George M. Robeson posed to the regulars. Ward apparently tried to steer a middle course, appointing Robeson attorney general and reappointing Smith clerk of the Supreme Court. On the other hand, some party leaders felt Ward gave too many favors to his Newark friends, especially after he appointed Frederick T. Frelinghuysen to the United States Senate.

By the late 1860s few doubted that practical politics was Ward's overriding interest and that, as far as he was concerned, the Republican party was the instrument of political good. Witness his remarks of November 23, 1866, to the editor of the *Chicago Tribune:* "Our State has done well and I hope and believe that we are now firmly fixed among the Republican states. The change seems great within a period of fifteen months. Two United States senators, three members of the House of Representatives, both Houses of the Legislature, all the officers of the state department Republican, are the tangible proofs that we are entirely reconstructed—the life, the energy, the spirit of an orginazation [sic] is fully aroused and we shall be armed and equipped for the next great battle." In the same year he was appointed chairman of the Republican National Committee, and in 1872 he was elected to a term in Congress.

Yet to dismiss Ward as a hack party politician would be unjust. It would be more accurate to describe him—like many who joined the Republican party prior to the Civil War—as one who saw politics as a means to material and moral progress. It appears that Ward felt a certain moral obligation to look out for the welfare of others. For example, since he felt that the soldiers would spend their money irresponsibly if left to their own devices, his overseeing their pay contained an element of paternalism.

In private life Ward was married to the former Susan Morris, and the couple had eight children. After his public life ended in 1874 with his defeat for reelection to Congress, he devoted the rest of his life to his family and personal affairs. In the spring of 1884 he contracted malaria on a trip he and his wife took to Florida. He was brought back to Newark, where he died on April 25, 1884.

Shortly after his death, Ward's son, Marcus L. Ward, Jr., used his estate to found a house in Maplewood for men and women over sixty-five who had been prominent in business and social affairs. Thus the theme of philanthropy in Ward's life reasserted itself.

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Hermann K. Platt

THEODORE FITZ RANDOLPH (June 24, 1826–November 7, 1883), governor of New Jersey and United States senator, was descended from a family that had migrated from England to Massachusetts in the first half of the seventeenth century. Born in New Brunswick, he was the son of Sarah Kent Carman and James Fitz Randolph, a member of Congress from New Jersey and publisher of the New Brunswick *Fredonian.* The younger Randolph attended Rutgers Grammar School and worked as a writer and proofreader for his father's newspaper. At age sixteen he entered a mercantile career, and he spent

the next ten years as a clerk, accountant, and principal in business, primarily in the South. At twenty he went to Vicksburg, Mississippi, but in 1850 he returned to New Jersey to enter his father's extensive coal and iron business. He established his residence at Jersey City and lived there until 1862, when he purchased a ninety-acre stock farm in Morristown.

Admitted to the bar in 1848, Theodore F. Randolph became, like his father, a Whig, a states' rights advocate and a consistent opponent of the abolitionists. With the decline of the Whigs after the elections of 1852 he moved into the Democratic party. In 1860 an alliance of Democrats and Know-Nothings elected the wealthy businessman-lawyer to the general assembly from the first district of Jersey City. Appointed to the Special Joint Committee on National Affairs, he helped lead the effort to avert civil war. That effort culminated in the passage of resolutions appointing delegates to the Washington Peace Conference of February 1861.

In November 1861 Randolph was elected to fill a vacancy in the state senate, and in 1862 he was reelected for a full, three-year term. As Governor Joel Parker's chief ally in the senate, he voiced opposition to many of the war policies of the Lincoln administration but refused to endorse the extreme demands of the Copperheads. More specifically, he succeeded in thwarting Copperhead plans to limit war appropriations and helped defeat resolutions calling for an armistice in 1862. The senator's approach to racial issues reflected humanity and pragmatism. In 1865 he introduced a relief bill, which was passed, extending equal benefits and enlistment bounties to black soldiers. Whites, he explained, should not do injustice to an "inferior" race. In the same year, he opposed the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment on the grounds that slavery was already doomed and that the measure would effectively close the door to peace negotiations. In state affairs he concentrated on monetary and fiscal policy. As chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, the conservative Democrat began to advocate a more equitable system of corporate taxation. He successfully urged the creation of a state comptroller's office and led the opposition to a plan under which the state would assume responsibility for paying local bounties to army volunteers.

In the summer of 1865 Randolph sought the Democratic nomination for governor, but he finished second in the balloting to Theodore Runyon, a member of the party's peace faction who had just completed a term as mayor of Newark. Two years later Randolph accepted an appointment as president of the Morris and Essex Railroad. He held that post until he was elected governor in 1868.

Indicating their dissatisfaction with Republican reconstruction policies, New Jersey voters elected him governor over John Insley Blair by more than forty-five hundred ballots. Taking office on January 19, 1869, Randolph advocated prompt readmission of the former Confederate states and outlined a program that would revise election laws, develop a more equitable system of taxation for individuals, impose new taxes on corporations, and create a riparian commission. Less than a month after his inaugural address, the governor began to implement this program by urging the legislature to abandon the system of "transit duties" that certain corporations paid the state in lieu of any other "tax or impost" and to adopt a uniform tax law. Aimed especially at the monopolies of the Delaware and Raritan Canal Company and the Camden and Amboy Railroad and Transportation Company, these measures were designed both to regulate business and to increase state revenues. The legislature, still under Democratic control after the elections of 1868, repealed the parts of charters that provided for transit duties, but no uniform railroad tax was passed until 1873.

The legislature of 1869 acted more expeditiously on the governor's advice to end the exemption of certain corporations

from New Jersey's general tax law. In effect, privileged companies were being assessed as if they were individual persons—namely on the value of their real and personal property rather than of their capital stock and accumulated surplus. Acting on specific suggestions from Governor Randolph, the legislature levied a tax of 2 percent on the annual earnings of corporations chartered by the state or doing business in it. The governor repeatedly tried to defend this principle of taxing corporations more heavily than individuals, but the law proved unenforceable, and it was repealed in 1872.

In justifying his tax policies, Governor Randolph emphasized that an expansion of state functions was primarily responsible for the increased cost of government. During his term expansion continued; the governor and legislature took steps to improve state facilities for correction, mental care and education. Randolph had financial as well as humanitarian motives for ameliorating the prison system. By improving the management of penal institutions and by increasing the productivity of convict labor, the governor hoped to make the state prison system self-supporting. Acting on recommendations of a special commission on prison administration, Randolph urged the legislature of 1869 to expand the Trenton State Prison and create a "House of Correction" that would employ short-term convicts at healthful and productive work in an atmosphere free from the negative influence of hardened criminals. Though the legislature made no provision for a house of correction, it approved bills to enlarge the state prison and to erect new workshops on the prison grounds. In his final annual message, Governor Randolph reported that the prison legislation of 1869 had saved the state nearly $200,000. State involvement was less pronounced in education and mental care. The free public school system was made statewide with modest financial aid in 1871, and between 1869 and 1872 the groundwork was laid for a new "lunatic asylum" at Morris Plains to supplement the overcrowded facility at Trenton. The Morris Plains asylum, however, did not open until 1876.

Although most of his proposals received prompt attention from the legislature, Governor Randolph could not secure action on his plan for election reform until March 1871. Incorporating the governor's recommendation that both corporations and individuals be punished for buying votes, the legislature passed a stringent law that disfranchised both the giver and the receiver of an election bribe and put guilty corporations in jeopardy of losing their charters. The law had little effect, however, and soon there were more complaints about election bribery than ever.

With Republicans controlling both houses in 1871, relations between the legislature and Randolph became more partisan and less cooperative. The governor vetoed more major bills in 1871 than in the previous two years combined, even though he professed to use this executive prerogative "only in such cases as were clearly unconstitutional, where unintentional mistakes had been made, or where the ends of Justice were clearly to be violated by Legislative contrivances remote from if not beyond legislative inquiry." Early in his term, Randolph used the veto to defeat bills that in his view promoted railroad expansion at the expense of individual taxpayers and property owners. Later he directed his efforts against bills that would reorganize municipal governments for partisan purposes. Although Randolph and the Democratic lawmakers had set the precedent for this type of partisan legislation in 1870, the governor unhesitatingly vetoed Republican-sponsored reorganization measures. The most important of these vetoes was of a bill allowing the Republican legislature to restructure the powerful government of Jersey City, then controlled by the Democrats. The bill was passed over his veto, however, and for the next sixteen years Jersey City was ruled by a government appointed by the state and dominated by Republicans.

Randolph's pocket veto of "An Act to

Incorporate the German Valley Railway Company" precipitated a constitutional dispute with the state court of chancery. Randolph was subpoenaed to testify in a suit charging that he had received the bill prior to the five closing days of the legislative session, but he answered that only the legislature had constitutional authority to "obtain answer" from the governor for his action or inaction. He further asserted that the governor was the sole judge of what constituted his official duties. Wishing to avoid a constitutional crisis, however, Randolph deposited the engrossed copy of the disputed bill with the state librarian.

Two other potential crises faced the governor in 1870 and 1871. The first resulted from a railroad dispute known as "The Bergen Riot." Randolph used National Guard troops to quell the riot, and the feuding railway companies settled their differences in court. In July 1871, the governor averted a threatened riot in Jersey City when he took action to prevent Irish-Americans from disrupting a parade planned by Orangemen on the anniversary of the battle of the Boyne. Although he criticized the Orangemen for reviving an "unnecessary" religious and political feud, the governor issued a proclamation declaring his intention to guarantee the right of peaceful assembly to all citizens. He followed the proclamation with an order to use up to three thousand state troops if needed. These measures proved more than ample, and civil authorities managed to cope with the situation without military assistance.

The governor's handling of the Orangemen affair prompted state and national journals to list him as a leading contender for the Democratic presidential nomination. Randolph directed his efforts toward attaining a more realistic goal—a seat in the United States Senate. In his last message to the legislature he addressed national as well as state issues, and after leaving office he played an active role in the presidential campaign of 1872. Initially a participant in the bipartisan movement to find an alternative to Ulysses S. Grant and Horace Greeley, the ex-governor ultimately campaigned for Greeley amid charges of a deal involving appointment to a cabinet post.

In January 1875 the Democratic majority in the legislature elected ex-governor Randolph to the United States Senate seat previously held by John P. Stockton. Randolph served in the Senate until 1881; he was a member of the Committees on Commerce, Military Affairs, Education, Civil Service Reform and the Centennial Exhibition. He also served on the special Senate committee to examine South Carolina's returns in the disputed presidential election of 1876, and for two years he was chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs. In his infrequent speeches, he criticized President Grant's use of federal troops to uphold Republican governments in the South, opposed government aid to parochial schools, argued against the remonetization of silver, and advocated an early redemption of paper currency.

In addition to his political and governmental activities, Randolph served as a trustee of Rutgers College, founded and was a president of the Washington Association of New Jersey, invented a ditching machine and a steam typewriter, and practiced philanthropy. In 1852, he married Fannie Coleman, daughter of Congressman Nicholas D. Coleman of Kentucky. He died on November 7, 1883, at his home in Morristown.

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Robert C. Morris

JOSEPH DORSETT BEDLE (January 5, 1831–October 21, 1894), as a contemporary account put it, was "an instance of a man who, at a comparatively early age, achieves the highest honors of his state, apparently without having passed through any of the highways and byways of the politician."

Certainly, having an established, influential family on both sides did not harm his career. Bedle's paternal grandparents were natives of New Jersey. His parents were Thomas and Hannah (Dorsett) Bedle. His father was a merchant, a justice of the peace for more than twenty-five years, and a judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Monmouth County. Through his mother's family, which had immigrated from Bermuda more than a century and a half earlier, the future governor was related to Garret Dorsett Wall, a Democratic party leader in New Jersey in the Jacksonian era, who had declined to serve as governor after the legislature elected him in 1829.

Born in Middletown Point (now Matawan) on January 5, 1831, Bedle was educated at the academy there. His apparently delicate health and his father's desire to have a son engaged in commerce made him forgo the college course to work two years in a general country store. But a strong desire to study law led him to become a student for about three and one-half years in the Trenton law office of William L. Dayton, who had been a United States senator and would be the vice-presidental candidate of the newly formed Republican party in 1856 and minister to France in 1861. Bedle spent one winter at the law school in Ballston Spa, New York, and after another winter in the Poughkeepsie office of Thompson and Weeks—on his twenty-first birthday—he was admitted in New York State as an attorney and counselor. He did additional study with Matawan lawyer Henry S. Little, who was to become a member of the "State House Ring," and was admitted to the New Jersey bar the following year, 1853. For the next two years he practiced law in Middletown Point, moving to Freehold in 1855 and advancing to counselor in 1856. There, in 1861, he married Althea F. Randolph, the eldest daughter of Bennington F. Randolph, a local lawyer with an extensive practice. She was the niece of Democratic Governor Theodore F. Randolph (1869-72).

In 1865, when he was thirty-four, Bedle became the second youngest justice in the state supreme court's history. Democratic Governor Joel Parker, also a Freehold lawyer, appointed him to the largest circuit, Hudson-Passaic-Bergen. Soon afterward Bedle moved his residence to Jersey City, next door to Leon Abbett, who was to serve two terms as governor. In 1871, just before the close of Bedle's term as justice, the Democratic "State House Ring" planned to nominate Bedle for governor. The judge "himself took no steps to secure the nomination, rather discouraging the movement in his favor," reported a Newark daily newspaper; and his new neighbor and rival, Abbett, persuaded Parker to run—successfully—for a second nonconsecutive term. Bedle was reappointed to the bench in 1872.

Unanimously, the 1874 Democratic convention selected Bedle as its nominee