

The Impact of John St. John's Campaign in New York State on the Results of the 1884 Presidential Election

By Jonathan Makeley

In 1884, the United States of America underwent a contentious presidential election, which ended with the election of Democratic candidate Grover Cleveland. The Republican Party had won every presidential election since the election of Abraham Lincoln. But the 1884 election brought an end to that winning streak. The results of the 1884 election were in large part decided by the state of New York. New York was the largest swing state in the election; with 36 electoral college votes, in a race that was decided by a 27-vote electoral college margin. New York was also the most closely decided state in the race, with a vote margin of 0.1% of the vote. Republican candidate James Baine had narrowly lost New York state to Grover Cleveland and as a result Cleveland was able to gain the electoral college votes needed to win the election. This leaves the consideration of how Cleveland was able to narrowly defeat Blaine in New York.¹

The 1884 election also witnessed the growing prominence of the Prohibition Party. Prohibition Party presidential candidate John St. John received 147,482 votes (over 14 times the party's results in the 1880 election) and received 25,006 votes in New York State. Given that St. John's results in New York were both significantly larger than that of previous Prohibition Party presidential candidates and significantly larger than the less than 1,200-vote margin of victory, this suggests that the St. John's campaign may have impacted the results of the election.² This

¹ David Leip, "1884 Presidential General Election Results", Uselectionatlas.org. Accessed November 26, 2018, <https://uselectionatlas.org/USPRESIDENT/GENERAL/pe1884.html>; Harrison Cook Thomas, "The Return of the Democratic Party to Power in 1884", PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1919, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo1.ark:/13960/t89g67d7j;view=1up;seq=7>, 15-16

² Emil Pocock, "Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 In Upstate New York", *New York History* 54, no. 2 (1973): 174-90, <http://www.jstor.org.gate.lib.buffalo.edu/stable/23170001>, 174-175; David Leigh Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States: A History of the Prohibition Party and of the Prohibition Movement*, (New York:

paper focuses on St. John's 1884 presidential campaign in New York state. Using research into election results, primary source materials, and scholarship on the 1884 election and Prohibition Party history, I will make the case that St. John's campaign played a significant role in determining the results of the election in New York State.

The 1884 election was influenced by several social and political developments which occurred over the preceding years. The Republican Party had held an advantage in national politics following the Civil War, due to its prominence in northern states and federal influence in southern states during Reconstruction (1865-1877). During reconstruction, the federal government had attempted to reintegrate the former Confederate states into the nation's federal system and to aid in their transition into a post-slavery social order. Though, there were significant numbers of reactionary white southerners, who were displeased by the social dislocation and wanted to preserve white supremacy. The Democratic Party in the south had aligned itself with this reactionary effort and were able to gradually regain dominance in the southern states.³ The results of the 1876 presidential election were disputed between the Democrats and Republicans. The compromise of 1877, allowed Republican Rutherford Hayes to become president in exchange for the removal of federal troops from the remaining occupied parts of the south. This brought an end to Reconstruction, and allowed the Democratic party to further cement their dominance in the south.⁴ The Democratic Party also expanded its support in

Georg H. Doran Company, 1926), 161-165; *The Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1885*, (New York : Greeley & McElrath, 1885), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=osu.32435054392535;view=1up;seq=5>, 87

³ Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877*. 1988. Ed. Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris. Reprint, (New York: Harper Collins, 2011), xvii-xxv; 281-343; 412-459

⁴ Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*, 412-459; 564-601; Mark Wahlgren Summers, *Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion: The Making of a President, 1884*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 27-40

the north, by appealing to various groups, such as Irish immigrants and anti-monopolists. By the early 1880's, the Democratic Party was more competitive with the Republican Party.⁵

This period also saw an increase focus on the issues of ethics and civil service. The 1870's and 80's saw in an increased public dissatisfaction with corruption in state and federal government. There were activists in multiple parties, who sought to reform the civil service system, so that more government jobs were given to qualified professionals instead of on the basis of political patronage. This produced conflicts within the major parties among those who supported public ethics laws and civil service reform and those who wanted to maintain the existing systems of political influence.⁶ In 1882, Grover Cleveland was elected governor of New York, and rose to prominence based on a reputation of ethical integrity, supporting state reform, and standing up to the Tammany Hall political machine.⁷

Over the course of the 19th century, the prohibitionist movement had gained increased political prominence. In the antebellum period, the temperance movement had become widespread. Teetotalism and support for banning the manufacturing and sale of alcoholic beverages had become mainstream concepts. By the 1830's, there were local level prohibition laws in some communities and various states had state licensing laws for the sale of alcohol.⁸ In

⁵ Summers, *Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion*, 13-40; 108-123

⁶ Thomas, "The Return of the Democratic Party to Power in 1884", 81-105; Summers, *Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion*, 64-115; Herman King Murphey, "The Mugwump movement of 1884", PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1918, <https://books.google.com/books?id=FyVSAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA129&lpg=PA129&dq=irish+american+politics+1884&source=bl&ots=cNZYNQdPj4&sig=nCDg5WWsEKWDFsavAqqtYwnVwnk&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewjArJeR0dzdAhXOhOAKHamUA1YQ6AEwEnoECAQQAQ#v=onepage&q=prohibition&f=false>, 1-16

⁷ Thomas, "The Return of the Democratic Party to Power in 1884", 104-105; 173-177; Summers, *Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion*, 70-123

⁸ Jonathan Makeley, "Enlightenment and Sure Remedy: The Development of Ethics, Thought, and Activism of the 19th Century Temperance Movement in Western New York", Honor's Thesis, History Department of Alfred University, 2017, 23-36; David Leigh Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States: A History of the Prohibition Party and of the Prohibition Movement*, (New York: Georg H. Doran Company, 1926), 13-28

1851, Maine established the first state level prohibition law. 13 other states passed their own state level prohibition laws in the 1850's. Most of these laws were later repealed by later state legislatures or by court challenges. But the prohibitionist movement continued to persevere.⁹ The resolution of the Civil War and the federal abolition of slavery had inspired other reformists, including advocates of prohibition, to embrace national level efforts as a means of reform.¹⁰

In its early years, the Republican Party had attracted the support of many reform activists. After the civil war, the Republican Party had placed much of its focus on Reconstruction and economic issues. In order to compete with Democrats over votes, the party moderated its positions on various reform movements, including prohibitionism. In 1869, a group of several hundred temperance advocates and other reform activists, and dissatisfied by a lack of support among the major parties, gathered in Chicago, and founded the Prohibition Party. The Prohibition Party sought to advance national prohibition, womens suffrage, and other reforms through partisan politics.¹¹ The party organized activists throughout the country (with most of its early supporters concentrated in Midwestern and Northeastern states), campaigned for prohibition laws, and ran prohibition supporting candidates for various offices. In 1872, the Prohibition Party ran James Black and John Russell as its first presidential ticket, and continued running a presidential ticket in each following election.¹²

By the early 1880's the prohibitionist movement was becoming a significant national political force. In 1880, the state of Kansas, under the leadership of then governor John St. John,

⁹ Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 29-48; Makeley, "Enlightenment and Sure Remedy", 35-39

¹⁰ Makeley, "Enlightenment and Sure Remedy", 39-40; Lisa M. F. Andersen, *The Politics of Prohibition: American Governance and the Prohibition Party, 1869–1933*, (Cambridge University Press, 2013), ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.gate.lib.buffalo.edu/lib/buffalo/detail.action?docID=1394551>, 9-28

¹¹ Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 49-100; Andersen, *The Politics of Prohibition*, 9-28; 279-281

¹² Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 49-100; Andersen, *The Politics of Prohibition*, 9-28

passed its own state level Prohibition law, and set off the second wave of state level Prohibition in the 1880's.¹³ The Prohibition Party was growing in membership and had relatively strong performances in the 1882 elections.¹⁴ The Women's Christian Temperance Union had become a major national temperance organization. In the period of 1882-84, it sent petitions to the conventions of the Democratic, Republican, and Prohibition parties, calling for them to publicly support Prohibition in their platforms. The Democratic party, which was generally opposed to prohibition, rejected it. The Republican convention dismissed the appeal and the petition was later found on the floor covered in garbage. This did much to enrage the WTCU and prohibition supporting Republicans. The Prohibition Party, which already supported prohibition, greeted the WTCU position with open arms and were well placed to appeal to Prohibition supporters disaffected by the major parties.¹⁵

In 1884, the Democratic Party nominated Grover Cleveland as its presidential candidate. Cleveland was the Governor of New York (1882-1884), former Erie County Sheriff (1871-1873), and former mayor of Buffalo (1882). Cleveland had the advantage of being governor of the major swing state of New York, and had a reputation of supporting ethics and civil service reform. Though his public image was hurt by the revelation that he had fathered a child out of wedlock, and Republican opponents seized on the scandal to paint him as unethical.¹⁶

In 1884, the Republican Party selected James Blaine as its presidential candidate. Blaine had served as speaker of the House of Representatives (1869-75), U.S. Senator from Maine

¹³ Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 123-201

¹⁴ Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 101-144

¹⁵ Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 123-144; Pocock, "Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 In Upstate New York", 184-185; Thomas, "The Return of the Democratic Party to Power in 1884", 72

¹⁶ Thomas, "The Return of the Democratic Party to Power in 1884", 169-191; Summers, *Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion*, 145-163

(1876-1881), and Secretary of State (1881), and a prominent figure of the moderate part of the Republican Party. Blaine's moderate positions on prohibition and civil service reform alienated some members of the Republican party. This was further exacerbated by accusations that Blaine had previously taken bribes to influence the rewarding of railroad contracts. A group of Republicans who supported ethics and civil service reform revolted from the party and formed the Independent Republicans (aka Mugwumps). The Mugwumps opposed Blaine's campaign, and its leading figures tended to support Cleveland (who was seen as friendlier to their proposed reforms).¹⁷

The Prohibition Party selected John St. John as its presidential candidate. St. John had been governor of Kansas (1879-83), led the effort to establish statewide prohibition in Kansas, and afterwards worked to promote Prohibition across the country. His status as a former governor and well-known champion of Prohibition, helped him to attract national attention for the Prohibition Party and his campaign.¹⁸

The Greenback Party (a pro-paper currency, pro-labor, and anti-monopoly party) selected Benjamin Butler as its presidential candidate. Butler was a Union Civil War general, former congressman (1867-79), and former Democratic Governor of Massachusetts (1883-1884). The Greenback Party likewise gained national attention for its candidate. The Democratic, Republican, and Prohibition, and Greenback parties were the four parties whose candidates had ballot access in the state of New York.¹⁹

¹⁷ Thomas, "The Return of the Democratic Party to Power in 1884", 145-168; Summers, *Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion*, 124-145; 197-209; Murphey, "The Mugwump movement of 1884", 45-96

¹⁸ Thomas, "The Return of the Democratic Party to Power in 1884", 141-142; Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 145-165

¹⁹ Thomas, "The Return of the Democratic Party to Power in 1884", 135-140

There are several theories as to why Blaine had lost New York state to Cleveland. There is the theory that Grover Cleveland's ethical reputation combined with Blaine's history of corruption accusations had made Cleveland more popular with voters, and that this delivered him victory.²⁰ But the election results in New York don't support this. Grover Cleveland had gotten a smaller percentage of the vote in 1884 (48.25%) than 1880 Democratic presidential candidate Winfield Hancock (48.42%), and Hancock had lost New York. The reason that Cleveland was able to win with a smaller percentage was because the Republican share of the vote had dropped from 50.32% in 1880 to 48.15% in 1884. Meanwhile, the Prohibition Party went from 0.14% to 2.14% and the Greenbacks went from 1.12% to 1.46%.²¹

There is a theory that the Republican Party had lost due to strong rain on election day in some mainly republican parts of upstate New York. This idea originated from claims made James Blaine after the election, and provided him a convenient excuse for his loss.²² Historian Emil Pocock tackled this theory in his article, "Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 in Upstate New York". Pocock confirms there was some rain on election day in some traditionally Republican dominated counties, which might have somewhat reduced vote totals in those counties. Though from analysis of the vote totals, it can be seen that most of the Republican's decreased vote totals in those counties came from a smaller percentage of voters voting

²⁰ Pocock, "Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 In Upstate New York", 184-190; Henry F. Graff, *Grover Cleveland: The American Presidents Series*, (New York: Times Books, 2002), 43-66

²¹ David Leip, "1884 Presidential General Election Results - New York", Uselectionatlas.org, Accessed November 27, 2018, <https://uselectionatlas.org/RESULTS/state.php?year=1884&fips=36&f=1>; David Leip, "1880 Presidential General Election Results - New York", Uselectionatlas.org, Accessed November 27, 2018, <https://uselectionatlas.org/RESULTS/state.php?year=1880&fips=36&f=1>

²² Pocock, "Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 In Upstate New York", 180-183

Republican and a larger percentage of voters casting their ballots for minor party candidates (mostly St. John).²³

There is a theory that the Mugwumps had decided the results of the election. Early historians writing in the 1884 election, such as Herman King Murphey and Harrison Cook Thomas, have interpreted the Mugwumps as being the key factor involved in the 1884 election.²⁴ And according to Mark Wahlgren Summers, in his 2000 book, *Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion: The Making of a President, 1884*, this remained a common interpretation throughout the 20th century.²⁵ The simpler version of the Mugwump theory is that the Mugwumps had attracted a large number of disaffected Republicans to vote for Cleveland instead of Blaine, and thus allowed Cleveland to win.²⁶ For a similar reason that the Cleveland-Blaine ethics explanation of the results in New York, the simple version of the Mugwump theory is insufficient for explaining the results in New York. Now, Cleveland did manage to gain votes from the Mugwumps and it likely helped him in some parts of the state, such as Oneida County. But, whatever votes Cleveland may have gained from the Mugwumps in 1884, it wasn't enough to offset the decrease in vote percentage overall.²⁷

There is a more complex version of the Mugwump theory. This version of it states that the Mugwumps did manage to get many normally Republican voting citizens to vote against Blaine. Some of these Mugwump voters embraced Cleveland. While some of them couldn't

²³ Pocock, "Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 In Upstate New York", 180-183

²⁴ Thomas, "The Return of the Democratic Party to Power in 1884", 156-168; 197-208; 227-232; Murphey, "The Mugwump movement of 1884", 106-135

²⁵ Summers, *Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion*, xi-12

²⁶ Summers, *Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion*, xi-12; Thomas, "The Return of the Democratic Party to Power in 1884", 197-232

²⁷ Pocock, "Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 In Upstate New York", 174-190; Leip, "1884 Presidential General Election Results - New York"; David Leip, "1880 Presidential General Election Results - New York"

bring themselves to vote for Cleveland and instead decided to vote for St. John. Historians Herman King Murphey and Lisa Anderson both interpreted St. John's votes as largely coming from Mugwumps, who were in large part focused by ethics and not necessarily by support for prohibition.²⁸ This hypothesis will be dealt with later in the analysis of the St. John campaign in New York.

There is the theory that Irish American Voters were decisive in determining the results of the state of New York. Irish American voters made up a large part of the voters in cities like New York City, Brooklyn, and Buffalo. In late October, 1884, Blaine attended a Republican event in New York. During this, one of the speakers, Rev. Samuel Burchard was reported to have said that the Democrats were a party of Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion (with the Romanism part being taken as an anti-Catholic slur). Democratic Party operatives used this to try to paint Blaine as anti-Catholic and to try to turn the largely Catholic Irish American community against him. The significant media attention this got at the time and the significance of Irish American voters in New York has led some to think that this was what cost Blaine the election.²⁹

Though, looking at the broader context of the Irish American vote in 1884, provides a different picture. Prior to the 1884 election, Irish American voters tended to mostly vote for Democrats. But some Irish voters were beginning to shift towards the Republicans. During the campaign Blaine worked to appeal to Irish Catholic voters.³⁰ As Mark Wahlgren Summers points out, Blaine was successful in attracting more of them to the Republican Party. Blaine received a larger Irish American vote in New York City, Chicago and Boston than any previous Republican

²⁸ Murphey, "The Mugwump movement of 1884", 106-135; Andersen, *The Politics of Prohibition*, 99-142; Thomas, "The Return of the Democratic Party to Power in 1884", 156-168; 197-208; 227-232

²⁹ Pocock, "Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 In Upstate New York", 174-178; Summers, *Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion*, xi-12:278-307

³⁰ Summers, *Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion*, xi-12; 210-222

presidential candidate. In Brooklyn and Troy, Cleveland tended to see decreased votes in heavily Irish wards and Blaine tended to see increased performances.³¹

In addition, I looked to analyze how the presence of Irish Americans compared to county level results for Cleveland and Blaine. I took data from the 1880 U.S. census on the county level presence of Irish born residents, as well as county level results for the 1884 and 1880 elections, and calculated the average change in election results for counties with high, medium, and low Irish born populations.³²

Groups of counties ranked by percentage of Irish born population.	Average change in county level results for the Republican Party in 1884	Average change in county level results for the Democratic Party in 1884
1-20	-2.059887688%	-0.412754745%
21-40	-3.181993974%	1.246480979%
41-60	-3.304974832%	0.309375944%

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Overall, Blaine had seen a 2.17% decrease from the Republicans results in 1880. His decrease in votes was on average smaller in the counties with high levels of Irish born residents, and were progressively larger in the medium and low ranked counties. Cleveland on average saw increases in the medium and low rank counties, but had an average decrease in the high ranked

³¹ Summers, *Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion*, 210-222; 289-296

³² *The Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1885*, 87; United States of America, Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1880 Census: Volume 1. Statistics of the Population of the United States*, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1882), <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1883/dec/vol-01-population.html>, 521-522

³³ *The Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1885*, 87; *1880 Census: Volume 1. Statistics of the Population of the United States*, 521-522

counties. These results are consistent with the notion that the Irish American vote had shifted in favor of Blaine. While Irish Americans may have been a significant part of the vote of the New York, they were a voting group that generally moved in Blaine's favor. To explain how Blaine lost New York, we need to account for the Republicans loss of over 2% of the vote.³⁴

This leaves us with the St. John theory. The theory is that Prohibition Party presidential candidate John St. John was able to attract the support of tens of thousands of voters who previously tended to vote for major party candidates, that most of those voters had tended to be Republican leaning, that St. John's ability to out compete Blaine for these voters prevented Blaine from gathering enough support, and thus allowed Cleveland to win. This theory has been promoted by historians such as David Leigh Colvin and Emil Pocock. They contend that the size of St. John's vote, its strong presence in more typically Republican voting areas of the state, the prominence of the Prohibition issue, and the St. John campaigns concentrated efforts in the state, indicate that St. John played a key role in Blaine's defeat.³⁵ While they have helped to support the plausibility of the St. John theory, I am convinced that a more detailed analysis of the St. John campaign, could help to strengthen the case that St. John's prohibitionist campaign had played a significant role in determining the results in New York.

The St. John campaign occurred over a period of July 24th to election day November 4th 1884. On July 23rd-24th, the Prohibition Party held its national convention in Pittsburg. The Prohibition Party selected former governor John St. John and leader of the Maryland

³⁴ *The Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1885*, 87; *1880 Census: Volume 1. Statistics of the Population of the United States*, 521-522; Leip, "1884 Presidential General Election Results - New York"; Leip, "1880 Presidential General Election Results - New York"

³⁵ Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 123-165; Pocock, "Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 In Upstate New York", 174-190

Temperance Alliance William Daniel, as its presidential and vice-presidential candidates.³⁶ At the time, St. John was on a speaking tour of the Copeland temperance camp circuit (a network of 34 temperance camp meetings across New York state).³⁷ He spent July and August delivering temperance speeches to crowds of hundreds and at times thousands of attendants. On August 26th, at the Cuba temperance camp meeting, St. John formally announced his acceptance of the Prohibition Party nomination for president and that he would be devoting his full efforts to the campaign trail.³⁸ St. John received strong support from the national Prohibition Party, with national chairman John Finch acting as a manager for the campaign, as well as support from state

³⁶ “St. John and Daniel: The Prohibitionists Nominate a National Ticket with Enthusiasm – A Split in Indiana”, *Buffalo Morning Express*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), July 25, 1884, Accessed November 30, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/344753892/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 151-157

³⁷ By looking at various newspaper articles describing the Copeland temperance circuit (Aka, the St. John circuit) and specific camps in it, I have found that there were 34 camps in the circuit. Pocock, “Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 In Upstate New York”, 187; “New-York’s St. John Boom: How it Was Organized and How it Has Grown”, *New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), August 27, 1884, Accessed, November 30, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/20662293/?terms=copeland>; “Temperance Camp Meetings”, *Poughkeepsie Eagle News*, (Poughkeepsie, N.Y.), August 1, 1884, Accessed November 30, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/114107177/?terms=temperance%2Bcamp>; “At Silver Lake: Temperance Camp Meeting and Some of the Attractions There”, *Buffalo Evening News*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), July 30, 1884. Accessed, November 30, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/326826099/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; John A. Copeland, “Camp Meeting”, *Chronicle-Express*, (Penn Yan, N.Y.), July 9, 1884, Accessed, November 30, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/37021137/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; “Empire State News: Occurrences of Interest Within and Near Our Borders”, *Buffalo Evening News*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), July 30, 1884. Accessed, November 30, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/326826057/?terms=temperance%2Bcamp>; “Western New York News: Steuben”, *Democrat and Chronicle*, (Rochester, N.Y.), July 23, 1884, Accessed, November 30, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/135086729/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; “Camp-Meetings”, *Buffalo Morning Express*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), July 6, 1884, Accessed, November 30, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/344749380/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; “Temperance Camp Meeting”, *Poughkeepsie Eagle News*, (Poughkeepsie, N.Y.), August 21, 1884, Accessed November 30, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/114108946/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; “Supplement: Western New York News”, *Democrat and Chronicle*, (Rochester, N.Y.), August 14th, 1884, Accessed, November 30, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/135088040/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; “A Temperance Encampment: Lakeside on Lake Ontario, to be the Scene of a Great Gathering of Prominent Temperance Workers”, *Buffalo Morning Express*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), July 24, 1884, Accessed, November 30, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/344753841/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; “Erie County Prohibitionists”, *Buffalo Morning Express*, (Buffalo, New York), August 21, 1884, Accessed November 30, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/344760277/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>

³⁸ “New-York’s St. John Boom: How it Was Organized and How it Has Grown”, *New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), August 27, 1884

and local party organizations. In various communities across the state, supporters established St. John and Daniels clubs to aid in the campaign.³⁹ St. John spent much of his time campaigning across New York state. He gave speeches, in cities such as Buffalo, Rochester, New York City, Brooklyn, Olean, and Hornell, in which he promoted prohibition, spoke on various issues, and sought to attract greater support.⁴⁰ The Republican Party had tried to convince St. John to drop

³⁹ Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 145-165; Frances E. Finch and Frank J. Sibley, *John B. Finch. His life and work*, (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1888), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=loc.ark:/13960/t8qc0rz6v;view=1up;seq=13>, 351-365; "For St. John. Hon. John B. Finch Arraigns Rev. George E. Reed", *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.). October 24, 1884, Accessed November 30, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/60777777/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; "Roscoe and St. John: Conklin Reported to Have Been Won by the Prohibitionists: Canvas of New York's Vote: The Sunday New Estimates in 47 Counties – They Show 55,225: A Total of 57,700 expected", *The Buffalo Sunday Morning News* (Buffalo, N.Y.), September 28, 1884. Accessed, November 30, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/354203571/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; "Strictly Personal", *Buffalo Evening News*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), September 24, 1884, Accessed, November 30, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/326828342/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; *The Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1883*, (New York : Greeley & McElrath, 1883), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.31951002271737;view=1up;seq=85>, 79; "Camp Meeting", *Chronicle-Express*, (Penn Yan, N.Y.), July 9, 1884; "Working for St. John", *The New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), August 31, 1884, Accessed November 30, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/20662831/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn%2Bcamp>; "For St. John: The Prohibitionists Buckling on Their Armor", *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.), October 7, 1884, Accessed, November 30, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/60776259/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; "St. John in Town: The Prohibition Candidate Warmly Greeted in Buffalo", *Buffalo Evening News*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), October 24, 1884, Accessed, November 30, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/326881387/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; "The Prohibitionists: They Met in Convention, Endorse Their National Candidates, Adopt Resolutions and Nominate County Ticket", *Buffalo Courier*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), August 22, 1884, Accessed, November 30, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/354492510/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; "Convention of Prohibitionists: What the St. John Men and Women Did at Advent Hall Yesterday", *Democrat and Chronicle*, (Rochester, N.Y.), August 31, 1884, Accessed, November 30, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/135089145/?terms=st.%2Bjohn%2Bport%2Bjervis>

⁴⁰ "Gov. St. John Addresses Two Rousing Temperance Meetings", *The Buffalo Times*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), October 25, 1884, Accessed, November 30, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/442960568/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; "Their Votes Not Thrown Away: St. John Tells His Political Friends Why They Should Support Him", *The New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), October 18, 1884, Accessed, November 30, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/20346040/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; "St. John's Eastern Pilgrimage", *New York Tribune*, (New York City, N.Y.), October 18, 1884, Accessed, November 30, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/467758918/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 161; "Vicinity Haps and Mishaps", *Dunkirk Evening Observer*, (Dunkirk, N.Y.), August 18, 1884, Accessed December 1, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/9197503/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn%2Bcamp>; "St. John Interviewed", *Sunday Morning Herald*, (Olean, N.Y.), September 13, 1884, Accessed, December 1, 2018, <http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn88074644/1884-09-13/ed-1/seq-1/#date1=07%2F01%2F1884&city=&date2=11%2F15%2F1884&searchType=advanced&SearchType=prox5&sequen>

out and when he refused, they began launching concentrated attacks against him. On October 13th, the New York Temperance Assembly (a small group of pro-Blaine Republican temperance supporters) released a public letter attacking St. John and urging temperance supporters to reject his campaign.⁴¹ Though, St. John's campaign persisted. On election day, St. John set a record high performance for the Prohibition Party with 25,006 votes statewide and over 147,000 votes nationwide, he succeeded in his goal of growing the Prohibition Party, and Blaine had lost New York.⁴²

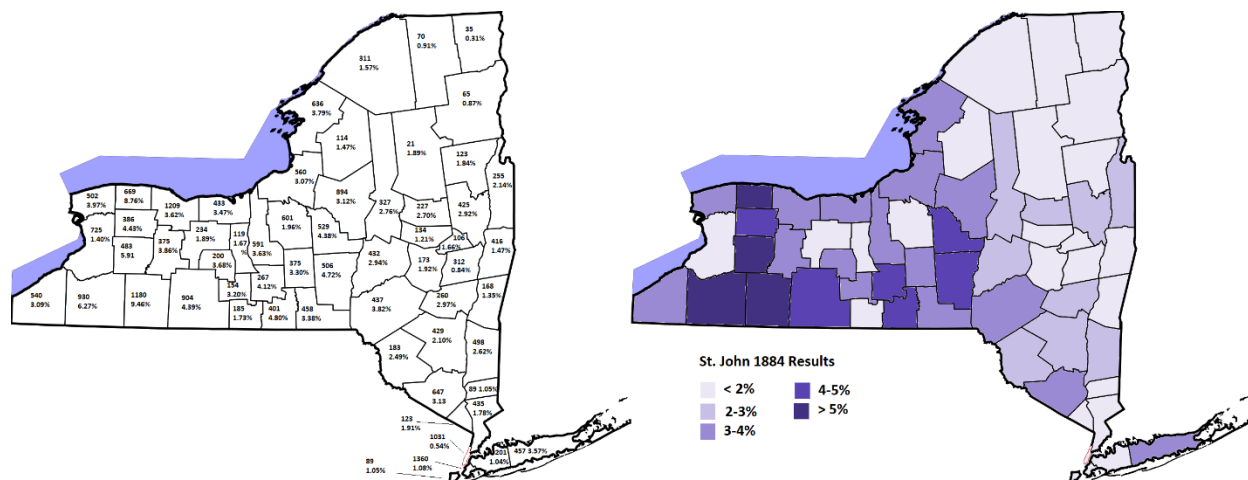
The following images show the distribution of St. John's votes in New York on the county level. His vote totals were over 14 times larger than the 1880 prohibition party presidential candidate, Neal Dow. His 25,006 votes in New York were far greater than the less than 1,200 vote difference between James Blaine and Grover Cleveland in New York. There is a good case to be made that St. John's strong performance in New York prevented Blaine from gathering enough support to win the state, and thus resulted in him losing the 1884 election to Grover Cleveland.

[ce=0&lcn=&index=11&words=John+St&proxdistance=5&county=Cattaraugus&to_year=1884&rows=20&ortext=&from_year=1884&proxtext=st.+john&phrasertext=&andtext=&dateFilterTyp](https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015002350448;view=1up;seq=5)

⁴¹ The group was named the New York Temperance Assembly. Pocock accidentally mislabeled them as the New York Temperance Society, which was a different temperance group. Though primary sources and Pocock's own cited source, Thomas, "The Return of the Democratic Party to Power in 1884", confirm that it was the New York Temperance Assembly.

Thomas, "The Return of the Democratic Party to Power in 1884", 218-220; "He Will Stick: St. John Declines to Retire from the Prohibition Ticket", *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.), October 13, 1884, Accessed, December 1, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/60776701/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; Andrew J. Jutkins, *Hand-book of Prohibition 1885*, (Chicago: Lever Print, 1885), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015002350448;view=1up;seq=5>, 82-92; Pocock, "Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 In Upstate New York", 187

⁴² He Will Stick: St. John Declines to Retire from the Prohibition Ticket", *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.), October 13, 1884; Jutkins, *Hand-book of Prohibition 1885*, 82-92; *The Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1885*, 87; Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 145-183



The county level results show that St. John had his strongest results tended to be in Western and Central New York. This distribution of votes reflects the dynamics of St. John's support, and in combination with other sources of information, help to understand the dynamics of St. John's support.⁴³

One important factor in helping to explain St. John's support was the Copeland temperance camp circuit. John Copeland was a Methodist preacher and temperance activist from Lancaster, New York. In the early 1880's, he began organizing a network of Temperance meeting camps in New York state. The camps were attended largely by interest people in local communities, acted as a forum for grassroots temperance messaging and organizing, while also forming a broader network for temperance activism. The camp circuit included a group of prominent temperance figures, who delivered speeches at the different camps.⁴⁴ By 1884, the Copeland circuit had 34 camps across New York state (mostly in Western and Central New York), and the camp events were often attended by hundreds and at times thousands of people.⁴⁵

⁴³ *The Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1885*, 87

⁴⁴ "New-York's St. John Boom: How it Was Organized and How it Has Grown", *New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), August 27, 1884; Pocock, "Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 In Upstate New York", 187

⁴⁵ "New-York's St. John Boom: How it Was Organized and How it Has Grown", *New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), August 27, 1884; Pocock, "Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 In Upstate New York", 187;

Some camps, such as the ones at Cuba and Silver Lake, attracted crowds larger the populations of the places they were held. Most of these camps were held in counties whose populations only numbered in the tens of thousands.⁴⁶ The camp meetings received widespread media attention, ranging from local newspapers, such the *Sunday Morning Herald* in Olean, to major newspapers, such as the *New York Times*.⁴⁷ The Copeland temperance camp meetings were significant social events that were able to attract the attention of a lot of people in New York.

St. John was one of the central speakers on the Copeland circuit, he was on a speaking tour of them when he received the Prohibition Party nomination, and spent the next several weeks completing the tour. This provided St. John with increased name recognition among pro-temperance, prohibition supporting New Yorkers, and provided opportunities for him to canvas

“Temperance Camp Meetings”, *Poughkeepsie Eagle News*, (Poughkeepsie, N.Y.), August 1, 1884; “At Silver Lake: Temperance Camp Meeting and Some of the Attractions There”, *Buffalo Evening News*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), July 30, 1884.; John A. Copeland, “Camp Meeting”, *Chronicle-Express*, (Penn Yan, N.Y.), July 9, 1884; “Empire State News: Occurrences of Interest Within and Near Our Borders”, *Buffalo Evening News*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), July 30, 1884; “Western New York News: Steuben”, *Democrat and Chronicle*, (Rochester, N.Y.), July 23, 1884; “Camp-Meetings”, *Buffalo Morning Express*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), July 6, 1884; “Temperance Camp Meeting”, *Poughkeepsie Eagle News*, (Poughkeepsie, N.Y.); “Supplement: Western New York News”, *Democrat and Chronicle*, (Rochester, N.Y.), August 14th, 1884; “A Temperance Encampment: Lakeside on Lake Ontario, to be the Scene of a Great Gathering of Prominent Temperance Workers”, *Buffalo Morning Express*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), July 24, 1884; “Erie County Prohibitionists”, *Buffalo Morning Express*, (Buffalo, New York), August 21, 1884

⁴⁶ Cuba had a population of about 2,200, and reported camp meeting attendance was between 3,000 and 7,000. Silver lake is in the town of Perry which had about 2,500 residents, and the Silver Lake camp meeting’s attendance was reported at 3,000.

Bureau of the Census, *1880 Census: Volume 1. Statistics of the Population of the United States*, 263-277; New-York’s St. John Boom: How it Was Organized and How it Has Grown”, *New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), August 27, 1884; “Formally Notified: The Prohibition Candidates Informed of Their Nomination”, *The New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), August 26, 1884, Accessed December 1, 2018,

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/20662187/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; “Western New York News: Allegany”, *Democrat and Chronicle*, (Rochester, N.Y.), August 28, 1884, Accessed, November 30, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/135088894/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn%2Bcamp>; “Empire State News: Occurrences of Interest Within and Near Our Borders”, *Buffalo Evening News*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), October 22, 1884, Accessed, November 30, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/326880871/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>

⁴⁷ New-York’s St. John Boom: How it Was Organized and How it Has Grown”, *New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), August 27, 1884; “St. John Interviewed”, *Sunday Morning Herald*, (Olean, N.Y.), September 13, 1884; Pocock, “Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 In Upstate New York”, 187-188

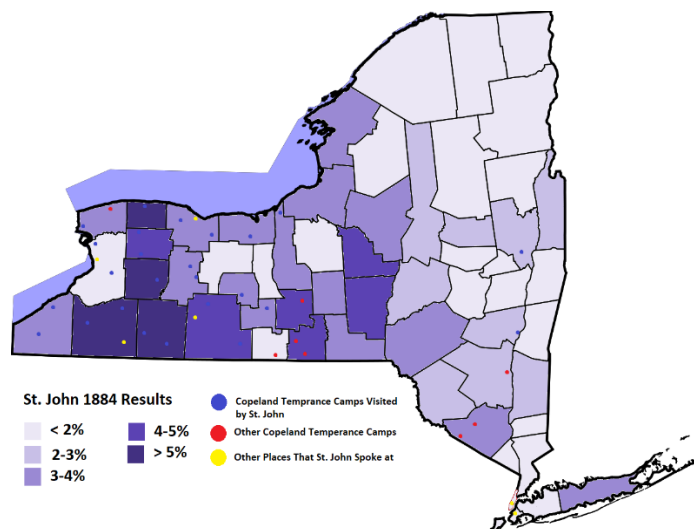
much of the state.⁴⁸ John Copeland strongly supported St. John's campaign. He used his network of temperance camps to promote St. John and to help organize St. John and Daniels clubs in communities across upstate New York. In a *New York Times* interview, Copeland stated his hope that the temperance camp circuit will attract support for St. John, and states that the Cuba temperance camp had helped in establishing St. John and Daniels clubs in many communities in Allegany and Cattaraugus County.⁴⁹

Copeland saw his temperance camp circuit as an important source of support for St. John. Colvin noted the Copeland circuit in his account of St. John's campaign, Pocock described it as directly contributing to St. John's support in Western New York.⁵⁰ Though neither Colvin or Pocock directly compared the locations of the Copeland temperance camp circuit and St. John's speeches with the distribution of St. John's vote results. I compiled a list of temperance camp locations from newspaper articles and then analyzed the relation between them and county level election results.

⁴⁸ New-York's St. John Boom: How it Was Organized and How it Has Grown", *New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), August 27, 1884; "St. John Interviewed", *Sunday Morning Herald*, (Olean, N.Y.), September 13, 1884; Pocock, "Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 In Upstate New York", 187-188

⁴⁹ New-York's St. John Boom: How it Was Organized and How it Has Grown", *New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), August 27, 1884; "St. John Interviewed", *Sunday Morning Herald*, (Olean, N.Y.), September 13, 1884

⁵⁰ Pocock, "Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 In Upstate New York", 187; Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 161



The results show a correlation between the presence of the temperance camps/ speeches by St. John and St. John's election results. Counties that had temperance camps visited by St. John had an average of 3.93% of their vote go to St. John. Counties that had Copeland temperance camps not visited by St. John averaged 3.31% (3.18% for counties that only had a camp not visited by St. John). Counties with that had other reported visits by St. John averaged 2.87% (0.87% for counties that just had a St. John speech and no Copeland temperance camps). Counties with Copeland temperance camps averaged 3.77%, counties with a camp or a speech averaged 3.61%, and counties without camps or speeches averaged 2.24%. These results support the notion that the Copeland temperance camp circuit helped generate support for St. John's campaign.⁵¹

⁵¹ Note that the calculations for St. John's other speeches are based off of 6 cities that St. John was reported to have spoken in either news report or in secondary sources. Colvin writes that St. John had spoken at 11 cities in New York state, but did not list all of them, and I was only able to find 6. It's uncertain whether or how much these results might change if I knew the other 5 cities. But I think that the available data is still sufficient to demonstrate the likely influence of the Copeland temperance camp circuit.

The Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1885, 87; New-York's St. John Boom: How it Was Organized and How it Has Grown", *New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), August 27, 1884; Pocock, "Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 In Upstate New York", 187; "Temperance Camp Meetings", *Poughkeepsie Eagle News*, (Poughkeepsie, N.Y.), August 1, 1884; "At Silver Lake: Temperance Camp Meeting and Some of the Attractions There", *Buffalo Evening News*. (Buffalo, N.Y.), July 30, 1884.; John A. Copeland, "Camp Meeting", *Chronicle-Express*,

The St. John campaign also received support from members of various temperance organizations in the state. As the only presidential candidate who fully endorsed Prohibition, St. John received support from many members of the WCTU and from other Prohibition supporting women.⁵² Although women couldn't vote at the time, they could act as campaign volunteers or use their connections in their communities to promote St. John. The Prohibition Party (which from its founding had supported women's suffrage and admitted women as full members of the party) was fairly adept at using women volunteers in its campaigns.⁵³ The New York Conference Temperance Society endorsed St. John.⁵⁴ The New York branch of the Good Templars was officially neutral in the election, but a large segment of them supported St. John.⁵⁵ The National Temperance Society was also officially neutral, but St. John did receive an endorsement from

(Penn Yan, N.Y.), July 9, 1884; "Empire State News: Occurrences of Interest Within and Near Our Borders", *Buffalo Evening News*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), July 30, 1884; "Western New York News: Steuben", *Democrat and Chronicle*, (Rochester, N.Y.), July 23, 1884; "Camp-Meetings", *Buffalo Morning Express*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), July 6, 1884; "Temperance Camp Meeting", *Poughkeepsie Eagle News*, (Poughkeepsie, N.Y.); "Supplement: Western New York News", *Democrat and Chronicle*, (Rochester, N.Y.), August 14th, 1884; "A Temperance Encampment: Lakeside on Lake Ontario, to be the Scene of a Great Gathering of Prominent Temperance Workers", *Buffalo Morning Express*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), July 24, 1884; "Erie County Prohibitionists", *Buffalo Morning Express*, (Buffalo, New York), August 21, 1884; "Gov. St. John Addresses Two Rousing Temperance Meetings", *The Buffalo Times*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), October 25, 1884; "Their Votes Not Thrown Away: St. John Tells His Political Friends Why They Should Support Him", *The New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), October 18, 1884; "St. John's Eastern Pilgrimage", *New York Tribune*, (New York City, N.Y.), October 18, 1884; Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 161; "Vicinity Haps and Mishaps", *Dunkirk Evening Observer*, (Dunkirk, N.Y.), August 18, 1884; "St. John Interviewed", *Sunday Morning Herald*, (Olean, N.Y.), September 13, 1884

⁵² Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 123-165; Pocock, "Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 In Upstate New York", 184-185; "The Prohibitionists: They Met in Convention, Endorse Their National Candidates, Adopt Resolutions and Nominate County Ticket", *Buffalo Courier*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), August 22, 1884; "Very Bitter: Blaine Church People Against St. John", *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.), October 17, 1884, Accessed, December 6, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/60777090/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>

⁵³ Andersen, *The Politics of Prohibition*, 60-106

⁵⁴ "Temperance at Ocean Grove", *New York Times*, (New York City N.Y.), July 30, 1884, Accessed, December 6, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/20659360/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>

⁵⁵ "Not for St. John: Actions of the Prohibitionists Last Night", *The Buffalo Commercial*. (Buffalo, N.Y.), September 30, 1884, Accessed, December 6, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/269444005/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; Finch and Sibley, *John B. Finch. His life and work*, 82-317

John Stearns, one of its leading figures.⁵⁶ Overall, St. John was able to attract support from a fair amount of the state's temperance advocates.

The St. John campaign received strong backing from the national Prohibition Party and its leadership. At 1884 Prohibition Party national convention, John Finch became the national chairman. Finch was 32-year-old temperance activist, from Lincklaen, New York. He was an activist and organizer for the International Order of Good Templars (a major fraternal organization of temperance supporters) in New York (1872-1877) and Nebraska (1877-1884), as well as a speaker on the Copeland circuit.⁵⁷ In the campaign, John Finch was also St. John's campaign manager. Finch organized Prohibition Party campaign efforts, managed St. John's campaign tours, and worked to fend off Republican attempts to drive St. John out of the race. Finch was a key figure involved in the campaign's decision to focus much of its efforts in New York. Colvin states that Finch "discerned the value that wielding the balance of power in pivotal states", and made the decision to concentrate on New York state and other strategic centers.⁵⁸ And both St. John and Finch stated that they intended the 1884 election to be a step in making the Prohibition Party a major national political force.⁵⁹

The St. John Campaign also received support from state and local Prohibition Party organizations. The New York Prohibition Party worked to promote St. John's campaign, to ensure his ballot access, and coordinate local party efforts. The St. John campaign received help

⁵⁶ "For St. John. Hon. John B. Finch Arraigns Rev. George E. Reed", *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.). October 24, 1884; "John Stearns: A Prohibition Party Founding Father", *New York Prohibition Party*, (New York state), February, 2018, https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/2cc7be_d29d627650ae411fad14621888223af2.pdf;

⁵⁷ Finch and Sibley, *John B. Finch. His life and work*, 1-317; "Supplement: Western New York News", *Democrat and Chronicle*, (Rochester, N.Y.), August 14th, 1884; Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 143; "Camp Meeting", *Chronicle-Express*, (Penn Yan, N.Y.), July 9, 1884

⁵⁸ Finch and Sibley, *John B. Finch. His life and work*, 349-371; Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 161-162

⁵⁹ Finch and Sibley, *John B. Finch. His life and work*, 349-371; Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 161-162; "Gov. St. John Addresses Two Rousing Temperance Meetings", *The Buffalo Times*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), October 25, 1884

statewide from Professor Alphonso A. Hopkins and Rev. William H. Boole. Hopkins was the Prohibition Party candidate for governor in 1882, and Boole was the candidate for lieutenant governor. Hopkins and Boole had a strong performance in 1882, with over 25,000 votes. In the 1884 election, they campaigned for St. John.⁶⁰

Local Prohibition Party organizations, such as the Erie County Prohibition Party, the Monroe County Prohibition Party, the New York County Prohibition Party, and the Brooklyn County Prohibition Party, worked to organize meetings and events, promoted and coordinated with local St. John and Daniels clubs, raised money, and worked to run Prohibition Party candidates for various down-ticket offices.⁶¹ Overall, St. John had a system of national, state, and local Prohibition Party organization to help support his campaign.

To understand St. John's campaign, it is important to consider what kind of third-party campaign St. John was running. In the essay, "Three's a crowd? The Nader vote in the 2000 presidential, election in U.S. metropolitan areas", social scientists Thomas R. Hothschild and Michal Wallace put forward the notion that there are different types of third-party presidential campaign approaches. They categorize them into three groups based on a campaign's goals and approaches: National campaigns (where the campaign operates nationwide and devotes significant resources toward trying to win the presidency), Regional campaigns (where the

⁶⁰ "Camp Meeting", *Chronicle-Express*, (Penn Yan, N.Y.), July 9, 1884; "Roscoe and St. John: Conklin Reported to Have Been Won by the Prohibitionists: Canvas of New York's Vote: The Sunday New Estimates in 47 Counties – They Show 55,225: A Total of 57,700 expected", *The Buffalo Sunday Morning News* (Buffalo, N.Y.), September 28, 1884; "For St. John: The Prohibitionists Buckling on Their Armor", *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.), October 7, 1884; *The Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1883*, 79

⁶¹ "Gov. St. John Addresses Two Rousing Temperance Meetings", *The Buffalo Times*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), October 25, 1884; "The Prohibitionists: They Met in Convention, Endorse Their National Candidates, Adopt Resolutions and Nominate County Ticket", *Buffalo Courier*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), August 22, 1884; "Concerning Some People", *The Buffalo Sunday Morning News*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), September 21, 1884, Accessed December 2, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/354203564/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; "Convention of Prohibitionists: What the St. John Men and Women Did at Advent Hall Yesterday", *Democrat and Chronicle*, (Rochester, N.Y.), August 31, 1884

campaign focuses on trying to appeal to voters in certain part of the country and often seeks to affect the balance of the election), and Urban campaigns (campaigns where the candidate to attract support for a developing political movement and tends to focus on cities as a cost-effective way of attracting media attention and voters).⁶² In some ways, St. John's campaign can be regarded as regional. St. John's campaign focused heavily on New York and other parts of the Northeast and Midwest, where there was a strong presence of Prohibition supporters and other reformists.⁶³

But St. John's campaign in New York can also be seen as a sort of modified Urban approach. St. John's campaign sought to use ideological appeals to attract support for the Prohibition Party as part of an effort towards long-term growth.⁶⁴ In the early part of the campaign, St. John was able to use temperance camps as a cost-effective way to gain media attention and reach out to voters. Though these were largely targeted toward more rural, small town, voters.⁶⁵ In the later part of the campaign held speeches and rallies in several cities across the state. These events not only reached out to the residents of these cities, but brought together St. John supporters from across the area.⁶⁶ When St. John spoke at Chickering Hall in New York

⁶² Thomas R. Hochschild and Michael Wallace, "Three's a Crowd? the Nader Vote in the 2000 Presidential, Election in U.S. Metropolitan Areas", *The Social Science Journal* 48, no. 4 (2011): 575-588

⁶³ Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 145-165; Pocock, "Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 In Upstate New York", 174-190; Andersen, *The Politics of Prohibition*, 99-142; Hochschild and Wallace, "Three's a Crowd? the Nader Vote in the 2000 Presidential, Election in U.S. Metropolitan Areas", 575-588

⁶⁴ Hochschild and Wallace, "Three's a Crowd? the Nader Vote in the 2000 Presidential, Election in U.S. Metropolitan Areas", 575-588; "Gov. St. John Addresses Two Rousing Temperance Meetings", *The Buffalo Times*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), October 25, 1884; Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 145-165

⁶⁵ New-York's St. John Boom: How it Was Organized and How it Has Grown", *New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), August 27, 1884; "St. John Interviewed", *Sunday Morning Herald*, (Olean, N.Y.), September 13, 1884; Pocock, "Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 In Upstate New York", 187-188

⁶⁶ "Gov. St. John Addresses Two Rousing Temperance Meetings", *The Buffalo Times*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), October 25, 1884; "Their Votes Not Thrown Away: St. John Tells His Political Friends Why They Should Support Him", *The New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), October 18, 1884; "St. John's Eastern Pilgrimage", *New York Tribune*, (New York City, N.Y.), October 18, 1884; Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 161; "Vicinity Haps and Mishaps", *Dunkirk Evening Observer*, (Dunkirk, N.Y.), August 18, 1884; "St. John Interviewed", *Sunday Morning Herald*, (Olean, N.Y.), September 13, 1884

City, it was attended by 500 members of the Newburgh Prohibition Club, who traveled 58 miles from Orange County to see him.⁶⁷ On October 24h, St. John visited the city of Buffalo. Hundreds of St. John supporters from across several Western New York counties came hear him speak. A group 300 supporters (mostly visitors from other communities in Western New York) held a pro-St. John parade through the streets of Buffalo, and a group of 600 people, from Buffalo and other Western New York communities, gathered to hear St. John speak.⁶⁸ So, while St. John used cities to help attract media attention and voter support, he put a spin on it that casted a wider geographic net.

The organized presence of the St. John campaign matches well with its results in New York State. The campaign was heavily focused on New York state and had the statewide presence to get out the vote in every county in the state. The strength of the Prohibition Party, St. John and Daniels clubs, and supportive temperance groups gave him an advantage in some parts of the state. This is reflected in his relatively high percentages in much of Western and Central New York, and his relatively large number of votes in Allegany, Cattaraugus, Erie, Kings, Jefferson, Monroe, New York, Oneida, Orange, and Steuben counties.⁶⁹

Beyond organized support, it is important to get a sense of how St. John's campaign was able to attract tens of thousands of New Yorkers, who previously tended to vote for major party presidential candidates to support him. One of the things we need to understand his appeal is to understand what his message was. The messages that St. John and his trusted surrogates put

⁶⁷ "Their Votes Not Thrown Away: St. John Tells His Political Friends Why They Should Support Him", *The New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), October 18, 1884

⁶⁸ "Gov. St. John Addresses Two Rousing Temperance Meetings", *The Buffalo Times*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), October 25, 1884; "St. John in Buffalo", *The Buffalo Commercial*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), October 24, 1884, Accessed, December 2, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/269444651/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>

⁶⁹ *The Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1885*, 87

forward shows the type of issues and appeals that they used to try to attract voters, and provides hints about what sort of voters he may have attracted.

The issue of temperance and prohibition was by far the most prominent part of St. John's campaign message. He was the candidate of the Prohibition Party, a party whose primary issue eliminating alcohol from society. He was a nationally renowned prohibitionist, who helped kick off the second wave of state level Prohibition laws.⁷⁰ He spent the first several weeks of his campaign speaking at temperance camp meetings, promoting temperance and the need for Prohibition laws. Although these weren't officially St. John campaign events, they were the means by which many New Yorkers were introduced to St. John, and attracted many of his early supporters.⁷¹

St. John maintained a strongly prohibitionist message, which was present throughout his campaign. For instance, in a speech in Buffalo, St. John stated, "We have lighted a torch in every heart which will flare brighter and brighter against the darkness of license and debauch until Prohibition principles are fully recognized".⁷² St. John's key campaign speakers also placed a strong emphasis on the issue of prohibition. For instance, at a St. John event in New York City, John Finch stated, "This battle is simply a battle of self-defense for the upholding of the home and for the destruction of the vicious elements and vitiating tendencies of our civilization. The present attitude of firm temperance men has been precipitated by the fact that the liquor interests is absolutely in control of both the old parties".⁷³

⁷⁰ Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 65-165; Pocock, "Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 In Upstate New York", 174-190

⁷¹ New-York's St. John Boom: How it Was Organized and How it Has Grown", *New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), August 27, 1884; Pocock, "Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 In Upstate New York", 187

⁷² Gov. St. John Addresses Two Rousing Temperance Meetings", *The Buffalo Times*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), October 25, 1884

⁷³ Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 161-162

The St. John campaign cast prohibition and the Prohibition Party as a growing movement that would come to transform American society. St. John compared the prohibition movement to abolitionism and claimed that the Prohibition Party would transform American politics like the Liberty Party had.⁷⁴ In response to Republican claims that voting for him was a wasted vote (because he wouldn't win and might cost, the supposedly more temperance friendly, Blaine the election), St. John stated that they were standing for principle, that neither major party was truly committed to prohibition, and his campaign was preparing the way for the future victory of prohibition. He stated that “no vote vast for principle was ever thrown away”, and that “Republican whiskey is just as bad as Democratic whiskey”.⁷⁵

While temperance and prohibition were the main issue of the St. John campaign, the campaign also addressed several other issues and groups. The campaign sought to appeal to pro-temperance religious voters. The campaign made outreaches to doctrinally dry religious groups and recruited local ministers to act as campaign agents.⁷⁶ Some pro-St. John events included musicians performing religious temperance songs and included St. John banners with bible

⁷⁴ “Governor St. John’s Position”, *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.), October 14, 1884, Accessed, December 6, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/60776806/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 163

⁷⁵ “Political”. *Buffalo Morning Express*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), August 29, 1884, Accessed, December 6, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/344761573/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; “Gov. St. John Addresses Two Rousing Temperance Meetings”, *The Buffalo Times*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), October 25, 1884; “The Cold Water Meeting: The Prohibition Candidate at Silver Lake”, *Democrat and Chronicle*, (Rochester, N.Y.), August 4th, 1884, December 6, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/135087421/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>

⁷⁶ “Gov. St. John Addresses Two Rousing Temperance Meetings”, *The Buffalo Times*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), October 25, 1884; New-York’s St. John Boom: How it Was Organized and How it Has Grown”, *New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), August 27, 1884; Very Bitter: Blaine Church People Against St. John”, *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.), October 17, 1884; “St. John Club Organized”. *Democrat and Chronicle*, (Rochester, N.Y.), August 15, 1884, Accessed, December 6, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/135088117/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; “Roscoe and St. John: Conklin Reported to Have Been Won by the Prohibitionists: Canvas of New York’s Vote: The Sunday New Estimates in 47 Counties – They Show 55,225: A Total of 57,700 expected”, *The Buffalo Sunday Morning News* (Buffalo, N.Y.), September 28, 1884

verses.⁷⁷ Speeches by St. John and his surrogates incorporated religious rhetoric, played up St. John's Christian character, and at times made biblical comparisons.⁷⁸

The St. John campaign also promoted women's suffrage. On the campaign, St. John spoke about his support for women's suffrage. At a speech in Buffalo, St John proclaimed, "If I had the power, I would place the ballot in the hands of every mother Witmer and very Christian woman in the land, and if this were done we would soon choke off the liquor traffic".⁷⁹

St. John also focused his message towards appealing to people in working and middle class. St. John claimed to be a strong and genuine supporter of the common working man, and that the Prohibition Party's economic policies would help improve their lives.⁸⁰ He claimed that the major parties were in the pockets of the wealthy at the expense of the common man. He criticized the Republican Party's business policies for leaving many workers unemployed, their tariff policies for not delivering promised benefits to farmers and workers, and their immigration policies for bringing in cheap labor and driving down wages.⁸¹ At an event in New York City, St.

⁷⁷ "Gov. St. John Addresses Two Rousing Temperance Meetings", *The Buffalo Times*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), October 25, 1884; "Their Votes Not Thrown Away: St. John Tells His Political Friends Why They Should Support Him", *The New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), October 18, 1884

⁷⁸ "Gov. St. John Addresses Two Rousing Temperance Meetings", *The Buffalo Times*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), October 25, 1884; "Their Votes Not Thrown Away: St. John Tells His Political Friends Why They Should Support Him", *The New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), October 18, 1884; "For St. John and Daniels: A Prohibition Mass Meeting at Central Hall Last Night", *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.), September 3, 1884, Accessed, December 6, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/60773052/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>

⁷⁹ "Gov. St. John Addresses Two Rousing Temperance Meetings", *The Buffalo Times*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), October 25, 1884

⁸⁰ "Gov. St. John Addresses Two Rousing Temperance Meetings", *The Buffalo Times*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), October 25, 1884; "Their Votes Not Thrown Away: St. John Tells His Political Friends Why They Should Support Him", *The New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), October 18, 1884

⁸¹ "Gov. St. John Addresses Two Rousing Temperance Meetings", *The Buffalo Times*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), October 25, 1884; "Their Votes Not Thrown Away: St. John Tells His Political Friends Why They Should Support Him", *The New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), October 18, 1884; "Prosperity of 70,000 Idle Workmen", *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.), October 25, 1884, Accessed, December 6, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/60777901/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>

John devoted an entire section of his speech to the modest means of the Prohibition Party and its support for the working man:

“Some people say our party, that it has not got money nor uniforms nor 80,000 torchbearers. Very True. But we are lighting a torch that will burn forever. We have no influence, they say. Very true. We have not sufficient interest with the railroad companies to secure palace cars to haul us all over the country. In fact, I’m inclined to the belief that, being in the interest of the laborer, it would not be becoming in us to ride through Hocking Valley in a palace car, when laborers are working under the ground with barely enough to live on. [Applause.] We pay our own fare. If we have not sufficient money we go on foot, [cheers,] but we reach our destination. People say: ‘oh we don’t want to throw away our vote.’ Let me tell you that no vote cast for principle ever was thrown away. [Cheers]”.⁸²

This passage worked to portray St. John as a supporter of working men, and the Prohibition Party as a group of modest people who were working to make big changes or the public benefit. Considering that many of the people listening to his speech had traveled there from other counties, his traveling comments could also have served as a means of personalizing himself with his audience; to say that he understands and cares about people like them, and that the Prohibition Party is the party that they belong in.⁸³ Taken together, the St. John campaign put forward a message that sought to appeal to supporters of temperance and prohibition, social reformists, religious voters, women, rural/ small town voters, and middle and working-class voters.

⁸² “Their Votes Not Thrown Away: St. John Tells His Political Friends Why They Should Support Him”, *The New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), October 18, 1884

⁸³ “Their Votes Not Thrown Away: St. John Tells His Political Friends Why They Should Support Him”, *The New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), October 18, 1884; Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 161

The messaging of the St. John campaign also held a combative attitude towards the major parties, and especially the Republican Party. St. John and his campaign team claimed that both major parties were corrupt, subservient to the liquor interests, and past their public usefulness.⁸⁴ In addition to the attacks made against the both parties together, the campaign also made attacks directly addressed at the Republican Party and its ticket. The campaign claimed that the Blaine and the Republican Party was two-faced on Pro-St. John speakers, claimed that the Republican party catered to pro-alcohol Irish and German Americans at the expense of everyone else, criticized Republican economic policies, claimed that the party abandoned African Americans in the south, alluded to Blaine's history of corruption allegations, and brought up John Logan's (Blaine's VP candidate) role in creating an 1853 state law that banned Africans Americans from settling in Illinois.⁸⁵ Generally, the messaging emphasized how the Republican party failed to

⁸⁴ "Gov. St. John Addresses Two Rousing Temperance Meetings", *The Buffalo Times*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), October 25, 1884; "Their Votes Not Thrown Away: St. John Tells His Political Friends Why They Should Support Him", *The New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), October 18, 1884; "St. John: A Prohibition Mass Meeting in Liberty Hall – Fighting for a Principle – Cleveland Preferred to Blaine – The Mission of the Republican Party Accomplished and its End Approaching – The Prohibition Party Characterize as the Party of Liberty", *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.), October 17, 1884, December 6, 2018,

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/60777033/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; "The Cold Water Meeting: The Prohibition Candidate at Silver Lake", *Democrat and Chronicle*, (Rochester, N.Y.), August 4th, 1884

⁸⁵Significant elements of the Irish-American and German-American population at the time had been involved in cultures of social drinking. The Republican Party at the time had an advantage with German-American Voters and were seeking to make gains among Irish American voters. Blaine and the Republican Party moderated their positions on alcohol in part to appeal to Irish-American and German-American voters, as well as other anti-prohibition voters. St. John criticized them for neglecting the needs of the public to serve their political interests. "Gov. St. John Addresses Two Rousing Temperance Meetings", *The Buffalo Times*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), October 25, 1884; "Their Votes Not Thrown Away: St. John Tells His Political Friends Why They Should Support Him", *The New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), October 18, 1884; "St. John: A Prohibition Mass Meeting in Liberty Hall – Fighting for a Principle – Cleveland Preferred to Blaine – The Mission of the Republican Party Accomplished and its End Approaching – The Prohibition Party Characterize as the Party of Liberty", *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.), October 17, 1884; "The Cold Water Meeting: The Prohibition Candidate at Silver Lake", *Democrat and Chronicle*, (Rochester, N.Y.), August 4th, 1884; Summers, *Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion*, 42; 210-257; "Gov. St. John at His Best: His Talk to the Farmers at Round Lake Camp Meeting", *The Sun*, (New York City, N.Y.), August 31, 1884, Accessed, December 6, 2018,

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/207161208/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 145-165; "St. John and Logan: More About the Affair to which the Prohibitionist Alluded Aurora – The Black Law Indictment", *Buffalo Courier*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), August 18, 1884, Accessed, December 6, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/354492492/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; "Political Notes", *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.), October 17, 1884, Accessed, December 6, 2018,

live up to its deals and promises. The St. John campaign's anti-Republican messaging strategy is consistent with the notion they were seeking to win over disaffected Republicans.⁸⁶

This then leaves us with the consideration of what people were voting for St. John in New York State? What was the partisan composition of his voters? And what were the likely issues and motivations that helped attract people to vote for St. John? Now, we don't have any complex exit polls that would lay out the precise composition of his support, but there are several forms of evidence that help to give a general outline.

John St. John had received 25,006 votes in New York, which was a 23,489-vote increase from the party's candidate in 1880. This implies that St. John may have attracted tens of thousands of previously major-party aligned voters. In order for St. John's campaign to have shifted the results of the election, most of the major party voters he attracted would need to have been Republican/ Republican leaning.⁸⁷ Emil Pocock used an analysis of election data to estimate the partisan composition of St. John's voters. The majority of St. John's support came from traditionally Republican-heavy parts of Upstate New York. In Western and Central New York, St. John's gains encompassed nearly all the lost Republican votes and the majority of new votes. Pocock calculated that in 27 Western and Central New York counties that St. John had

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/60777033/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; "For St. John. Hon. John B. Finch Arraigns Rev. George E. Reed", *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.), October 24, 1884

⁸⁶ Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 145-165; Gov. St. John Addresses Two Rousing Temperance Meetings", *The Buffalo Times*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), October 25, 1884; "Their Votes Not Thrown Away: St. John Tells His Political Friends Why They Should Support Him", *The New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), October 18, 1884; "St. John: A Prohibition Mass Meeting in Liberty Hall – Fighting for a Principle – Cleveland Preferred to Blaine – The Mission of the Republican Party Accomplished and its End Approaching – The Prohibition Party Characterize as the Party of Liberty", *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.), October 17, 1884; "The Cold Water Meeting: The Prohibition Candidate at Silver Lake", *Democrat and Chronicle*, (Rochester, N.Y.), August 4th, 1884; "Gov. St. John at His Best: His Talk to the Farmers at Round Lake Camp Meeting", *The Sun*, (New York City, N.Y.), August 31, 1884

⁸⁷ *The Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1885*, 87; Pocock, "Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 In Upstate New York", 174-190

attracted 13,500 votes from Blaine and 2,000 votes from Cleveland (a 5.75:1 Republican to Democratic ratio and an 11,500-net loss for Blaine).⁸⁸

There was a common belief among public commentators at the time that St. John attracted more support from Republicans than Democrats. Pocock states that several contemporary observers estimated that the Prohibition Party appealed to more Republicans than Democrats.⁸⁹ This idea was also expressed by writers in several newspapers in New York state. Virtually every article I found that gave a general estimate of St. John partisan appeal presumed that he attracted more Republicans than Democrats.⁹⁰ A *New York Times* article reported that many voters who tended to vote for Prohibition Party candidates in local elections and vote Republican in presidential elections for encouraged to vote for St. John instead.⁹¹

In addition to this, there are scattered reports of the partisan composition of St. John's support. I had found seven publicly individual supporters of St. John with records of past

⁸⁸ Pocock, "Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 In Upstate New York", 174-190

⁸⁹ Pocock, "Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 In Upstate New York", 184

⁹⁰ "An Offset to Butler", *The Buffalo Times*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), August 29, 1884, Accessed, December 6, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/442957272/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; "What Will the College Men Do", *The Sun*, (New York City, N.Y.), August 12, 1884, Accessed, December 6, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/207152430/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; "Gen. Butler: Local Opinions Concerning His Candidacy", *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.), August 7, 1884, Accessed, December 6, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/60770979/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; "Roscoe and St. John: Conklin Reported to Have Been Won by the Prohibitionists: Canvas of New York's Vote: The Sunday New Estimates in 47 Counties – They Show 55,225: A Total of 57,700 expected", *The Buffalo Sunday Morning News* (Buffalo, N.Y.), September 28, 1884; "A Democratic Tender", *The Buffalo Commercial*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), August 29, 1884, Accessed, December 6, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/269443244/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; "At National Democratic Headquarters", *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.), September 29, 1884, Accessed, December 6, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/60775602/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; "Looking Over the Field: Where Cleveland's Electoral Revolts Will Come From", *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.), October 26, 1884, Accessed, December 6, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/60778077/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; "Who Did It?", *The Brockport Republic*, (Brockport, N.Y.), November 13, 1884, Accessed, December 6, 2018, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn86053142/1884-11-13/ed-1/seq-2/#date1=07%2F01%2F1884&city=&date2=11%2F15%2F1884&searchType=advanced&SearchType=prox5&sequence=0&lccn=&index=17&words=John+St&proxdistance=5&county=Monroe&to_year=1884&rows=20&ortext=&from_year=1884&proxtext=st.+john&phrasertext=&andtext=&dateFilterType=ran

⁹¹ "The Prohibition Vote", *New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), August 2, 1884, Accessed, December 6, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/20659659/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>

affiliation with the major parties. Six had been affiliated with Republicans and one with the Democrats.⁹² There were some news reports on the partisan composition of local St. John and Daniels clubs. A club in Calderon was reported to contain both Republicans and Democrats. A club in Baldwinsville was reported to have 47 members, all Republicans. A club in Warsaw reported 87 members, nearly all former Republicans. Two clubs in Madison County were reported to have a total of 30 Republicans and 38 Democrats. Orange county was reported to have 8 clubs, with 600 members, and one of them composed entirely of Democrats.⁹³ While this information isn't comprehensive, it indicates that John had attracted support from both Democrats and Republicans, but suggest that St. John may have generally attracted more Republicans.

Another insight into the partisan sources of St. John's support comes from the campaign's use of the pairing tactic. The pairing tactic involved a Democrat and a Republican who were considering voting for St. John and getting them to both enter a pact to vote for St. John. The tactic was designed to reduce the fears of some voters that voting for St. John could

⁹² Finch and Sibley, *John B. Finch. His life and work*, 349-371; "For St. John and Daniels: A Prohibition Mass Meeting at Central Hall Last Night", *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.), September 3, 1884; "The Prohibitionists: They Met in Convention, Endorse Their National Candidates, Adopt Resolutions and Nominate County Ticket", *Buffalo Courier*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), August 22, 1884; "New-York's St. John Boom: How it Was Organized and How it Has Grown", *New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), August 27, 1884; "Political Notes", *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.), October 17, 1884; "A Political Pastor", *The Buffalo Times*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), November 3, 1884, Accessed, December 6, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/442960694/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; "A Truly Independent Revolt", *The Sun*, (New York City, N.Y.), September 25, 1884, December 6, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/65393268/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>

⁹³"New-York's St. John Boom: How it Was Organized and How it Has Grown", *New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), August 27, 1884; "Political Pointers", *Buffalo Evening News*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), August 21, 1884, Accessed, December 6, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/326826963/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn%2Bcamp>; "Empire State News: Occurrences of Interest Within and Near Our Borders", *Buffalo Evening News*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), August 21, 1884, Accessed, December 6, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/326827232/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn%2Bcamp>; "Roscoe and St. John: Conklin Reported to Have Been Won by the Prohibitionists: Canvas of New York's Vote: The Sunday New Estimates in 47 Counties – They Show 55,225: A Total of 57,700 expected", *The Buffalo Sunday Morning News* (Buffalo, N.Y.), September 28, 1884

swing the results of the state towards their less favored major party candidate, and encourage these voters to side with St. John. The use of this tactic shows that the St. John campaign was trying to attract voters from both major parties, and not just dissatisfied Republicans (as the Republican Party alleged).⁹⁴ Since the pairing tactic was one of multiple approaches used by the campaign to attract voters, and other approaches didn't necessarily aim to attract equal partisan support, it is still possible for the St. John campaign to have appealed to voters from both major parties, but unequal numbers.

Though, one source of evidence that indicates St. John attracted more Republican leaning than Democratic leaning voters is how the major parties reacted to St. John. The Democratic Party generally didn't have much concern for St. John. The Democratic campaign tended to regard him as more a threat to Republicans and their criticism of St. John tended to be in opposition to prohibition. The Democrats tended to focus much more on attacking Greenback Party candidate Benjamin Butler, who they believed attracted more votes from their party in New York than the Republicans (and according to the research of Thomas, Summers, and Pocock, probably did attract more Democratic leaning than Republican leaning voters).⁹⁵

By contrast, the Republican Party generally treated St. John as a threat and a competitor for votes. They tried to get St. John to drop out of the race because they were worried that he would compete for them with votes.⁹⁶ The pro-Republican New York Temperance Assembly launched a media and public outreach campaign to discourage Republican leaning prohibitionists

⁹⁴ "New-York's St. John Boom: How it Was Organized and How it Has Grown", *New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), August 27, 1884

⁹⁵ "An Offset to Butler", *The Buffalo Times*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), August 29, 1884; "Gen. Butler: Local Opinions Concerning His Candidacy", *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.), August 7, 1884; Summers, *Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion*, 210-239; Pocock, "Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 In Upstate New York", 174-190

⁹⁶ Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 145-165; Summers, *Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion*, 210-239; Pocock, "Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 In Upstate New York", 174-190

from voting for St. John.⁹⁷ Various Republican speakers and writers attacked St. John, claiming that St. John had no chance of winning and that voting for him would only help to elect Cleveland.⁹⁸ The New York state Republican Party and its local affiliates launched coordinated efforts to attack the St. John campaign and win back Republican voters for Blaine. For instance, in a *Democrat and Chronicle* article, Wyoming County claimed that they have reduced St. John's support in the county from 1,500 to 800 people, and intended to reduce it 500 by election day.⁹⁹ After the Republicans lost New York, many Republicans nationwide blamed St. John and his voters for Blaine's loss. Some Republicans burned wooden effigies of St. John, harassed and assaulted St. John voters, and boycotted pro-St. John churches and businesses.¹⁰⁰ All of which indicates that the Republican Party believed that St. John appealed to a significant number of Republican leaning New Yorkers.

Given that the county level election data indicates that St. John attracted far more Republican leaning than Democratic leaning voters, that scattered reports of partisan composition are mostly consistent with this notion, that it was commonly believed by various news writers and public commentators that St. John appealed more to Republican leaning voters, and both major parties shaped their responses to St. John based on the premise that St. John attracted most of his support from Republican leaning voters, it is likely that case that St. John

⁹⁷ Thomas, "The Return of the Democratic Party to Power in 1884", 218-220; "He Will Stick: St. John Declines to Retire from the Prohibition Ticket", *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.), October 13, 1884,

⁹⁸ "Not Even St. John Escapes", *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.), October 30, 1884, Accessed, December 6, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/60778509/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; "Political". *Buffalo Morning Express*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), August 29, 1884; "The Ministers Speak", *The Buffalo Commercial*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), November 3, 1884, Accessed, December 6, 2018,

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/269444832/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>; "A Democratic Tender", *The Buffalo Commercial*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), August 29, 1884; Jutkins, *Hand-book of Prohibition 1885*, 83-117; Andersen, *The Politics of Prohibition*, 106-114

⁹⁹ "Western New York News: Wyoming", *Democrat and Chronicle*, (Rochester, N.Y.), October 30, 1884, Accessed, December 6, 2018, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/135082380/?terms=john%2Bst.%2Bjohn>

¹⁰⁰ Andersen, *The Politics of Prohibition*, 106-114

had attracted significantly more support from Republican leaning votes than from Democratic leaning ones. If that is the case, then St. John's campaign would account for most of the Republicans net loss in the state, and thus had played a central role in preventing Blaine from accumulating the support needed to win New York.¹⁰¹

The likelihood that St. John's campaign had prevented Baine from gathering the support needed to win New York supports the St. John theory. Though, in order to complete the case for the St. John theory, the complex version of the mugwump theory needs to be addressed. That theory claims that St. John's votes had come largely from Independent Republicans that supported ethics and civil service reform and opposed Blaine, but couldn't bring themselves vote for Cleveland. That St. John's votes were largely a product of the Mugwumps and therefore part of the Mugwump's broader role in deciding the 1884 election.¹⁰² To demonstrate that St. John's support was more than just an extension of the Mugwumps, we must look at evidence that indicates the likely major motivations for St. John's supporters.

Support for temperance and Prohibition was a central part of the St. John campaign. As mentioned before, prohibitionism was a major part of the campaign's message and attempted appeal to voters. Many voters, especially in Western and Central New York, were introduced to St. John through his speeches on the Copeland Temperance Camp circuit, and many of his earliest campaign clubs had created by people who were reportedly inspired from his speeches. Prohibition Party members and temperance activists made up an important part of his campaign workers. Their central motivations for backing St. John were presumably due to his support for

¹⁰¹ Pocock, "Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 In Upstate New York", 174-190

¹⁰² Murphey, "The Mugwump movement of 1884", 106-135; Andersen, *The Politics of Prohibition*, 99-142; Thomas, "The Return of the Democratic Party to Power in 1884", 156-168; 197-208; 227-232

temperance and prohibition, and they in large part promoted St. John to voters as a champion of Prohibition.¹⁰³

There were supporters of St. John who publicly expressed that their motivation for endorsing him was based on the issue of prohibition. For instance, Judge Goo of Middletown, stated that he had previously been a Radical Republican, but left the party after Republican Governor John Adam Dix vetoed a state Prohibition bill, and encouraged people to vote for St. John for the sake of the Prohibition cause.¹⁰⁴ A.M. Tenant of East Aurora claimed to have been a lifelong member of the Republican party, but had become dissatisfied with the party's broken promises, and now urged temperance supporters to back St. John.¹⁰⁵ Temperance and Prohibition were also important considered by St. John's Republican opponents to be a key motivation of his base. The New York Temperance Assembly tried to convince voters to abandon St. John by claiming that voting for him instead of Blaine would be counter-productive. Various Republican

¹⁰³ Pocock, "Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 In Upstate New York", 174-190; "New-York's St. John Boom: How it Was Organized and How it Has Grown", *New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), August 27, 1884; "St. John Interviewed", *Sunday Morning Herald*, (Olean, N.Y.), September 13, 1884; Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 161; "The Prohibitionists: They Met in Convention, Endorse Their National Candidates, Adopt Resolutions and Nominate County Ticket", *Buffalo Courier*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), August 22, 1884; "Very Bitter: Blaine Church People Against St. John", *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.), October 17, 1884; Andersen, *The Politics of Prohibition*, 60-106; "Gov. St. John Addresses Two Rousing Temperance Meetings", *The Buffalo Times*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), October 25, 1884; "Camp Meeting", *Chronicle-Express*, (Penn Yan, N.Y.), July 9, 1884; "Roscoe and St. John: Conklin Reported to Have Been Won by the Prohibitionists: Canvas of New York's Vote: The Sunday New Estimates in 47 Counties – They Show 55,225: A Total of 57,700 expected", *The Buffalo Sunday Morning News* (Buffalo, N.Y.), September 28, 1884; "For St. John: The Prohibitionists Buckling on Their Armor", *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.), October 7, 1884; *The Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1883*, 79; "What the St. John Men and Women Did at Advent Hall Yesterday", *Democrat and Chronicle*, (Rochester, N.Y.), August 31, 1884

¹⁰⁴ For St. John and Daniels: A Prohibition Mass Meeting at Central Hall Last Night", *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.), September 3, 1884

¹⁰⁵ "The Prohibitionists: They Met in Convention, Endorse Their National Candidates, Adopt Resolutions and Nominate County Ticket", *Buffalo Courier*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), August 22, 1884

writers and commentators made the same argument.¹⁰⁶ These different factors indicate that temperance and prohibition were central considerations for many of St. John's supporters.

Though, issues of ethics and civil service reform were also motivations for some St. John supporters. For much of the campaign, St. John had a reputation for ethical integrity in public and personal conduct. This could make St. John attractive to voters who didn't like Blaine's history of alleged corruption or Cleveland's personal scandals.¹⁰⁷ The Prohibition Party platform included support for civil service reform. These factors may have made St. John attractive to some Mugwumps.¹⁰⁸

There is evidence that some of St. John's supporters were Mugwumps or were at least attracted to him based on issues of ethics. Historian Lisa Andersen points out that some Mugwumps strategically aligned themselves, not necessarily out of enthusiastic support for prohibition, but because they considered it the best option for public ethics.¹⁰⁹ Reform activist Washington Gladden was a strong supporter of St. John. He described his reason for this as being that "the supreme issue in this campaign is one of character, and that every man who believes that morality is the supreme thing, ought to vote for the only candidate who is known to be a clean and upright man".¹¹⁰ Rev. Dr. Howard Crosby (a prominent New York city minister and mugwump) endorsed St. John, despite not personally supporting prohibition, because he

¹⁰⁶ Thomas, "The Return of the Democratic Party to Power in 1884", 218-220; "He Will Stick: St. John Declines to Retire from the Prohibition Ticket", *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.), October 13, 1884; Jutkins, *Hand-book of Prohibition 1885*, 82-92

¹⁰⁷ Summers, *Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion*, xi-12; 61-79; 171-196; 265-286; Andersen, *The Politics of Prohibition*, 104-106

¹⁰⁸ Andersen, *The Politics of Prohibition*, 104-106; Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 158-161

¹⁰⁹ Andersen, *The Politics of Prohibition*, 104-106

¹¹⁰ Andersen, *The Politics of Prohibition*, 105

considered St. John a man of good character.¹¹¹ It is clear that at least some of St. John's supporters had been mugwumps or had been attracted by ethical concerns.

St. John also benefited from the social environment of New York. In the 19th century, Western and Central New York had hosted a variety of religious and social reform movements (including various Evangelical movements, Mormonism, abolitionism, temperance, and women's suffrage activism).¹¹² St. John's prohibitionist, religious, pro-women's suffrage, pro-black civil rights, message likely appealed the region's burned over district culture.¹¹³ Based on pre-election news reports, St. John had a fair amount of support among temperance and reform friendly religious groups, such as Methodists, Presbyterians, Quakers, and Mormons.¹¹⁴ The reported positive reception of St. John's pro-working man messages imply that some supporters may have been attracted by his economic message as well. His focus on farmers and miners and early interactions with small town residents could also help to explain his strong appeal to voters in Western and Central New York.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ "A Truly Independent Revolt", *The Sun*, (New York City, N.Y.), September 25, 1884

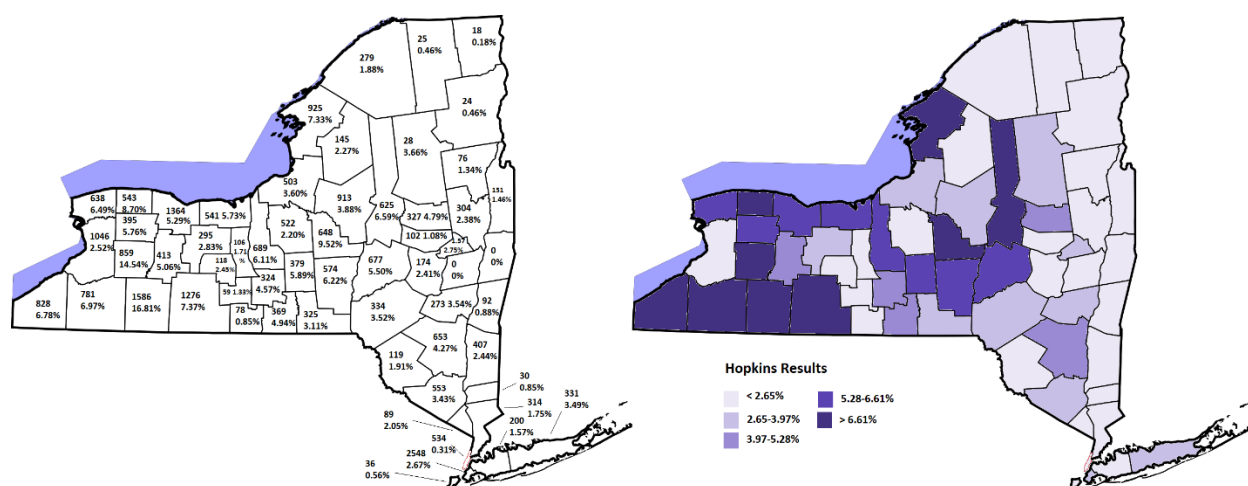
¹¹² Whitney Cross, *The Burned Over District: The social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850*, (Ithaca: Cornell University press, 1950), 1-355

¹¹³ New-York's St. John Boom: How it Was Organized and How it Has Grown", *New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), August 27, 1884; "St. John Interviewed", *Sunday Morning Herald*, (Olean, N.Y.), September 13, 1884; Pocock, "Wet or Dry? The Presidential Election of 1884 In Upstate New York", 187-188; "Gov. St. John Addresses Two Rousing Temperance Meetings", *The Buffalo Times*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), October 25, 1884; "St. John and Logan: More About the Affair to which the Prohibitionist Alluded Aurora – The Black Law Indictment", *Buffalo Courier*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), August 18, 1884; Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 145-165; "The Cold Water Meeting: The Prohibition Candidate at Silver Lake", *Democrat and Chronicle*, (Rochester, N.Y.), August 4th, 1884

¹¹⁴ "Gov. St. John Addresses Two Rousing Temperance Meetings", *The Buffalo Times*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), October 25, 1884; New-York's St. John Boom: How it Was Organized and How it Has Grown", *New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), August 27, 1884; Very Bitter: Blaine Church People Against St. John", *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.), October 17, 1884; "St. John Club Organized". *Democrat and Chronicle*, (Rochester, N.Y.), August 15, 1884; "Roscoe and St. John: Conklin Reported to Have Been Won by the Prohibitionists: Canvas of New York's Vote: The Sunday New Estimates in 47 Counties – They Show 55,225: A Total of 57,700 expected", *The Buffalo Sunday Morning News* (Buffalo, N.Y.), September 28, 1884

¹¹⁵ "Gov. St. John Addresses Two Rousing Temperance Meetings", *The Buffalo Times*, (Buffalo, N.Y.), October 25, 1884; "Their Votes Not Thrown Away: St. John Tells His Political Friends Why They Should Support Him", *The New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), October 18, 1884

The composition of St. John's can be further understood by placing it in the context of other Prohibition Party campaigns in New York, the 1880's. In 1882, Alphonso Hopkins ran as the Prohibition Party candidate for governor. He received over 25,000 votes, compared to the 4,400 votes that the Prohibition Party candidate in 1879 got.¹¹⁶ This shows that the Prohibition Party had been a significant increase in support in New York years before the 1884 election and years before the Mugwump movement formally broke away from the Republican Party.¹¹⁷ The following image shows the county level distribution of Hopkins' vote.¹¹⁸



Similar to St. John, Hopkins support tended to be strongly concentrated in Western and Central New York. The county level distribution of St. John's vote is 86.5% similar to Hopkins. This suggests that many, perhaps most, of St. John's voters may have voted for Hopkins in 1882. If that's the case, then it would indicate the Prohibition Party already had a growing base of support in New York and that Mugwump support for St. John was supplementary.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ *The Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1883*, 79; "The General Political News", *New York Times*, (New York City, N.Y.), December 13, 1879, Accessed, December 6, 2018, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1879/12/13/81770905.pdf>

¹¹⁷ *The Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1883*, 79; *The Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1885*, 87; Murphey, "The Mugwump movement of 1884", 28-83; Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 123-165

¹¹⁸ *The Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1883*, 79

¹¹⁹ *The Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1883*, 79; *The Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1885*, 87

The growth of Prohibition Party support in New York state is further demonstrated in the performances of Henry Clay Bascom in the 1885 governor's race, and Clinton Fisk in the 1888 presidential race. Bascom received over 30,000 votes statewide. He expanded on Hopkins' vote total in 46/60 counties and on St. John's total in 52/60 counties.¹²⁰ Clinton Fisk received over 30,000 votes statewide, and over 249,000 votes nationwide. He expanded on St. John's vote total in 52/60 counties.¹²¹ While the Mugwumps gradually declined in influence over the late 80's and early 90's, the Prohibition Party significantly expanded its size and political influence. John St. John's campaign was part of the growing prominence of partisan prohibition activism.¹²²

This analysis of the St. John campaign in New York, has helped to demonstrate the central role that John St. John and the Prohibition Party had in deciding the 1884 election. St. John ran a vigorous third-party campaign in New York state. His vote total was large enough to swing the election in New York. It is likely that he had attracted enough previously Republican leaning voters that he prevented James Baine from gathering enough support to win the state. While several factors influenced St. John's support in the state, the temperance movement and prohibitionism were major and integral parts of St. John's campaign and its support. The St. John campaign played a decisive role in determining the election in New York, in a way that St. John and the Prohibition were uniquely capable of, and understanding the role of the St. John campaign provides a fuller account for explaining the 1884 presidential election.

¹²⁰ *The Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1886*, (New York : Greeley & McElrath, 1886), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=iau.31858046125617;view=1up;seq=7>, 75

¹²¹ *The Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1889*, (New York : Greeley & McElrath, 1889), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.31951002271742s;view=1up;seq=257>, 97

¹²² Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, 145-292; Thomas, "The Return of the Democratic Party to Power in 1884", 232-261

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