William H. Clagett, Senator Pomeroy, and Dr. F.V. Hayden, helped see the measure creating the Park through Congress.³³² Louis C. Cramton,

329. Langford, Diary of the Washburn Expedition, p. 118.

330. N.P. Langford, "Preface to the Folsom-Cook Expedition of the Upper Yellowstone in the Year 1869," Contributions, V, p. 351. (This source will hereinafter be referred to as "Preface.")

331. The Helena Daily Herald, November 9, 1870.

332. Langford, "Preface," Contributions, V, pp. 351-352.

in his Early History of Yellowstone National Park, asserts that both Samuel T. Hauser and Cornelius Hedges visited Washington, D.C., in the winter of 1870-1871 and promoted the National Park idea.³³³ I have been unable to prove or disprove this assertion. I have had no access to journals for the period of Hedges' life between June 21, 1870 and October 19, 1871, if such journals exist at all. The one exception of course is the published journal of the Yellowstone Expedition. However, Hedges did a moderate amount of travelling and thus such a trip was entirely feasible.

The efforts of all concerned in promoting "the National Park idea" culminated in the passage of the act of dedication setting the Yellowstone area aside for the public on March 1, 1872.³³⁴ The feat was especially outstanding in the light of such dominant adverse philosophies as laissez faire-ism, social Darwinism, and the developing pragmatism of that day.

In 1896, Judge Hedges reflected and commented on Yellowstone Park, the Washburn party, and his own National Park idea. In a distinct air of modesty, he wrote:

The members of the Washburn Party of 1870, who first suggested and labored successfully with the others to make known the wonders of the region and secure its dedication for a National Park, "builded even better than they knew." They thought chiefly of the wonders on canon, falls, lake, mountain, boiling springs of infinite variety, and the crowning wonder of all, the great geysers, throwing vast volumes of boiling water hundreds of feet into the air, eclipsing those of Iceland, and of the healthful pleasure to future generations in visiting this cool region during the heated season. But undoubtably its utility to the great

333. Louis C. Cramton, Early History of Yellowstone National Park and its Relation to National Park Policies (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932), p. 20.

334. Beal, op. cit., p. 142.

central arid region surpasses all other considerations, and renders its preservation as near as possible in a state of nature undisturbed, a safe and secure retreat for the great game that but for this last resort would in all probability be soon extinct, a sacred trust for our national government.

While some think it wasteful or unjustifiable use of public money to expend in opening and improving such a vast area as a people's pleasure-ground, further consideration will satisfy the worst fault-finder that his expenditure is more than justified on prudent business principles. What would otherwise be spent on foreign travel will more and more be retained at home in visiting our own Alpine region, where are congregated living pictures by the hand of the Creator, far more numerous, sublime and beautiful than those contained in all the museums of the Old World.³³⁵

Then he added an auxiliary, but interesting, observation and suggestion:

And when this travel has increased that horses and bicycles can no longer suffice, there is enough power that could be taken conveniently from the Upper Falls of the Yellowstone, and converted to electrical power, to propel cars to every portion of the Park. All are agreed that steam cars, with their dangers of spreading fires, and their noise in scaring the game, should never be admitted to the Park; but these objections do not apply, at least in much less degree, to electric cars.³³⁶

A major tribute was paid Cornelius Hedges at the cornerstone laying of the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Arch at the North Entrance to Yellowstone Park on April 24, 1903. Among the articles placed in the cornerstone were the following:

Pictures of Hon. N.P. Langford, first Superintendent of the Park, one of the Washburn party of 1870; also of Cornelius Hedges, member of the same party, who first suggested making a National Park.³³⁷

335. Hedges, Art Work of Montana, p. 10.

336. Ibid.

337. Proceedings. 39th Communication, 1903, p. 5.

These were the only pictures placed in the cornerstone box, and Hedges was in attendance that day to witness the laying of the cornerstone for the Memorial Arch.

The question, "Who originated the National Park idea?" has been the subject of a significant amount of discussion and writing. In later years, Nathaniel P. Langford, who served as the first Superintendent of the Park without pay,³³⁸ definitely credited Hedges, in writing, with originating the idea of creating Yellowstone National Park.³³⁹ At two other times, he credits both David E. Folsom and Hedges as the originators of the idea. An interesting and rather detailed discussion of the antecedents of the National Park idea, and who should be credited with the idea, has been written by Aubrey L. Haines, Park Historian, Yellowstone National Park.³⁴⁰

In retrospect, it matters little that perhaps Hedges was not the sole originator of the National Park idea, and that David E. Folsom undoubtedly deserves part of the credit. What matters most is that, in his own benevolent way, Cornelius Hedges was the right person at the right time to present such a potent idea, and that such an idea was so completely in harmony with all the guiding principles of his life. Hedges definitely profitted by having such a receptive audience, but it was he, on that

338. Beal, op. cit., p. 238.

339. N.P. Langford to Cornelius Hedges, St. Paul, Minnesota, November 24, 1905, Manuscript collection, Montana Historical Society Library, Helena, Montana.

340. Langford, Diary of the Washburn Expedition, p. xxiii; Langford, "Preface," Contributions, V, p. 352; and Aubrey L. Haines, History of Yellowstone National Park, Part III, "Creation of a National Park," Unpublished Manuscript, prepared by the Park Historian.

September evening of 1870, in an almost common manner, who planted a seed called the National Park idea that germinated, and today has grown to a National Park system, preserving the scenic and historic heritage of our nation in over 175 different areas.

Chapter VI

EDUCATION

Formal education was near and dear to Cornelius Hedges' heart. He had received a good formal education in public schools and the academy in his native Massachusetts. He was graduated from Yale College in 1853 and Harvard Law School in 1855.³⁴¹ And he had previously taught in academies in Connecticut on two different occasions, in 1853 at Easton, Connecticut, and from late 1860 to early 1863 at Sally Lewis Academy in Berlin, Connecticut.³⁴² Therefore, when he reached Montana in the summer of 1864, he had a good understanding of the value of good public schools and of an educated, responsible citizenry to the growth and development of the territory.

Hedges wanted Montana to grow and prosper, and he realized that the best way to accomplish those goals was to have well-educated citizens. In his 4th of July Address in 1875, he delineated the role of education in Helena, however the same held true for the remainder of the entire territory. Judge Hedges said:

If in the earlier years our city neglected its duty of education, this can no longer be cast as a reproach against us. The new century finds us awake to this first duty and greatest trust, preparing the next generation to become wiser than their fathers and better fitted to manage the greater interests that will come to their keeping.³⁴³

Another time, in a speech on education delivered at Virginia City in February, 1875, he spoke of the advantages of good schools to a

341. See pp. 4-7 of this paper.

342. See p. 7 and p. 9 of this paper.

343. Hedges, "Historical Address," Contributions, II, p. 114.

community. Hedges termed the schools as the "nucleus around which intelligent communities would gather," and also "they were the foundations of civilization."³⁴⁴

Hedges' interest in education and schools was a genuine interest, the type that motivated him to attend meetings and give lectures on education even though not acting in any type of official capacity. In June of 1863, in Independence, Iowa, he noted attending a teachers' meeting.³⁴⁵ And on March 4, 1869, in Helena, he wrote in his journal that he had delivered a lecture on education to a small audience, but that it was well received.³⁴⁶

Cornelius Hedges was asked by Governor B.F. Potts to accept an appointment as Superintendent of Public Instruction on January 7, 1872. At the time, Hedges was attending a session of the Territorial Supreme Court in Virginia City in official capacity as U.S. Attorney. On the 17th, he received his commission, and the next day he filed bond.³⁴⁷ The Superintendency had been vacant for about two years because the 1870 appointee, S.G. Lanthrop, had never been confirmed by the Council.³⁴⁸ Thus, even the little which had been accomplished by such men as Thomas J. Dimsdale, A.H. Barrett, A.M.S. Carpenter, and Thomas F. Campbell³⁴⁹ was at least partially lost, and much of the foundation work of building an adequate

344. The Madisonian (Virginia City, Montana), February 6, 1875.

345. Journals, June 13, 1863.

346. Ibid., March 4, 1869.

347. Ibid., January 7, 17, and 18, 1872.

348. Hamilton, op. cit., p. 493.

349. All of these men had served as Superintendent of Public Instruction between 1865 and 1870; see Hamilton, op. cit., pp. 491-492.

territorial school system had to be laid again. Hedges' son, Will, later commented that much of this organization and implementation was carried on "under the most unpropitious conditions."³⁵⁰

Although he was appointed in January, 1872, and took office at that time, it was not until April, 1873, that the Legislature confirmed his appointment.³⁵¹

His first problem was that of making sure he would receive a salary. On January 29, he entered in his journal, "Things look ticklish about my getting any salary - Callaway writes me that Rogers [sic - Rodgers] will not issue any warrants on my order." However, he continued preparing to do a proper job, and added "Got copy of school law & studied it all night."³⁵² On the 3d of February, he got a letter from W.H. Rodgers, and commented "Looks all right for me to go ahead."³⁵³ Then on April 30, he wrote, "Got warrant from Auditor [for] \$572 - Relieves me greatly, can work better hereafter," and his comment of the next day, "money matters stringent" adds to the indication of urgency of need.³⁵⁴ Hedges never indicated in his journal why there was some question of his not receiving a salary, but it might well have involved the fact that his appointment was yet unconfirmed by the Council.

350. W.A. Hedges, "Cornelius Hedges," Contributions, VII, p. 188.

351. Journals, April 18, 1873.

352. Ibid., January 29, 1872. The two men mentioned here are James E. Callaway, Territorial Secretary, and William H. Rodgers, Territorial Auditor from 1867 to 1874; see Hamilton, op. cit., pp. 311-312, p. 528, and p. 539 for information on W.H. Rodgers and J.E. Callaway.

353. Journals, February 3, 1872.

354. Ibid., April 30, and May 1, 1872.

The first year, in addition to visiting schools in and around Helena,³⁵⁵ he made two extended trips in western Montana visiting schools in session. On the first trip, November 9 to 19, he visited schools in Missoula and Deer Lodge. In addition to the school visitation, he gave public lectures at both towns.³⁵⁶ Most of the month of December, the 9th to the 25th, Hedges spent on a more extended school visitation tour of southwestern Montana. Hedges visited schools at Hills, Jefferson Island, Whitehall, Argenta, Bannack, Sheridan, and Virginia City, and returned home on Christmas Day. Since his family was visiting in New England that winter, there was little disappointment at his late return.³⁵⁷

From January 6 to 20, 1873, Hedges visited rural schools in the Gallatin Valley, and schools in Bozeman, Willow Creek, and Radersburg.³⁵⁸ Thus in three months, he had visited schools in most of the settled sections of Montana, and those schools in turn had the opportunity to make use of Hedges' competent knowledge and ability. Hedges visited the Bozeman and Radersburg schools again in November, 1873.³⁵⁹

In addition to school visitations to impart knowledge, and strengthen and unify the individual schools into a territorial system of schools, Hedges carried on numerous other jobs as part of his official duties. In April, 1872, he noted that he had worked on school law, called for bids to print copies of school laws, and had taken some action in an attempt to

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355. See Journals, November 29, 1872.
 356. Ibid., November 9 to 19, 1872.
 357. Ibid., December 9 to 25, 1872.
 358. Ibid., January 6 to 20, 1873.
 359. Ibid., November 11 to 18, 1873.

locate school lands in the territory.³⁶⁰ In that month, he also examined applicants who aspired to become cadets at West Point.³⁶¹ In April, 1873, he was in Virginia City, sponsoring amendments to the school law for the territory at the session of the Legislature.³⁶² And often, at the opening of a term, he was called upon to help examine new teachers.³⁶³ Yet another time, he taught a half-day of school in a classroom of one of the Helena schools.³⁶⁴

There were also necessary reports to be completed and filed. In this endeavor, Hedges was no less conscientious than at any other of his jobs. As an example, he noted finishing and sending the "School Report" for 1873 on December 16 of that year. And on February 9, 1875, he wrote in his journal, "Laboring all day on school returns, abstracting them - Sent off abstract to Bureau of Education."³⁶⁵

Patience was a virtue which Hedges possessed, and there were times in his job as Superintendent of Public Instruction that he needed all of it that he could muster. For example, on February 12, 1875, he noted, "Miss Sims occupied me in the evening with her school troubles." A little more than a week later, Hedges went to his office on a Sunday afternoon to do some writing. "Didn't get to writing much before Miss Sims came in," he wrote, "and related her gripes."³⁶⁶

360. Ibid., April 11, 18, and 26, 1872.

361. Ibid., April 15 and 16, 1872.

362. Ibid., April 22 to 27, 1873.

363. See Journals, September 25 and 26, 1873, as one example.

364. Ibid., February 26, 1875.

365. Ibid., December 16, 1873, and February 9, 1875.

366. Ibid., February 12 and 21, 1875.

Yet another of his duties, or perhaps an action dictated by his devotion to duty, was electioneering for a school tax on May 5, 1875, and his efforts were rewarded, the tax issue passed 290 to 59.³⁶⁷ In the fall of 1875, he wrote a series of newspaper articles for publication all over the territory; some of the specific titles were "Mental Arithmetic," "Written Arithmetic," "Reading," and "Writing."³⁶⁸

In the latter part of January, 1874, Cornelius made a trip to Virginia City with Sol Starr, where Hedges visited school and worked on the codified school law for the territory.³⁶⁹ And during the last four days of that year, he attended the Helena Teachers Association meeting.³⁷⁰

In 1875, Cornelius Hedges organized the first Teachers' Institute in Montana. He layed the groundwork for it in an organizational meeting in Virginia City on January 30, and the Institute was held there on April 15 and 16. The Madisonian noted the new venture on the 17th:

The meeting of the Teachers' Institute for Madison County has been in session for several days past. A full attendance of Teachers and others interested in education has been on hand daily, and the order of exercises has been highly interesting and instructive in character. The Institute adjourned yesterday, Friday. We will publish a synopsis of the proceedings in our next. It has been a very pleasant meeting and those engaged have enjoyed themselves in a profitable manner.³⁷¹

And as promised, the resume appeared in the April 24 issue. Although this is but one institute, its form was followed for others held later. The

367. Ibid., May 5, 1875.

368. Ibid., October 26 to 29, and November 4, 1875.

369. Ibid., January 17 to 26, 1874.

370. Ibid., December 28 to 31, 1874, and January 1, 1875.

371. Journals, January 30, 1875, and The Madisonian (Virginia City, Montana - Weekly), April 17, 1875.

resume was as follows:

The Madison County Teachers' Institute met, pursuant to announcement, at Templars' Hall, in this city, on Thursday, April 15, 1875.

FIRST DAY

The Institute was opened with prayer by Rev. W.W. Van Orsdel.

Address, by Amos Purdum, on the "Objects and Aims of Teachers' Institutes.

Address, by W.I. Marshall, on "Spencerian Penmanship."

At the afternoon session addresses, on the subject of grammar, were delivered by Messrs. D.B. Sturges, W.I. Marshall, A.J. Bennett, C. Hedges, and H.N. Blake. The address of Mr. Sturges upon this subject is highly spoken of by those who heard it.

The Lecture of Superintendent Hedges delivered at the evening session, on the "Reciprocal Duties of Parents and Teachers," was well received by his auditors. It was replete with practical thoughts and suggestions.

SECOND DAY

Opened with prayer by Rev. F.A. Riggin.

A discussion on the subject of "Mathematical Studies," was ably conducted by Messrs. A.J. Bennett, C. Hedges, and W. Marshall.

Address, by County Superintendent Purdum, on "Book-Keeping." Mr. Purdum handled his subject in the manner that showed his thorough knowledge of the science.

The afternoon session was opened with an address by W.I. Marshall on "Geography."

Recitation and class drill in mental arithmetic in which Messrs. Hedges, Bennett, Sturges, Purdum, and Marshall, volunteered as pupils, and Miss Maria Purmort conducted the recitations. Messrs. Hedges and Marshall followed with a discussion on the subject.

Essay by Mrs. L. Fitch on "Minerology." An elegant paper, doing great credit to the accomplished authoress.

The following persons were elected officers for the ensuing year: Amos Purdum, President; Miss Maria Purmort, Vice President; Mrs. L. Fitch, Secretary; J.H. Baker, Treasurer.

The evening session opened with a lecture by D.B. Sturges, on the subject of "Vocal Music in our Public Schools." This was a really brilliant effort on the part

of the lecturer; his points were well taken and ably argued, while his elocution was excellent.

Messrs. Hedges, Sturges, Bennett, Deimling, and Riggin, discussed the subject of "School Discipline." This discussion gave the disputants a fine opportunity to show their facetious proclivities. Mr. Hedges and Mr. Riggin were particularly happy in this vein. Mr. Hedges didn't believe in rod discipline, Mr. Riggin did. The latter gentleman claimed that he owed much of his moral success in life to the very liberal amount of pounding he'd received in his youthful days, both in and out of school. The discussion was interesting and amusing.

After a vote of thanks to the Temple of Honor for the use of the Hall, the Institute adjourned sine die.³⁷²

To give the other side of the debate between Mr. Hedges and Rev. Riggin, The Madisonian, in the same issue, printed Hedges' remarks and ideas.

Mr. Hedges said that when he was a school boy the idea prevailed that muscle was a principal qualification for a teacher to possess, and he had known, in his boyhood, instances where good teachers had been turned out and muscular hostlers had been put in, hoping thereby to pound and beat discipline and knowledge into children by the exercise of brute force and thus making a school room a kind of slaughter pen. This notion was fast going out of date, and brain, not muscle, was what is wanted now-a-days in the school house.³⁷³

Thus Hedges placed himself in line with the progressive educators of that day, and gave Montana further strength and guidance in forming a true education system and not just a system of disciplinary institutions. Cornelius' own diary also briefly outlined the Institute's content and he ended with the comment "closed successfully."³⁷⁴

That year he organized and held three more Teachers' Institutes, two at Helena, on September 28 and 29, and November 26 and 27, and at Deer

372. The Madisonian, April 24, 1875.

373. Ibid.

374. Journals, April 15 to 18, 1875.

Lodge on December 29 and 30. At the Deer Lodge Institute, Hedges was concerned with the passive disinterest of the teachers, and commented, "Teachers generally did but little."³⁷⁵ And in his report for 1875, Hedges asked for legislative action requiring counties with ten schools or more to have annual Teachers' Institutes. The suggestion was finally made law by the Tenth Legislature, held in 1877. They designated an institute's length at not less than two days nor more than five days, that schools would be dismissed during the institutes and certified teachers should receive full pay, and that all persons holding certificates were to attend.³⁷⁶

In the meantime, Hedges continued to sponsor institutes. The second Madison County Teachers' Institute was held at Virginia City on April 21 and 22, 1876, and Cornelius, of course, was there to assist.³⁷⁷

In November, 1877, he visited the Fort Benton schools and other schools along the Missouri River. Also, in mid-December of that year, Hedges visited schools at Missoula and Butte.³⁷⁸

Hedges' third term as Superintendent expired in January, 1878. On January 14, Hedges entered in his journal:

Astonished by news from Mills that Gov. had appointed Clarke [sic] Wright my successor - Kept growing madder all day over it - Changed many plans - Hope it may prove for the best - That I may seek only noble revenge - Clearing out my desk to turn over to successor.³⁷⁹

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- 375. Ibid., Sept. 28 and 29, Nov. 26 and 27, and Dec. 29 & 30, 1875.
 - 376. Hamilton, op. cit., p. 316 and p. 496.
 - 377. Journals, April 21 and 22, 1876.
 - 378. Ibid., November 12 to 20, and December 10 to 21, 1877.
 - 379. Ibid., January 14, 1878.

And reaction came from Virginia City and Bozeman. The Democratic Madisonian went on record with compliments for Judge Hedges:

Laying all political antipathies aside, we are free to say that Judge Hedges has been the best Superintendent of Public Instruction Montana has ever had, and his efforts for the increase of educational facilities were rendered more effective for the fact that he was heartily devoted to the cause, and it was to a great extent a "labor of love" on his part.³⁸⁰

In an article in the Bozeman Times, Rev. Clark Wright was bitterly criticized. The reporter believed that Rev. Wright was involved in the "Indian Ring." The article, in essence, claims Hedges was a victim of politics designated to bring greater fame and favor to Governor Potts, who made the decision even though it was carried out by Acting Governor J.H. Mills.³⁸¹

Evidently, Hedges also held Potts responsible for deliberate action. On June 12, 1878, he noted in his diary: "Wrote on Potts [as a Herald editorial] - news came today of his renomination . . . Sending off telegram to prevent Potts confirmation." And on June 15, he was gravely concerned because the telegraph wires were down and "Potts will be confirmed before we can send a protest."³⁸²

Hedges had served three terms as Superintendent and had accomplished much. He had started the first Teachers' Institutes, and had gotten a law

380. The Madisonian (Virginia City), January 19, 1878.

381. The Bozeman Times (Weekly), January 24, 1878. This clipping is contained in a scrap book of Cornelius Hedges which is in the manuscripts collection of the Montana Historical Society Library, Helena, Montana. From a pen note on the clipping, the author appears to be a Mr. Ezekial S. Wilkinson, owner and publisher of The Bozeman Times.

382. Journals, June 12 and 15, 1878.

requiring those counties with ten or more schools to have an institute annually. He had made the first complete report of the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction that had ever been made in Montana. He also had major influence in getting adequate, new schools built at Helena, Virginia City, Bannack, Blackfoot, and New Chicago.³⁸³ But most of all he succeeded in keeping the need for education in the public view. He had served three full terms, more than all his predecessors combined, and his work therefore had more continuity than any previous efforts.

As proof of his genuine interest in education, after failure to be renominated as Superintendent, Hedges noted attendance at a teachers' meeting in Helena on the evening of January 26, 1878.³⁸⁴ And he spoke briefly at the graduation exercises of the first graduating class of Helena Graded Schools on the evening of June 12, 1879.³⁸⁵

Judge Hedges served Montana education in yet another capacity when he was elected to the Board of Trustees for the Helena Schools, on the afternoon of August 30, 1879. And within a week, he was again exercising his habit of visiting Helena schools.³⁸⁶

In 1880, Hedges was appointed a member of a three-man textbook commission, by Territorial Superintendent W. Egbert Smith, to examine textbooks and recommend a uniform set for the common schools of the territory. This was an attempt to promote improved instruction in all schools. The

383. Raymer, op. cit., p. 544, and Stout, op. cit., pp. 495-496.

384. Journals, January 26, 1878.

385. Campbell, op. cit., p. 85.

386. Journals, August 30, September 4 and 11, 1879; see also entry for December 10, 1879.

report of the commission was passed by the legislature on February 23, 1881, and it stated that schools not using the recommended texts would forfeit 25% of their funds.³⁸⁷

On February 19, 1883, Judge Hedges was nominated by Governor John Schuyler Crosby to again become Superintendent of Public Instruction. Political opposition developed in the Council on the 20th, but on February 21, his appointment was confirmed over the opposition. On the 22d, he posted bond, got commissioned, and took possession of the effects of the office. On March 31, he drew his first salary, \$145.60, as Superintendent.³⁸⁸

During the Superintendency of Egbert Smith, the Teachers' Institute laws were amended. The previous act did not make teacher attendance at institutes mandatory, however, the amendment did. The amendment also required the attendance of the Territorial Superintendent at all county institutes, or forfeit ten dollars salary for each institute missed.³⁸⁹ Because of this law, and more especially because of natural devotion to duty, Hedges did a lot of travelling in 1883 and 1884. Travel in many areas was much easier than during his previous terms as Territorial Superintendent, however, because of the advent of railroads in Montana.

From mid-July to the end of 1883, Hedges was travelling much of the time. He made five trips to visit schools and attend institutes, two of them were extended trips. He also conducted an institute in Helena

387. Hamilton, op. cit., p. 497.

388. Journals, February 19 to 22, and March 31, 1883.

389. Hamilton, op. cit., pp. 497-498.

on December 5 and 6.³⁹⁰

On July 17, he left Helena on a school tour. While on the tour, he attended an institute at White Sulphur Springs; visited Will, Henry, and his sheep ranch; visited schools at Oka and Martinsdale; and conducted a three-day Teachers' Institute at Fort Benton. On August 4 and 5, he returned to Helena, via Ulm and Fort Shaw.³⁹¹ On August 30 and 31, and September 1, he participated in an institute at Deer Lodge.³⁹²

Hedges left for Virginia City on another extended tour on October 10. On this excursion, he attended and participated in institutes at: Virginia City, October 11 to 13; Bozeman, October 16 and 17; Billings, October 18 to 20; and Miles City, October 22 to 24. He also visited schools at Fort Keogh and "Livingstone." He returned by train to Helena on October 27.³⁹³ He celebrated his 52d birthday at home on the 28th, and on October 29, left again for an institute at Missoula, which lasted two days. On the evening of the 30th, as was often his custom on these trips, he gave a public lecture. That night his topic was "The Public Duty to the Public Schools." Hedges was home again on November 1.³⁹⁴

In December, the 18th to the 23d, Hedges spent an afternoon visiting Butte schools and participated in an institute at Dillon, about which he happily remarked, "Had trustees present."³⁹⁵

Judge Hedges' schedule for visitation and institute trips in 1884

390. Journals, December 5 and 6, 1883.

391. Ibid., July 17 to August 5, 1883.

392. Ibid., August 30 and 31, and September 1, 1883.

393. Ibid., October 10 to 27, 1883.

394. Ibid., October 28 to 31, and November 1, 1883.

395. Ibid., December 18 to 23, 1883.

was just as full as in 1883. He participated in institutes that year as follows: March 26 to 28, Butte; July 9 to 11, New Chicago, today a ghost town near Deer Lodge; September 22 and 23, Fort Benton; September 26 and 27, White Sulphur Springs; October 3 and 4, Bozeman; October 9 and 10, Virginia City; October 13 to 15, Billings; October 16 to 18, Miles City; he simply visited school at Glendive on October 19; October 22 and 23, Boulder; December 18 to 20, Missoula; and December 23 and 24, Dillon. He returned home on Christmas Day, and spent much of that day sending out certificates of attendance at Teachers' Institutes. He finished the year with three full days of institute in Helena.³⁹⁶

An extract from Superintendent Hedges' 1884 report, which appeared in Leeson's 1885 History of Montana, alludes to the two years of progress made during his term:

There are at present about 200 school districts in the Territory, those in larger places employing several teachers and continuing the terms during nine months, but the larger number not more than four months, making the average between five and six months. The number of children of school age in the Territory is about 14,000, and about 54 per cent of that number are enrolled as scholars. If the enrollment were reckoned on the age of actual attendance -- 5 to 15 years -- the per cent would be over 70, and the per capita of money expended in education would be as great as that in any state of the Union. There are no normal schools in Montana for training teachers, and relatively high wages are paid to induce their coming from other states, the average of teachers wages for all grades, per month, being \$60.³⁹⁷

On March 3, Gov. B. Platt Carpenter renominated Cornelius Hedges as Territorial Superintendent, but he was rejected by the Council on the 5th.

396. Ibid., March 25 to 28, July 8 to 12, September 16 to 27, October 3 and 4, and 8 to 20, December 17 to 25, and 29 to 31, 1884.

397. Leeson, op. cit., p. 370.

On the 6th, Hedges wrote, "Gov. agreed to send in my name again & gave me chance to see the members." But again, he was rejected, and on March 10, he commented, "Realized fully for the first time that I had been sold out by all the Republican members of the Council." On the 11th, he added, "Seriously thinking what to do to increase income - Wife takes it very hard." On March 12, Professor W.W. Wylie was nominated and confirmed, and Hedges turned over the effects of his office to Wylie on March 18.³⁹⁸

Still, true to his concern for the best interests of Montana education, he attended institutes after leaving office.³⁹⁹

Cornelius Hedges was also active in the Montana Territorial Teachers' Association and was elected its second President in 1883 at Deer Lodge.⁴⁰⁰

Although Judge Hedges' most concentrated efforts in Montana education were directed to the promotion of public schools on the primary and secondary level, he was also vitally interested in promoting schools of higher learning.

On June 12, 1882, a proposed University of Montana was incorporated in Helena, and Hedges was among the nine elected as trustees. Among the others were Governor B.F. Potts, Chief Justice Decius Wade, Helena's Mayor E.W. Knight, W.F. Sanders, and Samuel T. Hauser. The university was to have been located in Helena on land already donated, and the

398. Journals, March 3 to 18, 1885.

399. See entries for October 21 and 22, 1885, and October 5 and 6, and 11 and 12, 1885, in Journals.

400. See Hamilton, op. cit., p. 498, and Merrill G. Burlingame and K. Ross Toole, A History of Montana (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1957), pp. 405-406.

trustees sought a \$50,000 endowment in the East.⁴⁰¹ Evidently, the institution died before it even opened its doors.

On May 21, 1888, Judge Hedges met with Wilbur F. Sanders to help in the planning of Montana Wesleyan University.⁴⁰² And from the tone of some of his journal entries, and his influential position in the Montana Presbytery, I am led to believe that he was a trustee of The College of Montana at Deer Lodge in 1888 and 1889.⁴⁰³

Judge Cornelius Hedges was devoted to Montana education and contributed much towards its advancement. Some might say, and have, that his greatest contribution in this field was the origination of the Teachers' Institutes or perhaps his organization of many isolated schools into one territorial system. However, I feel these are but integral parts of a yet greater contribution. In his own unselfish, charitable way, Cornelius Hedges kept the citizens of Montana constantly aware of the need of good public schools and stimulated among them a genuine interest and desire to build and maintain high quality public schools.

401. Campbell, op. cit., pp. 108-109.

402. Journals, May 21, 1888.

403. Ibid., see entries for June 13, 1888, and August 19, 1889.

Chapter VII

THE HELENA PUBLIC LIBRARY

Cornelius Hedges was integrally involved with the Helena Library Association from its embryo stages. He became chairman of the committee to draft the association's constitution on November 20, 1868.⁴⁰⁴ From that time until his death, Hedges name was nearly synonymous with that of the Helena Library Association and the early years of the Helena Public Library. This endeavor, like many others, was the beneficiary of the time, talent, energy, and intellect of Cornelius Hedges.

At the inception of the Helena Library Association, Hedges not only chaired the committee which drafted its constitution, but he, W.F. Sanders, J.W. Whitlatch, and Ben Stickney composed the committee which solicited the original subscriptions for the library. On December 5, the Helena Library Association was formally organized. James King was chosen its first President. Cornelius Hedges was elected Vice President, and J.L. Douglas was named Secretary.⁴⁰⁵

On December 21, Hedges commented that at a Library Association meeting "my payment was accepted in books for a life membership."⁴⁰⁶

Cornelius Hedges was honored, on December 18, 1869, with the Presidency of the Helena Library Association. It was a day of double honors for Hedges, he was also elected Treasurer of Helena Lodge #3, A.F. & A.M.⁴⁰⁷

On December 20, 1869, Hedges and A.M. Holter leased the two back

404. Journals, November 20, 1868.

405. Stout, op. cit., p. 757, and Journals, December 5, 1868.

406. Journals, December 21, 1868.

407. Ibid., December 18, 1869.

rooms of their new building on upper Main Street to the Library Association for two years at \$400 down. On the next day, Hedges moved the library's stove and books to the new building and drew up the lease. At the end of the day, he wrote in his journal, "This will enable me to get along without borrowing any more."⁴⁰⁸ It also made the library much more accessible for Hedges, who made excellent use of it.

Another Hedges became integrally involved with the library on March 3, 1870, when the association "agreed to try Willie as librarian." Will started work in the library on March 4, with his dad helping him most of the day, and on April 4, the executive committee of the Helena Library Association hired Will as Librarian for six months at \$40.⁴⁰⁹ He held the position for about one year.⁴¹⁰ Will was later to write that the Helena Library provided chess and checkers in addition to books for its patrons.⁴¹¹

Hedges tersely wrote in his journal on December 7, 1872, "Library meeting in evening - was re-elected Pres. inspite of my refusal." The following year, W.F. Sanders was elected to succeed Hedges.⁴¹²

Shortly after Sanders became President, the entire library was destroyed in the historic Helena fire of January 9, 1874. Burned that day were "about 2,500 books, together with all its important record books containing its history for the first four years." And, of course, the list

408. Stout, loc. cit., and Journals, December 20 and 21, 1869.

409. Journals, March 3 and 4, and April 4, 1870.

410. Stout, loc. cit.

411. W.A. Hedges, "Cornelius Hedges," Contributions, VII, p. 187.

412. Journals, December 7, 1872; Stout, op. cit., p. 758 and p. 760.

of original subscribers shared the same fate.⁴¹³

However, even the fire was only a temporary obstacle. The Library Association began anew on August 24, 1874, under the guiding hand of Cornelius Hedges, who was again elected its President. This time he held the position until some time in 1876, probably stepping down in December.⁴¹⁴

Judge Hedges included a brief history of the Helena Library Association in his 4th of July Historical Address in 1876, and in humility never once mentioned his own name. On that day he said of the library:

In a little more than a year since its revival it has gathered together upwards of 1,200 volumes, and continues its useful career, winning friends and favor under the growing depression of all material interests . . . When prosperous days again return, no institution in our community stands more deserving of increased favor, nor more likely to receive it.⁴¹⁵

In March, 1885, Hedges began the foundation work for converting the Helena Library Association into the Helena Free Public Library when he drew up the ordinance for the Public Library's creation. A year later, the voters of Helena approved a one-half mill tax levy for the library's support, and on May 8, 1886, Hedges' ordinance became City Ordinance #79, and thereby the Helena Public Library was formally organized.⁴¹⁶

On May 7, 1886, Cornelius was confirmed a new trustee, and the Board of Trustees began functioning as the governing body to the Public Library on the 8th. The Helena Library Association held its final meeting on May 14, and formally turned its books and effects over to the new Helena Public

413. Stout, op. cit., p. 758.

414. Ibid., p. 758 and p. 760.

415. Hedges, "Historical Address," Contributions, II, p. 115.

416. Journals, March 26, 1885, and Stout, loc. cit.

Library.⁴¹⁷

In 1887, Justice Decius Wade was elected President of the Board of Trustees, and Cornelius Hedges was elected Vice President.⁴¹⁸ Judge Hedges was elected President of the Board of Trustees for the Public Library in 1893 and held that office until his death, April 29, 1907. He was succeeded, incidently, by Thomas J. Walsh.⁴¹⁹

The Helena Public Library paid a final and silent tribute to its founder, Board President, and most important benefactor when it closed its door for six hours on the afternoon of Judge Cornelius Hedges' funeral, on May 1, 1907.⁴²⁰

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- 417. Journals, May 7, 8, and 14, 1886.
 - 418. Campbell, op. cit., p. 187.
 - 419. Stout, op. cit., p. 760.
 - 420. The Helena Independent, April 29, 1907.

Chapter VIII

HIS LOVE OF BOOKS AND KNOWLEDGE

Cornelius Hedges' love of books was not only exhibited in his efforts on behalf of the Helena Library, but also in the accumulation of an extensive personal library. To him, books, newspapers and periodicals were necessary tools for mental discipline, and the acquisition of useful knowledge.

According to his son Toby, the Hedges' library "was undoubtedly the largest and most expensive private library" in Helena.⁴²¹ Hedges gathered a library to have material to read, not to have books for exhibition and dust collection. He had a tender spot in his heart for books, as is well illustrated by the quotation on his book plate, "Use, But Don't Abuse." One time, in his journal, he disapprovingly commented, "Case of mutilation at the Library."⁴²²

He maintained regular accounts with book dealers in the east during the time he lived in Montana. The three most important dealers to him were the American Book Exchange, John R. Alden of Boston, and Lovering's of New York City.⁴²³

In 1868, Hedges purchased a set of American Encyclopedia from a Methodist minister, Rev. A.M. Hough, and commented "They are a great treasure."⁴²⁴

Of the hundreds of volumes of Judge Hedges' extensive library,

421. Cornelius Hedges, Jr. to M M. Miller, Helena, Montana, October 27, 1907, CGS.

422. Journals, May 15, 1888.

423. See Journals, May 6, 9 and 10, 1879, June 7, 1881, and May 12, 1883.

424. Ibid., July 17 and 18, and August 11 and 12, 1868.

three leather-bound books from his library are now treasured among the historical mementos on display at the Montana Grand Lodge Library and Archives, Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, in Helena. The books owned by the Grand Lodge are: Quinti Horatii Flucci Opera: Interpretations & Notes, London, 1741; A Spanish-English Dictionary, Henrique Neuman, Diccionario Neuvo de las Dos Lenguas Espanola E. Inglisa, Philadelphia, 1823; and a history book originally belonging to Dennis Hedges, Cornelius' father, L.H. Young, The Historical Cabinet, New Haven, 1834.

Cornelius was always concerned about mental discipline and constantly tried to keep his mind from being idle. In Iowa, in 1863, he wrote, "Evening fooled away at stores for want of something to read or study."⁴²⁵ Another time he lamented, "Never accomplish the reading I expect to do on Sunday."⁴²⁶ On February 28, 1870, after not writing in his journal for 15 days, he wrote:

Business has been so dull that I have had nothing to note -- Have been occupied with reading the new books of the library & I have accomplished much in mental discipline & am determined to do more - Have slept better of late by using my mind till I was tired out.⁴²⁷

His concern for the development of his mind continued through the years. On April 1, 1875, he wrote, "Reading hard all day enjoying it very much. Am doing it more thoroughly than ever before - Using my encyclopedia and Atlases to good purpose." And on May 26, 1875, he further commented "Reading most of the time - trying to devour the Encyclopedia."⁴²⁸ In

425. Ibid., March 23, 1863.

426. Ibid., May 24, 1868.

427. Ibid., February 28, 1870.

428. Ibid., April 1 and May 26, 1875.

June, 1880, he remarked that he was trying to refresh his "acquaintance with Greek."⁴²⁹

To fully appreciate Hedges' insatiable hunger for knowledges, it is helpful to realize the immensity of his reading diet. As an example, he read the following books in the first eight months of 1875: Orations of Cicero; Great Events of History; Lechy on Rationalism; Vol. I of Bancroft, Pacific Coast History; DeSenectute; Dictionary of American Ideas; a book about the Jesuits; a book about School Architecture; several early American histories; John Stuart Mill on Representative Government; Life of Hannibal; History of Rome; two different biographies of Julius Caesar; Plutarch on Cicero and Demosthenes; a book on Mythology; a book on Jewish History; Draper's Conflict of Science and Religion; histories of Switzerland, Germany, and Scandanavia; Protestant Revolution; Chamber's Book of Days; English Geography; Social Life in Greece; Bartlette's Danube; something entitled Bric-a-brac; Hopkin's Law of Love; Allibone's Prose Quotations; and the Odyssey. The variety of topics is as outstanding as the number of books.⁴³⁰

His reading was not confined to just books. On August 6, 1880, he called attention to his extensive newspaper reading with the comment, "Think I give too much time to newspapers, but how else can one keep up with affairs." Periodicals, too, had an integral place in Judge Hedges' reading. To illustrate the large number of periodicals which came into his home and his wide variety of interests, on December 5, 1879, he

429. Ibid., June 10, 1888.

430. Ibid., January through August, 1875.

renewed subscriptions to the following periodicals: Princeton Review; Youth's Companion, undoubtedly for Henry, Edna Cornelia, Emma, and possibly Toby; North American Review; Scribner's; Harper's; The Agricultur-
alist; Journal of Health; and Poultry World.⁴³¹

Hedges' interest in books and the gleaning of knowledge was certainly pure pleasure to him, and it would not be difficult to believe that Hedges would have heartily supported the sentiments expressed in Thomas Carlyle's famous quotation, "May blessings be upon the head of Cadmus or the Phoenicians, or whoever invented books!" Those who were daily associates of Cornelius Hedges were perhaps the major beneficiaries of his constant quest for knowledge because, as has been previously pointed out, he believed in sharing his intellect with others.

⁴³¹. Ibid., December 5, 1879, and August 6, 1880.

Chapter IX

CORNELIUS HEDGES - THE AUTHOR

Cornelius Hedges' careful scholarship and his ability to express himself was well-known throughout the Territory. He wrote on a variety of themes and under a variety of conditions. He was a Masonic scholar and author, newspaper journalist, and often wrote for publication.

This chapter will be divided into two parts, his general literary ability, and his newspaper journalism. His Masonic writings will be discussed in Chapter X.

General Literary Ability

The writings of Judge Hedges at times served various and sundry purposes. But all his endeavors contained the same crisp literary style.

A.W. Bowen and Company, publishers of Progressive Men of the State of Montana, gives Cornelius Hedges major credit and acknowledgement for the compilation of that sizable volume.⁴³² They also accorded him the additional honor of placing his biographical sketch at the very front of the volume.⁴³³

Cornelius was also the proofreader and informant for the Montana section of Hubbell & Company's Legal Directory for several years.⁴³⁴

He was also chosen to write memorials of three former Librarians of the Historical Society of Montana, Charles Rumley, William F. Wheeler, and Henry S. Wheeler, for the Contributions to the Historical Society of

432. Progressive Men, from the "Foreword" on an unnumbered page.

433. Ibid., pp. 1-2.

434. Journals, October 18, 1879.

Montana.⁴³⁵

At times, he was a ghost writer for others in Montana. From the tone and content of his journal entry for September 27, 1872, Hedges evidently wrote a lecture for Colonel John Gibbon.⁴³⁶ In 1887, he wrote one of Governor Samuel T. Hauser's messages, however on January 12, he wrote of his effort, "Governor's message sent in today - Doesn't include more than half what I wrote."⁴³⁷

Cornelius Hedges was very cognizant of current affairs and endeavored to keep pace with new developments. Therefore comments on the territorial, national, and world affairs often became favorite subjects in his writing, especially accompanying some of his Masonic writings.⁴³⁸

Aside from the various types of writing in which Hedges engaged, much can be said about his style and expression in writing. In 1905,

435. See Cornelius Hedges, "Charles Rumley - In Memorium," Contributions, III, pp. 21-26; Cornelius Hedges, "William F. Wheeler - In Memorium," Contributions, III, pp. 27-32; Cornelius Hedges, "Henry S. Wheeler," Contributions, IV, pp. 21-22.

436. Journals, September 27, 1872.

437. Ibid., January 12, 1887.

438: See the following as good examples of this type of Hedges' writing: Proceedings. 22d Communication, 1886, pp. 139-140; Proceedings. 32d Communication, 1896, p. 1 of Appendix "A"; Proceedings. 33d Communication, 1897, pp. 1-2 of "Report on Fraternal Correspondence"; Proceedings. 34th Communication, 1898, pp. 1-2 of "Report on Fraternal Correspondence"; Proceedings. 36th Communication, 1900, pp. 1-2 of "Report on Fraternal Correspondence"; Proceedings. 37th Communication, 1901, pp. 1-2 of "Report of Fraternal Correspondence"; Proceedings. 38th Communication, 1902, pp. 135-136 of "Report on Fraternal Correspondence"; Proceedings. 40th Communication, 1904, pp. 1-2, and p. 149 of "Report on Fraternal Correspondence"; Proceedings. 41st Communication, 1905, p. 126 of "Report on Fraternal Correspondence"; and Proceedings. 42nd Communication, 1906, pp. 1-2 of "Report on Fraternal Correspondence."

N.P. Langford pointed out one unique ability which Hedges possessed. In a rather lengthy letter to Judge Hedges, he compared their respective journals of the Yellowstone Expedition of 1870.⁴³⁹ Langford made this observation:

Your comparatively brief notes made on any one day in your diary, enabled you to recall, vividly, the full impressions received at the time, and to record them as you did in your fine letters published in the Helena Herald from time to time after our return. The foundation of one of your long letters is found in a single page of your diary, and from the brief entries, you summon before you all the grand scene as if you were again really in its presence.

He went on to relate that he had to write down thoughts in full, on the spot, if he intended to publish it later or he would otherwise forget.

Then he added further:

You, being able to recall the scene, with the aid of your brief notes, can give a far better description of the falls than can I with my fuller journal. My diary for Aug. 31st, the day we spent at the falls, covers 2000 words; yours, less than 200.⁴⁴⁰

There are many passages from Judge Hedges' writings which could be used to illustrate his very fine style of expression. However, I have chosen only three. The first selection is from a discussion of mining camp society in the earliest territorial days, and undoubtedly much of the matter is written from his own early experiences in Montana:

Unlike other states settled before or after the Civil

439. Hedges' Journal of the Expedition had just been published in Volume V of the Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana, pp. 370-394, and Langford was preparing his journal for publication later that year.

440. N.P. Langford to Cornelius Hedges, St. Paul, Minnesota, February 26, 1905. From the manuscripts collection of the Montana Historical Society Library, Helena, Montana.

War, the war-times during which Montana was settled brought together some of the worst elements of both warring sections of the country, deserters from both camps, seeking a cover in the wilderness beyond the reach of the civil or military arm of government, where they could shoot off their mouths or guns with comparative impunity.

It would be a rank injustice to assert that a majority or a large portion of the early settlers of Montana were desperadoes, seeking a field for unrestricted crime. Rumors of discovery of rich and extensive gold mines at any time, in any part of the world, will attract the attention of the adventurous persons whose visions of great wealth to be suddenly acquired, only gain increased attractiveness by reason of distance and intervening difficulties and hardships. Such were the rumors from the gold discoveries at Bannack.⁴⁴¹

While on a trip attending Teachers' Institutes, Hedges visited the once great center of Confederate Gulch, Diamond City, in July, 1883.

Afterwards he wrote this eulogy for Diamond City:

Diamond City is desolate, deserted, and dreary to behold in the shreds of its departed glory, yet those who have known it in the days of its pride, wealth, and activity, cannot fail to recall pleasant associations. Its very site will soon go down the flume, which is already within the borders of the old town and gleaning a rich harvest -- probably the last. There are only four families left of all the hundreds that have dwelt here since the glorious days of '66. If the goose that laid the nest of golden eggs can only be found in the shape of a prolific mother vein of gold-bearing quartz, the days of Diamond's departed glory may return; otherwise, it will disappear utterly within another season.⁴⁴²

And finally from the only book, to my knowledge, that Judge Hedges ever wrote, comes this elegant passage. It has no title, but it might fittingly be named "Meditation on Mountains":

There is something uplifting and enchanting in the ideas associated with mountains. In the very name "Montana"

441. Hedges, "Early Masonry in Montana," p. 13.

442. Leeson, op. cit., p. 808.

a chain and network of mountains rise before us. While many of our States preserve the names of rivers, only Vermont and Montana are suggestive of the mountains, the most prominent facts on the face of the earth. Does the awe inspired by the sight of lofty mountains spring from a conception of those Titanic forces that lifted their mighty masses from the plains?

The Greeks voiced the general sentiment of mankind in ascribing the dwelling-place of the gods among the cloud-capped summits of high Olympus, whence Jupiter, omnipotent, could watch the doings of men and launch his thunderous bolts. It was amidst the thunders of Sinai that Jehovah declared his law to the ransomed Hebrews.

A more quiet and better instructed faith looks upon the mountains as altars of incense, lighted by the sun as he opens and closes the day.

Ideas of utility are hardly ever associated with mountains. They are rarely and to a limited degree adapted to cultivation and residence. But so far from being waste and useless, we often think they are the most essential parts of creation. In the circulatory system of a world fitted to sustain life, mountains are indispensable. They take the moisture from the clouds, store it in snow banks and glaciers, and give it clear and cool to refresh the plains in springs and rivers. They aid the circulation of the atmosphere as well, and break the force of hurricanes and tornadoes. The cyclones that level cities and strew with wrecks of life, limb and property, and fill the hearts of men with terror are the growth of superheated plains.

While we are not prepared to admit that any square foot of the earth's surface was created in vain, we are quite sure that without mountains the earth would be a very poor dwelling-place. We are therefore quite content that Montana should be known among the States as "the mountainous one."⁴⁴³

443. Hedges, Art Work of Montana, pp. 1-2.

Newspaper Journalism

Cornelius Hedges was closely associated with two different newspapers. He owned, and for a time edited and published the Independent Civilian in Independence, Iowa, from 1856 to 1864. And he was editorial writer for the Helena Daily Herald for nearly twenty years, from 1872 to 1891, with some minor interruptions.

Hedges was usually willing to write for a newspaper, but he did not particularly care for the physical duties of printing and distributing the newspaper. When he owned the Independent Civilian, he attempted in March and April of 1863 to lease the paper for the remainder of the year, continuing the policy followed while Hedges was teaching in Connecticut between 1860 and 1863. However, he was unsuccessful. On April 22, he entered in his journal:

Suppose the paper comes on my hands today, but I shrink from it with disgust & dread, Have labored long & hard with the boys [the Barnhart brothers] to get out of it -- think now I shall have them to run it & manage it myself.⁴⁴⁴

And the next day he closed an agreement with Warren and Alson Barnhart to run the newspaper for \$9 per week.⁴⁴⁵

In May, he was very concerned and troubled about the Independent Civilian, and he lamented "it runs me into debt constantly."⁴⁴⁶ However, in June he commented that prospects for profitable operations were improving because he was getting more job printing.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁴. Journals, March 21, April 13, 16 and 22, 1863.

⁴⁴⁵. Ibid., April 23, 1863.

⁴⁴⁶. Ibid., May 19, 1863.

⁴⁴⁷. Ibid., June 3 and 11, 1863.

From the tone and content of his journal entries, Hedges had the only printing establishment in town, and in a sense, was public printer. Therefore due to fall elections, his business increased. On October 11, he noted that he had printed township tickets.⁴⁴⁸

Hedges' journals do not indicate how the paper was disposed after his move to Montana.

Andrew and Robert Fisk first hired Cornelius Hedges as a regular editorial writer on July 4, 1872. He was paid \$30 per week for one article per day.⁴⁴⁹ However, Hedges had been a contributor to the Herald since August, 1869, and had written on such topics as Fire Protection, Universities, the National Park, and Railroads.⁴⁵⁰

Of Hedges' ability as a newspaper journalist, Michael Leeson called Judge Hedges "one of the ripest scholars and newspaper men in the territory."⁴⁵¹ Also, Hedges' son Will commented, "His extensive reading made his assistance at that time of meagre and somewhat uncertain telegraph and mail facilities, most valuable to the paper which he served."⁴⁵²

He continued to write for the Herald until March, 1891.⁴⁵³ There were times in that 19-year period during which he temporarily ceased writing for the Herald, because of duties as Superintendent of Public Instruction, Grand Lodge sessions, vacation trips, and at times, simple efforts

448. Ibid., see entries for September 23 and October 10, 1863.

449. Ibid., July 4, 1872.

450. Ibid., August 30, 1869; November 23 and 24, and December 15, 1871; and January 31, March 27, and May 1, 1872.

451. Leeson, op. cit., p. 328.

452. W.A. Hedges, "Cornelius Hedges," Contributions, VII, p. 192.

453. Journals, March 16, 1891.

to have more time to himself.⁴⁵⁴

There were times, also, when Hedges ran the Herald, usually in the absence of the Fisks. He usually ran the paper for short periods of time during these absences, but twice he was Editor-in-chief for extended periods. He served as chief editor for four months in 1876, and for a considerable time again in 1882.⁴⁵⁵

Hedges definitely enjoyed editorial writing,⁴⁵⁶ but there were problems periodically. On June 7, 1876, he remarked that due to the lack of telegraph reports and mails, it was very difficult to write editorials.⁴⁵⁷ He made the comment, on April 28, 1877, "Find it hard getting subjects to suit me - Am not free to say what I like."⁴⁵⁸

While affiliated with the Helena Daily Herald, Hedges helped organize the Territorial Press Association on February 10 and 11, 1885. And on the evening of the 11th, he addressed the association. On June 28, 1889, he was elected First Vice President of that association.⁴⁵⁹

As an editorial writer for the Herald, Judge Cornelius Hedges had ample opportunity to share with more people the benefits of his extensive reading and studying. Thus through newspaper journalism, and also through

454. Ibid., see entries for September 25, October 13 and 14, 1875; September 4 and 12, 1876; September 11, and October 1, 1887; January 21, 1878; October 14, 1881; and January 2, 1885.

455. Ibid., see entries for September 7, 29 and 30, 1872; March 20, and July 21, 22, 25 and 27, 1876; July 5, 1882; and May 8 to June 21, 1886.

456. Ibid., September 19, 1887.

457. Ibid., June 7, 1876.

458. Ibid., April 28, 1877.

459. Leeson, op. cit., p. 345, and Journals, February 10 and 11, 1885, and June 28, 1889.

other writings, he helped to stimulate a healthy public opinion in Montana and concern about current events of that day. He also made significant contributions towards the development of a literary and aesthetic heritage in Montana.

Chapter X

MASONIC ACTIVITIES AND WRITINGS

Of all the interests Cornelius Hedges pursued, more of his time was spent in Masonic endeavors than at any other activity, with the possible exception of his law profession. He was among the founders of Montana Masonry, and he certainly has earned the title of "Father of Helena Masonry." His life, because of the Masonic principles to which he adhered, was an inspiration to many. Moses Morris, in his address as Grand Master of Montana Masonry in 1893, expressed his gratitude for Hedges' influence in his life, and I am sure the same sentiments were shared by many:

Our first official visitation was made on Saturday, October 1, to our Mother Lodge, Helena No. 3, where we first beheld the light of Masonry in August, 1865, and by a coincident as happy as rare, we were received and introduced as Grand Master on that occasion by Brother Hedges, who, twenty-seven years before as Worshipful Master of that Lodge, had given us our first impressive lessons in Masonry, and pointed out the way to walk and act, so as to deserve the confidence of the brethren and merit the honors of Masonry. You will pardon us, surely, if we say that the occasion and suggestive surrounding rendered it one of the most pleasurable pride in the experience of our life.⁴⁶⁰

When the guiding hand of Most Worshipful Brother Cornelius Hedges was no longer on this earth to help direct Montana Masonry and the Grand Lodge, the Committee on Necrology, expressed the loss in this way:

We are told that in the prairies of South America there grows a flower that always inclines in the same direction. A traveller who has lost his way while going across theses prairies may meet no friendly guide; he may have no sun or star to direct him, but in this plant he will always find a compass. No matter how the wind may blow in the opposite direction this plant always turns its

460. Proceedings. 29th Communication, 1893, pp. 21-22.

leaves and petals to the north.

The compass of our sorrowing hearts is pointed to the darkened place, the symbolic north of Masonry, to the vacant chair of one who filled so well the role of parent to all his Masonic children for nearly four decades of the life of our Grand Lodge. The heart-throbs of our love and veneration for him will never find meet expression in the language of man; nor can numberless encomiums paint with human speech the beloved character of our departed Brother Hedges.⁴⁶¹

There were so many facets to Cornelius Hedges' Masonic activities that it is most convenient to discuss each as a separate subtopic. The subtopics will be Blue Lodge, Grand Lodge, York Rite, Scottish Rite, Order of Eastern Star, Masonic Writings, Masonic Home Efforts, and a section including sundry Masonic pursuits such as Shrine and the Rite of Memphis.

Blue Lodge

Cornelius Hedges was initiated, passed, and raised in Independence Lodge #87, at Independence, Iowa, in 1858. He was made a Master Mason on October 27, 1858, in the evening before his 27th birthday.⁴⁶²

With reference to all of his Masonic accomplishments, the memorial committee of the Grand Lodge at his death, wrote the following:

He was pre-eminently a Blue Lodge Mason, and was best known by Masons by reason of the zeal with which he taught and practiced the principles inculcated by the Blue Lodge degrees. He not only knew the ritual but appreciated, as few men do, its underlying principles.⁴⁶³

461. Proceedings. 43d Communication, 1907, p. 70. The members of that committee were H.S. Hepner, J.S. Hammond, and George W. Clay.

462. Ibid., p. 61.

463. Ibid., p. 63. The members of the committee were Edward C. Day, Theodore Brantly, and Joseph J. Hindson.

Hedges, in 1870 in his Grand Master's Address, said, "To be a Master Mason ought to be title enough for the ambition of anyone, as it ought to be a sufficient passport anywhere."⁴⁶⁴

When Hedges returned to New England for the period 1860 to 1863, he must have dimitted from his home lodge and affiliated with a Connecticut Lodge, because on February 17, 1864, he noted in his journal that he was elected to membership in Independence Lodge #87.⁴⁶⁵ He retained his membership in that lodge until June 7, 1865, when he demitted to help organize Helena City Lodge, Under Dispensation.⁴⁶⁶

After arrival in Montana, one of the first things Hedges did was attend Masonic Lodge, probably Virginia City #43.⁴⁶⁷

In the summer of 1865, Hedges, with the able assistance of Mark A. Moore, perfected the organization of Helena City Lodge #10, chartered by the Grand Lodge of Colorado. He was elected its first Worshipful Master on August 17, 1865, and was reelected in December, 1865, and served another full year.⁴⁶⁸ During that year Helena City Lodge #10 became Helena Lodge #3, when it united with the two Virginia City Lodges to form the Grand Lodge of Montana on January 24, 1866. Hedges was also instrumental in its formation.⁴⁶⁹

On December 18, 1869, he was elected Treasurer of Helena Lodge #3.

464. Reprint Proceedings, p. 216.

465. Journals, February 17, 1864.

466. Proceedings. 43d Communication, 1907, pp. 61-62.

467. Journals, July 14, 1864.

468. Proceedings. 43d Communication, 1907, p. 62, and Campbell, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

469. Reprint Proceedings, pp. 3-4.

And on December 20, 1873, Hedges was called from the ranks of the Past Masters to again become Worshipful Master of his lodge.⁴⁷⁰

His journals show that he was a regular attendant until his death of not only his own lodge, but also Helena's other two lodges, Morning Star #5 and King Solomon's #9. He would often preside, or assist, at the annual joint installation of officers of the three Helena lodges, which was held in late December.⁴⁷¹

Grand Lodge

As the Worshipful Master of one of the three lodges which formed the Grand Lodge of Montana on January 24, 1866, Hedges played an integral part in its founding. And from that time until his death, he was a Grand Lodge officer, with the exception of four years, October, 1866, to November, 1870.

In 1884, Rev. Hugh Duncan, who was appointed Grand Chaplain at that first session, in his Address as Grand Master recalled the founding of Montana Grand Lodge and gave special recognition to Hedges:

permit me to say, with some degree of commendable pride, that through a singular but fortunate train of circumstances a large number of as eminent Masons as could be found in the United States were brought together in Virginia City at an early day in the history of this Territory -- men of pure characters, faithful among faithless; calm and steady in the midst of the excitements of those days, they laid well, deep and broad the principles of our noble order in this new land. Among those who deserve honorable mention, and whose name will be held in high esteem for all coming time among the craft in Montana, are John J. Hull, N.P. Langford, Samuel Russell, O.S. [sic - P.S.] Pfouts, O.A. Sedman, Hezekiah L. Hosmer, W.F. Sanders,

470. Journals, December 18, 1869, and December 20, 1873.

471. Campbell, op. cit., p. 40 and p. 60.

F.C. Cornell, John Potter, Sol Starr, J.R. Boyce, and our Right Worshipful Grand Secretary Cornelius Hedges. Unlike most of the others, for some have moved away, some have dropped out of active work, and some have passed from the shores of time to that undiscovered country from whose borne no traveller ever returns, the latter is with us today; his steady hand has never relaxed its grasp, nor has his interest ever wavered for a single moment, guiding us safely at home and giving us a name and standing abroad that might well be envied by older jurisdictions.⁴⁷²

At the initial session of Grand Lodge, he was elected Right Worshipful Senior Grand Warden.⁴⁷³ He was not in attendance at the Second Annual Communication of Grand Lodge, held in October, 1866, because he was on his way East, to get his family and escort them back to Montana.⁴⁷⁴ It was the only Grand Lodge session during his lifetime which he missed. At the Third Communication, Hedges, along with N.P. Langford and Hezekiah L. Hosmer, was appointed to the standing committee on Masonic Jurisprudence.⁴⁷⁵

At the next meeting of Grand Lodge, Grand Master W.F. Sanders appointed Cornelius Hedges to the Committee on Foreign Correspondence, along with Sol Starr and Hezekiah L. Hosmer.⁴⁷⁶ Hedges held a position on that committee for the remainder of his life and for the most part was the sole author of the Fraternal Correspondence Reports for Montana. And it was in these reports, which were sent to most other jurisdictions, that he did the Masonic writing which gained him national and world renown as a Masonic scholar.

472. Proceedings. 20th Communication, 1884, p. 17.

473. Reprint Proceedings, p. 21.

474. See pp. 23-26 of this paper.

475. Reprint Proceedings, p. 96.

476. Ibid., p. 136.

On November 2, 1870, the members of the Grand Lodge honored him by electing him to the position of Most Worshipful Grand Master, and the following day, he was installed.⁴⁷⁷ After he had completed his year as Grand Master with much competence and had reported to Grand Lodge in the form of his Grand Master's Address, the committee to apportion the address remarked:

If the sentiments promulgated by the Grand Master [sic] could be generally adopted by the Craft of Montana, Masonry would attain to a standard of excellence here that would honor its loftiest principles. The end and aim of its creation would be fully realized. This, in our unsettled, almost primitive condition of society, is too much to hope for, but we feel that it is no less an honor to us, and to Masonry, that this Grand Body is presided over by one who exemplifies in his daily walk and conversation, the sincerity of his faith in the grand principles he has so impressively enunciated.⁴⁷⁸

Upon retiring from that office, the Grand Lodge presented him with an honorarium of a "splendid Gold Watch, Chain, and Seal, appropriately engraved."⁴⁷⁹

Also upon retiring, on October 5, 1871, he was appointed Grand Historian by his successor, James R. Weston.⁴⁸⁰ And as one of the few Grand Historians who ever did anything in the early years, he gave an Historical Address to Grand Lodge the following year.⁴⁸¹

On June 24, 1872, the same day as the corner-stone laying for Helena's new Masonic Temple, Hedges was appointed to fill Hezekiah Hosmer's

477. Ibid., p. 192 and p. 199.

478. Ibid., p. 222.

479. Ibid., p. 252.

480. Ibid., p. 233.

481. Ibid., p. 249.

unexpired term as Grand Secretary. Judge Hosmer had moved out of the Territory.⁴⁸² The following October, he was elected Grand Secretary,⁴⁸³ and as he expressed it, the position occupied "so much of my time and service through the best years of my life."⁴⁸⁴ He held that position until his death, and in terms of service -- two months short of 35 years -- was the oldest Grand Secretary in the Nation, if not in the world.⁴⁸⁵

It was Hedges in 1875 who called to the attention of the Grand Lodge the urgent need to have their early proceedings reprinted. This was made necessary by the loss of the Grand Lodge records in the Helena fire of January, 1874.⁴⁸⁶

In his "General Report" as Grand Secretary on September 24, 1890, Hedges proposed a celebration of the Silver Anniversary of the Grand Lodge in Virginia City on January 24, 1891. The suggestion was referred to a committee and they "reported aversely on the ground of expense and the inaccessibility [sic] of the place, and their report was adopted."⁴⁸⁷

In 1897, Cornelius Hedges was presented with a cut-glass inkstand and inscribed silver tray as a token of appreciation for his 25 years of "long and valuable services" as Grand Secretary.⁴⁸⁸ And in 1902, the occasion of his 30th anniversary as Grand Secretary, the Grand Lodge adopted a testimonial. Part of it read:

482. Campbell, op. cit., p. 42, Reprint Proceedings, p. 246, and Journals, June 24, 1872.

483. Reprint Proceedings, p. 250.

484. Proceedings. 34th Communication, 1897, p. 25.

485. Proceedings. 43d Communication, 1907, p. 62.

486. Proceedings. 11th Communication 1875, p. 30.

487. Proceedings. 26th Communication, 1890, pp. 19-20 and 26-27.

488. Proceedings. 33d Communication, 1897, p. 55, and 34th Communication 1898, p. 24.

This is the thirtieth report of your Grand Secretary. Thirty of the best years of one of the purest lives spent in Montana has been devoted with unfaltering zeal to your service and to Masonry, as well as to the general brotherhood of mankind. This service stands out in bold relief as an example to all, and as a living argument in favor of unselfishness and charity.⁴⁸⁹

York Rite

On February 18, 1864, Cornelius Hedges was elected to receive the degrees of the Chapter in Aholiab Chapter, in Independence, Iowa. He took the Mark Master degree on February 19, and completed the preliminary degrees on the 24th. He became a Royal Arch Mason on March 25, less than a month prior to his departure for Montana.⁴⁹⁰

He received the degrees of the Council in Springfield, Massachusetts, probably in the early months of 1867.⁴⁹¹

Hedges demitted from Aholiab Chapter and became a charter member of Helena Chapter #2 on April 18, 1867, and became its first scribe.⁴⁹² The following year, on April 27, he helped found Helena Council #9.⁴⁹³ And during November, 1867, he noted in his journal that he had been studying Hindu theology because it had been adopted by the RAM Chapter.⁴⁹⁴

He was elected High Priest of the Chapter on December 7, 1868, and commented "surprised & pleased." And on December 13, 1869, he was elected Thrice Illustrious Master of the Council, and again remarked "to my

489. Proceedings. 38th Communication, 1902, p. 57.

490. Journals, February 18 and 19, 1864, and Proceedings. 43d Communication, 1907, p. 62.

491. Proceedings. 43d Communication, 1907, p. 62.

492. Ibid.

493. Journals, April 27, 1868.

494. Ibid., November 1 and 3, 1867.

surprise."⁴⁹⁵

On March 16, 1869, he received the Order of the Red Cross in the Commandery. Cornelius was given the Order of Malta and the Order of Knight Templar on March 25. That evening, he wrote of those degrees, "I liked them very much -- best of any thing in Masonry."⁴⁹⁶ On the evening of January 21, 1873, he was installed as Eminent Commander of the Commandery in the new Masonic Temple at Main and Edwards. He was again elected Eminent Commander on December 17, 1878, and installed on the same evening.⁴⁹⁷

On June 24, 1881, Cornelius Hedges and W.N. Baldwin instituted Montana Commandery #3, Knights Templar, at Butte.⁴⁹⁸

On May 8, 1888, Hedges indicated in his journal that he was writing a Constitution for Grand Commandery. And on May 14, Grand Commandery for Montana was organized in Helena, with Commanderies from Helena, Butte, Virginia City, and Miles City, and Commanderies under dispensation from Livingston and Billings represented. A.J. Fisk was elected Grand Commander, and Cornelius Hedges was elected Grand Recorder. Hedges held that position from 1888 to 1896 and 1904 to 1907. He was elected Grand Commander in 1896.⁴⁹⁹

Hedges was also among the charter members of the Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons when it was organized in the early summer of 1891. He

495. Ibid., December 7, 1868, and December 13, 1869.

496. Ibid., March 16 and 25, 1869.

497. Ibid., January 21, 1873, and December 17, 1878.

498. Campbell, op. cit., p. 100.

499. Journals, May 8 and 14, 1888; Campbell, op. cit., p. 209; and Proceedings. 43d Communication, 1907, p. 62.

was chosen Grand Secretary at the organizational meeting and served in that capacity until his death. He also received the Order of High Priesthood in 1896.⁵⁰⁰

Scottish Rite

On May 15, 1881, Robert C. Jordan, 33^o, Active Deputy for Nebraska, of the Southern Jurisdiction, Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, arrived in Helena to communicate the Scottish Rite degrees and organize a Lodge of Perfection and a Chapter of Rose Croix in Helena. Cornelius Hedges was a member of the first class to take Scottish Rite.⁵⁰¹ Other members of that class were: Harry R. Comly, Past Grand Master and future A. & A.S.R. Active Deputy for Montana; A.J. Davidson, who was elected Grand Master of Montana Masons in 1882; Richard Lockey; William N. Baldwin; Daniel M. Dellinger; John C. Major; James H. Moe; and Henry Cowden.⁵⁰²

On May 16, the class took the 4^o to the 13^o, and in the evening of the 17th, they received the Perfect Elu Degree, 14^o, to complete the degrees of the Lodge of Perfection. On the 18th, in the afternoon and evening, Mr. Jordan communicated all of the degrees of the Chapter of Rose Croix, and the first six degrees of the Council of Kadosh. The 26th through the 30th degrees were received by the class on May 19. On the 20th, the final day, they received the 31^o and 32^o in the Consistory, and

500. Campbell, op. cit., p. 210, and Proceedings. 43d Communication, 1907, p. 63.

501. Journals, May 15, 1881.

502. Names of the class are from the caption of their class photograph taken on May 20, 1881. A copy of that photograph is in the rotary picture file of the Livingston Scottish Rite Bodies, Masonic Temple, Livingston, Montana.

had a class picture taken. An election was also held that day; Judge Hedges was elected Venerable Master of the Alpha Lodge of Perfection and Orator of the Helena Chapter of Rose Croix.⁵⁰³ On April 11, 1887, he was also elected Wise Master of Helena Chapter of Rose Croix.⁵⁰⁴ Judge Hedges, too, was an honorary member of Eastern Montana Consistory at Livingston.⁵⁰⁵

In August, 1883, General Albert Pike, Sovereign Grand Commander of Scottish Rite Freemasonry, visited Helena for three days, and Hedges, in his journal, noted that he spent a large amount of time with Gen. Pike.⁵⁰⁶ In August of 1885, Albert Pike again visited Helena.⁵⁰⁷ Cornelius Hedges had been elected to receive the 33^o by the Supreme Council, A. & A.S.R., on October 23, 1884. On August 16, Albert Pike conferred the degree of Inspector General Honorary, 33^o, on Cornelius.⁵⁰⁸

Order of Eastern Star

Cornelius and Edna Hedges first became associated with Eastern Star on May 20, 1868. On that day, Hedges wrote in his journal, "Met at Kleinschmidts, with Jurgens, Gillette, Mathis & ladies took Eastern Star Degree."⁵⁰⁹ More than three years later, in November, 1871, Hedges first noted attending a meeting of the Eastern Star Circle, the predecessor to

503. Journals, May 16 to 20, 1881, and Campbell, op. cit., pp. 99-100.

504. Campbell, op. cit., p. 186.

505. Proceedings. 43d Communication, 1907, p. 63.

506. Journals, August 23 to 25, 1883.

507. Ibid., August 16 to 18, 1885.

508. Dr. Claud F. Young, Grand Secretary General, A. & A.S.R. to Thomas E. White, Washington, D.C., July 19, 1963.

509. Journals, May 20, 1868.

their Eastern Star Chapter.⁵¹⁰ And on February 13, 1872, Hedges wrote that he was "taken by surprise" when the Eastern Star Circle presented him with a Watch, Chain and Jewel.⁵¹¹

Edna and Cornelius Hedges both signed the petition asking General Grand Chapter for dispensation to form a chapter in Helena in 1880.⁵¹² Hedges noted that he had spent the evening of November 26, 1880, at the Masonic Temple laying the foundation for the organization of the new chapter. On January 20, 1881, Miriam Chapter of the Order of Eastern Star was formally organized. Edna L. Hedges was elected Miriam's first Worthy Matron, but according to Cornelius, she was reluctant to serve.⁵¹³ Judge Hedges selected the name, Miriam, for the new chapter. Later in life, Toby told this story about the choice of the name:

I have heard my father tell with greatest pride of his choice of the name Miriam, and he loved to think of our chapter perpetuating the name of the loved sister of Moses. He pictured her as a devoted sister and the embodiment of all womanly virtue, beauty and loveliness, and this is what he wanted the newly born star to typify.⁵¹⁴

Cornelius was evidently Worthy Patron of Miriam Chapter in 1891. On the 23d of December, 1890, he wrote that he had attended the annual election at Eastern Star Chapter and that he "went to get Edna out of office & got put in myself."⁵¹⁵

When the Grand Chapter of the Order of Eastern Star for Montana was

510. Ibid., November 10, 1871.

511. Ibid., February 13, 1872.

512. Brattin, et al., op. cit., p. 12.

513. Journals, November 26, 1880, and January 10, 1881.

514. Brattin, et al., op. cit., p. 13.

515. Journals, December 23, 1890.

formed on September 25, 1890, at Livingston, Hedges was too busy with Grand Lodge to attend. The organizational meeting of Grand Chapter was held during 26th Communication of Grand Lodge. However, Edna Layette Hedges was there to give it proper guidance and direction. She was elected its first Worthy Grand Matron.⁵¹⁶ Even though he had not attended the session and was not the Grand Secretary of Eastern Star, Judge Hedges prepared the first set of Eastern Star Grand Chapter Proceedings.⁵¹⁷

About the time of the establishment of Grand Chapter, Cornelius Hedges wrote the following brief essay concerning the place of the Order of Eastern Star in the Masonic family of orders. It expresses well his ideas about Eastern Star:

We can say from our observation in other departments of the great realm of Masonry, that the Order of the Eastern Star has passed its darkest days of indifference and opposition and is emerging into a bright, broad field of active usefulness, where the value of its services cannot long remain unnoticed and its efficient aid remain unsought in the greatest of all Masonic work, the dispensation of charity in the broadest and strictest sense, as well as in the sweet charities of daily intercourse with one another, and in ministering to the wants of the widows and orphans, the poor and despairing ones that are to be found in every community, of whom many are too proud to ask assistance, or let their wants be known. Then, again, the present is an era in the Masonic world when enlightened energies and great resources of the craft seem specifically directed to the establishment of Masonic homes. At the very beginning of this great work, the aid of woman's inspiration and quick sympathies is felt as a necessity to any measure of success. A home without a woman would be an anomaly, if not an impossibility. Woman by all her instincts and endowments is fitted to be the ministering angel of charity, and when Masonry enters in earnest upon its greatest of all missions it will soon see and feel its need of woman's

516. Pomeroy, et al., op. cit., pp. 7-9.

517. Journals, November 11, 1890.

co-operation. The Order of the Eastern Star tenders such co-operation in an organized form, and it comes like a dispensation of Providence at the moment that the Masonic world is awakening to its past dereliction of duty and is seriously striving to reduce professions to practice. We still see in places a pitiable spirit of ignorant hostility, which would refuse the use of lodge rooms for a meeting of chapters of the Eastern Star. Let it pass in silence, for it is fast passing away and soon will disappear forever. The fifty thousand members of the Order today will, in a few years, swell to five hundred thousand, and Masonry, instead of having cause to blush or mourn will rejoice that its strength and ability for good and true Masonic work has been quadrupled.⁵¹⁸

On September 23, 1892, Judge Hedges was elected the third Worthy Grand Patron of Montana's Grand Chapter.⁵¹⁹ And, in speaking of those in attendance at the 1907 Communication of Grand Chapter, Mertie M. Brattin commented:

But the one best known and best loved was missing, that [face] of Judge Cornelius Hedges, our second Grand Patron [sic - he was the third]. He and his life companion, our best loved sister, Edna L. Hedges, had, during all the years the Grand Chapter was growing to maturity, protected it from every evil that could have stunted its growth or marred its character; it was their child and they loved it as parents love their offspring.⁵²⁰

As a perpetual tribute, in 1908, the new Eastern Star Chapter at Bridger, Montana, was named Cornelius Hedges Chapter #43. The chapter was instituted by Grand Matron Josephine I. Hepner while the members faced an enlarged portrait of Judge Hedges, given by Edna and Toby, and the face of that portrait, "as ever in life, smiled a benediction" that evening.⁵²¹

518. Brattin, et al., op. cit., pp. 18-19.

519. Pomeroy, et al., op. cit., p. 11.

520. Brattin, et al., op. cit., pp. 39-40.

521. Ibid., p. 42.

Other Masonic Organizations

The scholarly mind of Cornelius Hedges was always searching deeper into philosophy to discover the deeper meaning of life. It was probably for that reason that he took the degrees of the Memphis Rite from Calvin C. Burt, on December 20, 1888. On December 22, Hedges organized a chapter of the Memphis Rite, 95⁰, whose dispensation probably was granted from either Germany or France. And on the 23d, Hedges was appointed Deputy for the Memphis Rite for Montana.⁵²²

Hedges was also undoubtedly a charter member of Algeria Temple of the Ancient and Accepted Order of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine. The first mention of Shrine in his journals was on May 24, 1888, when he mentioned that seven men were initiates of the Shrine and he spoke as though he already was a member.⁵²³ Algeria Temple was given its Dispensation on March 23, 1888, and its Charter was granted on June 25, 1888, becoming the Mother Temple of the Pacific Northwest.⁵²⁴ In view of these facts, it should be safe to assume that he was one of the 16 charter members of Algeria Temple, Nobles of the Mystic Shrine. One of the pleasures which Hedges definitely enjoyed was a summer outing with the Nobles of the Shrine.⁵²⁵

Masonic Home Efforts

During the closing years of Cornelius Hedges' life, the establishment

522. Journals, December 13, 15, 16, 20, 22 and 23, 1888.

523. Ibid., May 24, 1888.

524. Pacific Northwest Shrine Association Convention Souvenir Program, Billings, Montana, June 6-8, 1963. The program has unnumbered pages.

525. Journals, see entry for July 30, 1890.

of a Masonic Home in Montana became of prime importance to him, and the cause in turn received more than ample support from him.

The memorial to Judge Hedges, printed in the 1907 Grand Lodge Proceedings, summarizes his most important contribution to the Home:

The efforts of his later years have been devoted to furthering the cause of Masonic charity, and especially the work of building a Masonic Home in Montana. By his writings and conversation he inspired a brother of the jurisdiction to devise a large estate, the income of which is to be used for the support of a home for aged and infirm Masons and Masonic widows and orphans.⁵²⁶

The brother who was inspired by Hedges to provide major financial support for the Masonic Home was David Auchard. Hedges first met with Dave Auchard to discuss the Masonic Home on November 1, 1889.⁵²⁷

Although Hedges saw a true need for a Masonic Home, he cautioned those who would think that the Home would replace all other forms of charity, both by individuals and by lodges. This excerpt from his "Report on Fraternal Correspondence" for 1891, expresses his concern in more detail:

It will seem to many ungracious to breathe a doubt of propriety of the present tendency to build and endow Masonic Homes, some of them luxurious retreats of comfort and ease. Some jurisdictions need Home vastly more than others and some that need them most are least able to comply with the prevailing fashion. Let it be remembered that a Home of the kind now being generally built can at the most only provide for a small portion of those who call for and most need charity. Most only need partial temporary relief which can be provided more cheaply than transportation to a Home at any considerable distance. When one member of a family needs help, say the head of the family, the Home would not supply the need. For single persons, permanently

526. Proceedings. 43d Communication, 1907, pp. 63-64.

527. Journals, November 1, 1889

disabled a Home with constant kind attention would perhaps be better than some hospitals, but for the few such it would be vastly cheaper to provide for them at some hospital. Destitute widows and helpless orphans, could generally be provided for with some families at less cost than to maintain a Home that must be a constant tax upon the resources of the lodges.

Where such institutions can be supplied by private munificence and generosity and fairly endowed, we shall rejoice to see many of them and in every jurisdiction.⁵²⁸

Both Cornelius and Edna Hedges were appointed to a five-member committee of Miriam Chapter, Order of Eastern Star, on March 24, 1898, to originate a movement for a Masonic Home fund.⁵²⁹ At their second meeting, Mattie M. Booker and Cornelius Hedges wrote a circular letter, and sent it to all the Masonic Lodges and Eastern Star Chapters in the state, in an effort to stimulate interest in the fund. The key paragraph of the letter stated:

Time is passing swiftly by and it behooves us to be up and working in the noon-time of life to prepare for the infirmities of old age. It is apparent NOW that such a Home is needed, or will be in the near future. We trust that our brother Masons will bring this subject up in every lodge in Montana, discuss it, and devise ways of increasing the fund now in the hands of the Grand Lodge, and when the Grand Body meets here next September, can it not be made a general Masonic Fund, looking to the ultimate completion of the Home at no distant day? And during the intervening months all Eastern Star Chapter of Montana can have a charitable object to work for and become co-workers with the great brotherhood of the Masonic Fraternity in this most worthy object.⁵³⁰

As a result of that letter, the movement gained momentum, and Hedges

528. Proceedings. 27th Communication, 1891, pp. 108-109 of Appendix "A". See also Proceedings. 31st Communication, 1895, p. 136 of Appendix "A".

529. Brattin, et al., op. cit., p. 28.

530. Ibid., p. 29.

began looking forward to the day when the Masonic Home would be built. It was probably in the early 1900's when Hedges persuaded Dave Auchard to provide so well for the Home from the income of his estate. In 1905, Hedges reported to Grand Lodge that he had "endeavored to save Grand Lodge every possible expense till it has secured a Masonic Home," but the Grand Secretary's office definitely needed new furniture.⁵³¹

Late in August, 1906, Judge Hedges wrote in the Grand Lodge Proceedings indicating significant progress towards the erection of a Montana Masonic Home. He wrote:

At home we are reaching the long-deferred prospect of a Home around which our hopes and efforts for many years have centered. It may be all for the best that our hopes have been so long delayed. We shall be the better able to sustain a Home creditably, and with every new year there will be increased need of such an institution. In the language of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," "Our God is marching on."⁵³²

The last Communication of Montana Grand Lodge which Hedges attended was the special meeting held to lay the cornerstone of the Masonic Home in the valley near Helena on December 27, 1906.⁵³³ And at the time of his death, his Masonic brothers wrote "The only unfinished work upon his trestle-board was the completion of this building, marking the establishment of the institution for which he had so ably and continuously labored."⁵³⁴

In September, 1907, Cornelius Hedges Jr., speaking of his father,

531. Proceedings. 41st Communication, 1905, p. 35.

532. Proceedings. 42d Communication, 1906, pp. 126-127 of "Report on Fraternal Correspondence."

533. Proceedings. 43d Communication, 1907, pp. 4-6.

534. Ibid., p. 64.

told the Grand Lodge:

He was supremely happy in the thought of the completion of the Masonic Home and referred to it constantly in his last illness. It seems providential that he was permitted to attend the ceremonies of laying the cornerstone.⁵³⁵

Masonic Writings

Judge Cornelius Hedges was known to Montanans for a variety of pursuits, however, his fame outside of Montana was a direct result of his Masonic writings. Wherever a Grand Jurisdiction existed, which was recognized by Montana Grand Lodge, the Masonic writing and scholarship of Hedges was known and appreciated.⁵³⁶ In 1887, Robert Morris, founder of Eastern Star and Poet Laureate of Freemasonry, visited Montana Grand Lodge, and in his remarks paid Hedges a compliment on his Masonic writings:

Your jurisprudence has been so sound, your Grand Lodge Communications so harmonious, your increase in lodges and members so large and your published papers, especially Reports on Foreign Correspondence, of such merit that few Grand Lodges in the Union can boast so creditable a record.⁵³⁷

And in 1897, Grand Master Edward C. Day, in a Silver Anniversary testimonial for Hedges, said:

Such has been his contribution to Masonic philosophy

535. Ibid., p. 68.

536. At the time of Hedges death in 1907, the Grand Lodge of Montana recognized the following Grand Jurisdictions, and exchanged Proceedings with them: All of the other 44 states, District of Columbia, the Territories of Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma, Indian Territory, Puerto Rico, All provinces of Canada, except Saskatchewan, New Zealand, five Grand Lodges in Australia, Brazil, Peru, Costa Rica, Mexico, Cuba, England, Ireland, Scotland, Belgium, Italy, Greece, and Egypt. See Proceedings. 43d Communication, 1907, pp. 191-192.

537. Proceedings. 23d Communication, 1887, p. 12.

and jurisprudence that he is recognized as being among the leading Masonic writers of the English speaking people. Glancing through his work recently to familiarize myself with it, I was astonished at the variety of themes with which he has dealt, and the luminosity of his treatment of them.⁵³⁸

Significant also are Hedges own ideas concerning his Masonic writings. Of all the types of writing in which Hedges engaged, he felt that his best efforts were expended on Masonic writings.⁵³⁹ And, in 1878, he reflected on the general value of Correspondence Reports and his own part in the writing of them. He said:

It is encouraging to notice an increased appreciation of the labors of those who write for their several jurisdictions the Reports on Foreign Correspondence. Several Grand Lodges that for the time discontinued these reports, have, during the past year, revived the custom, and acknowledge the value and necessity of such labors. The best talent in the land is engaged in this field of labor, and the annual harvests are rich and bountiful. It is a basket pic-nic in a continental scale. Those who depreciatingly speak of this corps of Masonic workers as constituting only a mutual admiration society, must acknowledge that their labors among the rubbish of the temple, are bringing to light some of the richest treasures to rear and adorn the new world. It is the grand workshop in which principles are elaborated, and whence comes forth the Promethean fire that gives life, action and feeling to the dead forms and statute-like symbols in which our institution too much abounds. We feel it an honor to be one of such a band, and only regret that we bring to the general fund so little compared with what we carry away.⁵⁴⁰

Cornelius Hedges' Masonic writing was voluminous and varied, as Grand Master E.C. Day pointed out. Actually, the themes of his writing are so varied that in a work of this limitation it will only be possible to mention a few and illustrate his style and depth of thought with

538. Proceedings. 34th Communication, 1897, p. 59.

539. Journals, see July 19, 1887.

540. Proceedings. 14th Communication, 1878, p. 123.

certain selected excerpts.

Hedges often wrote lamenting the lack of support among the craft for Masonic publication.⁵⁴¹ He also wrote several essays on the pros and cons of voluminous Masonic publicity. Briefly, Hedges held the following view:

The secrets of the fraternity have been reduced to the minimum, and many good Masons are in despair, thinking the institution is hastening to its doom. On the contrary, we have believed that the vitality of Masonry consisted in its principles mostly, and very little in its secrets. And this is the ground on which we have favored publicity. If the principles of Masonry had been understood, there would never have occurred the Morgan excitement and the anti-Masonic crusade.⁵⁴²

Other familiar topics in Hedges' writing are essays on: Unwanted Masonic interjurisdictional disputes and quarrels;⁵⁴³ Physical qualifications in Masonry, a question of the operative verses the speculative;⁵⁴⁴ the mission of Masonry in the world;⁵⁴⁵ and the so-called "rival" societies, Do they present apparent danger?⁵⁴⁶

Judge Hedges made excellent use of the English language in his Masonic writings, but the thoughts expressed are the elements which give his writing enduring qualities.

The ultimate goal of Masonry was one topic of genuine concern to

541. See Proceedings. 13th Communication, 1877, pp. 117-118.

542. Proceedings. 32d Communication, 1896, p. 150 of Appendix "A"; see also Proceedings. 41st Communication, 1905, pp. 1-2 of "Report on Fraternal Correspondence."

543. Proceedings. 12th Communication, 1876, pp. 173-174, and Proceedings. 17th Communication, 1881, pp. 131-132.

544. Proceedings. 16th Communication, 1880, pp. 118-119.

545. Proceedings. 23d Communication, 1887, pp. 101-102.

546. Proceedings. 16th Communication, 1880, pp. 119-120.

Hedges. At one time he wrote:

There is more to Masonry than its few secrets and its ritual. It is the great conservative and cohesive element in society, holding fast to all that is good and reenforcing every agency contributing to human elevation and progress.⁵⁴⁷

At another time, he wrote of the ultimate goal of Masonry:

After all, is not the only real, the highest purpose for which we can exist, one of so humble a nature that it is overlooked, forgotten? That is the cultivation of a higher manhood, in the loving service of God and humankind. To finish up the human being to the highest point of mental and moral development, seems to be the end of the Creator in framing the Universe, and the course of his providential dealings. What higher aim can we propose to ourselves than humbly imitate his plan, and co-operate with him?⁵⁴⁸

And he further expounded on this topic in the following passage:

There must be left plenty of room and play for individual activity and Charity, and not only so, but Masonry needs to correct much of the very general notion entertained about its work. Opening and closing lodges, and conferring degrees, is nothing but dry, uninteresting and comparatively unimportant preparation for work in subduing passions, ministering to the sick, afflicted and destitute. Never think you have made a Mason till you are sure that it has touched and entered the heart as well as the tongue and head. We are taught that it is in the heart that one is first prepared to be made a Mason. It is also the finishing place, unless it miscarries altogether.⁵⁴⁹

In the midst of a broiling political conflict in 1884, Cornelius wrote these lines concerning the relationship of Masonry and politics:

It is a great, good thing to have one asylum where to retire and feel perfectly above political contention. We have no hard words to say about politics. We have our political beliefs and even prejudices, as strong as any one, but we leave Masonry better because political contention never enters her temple. We love to greet in the lodge room

547. Proceedings. 30th Communication, 1894, p. 167 of Appendix "A".
 548. Proceedings. 10th Communication, 1874, p. 138.
 549. Proceedings. 12th Communication, 1876, p. 175.

those with whom we have contend, most stoutly, outside.

As Masonry was recognized as stronger than sectional strife on the battle-field, so it ranges on an entirely different plane from that where ordinary political strife holds its carnival. Political conflict is only as a wind that ripples the surface, sometimes rolling high waves, perhaps, but never reaching the depths or stirring the great body of the ocean. Masonry is surely one of the centripetal forces of society, keeping the elements from flying asunder. It pours oil on the troubled waters, and teaches men that their common interests are much the greatest and most numerous.⁵⁵⁰

In 1882, while contemplating the improvements which would be taking place when the railroads entered Montana Territory, he wrote the following timely essay, which still has abundant meaning for us today:

Masonry will change, too, in some things. It will grow in numbers, in wealth; we shall have a more complete and methodical organization, perhaps finer halls and some systematic provision for relief, but will the genuine spirit of Masonry be stronger, purer, brighter than it has been in the rough trying days through which Montana Masonry has passed? We have our serious doubts. Peril, hardship, loneliness, developed a cast of brotherhood that nothing else could. Already other organization are coming in to steal away attention and allegiance that once were given undivided to Masonry. We must put our house in order.⁵⁵¹

550. Proceedings. 20th Communication, 1884, pp. 128-129.
 551. Proceedings. 18th Communication, 1882, pp. 126-127.

Chapter XI
RELIGIOUS LIFE

Judge Hedges' Christian faith was a real and personal thing. He had a deep concern for his spiritual condition, and would often comment about it in his journal. On October 25, 1863, he wrote "Tried to realize my true condition in the sight of God." And on November 8, 1863, he recorded "Resolved to live hereafter in the fear of God."⁵⁵²

He regularly attended week-day evening prayer meetings during most of his lifetime, except between the years of 1864 and 1872.⁵⁵³ And he sincerely believed that one of the best methods of interpreting the scripture was to put into practice in his daily life.⁵⁵⁴

Cornelius was raised Congregationalist, and the first church in which he held a membership was at New Haven, Connecticut. He belonged to that church during the time he was attending Yale College. Next, he was a member of the Westfield, Massachusetts, Congregationalist Church.⁵⁵⁵ Hedges maintained Congregational sentiments in later life even though a member of the Presbyterian Church. On November 14, 1883, he wrote in his journal, "Congregational convention held today to start the new church. Sorry not to be able to attend."⁵⁵⁶

After moving to Independence, Iowa, in 1856, Hedges attended the Presbyterian Church. Upon returning to Connecticut to teach in 1860,

552. Journals, October 25, 1863, and November 8, 1863.

553. Ibid., see entries for September 2, 1863, and November 7, 1872.

554. Ibid., December 3, 1876.

555. Cornelius Hedges, "Early Reminiscences," Contributions, VI, p. 350.

This was an address delivered by Hedges at the 25th Anniversary Celebration of the First Presbyterian Church, Helena, on June 20, 1897.

556. Journals, November 14, 1883.

Hedges resumed his Congregationalist membership at Southington. His church membership remained in Connecticut until 1873, when Hedges transferred his membership to the Helena Presbyterian Church.⁵⁵⁷

Hedges said that the first time he had attended "anything like [a] religious observance of the Sabbath" after arriving in Montana, was on March 26, 1865, and Rev. E.T. McLaughlin conducted the service. He recalled that "Brother McLaughlin was a Methodist, but church connections went for little then and all contributed to build him a church."⁵⁵⁸

On July 10, 1869, Rev. A.M. Hough asked Hedges to become a trustee of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Hedges consented. He also was teaching Sunday School at the Methodist Church.⁵⁵⁹ In reference to an unsuccessful attempt to organize a Presbyterian Church in Helena in 1869, Cornelius recalled, "I doubted the wisdom of trying to sustain another separate church organization."⁵⁶⁰

However, on August 15, 1872, he noted in his journal that a meeting of the Presbyterian Church was held in his office.⁵⁶¹ And in December, 1873, was elected a Trustee of the Presbyterian Church.⁵⁶²

His Christian faith and activities was not necessarily bounded by denomination. On August 22, 1875, Judge Hedges was re-elected as President of the Southern Methodist Bible Society.⁵⁶³

557. Hedges, "Early Reminiscences," Contributions, VI, p. 350.

558. Ibid., p. 351.

559. Journals, July 9 and 10, 1868, and Hedges, "Early Reminiscences," Contributions, VI, p. 352.

560. Hedges, "Early Reminiscences," Contributions, VI, p. 352.

561. Journals, August 15, 1872.

562. Hedges, "Early Reminiscences," Contributions, VI, p. 354.

563. Journals, August 22, 1875.

On August 13, 1876, a Communion Sunday, he noted "I was ordained elder, with some hesitation and misgiving - I hardly knew what was my duty."⁵⁶⁴ As a trustee and elder of the church, Hedges evidently regarded church attendance as a duty. His journal for December 18, 1887, contains this terse comment, "Went to church like a good boy, but I don't like to hear Mr. Moore preach."⁵⁶⁵

In addition to being an influential leader in the Helena Presbyterian Church, he was a respected member of the Montana Presbytery.⁵⁶⁶

Because Cornelius Hedges felt that one of the best ways to interpret the Scriptures was to live them, his life was an inspiration to others to improve their lives.

564. Ibid., August 13, 1876.

565. Ibid., December 18, 1887.

566. Ibid., see entries for March 30 to April 5, 1877, for example.

Chapter XII

MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS - A SUMMARY

During the lifetime of thought, study, and action guided by the basic virtues of charity and brotherly love, Cornelius Hedges contributed much to the cultural growth of Montana and the nation.

The most significant of his contributions are those which today are represented in living monuments to Judge Hedges. And these contributions have lived because Hedges gave unselfishly to aid each with a healthy growth.

From the suggestion that Yellowstone be set aside as a National Park in 1870, in concentrated effort with others, Hedges saw Yellowstone National Park founded. And from it in turn, has grown a National Park System of over 125 areas preserving our nation's scenic and historic heritage -- a fitting memorial to Hedges' unselfishness.

Likewise, the Helena Public Library, which stands ready and willing to impart its knowledge to the inquisitive minds of Helena, is yet another living memorial to this man.

As Territorial Superintendent of Public Instruction, Hedges in his unceasing benevolence stimulated among the citizens of our state the concern to build and maintain a good system of public schools. That system of public schools, even with its periodic problems, is another monument to him.

The Grand Lodge of Montana and the Masonic Home, which had the benefit of Judge Hedges charitable efforts from their inception, round out the list of major, permanent monuments to this outstanding Montana pioneer.

And superseding all his individual contributions, Cornelius Hedges

rendered the eternal proof that the social, cultural, intellectual, and educational interests could and would receive more than ample development in Montana.

APPENDIX

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