

he would vote as I would vote. I will therefore vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. HARRIS (after having voted in the affirmative). I desire to say that I am informed that my pair, the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK], has not voted, and I therefore withdraw my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 32, nays 16; as follows:

## YEAS—32.

Allison,	Daniel,	Kyle,	Stewart,
Baker,	Fairbanks,	Morgan,	Teller,
Bard,	Foster,	Nelson,	Thurston,
Berry,	Frye,	Perkins,	Tillman,
Butler,	Hanna,	Pettigrew,	Turley,
Clay,	Hawley,	Pettus,	Turner,
Cockrell,	Jones, Ark.	Quarles,	Vest,
Culberson,	Kean,	Rawlins,	Wolcott.

## NAYS—16.

Carter,	Hansbrough,	McComas,	Proctor,
Chandler,	Hoar,	Mallory,	Ross,
Gallinger,	Lodge,	Mason,	Spooner,
Gear,	McBride,	Platt, Conn.	Wellington.

## NOT VOTING—38.

Aldrich,	Davis,	Lindsay,	Scott,
Allen,	Deboe,	McCumber,	Sewall,
Bacon,	Depew,	McEnery,	Shoup,
Bate,	Elkins,	McLaurin,	Simon,
Beveridge,	Foraker,	McMillan,	Sullivan,
Burrows,	Hale,	Martin,	Taliaferro,
Caffery,	Harris,	Money,	Warren,
Chilton,	Heitfeld,	Penrose,	Wetmore.
Clark,	Jones, Nev.	Platt, N. Y.	
Cullom,	Kennedy,	Pritchard,	

So the amendment of the committee was laid on the table.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I offer an amendment which is simply to carry out existing contracts. I do not desire to debate it. I simply ask that it be read and voted upon.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 17, after the word "dollars," line 9, insert as a separate paragraph:

For transportation of mail by pneumatic tube or other similar devices, by purchase or otherwise, \$225,000: *Provided*, That no part of this appropriation shall be used in extending such pneumatic service beyond the service for which contracts already are entered into, and no additional contracts shall be made unless hereafter authorized by law.

Mr. DANIEL. Mr. President, I rise to a parliamentary inquiry. I have heard it stated that there is at present no contract authorized by Congress; that we are under no liability of honor or morals or what not to make this appropriation. I would be very glad, if I am mistaken in this conception of the matter, to be corrected by the chairman of the committee.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. A bill (S. 2355) in relation to the suppression of insurrection in, and to the government of, the Philippine Islands, ceded by Spain to the United States by the treaty concluded at Paris on the 10th day of December, 1898.

Mr. LODGE. I ask that it may be temporarily laid aside that we may finish this bill.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. DANIEL. The information that I have derived on this subject in the course of the debate has been to the effect that there are no outstanding contracts which impose upon the United States a moral or honorable liability to make this appropriation. I beg leave to inquire of the chairman of the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads if I am correct in that?

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. President, I will state in answer to the Senator from Virginia that there are four contracts pending which expire simultaneously with the last day of June, 1901. By the terms of the contracts they are continuing until that date, and involve the payment by the Government of an amount of annual rental aggregating something over \$200,000, the balance of the allowance being for fuel, etc.

As to the question of law, I am not in a position to discuss it. The question of fact remains that by their terms the contracts are extended until that time. The Second Assistant Postmaster-General stated to the Committee on Appropriations in his testimony a year ago that the contracts were subject to an annual appropriation.

Mr. DANIEL. There is no authority of Congress, I understand, under which these contracts were made. I beg to make that inquiry. Is there any authority of Congress under which these so-called contracts were made?

Mr. MASON. Yes.

Mr. WOLCOTT. I will refer the Senator from Virginia to the Senator from Iowa, in whose committee the Post-Office appropriation bill was at the time the contracts were made.

Mr. ALLISON. There was no specific authority, I understand,

for making the contracts. However, there was an appropriation made first for a small amount—that is, an amount which would cover perhaps the Philadelphia and Boston contracts—and then it was enlarged afterwards. I think we have three times appropriated for these contracts made by the Postmaster-General, so that whilst perhaps there has been no specific authority, I believe we are fairly bound to make this appropriation and carry out the contracts made by the Postmaster-General. Yesterday, when I had occasion to make some observations upon this question, I stated that I was willing to vote for an appropriation to cover the amount of the contracts which will expire at the end of the coming fiscal year.

Mr. DANIEL. Mr. President, I do not perceive from the statements which have been made by the Senators who have just spoken that there is any extant law passed by Congress under which any contract has been authorized. They are evidently merely tentative contracts, presupposing, imagining, that Congress would make an appropriation, and are, of course, subject to the action of Congress. I shall therefore vote against this proposed appropriation.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE].

Mr. LODGE. Let us have the yeas and nays on the question. The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President, I will say to the Senator from Virginia that I understand the contracts made with these companies for transporting mail by pneumatic tubes are made by the same authority that the contracts are made with the railroads and the other postal contracts for carrying mails. They are not made in pursuance of express authority of law saying that a contract for so many years may be made, but they are made in pursuance of appropriations for conducting the postal service; and we ought not to terminate these existing contracts any more than we ought to terminate every outstanding contract made for four years by the Post-Office Department. I do not think it would be wise to set that example of repudiation of Government contracts.

Mr. LINDSAY. I will ask the Senator from New Hampshire if the committee has not a copy of the contract?

Mr. MASON. Yes; I have a copy of it.

Mr. LINDSAY. I think it would be well to have that contract read to the Senate. If the contract purports to be a continuing contract it has been so far ratified by the previous action of Congress as that it might impose an honorable obligation to carry it out. But I have understood that the contract on its face depends upon the annual action of Congress in making the appropriation. If that be true, we can terminate it at our will.

Mr. CHANDLER. What I say to the Senator is that every contract we have outstanding for carrying the mails is on exactly the same condition.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. And every contract for rent.

Mr. CHANDLER. And every contract for the rent of a post-office is in the same form. They are contracts, I understand, for four years, and all of them are subject to annual appropriations by Congress. Now, if Congress—

Mr. LINDSAY. I understand that most of our contracts are made pursuant to some general law which authorizes the Postmaster-General to make a contract to bind the Government.

Mr. CHANDLER. Only annual appropriations, in my belief.

Mr. MASON. I had here a copy of the contract. I do not know whether the chairman of the committee has it now or not; but I passed it up as a part of my remarks, I will say to the Senator from Kentucky. I desire to have read a copy of the contract entered into between the Government of the United States and one of these companies. I do not know whether it is for New York or Boston. I introduced it for the purpose of showing the way in which the Postmaster-General had guarded the interest of the Government and the service when Mr. Wanamaker was Postmaster-General. I offered it as an argument in order to show that the Postmaster-General could be trusted to make an arrangement for Chicago. I do not wish to act the part of the dog in the manger. I do feel that we ought to have had it in Chicago. The Government is under contract, and it is not subject to an annual appropriation except as all contracts are subject to an annual appropriation. The Court of Claims, or any court having jurisdiction, holds that the contract is made in pursuance of a consideration. The consideration is a tender to the Government, and the amount which shall be paid is fixed in the contract. The contract expires by its terms on the last of June, 1901.

Mr. DANIEL. Will the Senator allow me to make a suggestion?

Mr. MASON. Yes, sir.

Mr. DANIEL. As I understand it, the Postmaster-General was not authorized to make any contract except subject to the future action of Congress in respect to its appropriation.

Mr. MASON. That is true of railway—

Mr. DANIEL. In other words, he simply said, "If Congress shall give me authority to do it hereafter, then this will be done."

Mr. CHANDLER. Will the Senator allow me a word right

there? That is the case with every river and harbor contract that is outstanding to-day.

Mr. DANIEL. And on a river and harbor contract I vote also as I think it is wise.

Mr. CHANDLER. We insisted upon having a system of continuous contracts on rivers and harbors, and every one of them is made subject to an annual appropriation.

Mr. STEWART. I should like to have the contract read.

Mr. DANIEL. Therefore it is subject to an annual appropriation and every man is free—

Mr. BERRY. Will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. DANIEL. When I get through my sentence, if the Senator will allow me to finish the sentence.

Mr. BERRY. Certainly.

Mr. DANIEL. I say it makes no difference what kind of a contract it is, whether about rivers or harbor or anything else, if it is only a contingent contract or a conditional contract, dependent upon the future action of Congress, Congress by its terms is left free, without imputation or reproach from any source, to do as it may think wise and just in each particular case. The same freedom will be possessed whether railroad, river and harbor, or pneumatic-tube appropriation is concerned, by every member of Congress who deals with it; and exercising that especial, preserved prerogative, and not thinking it wise to vote for this appropriation, I shall vote against it.

Mr. BERRY and Mr. HOAR addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. BERRY. I yield to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. HOAR. I merely want to put a question, if it is proper. I should like to ask the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, who has dealt with this class of contracts, as I suppose, in a thousand cases in his appropriation bills, if he will be good enough to state to the Senate what they are; whether they bind the Government so that the Government is bound and the party can go into the Court of Claims, although the Department gives notice that the man will only get his money when Congress appropriates it, in which case I understand the Senator from Virginia agrees with me that our good faith is pledged, or whether the contract is voidable or renewable, and does not exist as a binding contract on the Government unless Congress makes a future appropriation? I should like to ask the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, if I may, to state what is his opinion on that subject?

Mr. ALLISON. Mr. President, there are various provisions respecting these contracts. Take the river and harbor appropriations. It is expressly provided in the river and harbor bill that contracts may be made for the completion of a certain work in a harbor, to be paid for as appropriations from time to time may be made by law. That is one class of contracts, where the direct authority of Congress for the contract is had in advance. I take it for granted, that if Congress should fail to make the appropriation as the work progressed, the contractor would be authorized practically to sue in the Court of Claims for the work done.

Mr. TELLER. No; he would not.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from Colorado says he would not. Very well; I did not know; but this is the usual way. This year we have a great number of appropriations for rivers and harbors in the sundry civil bill, on the theory that the contracts having been authorized by law, and made by the Chief of Engineers of the Army, we are bound at least to make the appropriations to fulfill the contracts and enable them to be executed.

Now, as respects these tubes, I do not think there has been any authority of Congress to enter into contracts for the use of the tubes in advance, but the contracts were made by the Postmaster-General under his general power for the transportation of the mails, and, having made the contracts for four years, I feel myself under obligations to vote to execute the contracts, although technically, perhaps, we are not bound to do it.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. President, when I asked the Senator from Virginia to yield to me, I only desired to state what the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations has already stated in answer to the suggestion of the Senator from New Hampshire, that the continuing contracts in river and harbor improvements are specifically authorized by law. The Secretary of War is authorized to enter into a contract or contracts for the completion or for the continuance of certain works. There is an express authority given to him to make these continuing contracts, and of course the Government is bound in honor and in every other way to make the payment.

Whether in this contract made by the Postmaster-General the Postmaster-General had such authority I do not know. It seems to me that, if he made a contract without authority of law to extend beyond the time for which the appropriation was made, it is not binding upon the Government or upon any Senator in any way whatever.

Mr. CHANDLER. Does the Senator from Arkansas say that river and harbor contracts do not have, each one, a provision that the payments under them depend upon annual appropriations by Congress?

Mr. BERRY. I simply state that the continuing contracts give specific authority to contract beyond the appropriation that is then made. They are dependent, as a matter of course, for the payment of money upon the appropriation to be made, but the authority to contract exists and is given by law.

Mr. CHANDLER. Subject to annual appropriations by Congress.

Mr. BERRY. There is no word "subject" about it in the language of the law.

Mr. CHANDLER. I ask the Senator about the contracts.

Mr. BERRY. I have never seen one of the contracts, but as I said, in every river and harbor bill specific authority is given by law to the Secretary of War to make these contracts extending beyond that year.

Mr. CHANDLER. How are the contracts made, as a matter of fact, I ask the Senator?

Mr. BERRY. My information is that under the supervision of the Chief of Engineers those contracts are entered into.

Mr. CHANDLER. How is it as to annual payment?

Mr. BERRY. They are dependent on annual appropriations for payment.

Mr. CHANDLER. By the express language of the contract.

Mr. BERRY. There is, first, a certain amount appropriated for the improvement of a certain river. Then the provision says that the Secretary of War, in addition, may enter into contract or contracts for the continuation or the completion, as the case may be, of certain work generally, not to exceed, however, a specified sum, to which he is limited.

Mr. CHANDLER. I want to say, if the Senator will allow me, that those contracts each contain a provision that they are subject to annual appropriations by Congress.

Mr. BERRY. I simply say I never saw that in one of the contracts.

Mr. STEWART. I want to have the contract read before I vote on the question. I ask if the contract is here?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Nevada asks that the contract may be read.

Mr. MASON. I have asked to have the contract inserted in the RECORD as a part of my remarks for the purpose of showing the terms—

Mr. STEWART. I do not care for what purpose the Senator asked to have it inserted.

Mr. MASON. Will the Senator allow me to finish?

Mr. STEWART. Yes.

Mr. MASON. I asked to have it inserted in the RECORD as a part of my remarks for the purpose of showing the terms the Postmaster-General requires of the contractors and owners of the tubes. It is not the contract under which they are now operating.

Mr. STEWART. Then I do not want it.

Mr. MASON. It is a contract for only one year, and it was made away back in 1892.

Mr. STEWART. I object to it if it is not the present contract.

Mr. MASON. It has already gone in the RECORD as part of my remarks.

The Postmaster-General stated in his evidence, or in the report which I read to the Senate, that these contracts were entered into for a term of four years and would expire on the 1st day of June next.

Mr. ALLEN. I understood the Senator in charge of this bill to say that there were four of these contracts existing.

Mr. WOLCOTT. There are four separate contracts. There is a separate contract for Brooklyn.

Mr. ALLEN. For what cities are they?

Mr. WOLCOTT. I will give them all to you. We have been over this whole matter, but I will go over it again.

There are 4.21 miles in operation in the city of New York proper—the old city—running from the Produce Exchange to the post-office opposite the Grand Central Station. We pay for that service \$158,500 annually, or at the rate of \$37,738.09 a mile. There is a contract also with the company between the general post-office in New York and Brooklyn, 1.65 miles in length, for which we pay at the rate of \$12,242.42 per mile, amounting to \$20,200. There is in Boston seventy-four one-hundredths of a mile, for which we pay at the rate of \$12,162.16 per mile, or \$9,000. In Philadelphia there are 1.46 miles in operation, for which we pay at the rate of \$23,698.63 per mile, or a total of \$34,600, making a cost of \$222,300 upon the four contracts, aggregating 8.05 miles.

Mr. ALLEN. What percentage of the mail is transmitted in these tubes?

Mr. WOLCOTT. The first-class mail of the country constitutes about 5 per cent of the total mail matter, and it is only the first-class mail that is carried in these tubes, except that the postmaster in New York says that sometimes larger packages have been included in his carrier, which is 8 inches in diameter. As I have said, only 5 per cent of the total mail is first-class mail, and only about 80 per cent of that is carried in these pneumatic tube

Mr. ALLEN. One more question, if the Senator will per-

me. Are we renting these tubes, or does the Government own them?

Mr. WOLCOTT. The Government owns nothing except the contract. We rent the tubes of the companies.

Mr. ALLEN. Does the Senator contemplate having the Government own these tubes?

Mr. WOLCOTT. Nothing has yet been attempted in that line in the way of legislation.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, a moment ago I paired in favor of the amendment of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON] extending this system of pneumatic tubes. I did not know then that the Government was engaged in the occupation of renting tubes from some private individual or private organization, but I supposed the Government intended to enter upon the general system of owning and operating these tubes itself. It has come out in the discussion, however, that the Postmaster-General lacks authority entirely—that is, he has no authority whatever to enter into contracts of this kind. The Senator from New Hampshire, who gives the only true solution, I suppose, of the question, says that the Postmaster-General has entered into these contracts by virtue of his authority to contract for carrying the mails, but I submit that that power does not carry with it the authority to enter into contracts for the rental of pneumatic tubes for the purpose of transmitting mails from one station to another. So the whole thing is in the air. The contracts are made subject to the approval of Congress, by an appropriation, to carry them out, and they can have no vitality and no force without action upon the part of Congress; and there is no violation of good faith by the refusal of Congress to make an appropriation to carry out a contract which is void ab initio.

Mr. CHANDLER. Will the Senator allow me a word?

Mr. ALLEN. I will.

Mr. CHANDLER. I want to say to the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] and also to the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. BERRY] that that is exactly the case as to our river and harbor improvements. I have here a copy of the last river and harbor act. The clause as to Bridgeport, Conn., which provides for a contract, says "to be paid for as appropriations may from time to time be made by law."

The provision for improving New Haven Harbor—

Mr. LINDSAY. That is the statute.

Mr. CHANDLER. The statute authorized the contract, but it expressly says "to be paid for as appropriations may from time to time be made by law."

Mr. BERRY. Will the Senator permit me there?

Mr. CHANDLER. In one moment.

In the provision for the improvement of the Buffalo entrance to the Erie Basin and Black Rock Harbor, New York, this language is used:

That a contract or contracts may be entered into by the Secretary of War for such materials and work as may be necessary for the completion of said project, \* \* \* to be paid for as appropriations may from time to time be made by law.

Mr. BERRY. Now, if the Senator will permit me, can he point to any law which says the Postmaster-General may enter into contracts which may be paid for hereafter as appropriations may be made?

Mr. CHANDLER. I do not say there is such a law.

Mr. BERRY. Then it is entirely different from the appropriations in the river and harbor bill, because there express authority is given by law.

Mr. CHANDLER. It is not entirely different, because the Senator from Arkansas, when he stated the case, said there was no provision of this sort.

Mr. BERRY. No; I beg the Senator's pardon. I said, as I remembered reading it, it was that a certain amount was appropriated for certain river and harbor improvements. Then it was provided that the Secretary of War might enter into a contract or into contracts for the continuation or the completion of such work generally, not to exceed a certain limit, which was placed in the law. That is my recollection.

Mr. CHANDLER. I simply wish to add, as the Senator will see, that every contract contains a provision that the payments are to be made as appropriations from time to time may be made.

Mr. BERRY. But that does not affect the fact that there is express authority given the Secretary of War to enter into contracts for works on rivers and harbors, while in this case there is no authority for the Postmaster-General to contract beyond the one year. I submit that if we go upon the principle that a Cabinet officer may bind this Government in the absence of law, and that we are in honor bound to pay for whatever contracts he may make, we establish a precedent that may cost us many millions of dollars.

Mr. CHANDLER. Nobody contends for that.

Mr. BERRY. The Senator has admitted that there is no law authorizing the Postmaster-General to make such contracts.

Mr. CHANDLER. I have not admitted that.

Mr. BERRY. I so understood the Senator.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] is entitled to the floor. Does he yield?

Mr. ALLEN. Oh, yes.

Mr. CHANDLER. I admit that there is no contract made which binds the Government to appropriate except from year to year, just as the contracts are made for river and harbor improvements.

Mr. BERRY. But the Senator also admits that there is no authority in this case, as there is in the case of river and harbor improvements, to enter into continuing contracts.

Mr. ALLEN. I only want to occupy the floor a minute. I can not undertake to settle the dispute between the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. BERRY] and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER]; but it occurs to me that there is a very broad distinction between the authority granted to enter into river and harbor contracts and the authority, or alleged authority, to enter into contracts for these pneumatic tubes. The river and harbor act, as read by the Senator from New Hampshire, expressly provides for the entering into of contracts for the improvement of rivers and harbors. Of course that is conditioned upon Congress making an appropriation to carry out the contracts when made. But I submit to the Senator from New Hampshire and to the Senate that as respects the making of contracts for these pneumatic tubes there is no authority whatever, absolute or conditional, to make them. There is a very broad distinction between these two instances.

Mr. President, I believe in doing this: Either make this system general and apply it to every center of population in the United States as rapidly as possible, the Government itself owning and operating the tubes, or I believe in abandoning it in every city in which it is to-day used. It is used in Boston, in New York, in Brooklyn, and in Philadelphia. Why not use it in Baltimore, in Chicago, in St. Louis, and in other great cities of the United States; and why, Mr. President, above all things, turn over the revenues derivable from this system of transmitting the mails to an organization that owns these tubes and fixes its own price? Should not the Government of the United States own and operate these tubes the same as it owns and operates the mail bags, and in some instances the cars in which mail is transported from place to place?

I favored the amendment of the Senator from Illinois hoping that it might be adopted and that it might be followed by the Government owning these tubes; but if it is simply to be a partial system, a few cities to get the benefit of it and a particular organization to derive all the profits from it, the Government ought to abandon it entirely or it ought to own and operate it entirely.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President—

Mr. WOLCOTT. Before the Senator from Missouri proceeds, I wish to say that I shall ask on Monday next, after the conclusion of the routine morning business, that the Senate resume and finish the consideration of the Post-Office appropriation bill.

#### STATUES OF BENTON AND BLAIR.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President, in pursuance of the notice heretofore given, I present a letter from the governor of the State of Missouri, which I ask may be read by the Secretary.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

To the Senate and House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: In the year 1895 the general assembly of the State of Missouri passed an act making an appropriation to have statues made of Thomas H. Benton and Francis P. Blair, to be placed in Statuary Hall, in the Capitol, at Washington. In the act referred to William J. Stone, Odin Guiter, Peter L. Foy, K. B. Cahoon, O. H. Spencer, and James H. Birch were constituted a commission to have the statues made and properly placed. I am now informed by the commissioners that the statues are completed and ready to be presented to Congress.

I have the honor, therefore, as governor of Missouri, to present to the Government of the United States, through the Congress, the statues of the distinguished statesmen named, and to ask that they may be assigned a place in the Hall dedicated to such uses at the Capitol.

Very respectfully,

LON V. STEPHENS, Governor.

Mr. COCKRELL. I ask that the concurrent resolution of the House of Representatives may be laid before the Senate.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate a concurrent resolution of the House of Representatives, which will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, February 1, 1899.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring). That the thanks of Congress be presented to the State of Missouri for providing and furnishing statues of Thomas Hart Benton, a deceased person, who has been a citizen thereof and illustrious for his historic renown and for distinguished civic services, and of Francis Preston Blair, a deceased person, who has been a citizen thereof, and illustrious for his historic renown and for distinguished civic and military services.

Resolved. That the statues be accepted and placed in the National Statuary Hall in the Capitol, and that a copy of these resolutions duly authenticated be transmitted to the governor of the State of Missouri.

THOMAS H. BENTON.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, nothing could more clearly show how rapidly the bitter memories of the civil war are passing away than the fact that Missouri sends to the National Capitol the statues of Thomas H. Benton and Frank P. Blair, jr.

The first great conflict over African slavery in the United States occurred when Missouri was admitted into the Union as a slave State, accompanied by the enactment of what was known as the Missouri compromise, which provided that north of 36° 30' latitude slavery and involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, should never exist. The next contest over slavery came with the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill in 1854, the repeal of the Missouri compromise, and the birth of the Republican party upon the distinct issue of free soil and opposition to the extension of slavery.

This was followed by that terrible border war upon the frontiers of Missouri and Kansas which depopulated whole counties, destroyed towns and villages, and reddened the midnight sky with the lurid glare of burning homes. Old John Brown declared upon the scaffold at Charlestown, W. Va., that he had invaded Missouri three years before he attacked Virginia, and had carried off seven slaves from Bates County to Canada without firing a gun. Literally he fired no guns, but he murdered in cold blood, with knives, one of the best men in Bates County who attempted to prevent forcibly the outrage on his property.

No State in the Union suffered more from internecine strife and neighborhood war than Missouri. The wounds inflicted were deep and cruel, no man being willing to prophesy when their memory would pass away. But to-day Missouri sends to the National Capitol and to Statuary Hall the marble images of two men whose whole public lives were given to the cause of free soil and against the further extension of African slavery.

Immediately after the Revolutionary war, and even before it had closed, emigrants commenced passing over the Appalachian Range into the gloomy forests of Kentucky and Tennessee to contest supremacy over the soil with the Indians and wild beasts. This emigration was composed largely of Scotch-Irish blood, that most remarkable of all the races which have existed upon this continent, independent, self-willed, impatient of restraint, yet not given to disorder; every man a soldier and his own leader; every woman fit to be the mother of heroes. This Scotch-Irish blood has given to the Western States, into which they went, blazing the paths of civilization with the ax in one hand and the rifle in the other, men who have impressed themselves in war and peace upon these great communities.

Nearly all the leading families of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri came from this Scotch-Irish lineage, which possessed so much of individual and racial antipathies; always determined in their own opinions, and with strong passions and high prejudices, but at the same time deeply religious, their religion being militant, like that of the old Jews, who for forty years went through the wilderness praying by night and fighting by day, but always carrying with them the Ark of the Covenant. This Scotch-Irish blood has given to these Western States men who molded their institutions and impressed themselves indelibly upon their destiny—the Jacksons, Hardins, Clarks, McCullochs, McClernands, McKees, Estills, and Gentrys. Both their ancestors and their descendants have been leaders in every community where they became citizens.

With this remarkable pioneer migration across the Appalachian Range of Scotch-Irish lineage there went also a small contingent of Virginians, another most remarkable race. They were the cavaliers of England, who, after they lost the cause of the Stuarts, and before the restoration of Charles II, came from England to Virginia. They were the men who charged with Prince Rupert against the ironsides of Cromwell and knew no fear. Among these families, descendants of whom can be found to-day in the Old Dominion and in the two Carolinas, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri, were the Lees, known in England as the Loyal Lees, who gave to Virginia Light-Horse Harry in the Revolution, William Henry Lee in the councils of Congress, and Robert E. Lee, the peerless leader of his countrymen in our civil war. Side by side with the Lees who charged under Prince Rupert were the Bentons. Thomas H. Benton was descended from this family, and passed across the Appalachian Range from North Carolina, where his father had settled, to cast his destinies with the frontiersmen of Tennessee.

Benton's father, unlike the fathers of the Scotch-Irish immigrants, was not an extremely poor man. The Benton family was entirely different in its circumstances from that of Andrew Jackson. Jackson's mother was a widow in very indigent circumstances, unable at times to procure the necessaries of life, and one of the most pathetic pictures of all our early history is that of Jackson's mother walking more than 40 miles to see her two boys, prisoners to the British, begging her way as she went, without even an animal to ride. Benton's father was a lawyer in good practice, and he gave his son a collegiate education at Chapel

Hill, in North Carolina. His mother was a Virginian. His father came directly from English lineage and his mother indirectly through one of the splendid families of old Virginia, that furnished warriors and statesmen, the State which is known as the mother of States and statesmen. These people are described by Theodore Roosevelt, now governor of the State of New York, in his *Life of Thomas H. Benton*—one of the American series—in a few lines, and I ask the Secretary to read them.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

The world has never seen better soldiers than those who followed Lee, and their leader will undoubtedly rank as without any exception the very greatest of all the great captains that the English-speaking peoples have brought forth; and this, although the last and chief of his antagonists, may himself claim to stand as the full equal of Marlborough and Wellington.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I make no apology for having this quotation read, because it is worthy of this era of fraternization and of the gallant soldier who penned those lines. No man knows better the descendants of the old Virginians and the Scotch-Irish, the people of the great Commonwealths of the West, than Theodore Roosevelt. He led them up that historic hill at Santiago when closed the Cuban war, and he knows that the Rough Riders whom he led were the legitimate descendants of those ancestors of whom I have spoken, having simply laid aside the ax and rifle for the pistol and lariat of the plains.

Colonel Benton, as I have stated, was born in North Carolina, and his father, dying in middle age, left to the family a large tract of land near Nashville, Tenn., to which the widow removed, Thomas H. Benton being the second son. Young Benton grew up on this tract of land, on which is located the town bearing the family name of Benton, and his life was like that of the average young frontiersman. He indulged in all the rough and exciting amusements and pursuits of that early era. He fought chickens and fought the Indians. He ran horses and ran for the legislature. He indulged in street brawls and affrays, not entirely creditable, in one of which Andrew Jackson was his opponent, both being badly wounded. No prophet could then foresee that in after years Benton, as Senator from Missouri, would become the great ally of Jackson as President of the United States.

Benton served two years in the Tennessee legislature, introducing a bill to divide the State into judicial districts, which became a law, and also a bill, enacted into law, giving to negro slaves who were charged with criminal offenses the right of trial by jury. This latter measure of legislation shows that Colonel Benton did not belong to that extreme Southern class who thought that negroes were mere chattels, to be bought and sold, and not human beings. Benton, although a slaveholder, was never an advocate of the institution of slavery. He resented deeply the idea of interference from other States whose people had owned slaves and then from self-interest had done away with the institution; but he did not believe that slavery should be extended or that it was beneficial either to the slave or the slave owner.

He was one of that class of national statesmen at the head of whom was Thomas Jefferson, and to which belonged Henry Clay, Houston, Davy Crockett, and Chief Justice Taney, who delivered the celebrated Dred Scott decision. In all his life Benton never hesitated to express his opinion in regard to the institution of slavery as an economic institution, while at the same time he resented deeply any intimation that the Southern people were entirely responsible for its existence.

Just after the close of the war of 1812 Benton removed to the Territory of Missouri and settled in the old French village of St. Genevieve, 35 miles below St. Louis, on the Mississippi River. Not long since I saw the law office, built of cypress logs, in which he practiced his profession and from which you could look out across the broad expanse of the Father of Rivers. He remained in St. Genevieve only a few years. The place was too small for his aggressive spirit, and he removed to St. Louis, then giving promise of becoming the great empress of the Mississippi Valley.

Here he almost immediately became actively engaged in the practice of law and political life. He was unfortunately involved in a quarrel soon after he became a citizen of St. Louis with young Lucas, a promising member of the bar and a son of Judge Lucas, who was the wealthiest and most influential Whig in the Missouri Territory. I do not care to speak at length about personal matters, but it would not be perhaps improper to make a statement in regard to the tragic event which cast a shadow over Colonel Benton's subsequent life and was the constant source of attack in all his political career.

Benton, as I have said, came from that old Virginia stock that was extremely sensitive as to personal honor. No man living ever attacked Colonel Benton personally in regard to his integrity without being called to account. The lazaroni of politics who indulge in declamation and general statement fled before him, and the man who remained to make the charge was compelled sooner or later to meet him face to face. I never agreed with him

politically, but standing here to-day I simply state what I know to be true, that so far as the world could observe he never knew the sensation of fear, either in public or private life.

At the first election after Benton went to St. Louis and offered to vote, young Lucas challenged his vote. He challenged it after Benton had sworn that he was a bona fide citizen of the city of St. Louis and had come there to remain. Benton considered this as a charge of perjury, and he declared, the only time I ever heard that he mentioned the event afterwards, that it would only be removed by an abject and full apology or by blood. He promptly challenged Lucas. They fought upon Bloody Island, just below the city of St. Louis, in the Mississippi River. Lucas was almost mortally wounded. Benton waited until he was convalescent and challenged him again. In the second encounter Lucas was killed. Colonel Benton never admitted that in the absence of a full apology, after what Lucas had done, he could retain his self-respect or deserve that of others until he killed the man who had attacked his honor.

Mr. President, all this sounds to us now as semibarbarous, and yet if we carry ourselves back to the age in which this event occurred and place ourselves in the position public men then held it will, I think, charitably be admitted that, entertaining the opinion he did and in the community he lived, Benton could hardly have done anything else. Dueling was then an institution. No man could remain in public or social life without ostracism who refused what they called a challenge to the field of honor. All the distinguished men of the United States fought duels. When Randolph and Clay fought, in sight of this Capitol, members of the Cabinet and members of the Senate and House of Representatives, among whom was Colonel Benton, were present as spectators. Jackson had killed his adversary in a duel. Houston had fought a duel and wounded his opponent severely. Davy Crockett acknowledged the obligations of the duello and participated in it, and it was not until Hamilton fell before the deadly pistol of Aaron Burr that even the people of the conservative, God-fearing North came to a full realization of the terrible nature of this institution.

Colonel Benton was elected to the United States Senate from the new State of Missouri, the second United States Senator, David Barton being the first. The Oregon question was then pending in the Senate of the United States, and the people throughout our country were preparing for war with Great Britain. England and the United States had been national tenants in common of that vast expanse of country now comprising a large proportion of the Vancouver district of British America and the great States of Oregon and Washington. The rival interests of the fur companies, the Hudson Bay Company, in England, and the North American Fur Company, under Astor, in the United States, soon brought about even armed conflict, and it became absolutely necessary to settle the boundary line between the possessions of the two countries. Colonel Benton when he entered Congress threw himself with his usual aggressiveness into the middle of the fight. He declared that the United States must hold every inch of the disputed territory, and that with 10,000 Missourians he could settle the question in sixty days. Benton believed in what was called manifest destiny, which meant that the people of the United States had a right to take all the territory that adjoined them, if they thought proper to do so.

In his first speech delivered in the Senate upon the Oregon question, which was addressed to this body in his ore rotundo style and with great effusion of classical reference, he stated that the United States must take this territory without compromise, without question, and that it would soon be peopled by millions of Orientals, Chinese and Japanese, who would come to our shores, adopt our institutions, law, and religion, and become our best citizens. If Colonel Benton could have lived but a few years more, he would have seen those Orientals whom he hospitably invited to our shores fleeing at night, shot down by brutal mobs in the light of their burning homes. Colonel Benton overlooked, great man as he was, the racial antagonism which is above all human law.

The Oregon question passed away without armed conflict, but leaving unpleasant reminiscences in regard to the negotiations between the two countries, and Benton then addressed himself to the material interests of the great West, whose representative he peculiarly was. He advocated with great power cutting down the immense Indian reservations, so that instead of being under the control of the savages they might become the happy homes of industrious whites. He above all other men was entitled to the credit for the establishment of our land system, the homestead and preemption laws, and the sales of our other lands at \$1.25 an acre to actual settlers. He opposed vigorously that iniquitous system of putting up the public lands to the highest bidder, which unquestionably placed them all eventually in the hands of syndicates and speculators.

He passed through Congress a bill making the old Santa Fe trail a national highway, to be defended by the soldiers of the Federal

Government, and he terminated in a very few years by that legislation the bloodshed which for so long had occurred on the trail between Independence, Mo., and Sante Fe and Albuquerque, in New Mexico, when the Sioux, Apaches, Comanches, and Pawnees attacked every caravan unless it was too strong to be overpowered.

In 1828 came a great parliamentary contest in which Benton bore conspicuous part. Mr. Calhoun then advanced his idea of nullification by a State of Federal legislation when the people of that State believed the enactment of such legislation was absolutely destructive of their best interests. Slavery was not involved in that contest. It was a question of tariff taxation. Calhoun argued with great ability that a State could remain in the Union and yet nullify an act of the Federal Congress which even the Supreme Court decided to be constitutional.

I have always regarded Mr. Calhoun as one of the greatest analytical disputants this or any other country has ever produced. I have studied his works; but I was never able to appreciate his argument in favor of nullification. Jackson, who was then President, looked upon it as absolute treason, and declared that if Calhoun undertook to carry it out he would hang him as high as Haman. Clay and Webster stood by the side of Benton in defending the position taken by Jackson, and although there was a compromise without armed conflict between South Carolina and the General Government, I have no doubt that the nullification contest of 1828 influenced all the subsequent career of Colonel Benton, and the opinions he then formed were responsible for his final political overthrow in Missouri.

Colonel Benton, above all men—I will not say above all men, but certainly without any superior in the regard I am about to mention—loved the Union. It colored and influenced all his life, and he firmly believed that Mr. Calhoun was a traitor and had then inaugurated or attempted to inaugurate a scheme to establish a Southern confederacy based upon the institution of African slavery. Notwithstanding many acrimonious debates, he renewed his friendship with Webster and Clay, but never forgave Mr. Calhoun. I heard him in 1856, when a candidate for governor of Missouri, declare emphatically in a public address that if he had been President in 1828, instead of threatening to hang Calhoun, he would have hanged him on the eastern exposure of the Capitol, and appealed to the people of the United States to vindicate his action.

A few years after the nullification struggle came the great conflict over the old United States Bank, when Jackson, with his usual impetuosity and self-will, took the institution out of the hands of Nicholas Biddle and removed the deposits. Whether he had a right to do that or not, which I do not care now to discuss, because it is ancient history, Jackson believed that he was doing his duty, and the people of the United States by a large majority vindicated his action. Clay, Calhoun, and Webster attacked the Administration on account of the removal of the bank deposits, and Benton, single-handed and alone, fought that great triumvirate day after day in the Senate of the United States until the resolution of censure was passed against Jackson.

Ordinary men would then have given up the conflict, but not so with Thomas H. Benton. With him the battle had just commenced. After a short pause he introduced his resolution to expunge the resolution of censure from the records of the Senate. The last night of that terrible struggle, the most remarkable in our parliamentary history, and which took place in what is now the room of the Supreme Court, was signaled by many dramatic incidents. Benton said, and I have no doubt believed, that he was to be assassinated upon that night from the gallery, and he stood in the Chamber, throwing open his coat and vest, and daring the bank robbers to attack him.

Then, as now, the Senate of the United States had no previous question, and the matter could be determined only by a war of exhaustion physically. Benton stocked the committee rooms with provisions and liquors so that starvation might not weaken his forces. And, singularly enough, after succeeding in expunging the hated resolution, Benton regarded that as the great triumph of his life. He never spoke afterwards before the people of Missouri without declaring that, single-handed and alone, Benton put this ball in motion. As a matter of practical and material legislation it amounted to nothing. As a personal triumph Colonel Benton regarded it as the crowning glory of his long and able public career.

Passing over intermediate events, I come now to the crisis in Benton's remarkable public life. The question of slavery had remained not in a quiescent attitude, but not the foremost question in the politics of the day until after the Mexican war, when Texas applied for admission to the Union in 1844-45 as a slave State. Colonel Benton opposed the admission of Texas, and it sounded the knell of his fate in Missouri. A young, ambitious, and able coterie of politicians had grown up in Missouri while Benton during thirty or nearly thirty years had labored in Washington. His manners were not such as to make him popular. He was aggressive and almost insulting to men who differed with him. To give a

single instance of his manner of meeting the people: In one of the counties of my old circuit when I first commenced practicing law was a most excellent, learned, and modest man, not a politician, an old Virginian of moderate estate, a gentleman of culture, and a Democrat beyond question, who had supported Colonel Benton for more than twenty-five years. He saw proper to express his disapproval of Colonel Benton's course in regard to the admission of Texas. After speaking at the county town, and when the crowd came forward, as is the custom to-day, to shake hands with an eminent speaker, this gentleman, after the press of the crowd had disappeared, advanced and in old Virginia style extended his hand and saluted Colonel Benton. In the presence of the audience who had not yet dispersed Benton looked at him from head to foot without a single evidence of recognition. This gentleman, bowing, said: "You possibly have forgotten me, Colonel Benton; I am Mr. ———." Drawing himself to his full height, Benton replied in tones that could be heard in every part of the building, "Sir, Benton once knew a man by that name, but he is dead; yes, sir, he is dead." And so he went into every county in the State, denouncing every man by name who dared to oppose his political action.

As a matter of course, there could be but one way of determining an issue between Colonel Benton and those who differed with him. He made no compromise; he asked none. Every citizen must either agree with him or be ranked as his personal and political enemy. It was his nature, and he could no more change it than he could the color of his hair and eyes.

Colonel Benton was assailed by his enemies because he had advocated the admission of Missouri as a slave State and then opposed the admission of Texas as a slave State. His reply was imperfect and not satisfactory. He said he was opposed to the extension of slavery; that slavery existed in the Louisiana purchase when Jefferson bought it from France, but that slavery had not existed on the soil of Mexico, and therefore Texas should not come in as a slave State.

Colonel Benton advocated the Missouri compromise, which accompanied the admission of Missouri into the Union. That compromise directly declared that slavery should not extend north of 36° 30', but if it meant anything it suggested that a State south of 36° 30' could be admitted into the Union as a slave State if the people so desired. Colonel Benton was accused by his enemies of being selfishly prompted when Missouri was admitted, because he expected to be a United States Senator. It had its weight with a large number of people in Missouri, but for myself I never believed the charge to be true, because of all the public men I have ever known Thomas H. Benton considered less than any other the political effect upon himself.

He opposed the admission of Texas, as I believed then and believe now, because he thought it was a part of Calhoun's scheme to dissolve the Union. Never after the nullification fight of 1828 did Benton waver in his opinion that there was a conspiracy to break up the Union and establish a Southern confederacy upon the basis of slavery.

No man who ever existed in the public life of this country more completely and apparently committed suicide than Thomas H. Benton. He knew as well or better than any other man what the prejudice and opinions of the people of Missouri were on the subject of slavery and their sympathy with their brethren from the Southern States that had gone to Texas, thrown off the yoke, and established an independent State.

But more than this, he knew there was not a family in western Missouri that had not lost father, brother, husband, or son upon the Sante Fe trail, fighting those murderous savages who attacked every trapper and every caravan too small to resist them, and that the people of Missouri firmly believed that the Mexicans had incited the Indians to make these attacks. It was well known that the merchants of Sante Fe, Albuquerque, and Tamaulipas, and the other northern Mexican States objected to the trade between Missouri and New Mexico. It was extremely lucrative to these Mexican merchants to have a monopoly of the sale of goods to their own people, and whenever any of these murderous Indians were made prisoners by the Missourians there were always found amongst them Mexicans dressed like the Indians, appealing to their passions and prejudices and leading them on to these terrible outrages.

Colonel Benton, knowing all these things, did not hesitate. The legislature of Missouri in 1848 passed resolutions censuring his course on the Texas question, and declaring that Missouri would share the fate of her Southern brethren. The challenge was promptly accepted. Benton came back from Washington, canvassed the State in a vitriolic campaign such as has never been known. If any man amongst his opponents had a weak place in his armor, Benton found it out and assailed him by name. That he lived through this canvass was a miracle, for the men of the frontier were quick to avenge an insult or a wrong, and there was not a speech made by him in which drawn pistols and knives were not brandished in his face. His personal fearlessness saved

his life, for if there was one quality more prized than another upon the frontier it was insensibility to personal danger.

Benton was defeated in his appeal to the people in 1849, and Henry S. Geyer, a prominent Whig lawyer of St. Louis, was elected to succeed him in the Senate by a fusion of the Whigs and anti-Benton Democrats.

Colonel Benton came back to Washington and commenced the preparation of his Thirty Years' View, the most valuable political treatise known in our history.

In 1852 he was elected to the National House of Representatives from St. Louis, the only district in the State that had a free-soil majority. At the end of two years he was defeated by a Know-nothing candidate, and again went back to his literary labor.

In 1856, when there were three candidates for the Presidency, his own son-in-law being the candidate of the Republican party, Benton declared himself for Buchanan and became an independent Democratic candidate for governor of Missouri. He was the third candidate in the race. Truett Polk, the regular Democratic candidate, was elected to this body, and Colonel Benton returned again to Washington City for the purpose of finishing his Thirty Years' View and commencing the preparation of his digest of debates of Congress from the beginning of the Government down to that time. He also prepared a severe attack, in the shape of a pamphlet, against the Supreme Court for its decision in the Dred Scott case.

But his race for governor in 1856 closed his political career forever. He died here in 1858 and was buried in Bellefontaine Cemetery, in the city of St. Louis, where he had lived, the funeral being attended by over 40,000 people from all parts of Missouri and the adjacent States.

It has been often asked, Mr. President, whether Benton was the equal of his three contemporaries, Clay, Webster, and Calhoun. He was not the equal of Mr. Clay as an orator; he was not the equal of Mr. Webster as a lawyer; he was not the equal of Mr. Calhoun as a close, analytical debater and disputant; but he was the superior of any of the three as a valuable, all around legislator. His industry was unparalleled; his honesty above question; his courage morally and physically equal to that of any man who ever lived upon this earth.

Benton was not a Southern Democrat; he was a National Democrat. He appreciated more thoroughly than any man of his era the possibilities of that vast country west of the Mississippi destined to become the seat of empire upon this continent. I heard him at a little town on the Missouri River, standing with his right arm extended, declare, with the air and tones of an ancient prophet, "There is the East; there is the road to India," and upon his bronze statue in Forest Park in St. Louis to-day upon the pedestal are engraved these prophetic words. He declared, and men laughed at him when he said it, that this continent would be bound together by bands of iron which would carry our produce to the Pacific slope to feed the innumerable millions in Asia and the Orient.

FRANK P. BLAIR, JR.

Benton's political mantle fell logically and inevitably upon the shoulders of his protégé, Frank P. Blair, jr.

Blair was the son of Benton's old friend, Francis Preston Blair, who died here some years ago at Silver Springs, almost in sight of this city. When Duff Green, who was the original editor of the old Globe, the organ of the Democrats at Washington, had differences of opinion with General Jackson as President, the Administration looked around for a younger man of great ability and experience in journalism to take Green's place.

Preston Blair, as he was termed, was then part owner and chief editor of the old Argus, of Frankfort, Ky., the birthplace of young Frank Blair. It was what was called in the new and old court struggle in Kentucky, the new court organ. But Jackson and Benton, who had then become great friends, sent for Preston Blair and made him the chief editor of the Globe. It was but natural that Colonel Benton should ask his old friend to send his youngest boy who had been raised in Washington to the city of St. Louis to become the protégé of Benton. And so Frank Blair, as he was called in Missouri, became a member of the St. Louis bar, and, thoroughly imbued with the political prejudices and opinions of his father and Benton and Jackson, became the leader of the Benton Democracy in that city.

After the death of Benton in 1858 Blair became a member of the National House of Representatives for the district where Benton had been defeated. He knew the people of Missouri and Kentucky well and that all their prejudices and opinions were in behalf of the South. He knew that the State government, all the State officers from the governor down, and all the legislature, with but very few exceptions, were devoted to the South. He knew that the Missourians were a martial people, trained to the saddle and the use of arms from boyhood, and he was certain that unless vigorous measures were immediately taken to prevent the State

from organizing it would throw its vast military power with the side of the Confederate States.

Blair immediately and secretly commenced the organization of seven regiments of Germans in the city of St. Louis, a people trained as soldiers in the Fatherland, devoted to the Union, and opposed to slavery. He became, having had some experience in the Mexican war, colonel of the first regiment, and, member of the National House of Representatives as he was, when Lincoln was elected, he hastened to Washington and informed Lincoln of the situation in Missouri; that the United States arsenal was filled with munitions of war and arms and must be seized or it would be taken and used to arm the militia of the State. He asked for an officer educated at West Point to take command of the arsenal and of the Federal forces in Missouri.

Lincoln, a citizen of Illinois and familiar with Missouri politics, appreciated what Blair said and immediately sent Nathaniel Lyon, of Connecticut, a West Pointer, to take charge of the troops already organized and drilled by Blair in St. Louis. Lyon fell on Bloody Hill at the battle of Springfield, as it is called by the Federals, and the battle of Oak Hill, as it is called by the Confederates. He fell in a last desperate charge. If he had lived, his fame would have rivaled that of any man in the civil war. So soon as Blair had conferred with Lyon, the latter adopted the plan of campaign which Blair suggested. The State government, devoted to the Confederacy, had formed a camp of instruction in the vicinity of St. Louis, composed of young men, ardent advocates of the Southern cause.

On a bright morning, without premonition, Blair and Lyon surrounded these 1,200 State militia with 6,000 Germans, armed and drilled, captured them, broke up the camp, and started to the city with their prisoners. The people of St. Louis, taken by surprise and greatly excited, surrounded the captors and the captured. A German captain, aggravated and incensed by the jeers and insults of the crowd, ordered his men to fire upon the inoffensive and unarmed people. More than 40 were killed and wounded—men, women, and children—and in a few hours the State was aflame with indignation.

Blair, although he was not anticipating what was called the massacre, was immediately prepared for action against the consequences. He knew that the railroad, the only railroad running west from St. Louis, would be destroyed by the State government, but he seized five steamboats lying at the wharf, put crews upon them, went up the river with his German regiments, captured Jefferson City, the capital, dispersed the State government, overwhelmed the few hundred militia, unarmed and undisciplined, who met him at Booneville, and, in my judgment, caused Missouri to divide her forces in the war between the North and the South instead of going solidly to the Confederate cause, as but for him would have been the case.

I say here now to-day deliberately from my personal knowledge of affairs then in the State that but for Frank Blair Missouri would have given her solid strength to the Southern cause. I do not choose to conjecture what would have been the result. Southern Illinois, Kentucky, and Maryland, as all the world knows, sympathized with the South, and the result of the war might have been different but for the wonderful fearlessness and promptitude with which Blair acted. As it was, the men of Missouri, at heart in sympathy with the South, were unable to reach the Confederate armies except at the risk of their lives. Blair, believing that the State was entirely safe to the Union, as he informed Lincoln, then took his regiment—the first regiment—and joined the Army of the Cumberland. He rose to the rank of major-general and commanded a corps at the close of the war.

When he came back to Missouri the attitude of affairs had changed entirely. The Girondists, under the leadership of Hamilton R. Gamble, had disappeared, and the Jacobins, under the leadership of Charles D. Drake, were in possession of the State. The Drake constitution had been enacted—the most drastic, the most cruel, the most outrageous enactment ever known in a civilized country. No man could practice law, teach school, preach the gospel, act as trustee, hold any office of honor, trust, or profit, or vote at any election, unless he swore he had never sympathized with the cause of the Confederacy or any person fighting for it. The father who had given a drink of water or a crust of bread to his son who belonged to the Confederate forces was ostracised and put under the ban of the law.

The intelligence, virtue, and property of the State were driven away from the polls, and ignorance, crime, and vice took complete control. Old obsolete railroad charters, passed years before, giving county courts the right to subscribe for the construction of railroads without a vote of the people, were revived. Millions of dollars of fraudulent bonds were issued by bought county courts. Nearly \$20,000,000 of these bonds were hurried out of the State, sold to pretended bona fide buyers, and, under the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, they became commercial paper negotiated before maturity for a valuable consideration to innocent purchasers.

Blair came back and went to the polls, dressed in his major-

general's uniform, and demanded the right to vote without taking the oath. It was denied, and he immediately commenced suit against the election officials. Pending that suit, a Catholic priest named Cummings, who had instituted a similar proceeding, had his case adjudicated by the Supreme Court, and it was decided that the Drake constitution violated that of the United States and was a bill of attainder and ex post facto law. General Blair, not satisfied, attacked the Drake party throughout the Commonwealth, and canvassed it from one end to the other, denouncing the men who were perpetrating these iniquities upon the people of the State. He was nominated in 1868 upon the ticket with Seymour for the Vice-Presidency, but defeated. He was then elected to the Missouri legislature, and before he had fairly taken his seat Drake was made by Grant chief justice of the Court of Claims, and Blair was elected to fill out his unexpired term. At the end of that term his health was completely shattered, and he was defeated for reelection simply upon the ground that he was physically unable to discharge his Senatorial duties.

He had more personal friends than any public man who ever lived in Missouri. He had bitter enemies, like all men of positive convictions will always have, but even his enemies never doubted Frank Blair's sincerity, and always respected him because he was open, fair, fearless, honest, and true to his convictions.

Mr. President, these men sleep together in Missouri soil almost side by side, and so long as this Capitol shall stand or this nation exist their statues will be eloquent although silent pledges of Missouri's eternal allegiance to an eternal Union.

THOMAS HART BENTON.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President, it is exceedingly appropriate that the State of Missouri should provide and furnish the marble statues of Thomas Hart Benton and Francis Preston Blair as the two deceased persons who have been citizens thereof and illustrious for historic renown and for distinguished civic services.

Benton was Missouri's great Senator and benefactor, and upon his death Blair became his successor in accomplishing many measures dear to him.

Parentage and environments in youth to manhood have great influence in developing the elements of character.

Benton was born near Hillsboro, in Orange County, N. C., on March 14, 1782.

His father was Col. Jesse Benton, a lawyer of high standing and distinction, who was the private secretary of Governor Tryon, the last royal governor of North Carolina. His mother was Ann Gooch, of Hanover County, Va.

He was a cousin of the wife of Henry Clay, born Lucretia Hart, and was often, by an easy mistake, quoted as a relative of Mr. Clay. Benton in his autobiography says:

"He lost his father before he was 8 years of age and fell under the care of a mother still young and charged with a numerous family, all of tender age, and devoted herself to them.

"She was a woman of reading and observation—solid reading and observation of the men of the revolution brought together by course of hospitality of that time, in which the houses of friends and not taverns were the universal stopping places.

"Thomas was the oldest son, and at the age of ten and twelve was reading solid books with his mother and studying the great examples of history and receiving encouragement to emulate these examples.

"His father's library, among others, contained the famous State trials in the large folios of that time, and here he got a foundation of British history in reading the treason and other trials with which these volumes abound. She was also a pious and religious woman, cultivating the moral and religious education of her children and connected all her life with the Christian Church, first as a member of the English Episcopalian, and when removal to the great west—then in the wilderness—had broken that connection, then in the Methodist Episcopalian, in which she died. All the minor virtues, as well as the greater, were cherished by her, and her house, the resort of the eminent men of the time, was the abode of temperance, modesty, and decorum. "A pack of cards was never seen in her house.

"From such a mother all the children received the impress of future character, and she lived to see the fruits of her pious and liberal cares—living a widow above fifty years—and to see her eldest son half through his Senatorial career and taking his place among the historic men of the country, for which she had begun so early to train him. These details deserve to be noted, though small in themselves, as showing how much the after life of the man may depend upon the early cares and guidance of a mother."

He was richly endowed by inheritance from father and mother with a robust, healthful body, capable of the greatest possible labors and endurance, and a strong, active, grasping, and retentive mind, capable of long, continuous, laborious work and of holding and storing away information and facts, knowledge for use as occasion offered.

His scholastic education was limited. He attended a grammar school, and was then a student at Chapel Hill, the University of

North Carolina, but did not finish his course of study, his mother removing to Tennessee, where his father had acquired 40,000 acres of land.

The family settled upon a choice 3,000-acre tract in West Harpeth, 25 miles south of Nashville, the care and management of which fell upon him. It was the outside settlement between civilization and the great southern Indian tribes, which spread to the Gulf of Mexico, and their great trail led through it. Lands were leased to settlers, and a colony was soon formed. A log schoolhouse, meetinghouse, and mills were erected.

While his scholastic education had ceased, his studies had not. "History and geography was what he considered his light reading; national law, the civil law, the common law, and finally the law itself as usually read by students constituted his studies. And all this reading and study was carried on during the active personal exertions which he gave to the opening of the farm and to the ameliorations upon it which comfort exacted."

He was licensed to practice law by the three superior court judges, began the practice, and was successful. He was prominent politically, was the friend of General Jackson, and was soon elected to the general assembly of the State and there began his career as a true reformer, and was the author of the judicial-reform act, substituting the circuit for the superior court system, and of a humane law giving to slaves the same right to trial by jury as the white man had under the same accusation.

Resuming his practice, war was declared by Congress on June 18, 1812, to "exist between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the dependencies thereof, and the United States of America and their Territories."

Volunteers were called for to descend the rivers to New Orleans to meet the British. Three Tennessee regiments were quickly formed, and "Thomas H. Benton was appointed colonel of the Second Regiment Tennessee Volunteers, December 10, 1812, and served as of that grade until April 20, 1813."

On the first indications of the war he had been appointed aide-camp to General Jackson, commanding the Tennessee militia, and was active and energetic in organizing the regiments.

The volunteers descended to the Lower Mississippi; the British did not then come, and they returned to Tennessee and were temporarily disbanded.

Colonel Benton came to Washington and was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Thirty-ninth Regiment United States Infantry, to rank from June 18, 1813, and proceeded to Canada for service.

The treaty of peace was signed at Ghent on the 24th day of December, 1814, was ratified and confirmed by the Senate on the 17th day of February, 1815, and was proclaimed by President Madison on the 18th day of February, 1815. Under the act of March 3, 1815, for the reduction of the Army to a peace basis, Benton was discharged as lieutenant-colonel on the 15th day of June, 1815, with three months' extra pay.

He at once made St. Louis his home and recommenced his profession with success, mingling actively in discussing political and public questions and advocating the admission of the Territory of Missouri as a State in the Union. Congress, by act of March 6, 1820, authorized the inhabitants of that portion of the Missouri Territory therein described "to form for themselves a constitution and State government, and to assume such name as they shall deem proper," for admission into the Union upon an equal footing with the original States, fixed the first Monday of May, 1820, and the two next succeeding days for the election of representatives to form a convention, and the second Monday of June, 1820, for the meeting of the convention, and by section 8 prohibited slavery in all that territory ceded by France north of 36° 30' north latitude, which was called the "Missouri Compromise" and adopted after a prolonged and bitter controversy.

The representatives to the convention were elected on the first Monday of May and the two succeeding days, being the first, second, and third days, and met at St. Louis, Mo., on the second Monday in June, being the 12th day of June, 1820, and completed their labors on July 19, 1820, and passed an ordinance declaring the assent of Missouri to the five conditions and provisions of the enabling act of March 6, 1820, contained in the sixth section of said act, and transmitted to Congress a true and attested copy of such constitution.

The constitution so adopted on July 19, 1820, required the president of the convention to issue writs of election to the sheriffs directing elections to be held on the fourth Monday—the 28th day—of August, 1820, for the election of a governor, lieutenant-governor, Representative in Congress, State senators and representatives, and county officers.

It required the general assembly to meet in St. Louis on the third Monday—the 18th day—of September, 1820, and on the first Monday in November, 1821, and on the first Monday of November, 1822, and thereafter every two years.

Section 26 of the constitution, referring to the general assembly, declared:

It shall be their duty as soon as may be to pass such laws as may be neces-

sary to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming to and settling in this State under any pretext whatever.

The election for State and other officers was held on August 28, 1820, and the first general assembly met in St. Louis on September 18, 1820, and the governor and lieutenant-governor elected were duly inaugurated and entered upon their duties, and the senate and house of representatives were duly organized and proceeded with their business and on October 2, 1820, elected David Barton and Thomas Hart Benton Senators from that State, Benton being elected by 1 majority. The whole machinery of State and county governments was completed and put in operation before the State was admitted into the Union.

On November 14, 1820, the day after Congress convened, the President of the United States sent to the Senate a copy of the Constitution so adopted.

On motion of Senator Smith, it was ordered that "a committee be appointed to inquire whether any, and, if any, what legislative measures may be necessary for admitting the State of Missouri into the Union," and a committee of three was appointed, and the copy of the Constitution was referred to the committee and ordered printed. On November 16, 1820, in the House of Representatives, Mr. Scott, who was the Delegate in Congress from the Territory of Missouri, elected to the Sixteenth Congress and had been elected the Representative to the Seventeenth Congress, beginning March 4, 1821, presented a manuscript attested copy of the Constitution to the House, and it was referred to a select committee of three.

A long and heated controversy arose in the House and in the Senate over the clause in the Constitution which I have quoted.

Many measures were proposed and discussed from time to time.

Finally, on the 22d day of February, 1821, Mr. Clay moved the adoption by the House of a resolution, as follows:

*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed on the part of this House, jointly with such committee as may be appointed on the part of the Senate, to consider and report to the Senate and House, respectively, whether it be expedient or not to make provision for the admission of Missouri into the Union on the same footing as the original States, and for the due execution of the laws of the United States within Missouri; and, if not, whether any other, and what provision adapted to her actual condition ought to be made by law.

This resolution was passed by the House on the same day by yeas 101 and nays 55.

Mr. Clay moved that the committee consist of 23 members, to be elected by ballot, which was agreed to.

On February 23 a ballot was had, and 17 members were elected on the first ballot. Mr. Clay then moved the rescinding of the order as to the selection of the remaining 6 members, which was agreed to, and the 6 remaining members were appointed by the Speaker.

On February 24 the resolution of the House was reported to the Senate, taken up, and passed by yeas 29, nays 7, and a committee of 7 appointed on the part of the Senate.

On February 26 Mr. Clay, from the joint committee, reported to the House a joint resolution, which was read the first and second times and laid on the table; and afterwards, on same day, considered and passed by yeas 109 and nays 50.

On February 27 the resolution was reported to the Senate and read twice by unanimous consent, and was ordered read a third time by yeas 26, nays 15.

On February 28 the resolution was read the third time in the Senate, and passed by yeas 28, nays 14, and was approved by the President March 2, 1821, and is as follows:

Resolution providing for the admission of the State of Missouri into the Union on a certain condition.

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That Missouri shall be admitted into this Union on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatever upon the fundamental condition that the fourth clause of the twenty-sixth section of the third article of the Constitution, submitted on the part of said State to Congress, shall never be construed to authorize the passage of any law, and that no law shall be passed in conformity thereto, by which any citizen of either of the States in this Union shall be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and immunities to which such citizen is entitled under the Constitution of the United States: *Provided*, That the legislature of the said State, by a solemn public act, shall declare the assent of the said State to the said fundamental condition, and shall transmit to the President of the United States on or before the fourth Monday in November next an authentic copy of the said act; upon the receipt whereof the President, by proclamation, shall announce the fact; whereupon, and without any further proceeding on the part of Congress, the admission of the said State into this Union shall be considered as complete.

The governor of Missouri called the general assembly in special session on June 4, 1821, which passed "A solemn public act, declaring the assent of this State to the fundamental condition contained in a resolution passed by the Congress of the United States providing for the admission of the State of Missouri into the Union on a certain condition," which was approved June 26, 1821, and transmitted to the President.

On August 10, 1821, President Monroe issued his proclamation announcing the fact, and Missouri was on that day a State in the Union.

The Seventeenth Congress, March 4, 1821, to March 3, 1823, began its first session on December 3, 1821.

The credentials of Barton and Benton were dated October 9, 1820, certified their election on October 2, and were for the first

time presented to the Senate—Barton's on December 3, 1821, and Benton's on December 6, 1821—were read, and the oath administered to each on said days, respectively, when each took his seat.

On December 6, 1821, on motion of Senator Parrott, the Senate proceeded to ascertain the classes in which the Senators from Missouri should be inserted. Barton drew No. 2, and was assigned to class 3, expiring March 3, 1825; and Benton drew No. 3, and was assigned to class 1, expiring March 3, 1827.

While they were elected October 2, 1820, before the State was admitted into the Union, on August 10, 1821, and their credentials never presented to the Senate till December 3 and 6, 1821, and no oath previously administered to them, and no record in the Journals of the Senate of their names or presence, the records of the Secretary of the Senate, dated March 3, 1821, and signed by John Gaillard, President pro tempore, show that they were certified to have attended, Barton from November 14, 1820, and Benton from November 18, 1820, each to March 3, 1821, and were paid their regular per diem salary and mileage just as other Senators were. Colonel Benton was successively reelected for four more terms, and served continuously to March 3, 1851, through the Seventeenth to the Thirty-first Congress, both inclusive, 15 Congresses.

The sixteenth general assembly of Missouri met December 30, 1850, and sat in joint convention to choose a United States Senator on January 10, 1851, and from day to day till the 22d, when, after a protracted and fierce contest, on the fortieth ballot, Henry S. Geyer, a distinguished lawyer and Whig, was elected by 80 votes to 55 for Benton, 18 for B. F. Stringfellow, and 4 scattering.

In 1852 he was elected a Representative from St. Louis to the Thirty-third Congress, March 4, 1853, to March 3, 1855, and was defeated for reelection to the Thirty-fourth Congress. Mr. Benton served in the Seventeenth Congress on Committees on Engrossed Bills, Public Lands, Indian Affairs, and Military Affairs; in the Eighteenth Congress, on Engrossed Bills, Indian Affairs, and Military Affairs; in the Nineteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-first, and Twenty-second Congresses, on Indian Affairs and Military Affairs; in the Twenty-third, Twenty-fourth, Twenty-fifth, and Twenty-sixth Congresses, on Military Affairs only; in the Twenty-seventh and Twenty-eighth Congresses, on Military Affairs and Indian Affairs; in the Twenty-ninth Congress, on Military Affairs and Finance; in the Thirtieth Congress, on Military Affairs and Foreign Relations, and in the Thirty-first Congress, on Foreign Relations only; served twenty-eight years on Military Affairs and sixteen years on Indian Affairs.

In the Thirty-third Congress, in the House, 1853-1855, Mr. Benton was appointed on the Committee on Military Affairs.

According to the records, Senator Benton did not introduce many bills. In fact, during his term comparatively few bills were presented.

In the Twentieth Congress, 1827-1829, there were presented in the Senate 175 bills of a public nature, 73 private bills, and 3 joint resolutions; and in the House, 256 public bills, 206 private bills, and 26 joint resolutions; 126 public acts, 100 private acts, and 9 joint resolutions were passed.

In the Thirtieth Congress, 1847-1849, there were presented in the Senate 275 public, 227 private, 71 joint resolutions, and 9 private-pension bills; and in the House, 449 public, 382 private, 65 joint resolutions, and 4 private-pension bills.

In the Forty-fifth Congress, 1877-1879, there were presented in the Senate 995 public, 870 private, 72 joint resolutions, and 195 private-pension bills; and in the House, 2,710 public, 3,899 private, 250 joint resolutions, and 1,319 private-pension bills; 254 public, 443 private, and 211 private-pension acts were passed.

In the Fifty-fifth Congress, 1897-1899, there were presented in the Senate 1,597 public, 3,997 private, 261 joint resolutions, and 1,876 private-pension bills; and in the House, 2,563 public, 9,660 private, 385 joint resolutions, and 3,768 private-pension bills; 449 public, 884 private, and 684 private-pension acts were passed.

From 1820 to 1850 Senators had much more time to devote to the investigation and discussion of pending measures, and much less committee work, than in recent years. During his entire term Senator Benton was punctual in attending the sessions of the Senate, took an active and conspicuous part in its proceedings. In his discussions of pending questions, his thorough investigation, familiarity with the facts, and clear conception of the influences and the effects present and future, were made manifest. He exhausted the information and facts touching the subjects he discussed.

When he entered the Senate salt was subject to a tariff tax of 20 cents per bushel of 56 pounds, and the public lands, by the act of April 24, 1820, had been reduced to \$1.25 per acre, cash.

The question of the occupation and settlement of the Oregon Territory on the Columbia River was pending and received his earnest support. He urged the planting of an American colony at the mouth of that river, claiming, with great foresight, that it would result in the accomplishment of Mr. Jefferson's idea of a commercial communication with Asia through the heart of our continent, and that his efforts in that behalf were "nothing but

the fruits of the seed planted in his mind by the philosophic hand of Mr. Jefferson, that man of large and useful ideas, that statesman who could conceive measures useful to all mankind and in all time to come."

He opposed the Oregon Joint Occupation Convention with England, almost alone, but eighteen years later had the pleasure and honor of almost unanimous support.

He opposed, by many speeches at different times, the tariff tax on imported salt, neither discouraged nor dismayed, and finally succeeded in having it placed on the free list in the tariff law of July 30, 1846.

He opposed the Government leasing the mineral and saline lands, and succeeded in having those in Missouri made subject to entry, as other lands.

He strongly opposed the Panama mission, proposed by President Adams, and the confirmation of the nominees. On motion of Mr. Van Buren the Senate "Resolved to debate the question with open doors, unless, in the opinion of the President, the publication of documents necessary to be referred to in debate should be prejudicial to existing negotiations."

A copy of the resolution was sent to the President for his opinion on that point. He declined to give it, and left it to the Senate to decide for itself "the question of an unexampled departure from its own usages and upon the motives of which, not being himself informed, he did not feel himself competent to decide."

A heated and intemperate discussion followed, which quickly cooled off and died out completely.

Senator Benton maintained with his characteristic firmness the old policy of the United States to avoid entangling alliances and interference with the affairs of other nations, so strongly impressed upon the country by Washington, Jefferson, and others.

When President Jackson, in his first annual message in 1829, raised the question of the constitutionality and expediency of the law creating the Bank of the United States, whose charter would expire in 1836, Mr. Benton began an unrelenting opposition to its recharter and continued it till success was achieved after a prolonged discussion resulting in much bitterness of feeling and in other questions equally exasperating, including the resolution of censure of President Jackson and the removal of the deposits from the bank.

The resolution of the Senate condemning President Jackson for removing the deposits of the Treasury from the bank was presented December 26, 1833, was changed twice, and finally read, "Resolved, That the President, in the late executive proceedings in relation to the public revenue, has assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the Constitution and laws, but in derogation of both," and was passed March 28, 1834, by yeas 26, nays 20.

On April 15, 1834, President Jackson sent to the Senate his protest against the resolution, which was read in the Senate, and the Senate refused to allow it to be entered upon the records of its Journal.

When the protest was read, Senator Benton gave notice of his intention to move an expunging resolution against the sentence of the Senate.

On April 21, 1834, the President sent to the Senate a message explanatory of the proper meaning of his protest.

Mr. Benton, in execution of his unswerving determination, presented his expunging resolution time after time, and argued it in three or more set speeches, and finally, on March 16, 1837, secured its passage by yeas 24 and nays 19—5 absent. He opposed the passage of the law of June 23, 1836, "An act to regulate deposits of the public money," distributing the surplus money in the Treasury to the States.

He favored the law establishing branches of the mint at New Orleans, La., Dahlonega, Ga., and Charlotte, N. C., and the coinage law of January 18, 1837, fixing the standard for both gold and silver coins at nine-tenths fine and one-tenth alloy, which was supplementary to the "Act of April 2, 1792, establishing a mint and regulating the coins of the United States," our first coinage law, and gave to both gold and silver free and unlimited coinage into full legal-tender money, independently of all nations, at the ratio of 15.988 of gold to 1 of silver, practically 16 to 1, thus reducing the quantity of gold in the dollar and leaving the quantity of 412½ grains of silver to the dollar unchanged. He and his colleague, Senator Linn, distinguished and able, secured the passage of the act of June 7, 1836, "An act to extend the western boundary of the State of Missouri to the Missouri River," on the extinguishment of the Indian title and the consent of Missouri. And that magnificent country, comprising six rich and populous counties in northwestern Missouri, became a part of Missouri by the President's proclamation of March 28, 1837. He opposed the bill to repeal or rescind the Treasury circular known as the "specie circular," issued under President Jackson, requiring gold and silver coins in payment for public lands, which was passed and vetoed.

He favored the establishment of the independent treasuries for the deposit of public funds and the divorcement of the Government from the banks. He opposed the law of September 4, 1841, for the distribution of the proceeds of the sales of public land, and the bills to charter a national bank vetoed by President Tyler, and the assumption by the United States of the debts of the States. He opposed the Texas annexation treaty and favored the recognition of the independence of Texas and the taxation of bank-note circulation.

True and faithful to the policy of settling Oregon Territory with Americans, he favored the Oregon land-donation act of September 27, 1850, and was an earnest advocate of a railroad to the Pacific Ocean.

On February 7, 1849, Senator Benton asked leave to introduce "A bill to provide for the location and construction of a central national road from the Pacific Ocean to the Mississippi River, with a branch of said road to the Columbia River," and in explanation said:

When we acquired Louisiana Mr. Jefferson revived this idea of establishing an inland communication between the two sides of the continent, and for that purpose the well-known expedition of Lewis and Clarke was sent out by him. \* \* \* About thirty years ago I began to turn my attention to this subject. \* \* \* I followed the idea of Mr. Jefferson, La Salle, and others, and attempted to revive attention to their plans. \* \* \* I then expressed the confident belief that this route would certainly be established immediately with the aid of the American Government, and eventually, even without that aid, by the progress of events and the force of circumstances. \* \* \*

I go for a national highway from the Mississippi to the Pacific, and I go against all schemes of individuals or of companies, and especially those who come here and ask of the Congress of the United States to give themselves and their assigns the means of making a road and taxing the people for the use of it. \* \* \* I propose to reserve ground for all sorts of roads, railway, plank, macadamized. More than that, room for a track by magnetic power, according to the idea stated, I believe, by Professor Henry, and, to me, plausibly pursued by Professor Page, of the Patent Office, if that idea ripens into practicability, and who can undertake to say that any idea will not become practicable in the present age? \* \* \*

An American road to India through the heart of our country will revive upon its line all the wonders of which we have read and eclipse them. The western wilderness from the Pacific to the Mississippi will start into life under its touch. A long line of cities will grow up. Existing cities will take a new start. The state of the world calls for a new road to India, and it is our destiny to give it, the last and greatest. Let us act up to the greatness of the occasion and show ourselves worthy of the extraordinary circumstances in which we are placed by securing, while we can, an American road to India—central and national—for ourselves and our posterity, now and hereafter, for thousands of years to come.

He advocated the right of preemption to settlers upon the public lands, to induce their occupation by individuals, and the graduation of the minimum price of \$1.25 per acre to \$1 for all lands in the market undisposed of for ten years, 75 cents per acre for all in market fifteen years, and so on down to 12½ cents per acre.

The graduation act was passed August 4, 1854, while he was a member of the House, and the homestead law was passed May 20, 1862.

During his illustrious career his most prominent characteristics were his devotion to the Union of the States and his burning antipathy to nullification, secession, and any and every other measure that might endanger the Union, and to the recharter of the United States Bank and to the charter of a national bank under President Tyler. He favored the maintenance of the "Missouri Compromise" of 1820, and aggressively opposed its repeal, holding that all measures in that direction were "fire-brands," calculated to increase and embitter sectional prejudices, which might lead to disunion.

The friend and defender of President Jackson, he fully sustained him in his firm and unwavering course in regard to the "Nullification ordinance" passed by the State convention of South Carolina on November 24, 1832. Against this nullification ordinance President Jackson issued his celebrated and patriotic proclamation of December 10, 1832, and his message to Congress of January 16, 1833, both of which found in Mr. Benton an ardent and able supporter.

During the discussion of these and Mr. Calhoun's nullification resolution Mr. Benton formed the conclusion that Mr. Calhoun's ulterior object was the dissolution of the Union, and was ever thereafter on the alert for any movement in that direction and ready to combat it.

On January 15, 1849, State Senator C. F. Jackson reported to the senate of the general assembly of Missouri "resolutions on the subject of slavery," known as the "Jackson resolutions," denying any right "on the part of Congress to legislate on the subject so as to affect the institution of slavery in the States, in the District of Columbia, or in the Territories," and asserting "the right to prohibit slavery in any Territory belongs exclusively to the people thereof and can only be exercised by them in forming their constitution for a State government or in their sovereign capacity as an independent State," and "that in the event of the passage of any act of Congress conflicting with the principles herein expressed, Missouri will be found in hearty cooperation with the slaveholding States in such measures as may be found necessary for our mutual protection against the encroachments of Northern fanaticism," and "that our Senators in Congress be

instructed, and our Representatives be requested, to act in conformity to the foregoing resolutions."

They were passed by the Senate January 26, 1849—yeas 23, nays 6—and by the House March 6—yeas 53, nays 27—after warm and protracted debate in each body.

Senator Benton's fifth term was to expire on March 3, 1851, and he was a candidate for reelection.

The resolutions were in direct conflict with the opinions of Colonel Benton, oftentimes expressed during his service, and were advocated by many of those who were well-known opponents of Benton, and then called anti-Benton Democrats. A resolution was then passed requiring a copy of the resolutions to be transmitted to the executive of each State and to each of the Senators and Representatives from Missouri, and was approved March 10, 1849.

They were presented to the Senate of the United States by Senator Atchison, of Missouri, on January 3, 1850, and read by the Secretary and ordered printed.

When read, Senator Benton addressed the Senate, strongly opposing the principles and policies therein expressed. He said:

This is the proper time for me to say what I believe to be the fact, that these resolutions do not express the sentiments of the people of Missouri. They are a law-abiding and a Union-loving people, and have no idea of entering into combinations to resist or to intimidate the legislation of Congress. The general assembly has mistaken the sentiment of the State in adopting these resolutions, and many members who voted for them, and the governor who signed them, have since disavowed and repudiated them.

Senator Atchison said:

I have but one word to say, and that is merely to express an opinion that the people of the State of Missouri, when the time arrives, will prove to all mankind that every sentiment contained in these resolutions, from first to last, will be sustained by them.

I quote from the History of Missouri, by Col. William F. Switzler, one of the oldest and most prominent newspaper editors of the State, then actively in politics and a Whig, who, in writing of the excitement over the passage of the resolutions, says:

The popular ferment was much increased by the subsequent course of Colonel Benton. He opposed the resolutions, appealed from the legislature to the people, and on the 26th of May, 1849, in the hall of the house at Jefferson City, opened a canvass against them which set the State ablaze. He maintained that the spirit of nullification and disunion, of insubordination to law, and of treason lurked in the Jackson resolutions, especially in the fifth; that they were a mere copy of the Calhoun resolutions offered in the United States Senate February 19, 1847, and denounced by him at the time as fire-brands and intended for disunion and electioneering purposes.

He could see no difference between them but in the time contemplated for dissolving the Union, Mr. Calhoun's tending "directly" and the Jackson Missouri resolutions "ultimately" to that point. He maintained they were in conflict with the Missouri Compromise of 1820 and with the resolutions passed by the Missouri legislature February 15, 1847, wherein it was declared that "the peace, permanency, and welfare of our National Union depend upon a strict adherence to the letter and spirit" of that compromise, also instructing our Senators and Representatives in Congress on all questions which may come before them in relation to the organization of new Territories or States to vote in accordance with its provisions. He denounced them as entertaining the covert purpose of ultimately dissolving the National Union and misleading the people of Missouri into cooperation with the slaveholding States for that purpose.

During his extensive canvass of the State in 1849 he delivered many able and exhaustive speeches, often interspersed with bitter denunciations and withering sarcasm, being master of both.

The result was a division of the Democratic party, which for thirty years had loyally supported him, into two parties, usually called Benton and anti-Benton Democrats, and his defeat for reelection.

After his service in the House of Representatives, March 4, 1853, to March 3, 1855, and his defeat for reelection in 1854, he was the candidate of his wing of the Democratic party for governor in 1856, and was defeated by Trusten Polk, of the anti-Benton wing. This was his last political campaign.

He was a close, laborious, and constant student from boyhood to his death and acquired and possessed a greater fund of information and knowledge, general and historical, than any statesman of our country, from which he drew largely in his discussions of all questions.

Apace with his increasing years he grew in knowledge and foresight and in his uncompromising devotion to what he honestly believed to be the very best interests of our common country and the toiling millions of our people, and was the friend of the people. Believing he was right, he never stopped to count the strength of the opposition, but moved to the attack with unyielding determination and renewed force. General Blair was selected to deliver the address at the unveiling of the Benton statue in St. Louis, and said of Mr. Benton:

He not only admired and believed in our form of government, but he was of that Democratic school which insisted on restraining the Government in the exercise of its powers to a strict and literal interpretation of the Constitution, not only because they believed the framers of the Government were wise and sagacious men and knew how to employ language to describe the powers which they sought to confer on the Government, but they were upon principle opposed to a strong government, and sought in every way to limit its powers and to make each of the different branches a check upon the others. They were profoundly convinced that "the world was governed too much," and that the best government was that which least intermeddled with the affairs of the citizens. There never lived a man with more instinctive patriotism than Benton. He was a man of strong, sometimes of unruly, passions, but his paramount passion was love of country.

He devoted to his country the best and ablest efforts of his life.

His untiring industry and close application enabled him to complete the two volumes of *Thirty Years in the United States Senate*, styled by him "the thirty years' view," and sixteen volumes of the *Abridgement of the Debates in Congress, from 1789 to 1856*, both of which are invaluable publications and will be read and referred to by students and statesmen in coming ages. He was strictly temperate in all his habits—a splendid exemplar for the young men of our country.

In his autobiographical sketch in "the thirty years' view" referring to his entrance in the Senate, he writes:

From that time his life was in the public eye and the bare enumeration of the measures of which he was the author and the prime mover would be almost a history of Congress legislation. The enumeration is unnecessary here, the long list is known throughout the length and breadth of the land—repeated with the familiarity of household words from the great cities on the seaboard to the lonely cabins on the frontier—and studied by the little boys, who feel an honorable ambition, beginning to stir within their bosoms, and a laudable desire to learn something of the history of their country.

These expressions of self-adulation may be overlooked in a statesman of his unblemished character for integrity, his acknowledged abilities and attainments, and his useful, patriotic, and illustrious career; while in men of smaller caliber they would become ridiculous and justly offensive.

Great as he was, strong-willed and ambitious, he could not in his younger days divest himself of the influence of his environments and restrain his anger. He was imbued with a fearlessness and courage, physical and moral, never questioned, and became involved in personal difficulties about which I quote from his autobiography:

While in the early part of life at Nashville and at St. Louis duels and affrays were common, and the young Benton had his share of them. A very violent affray between himself and brother on one side and General Jackson and some friends on the other, in which severe pistol and dagger wounds were given, but fortunately without loss of life; and the only use for which that violent collision now finds a reference is in its total oblivion by the parties and the cordiality with which they acted together for the public good in their subsequent long and intimate career. A duel at St. Louis ended fatally, of which Colonel Benton has not been heard to speak except among intimate friends and to tell of the pang which went through his heart when he saw the young man fall, and would have given the world to see him restored to life. As the proof of the manner in which he looks upon all these scenes and his desire to bury all remembrance of them forever he has had all the papers burned which relate to them, that no future curiosity or industry should bring to light what he wishes had never happened.

Colonel Benton was married, after becoming Senator, to Elizabeth, daughter of Col. James McDowell, of Rockbridge County, Va., and of Sarah, his wife, born Sarah Preston.

Of his wife he says:

She was a woman of singular merit, judgment, elevation of character, and regard for every social duty, crowned by a life-long connection with the church in which she was bred—the Presbyterian Old School. Mrs. Benton died in 1854, having been struck with paralysis in 1844, and from that time her husband was never known to go to any place of festivity or amusement.

Of his devotion to his wife I quote from General Blair's address:

I trust that I may not be thought to tread on ground too holy in alluding to the gentle care, the touching solicitude, with which he guarded the last feeble pulses of life in her who was the pride and glory of his young ambition, the sweet ornament of his nature, fame, and best love of his ripened age.

Full of years, full of honors, this illustrious statesman, on April 10, 1858, in this city, passed away from the earthly scenes of his combats and triumphs to life immortal, mourned by a nation.

FRANCIS PRESTON BLAIR.

Mr. President, it is eminently proper that the statue of Blair should stand by the side of Benton's. Blair was his most trusted friend and delivered the address on the occasion of the unveiling of the statue erected to his memory in St. Louis.

Francis Preston Blair was born in Lexington, Ky., on the 19th day of February, 1821, and bore his father's honored name.

When he was 9 years old his father removed from Lexington, Ky., to this city to assume editorial control of the *Globe* newspaper, the organ of President Jackson's Administration. He attended Chapel Hill College, North Carolina, and afterwards graduated from Princeton College, studied law in this city, and then returned to Kentucky and continued his studies in the office of Louis Marshall. His health failing, he visited his brother, Montgomery Blair, in St. Louis—afterwards Postmaster-General under President Lincoln—and then returned to Kentucky and graduated from Transylvania University law school. He then opened a law office in St. Louis and there ever after made his home.

His health again failing, he made a trip to the Rocky Mountains, and in 1845 accompanied Bent and St. Vrain to their post in New Mexico, now Colorado, and was there when the war with Mexico began and took an active part in the military operations under Gen. Stephen W. Kearny.

On August 22, 1846, General Kearny issued his remarkable proclamation, after having taken possession of the capital—Santa Fe—of the Department of New Mexico on August 18.

On September 22, 1846, he published an "Organic law for the

Territory of New Mexico, compiled under the direction of General Kearny," and on the same day wrote to the Adjutant-General, saying:

I take great pleasure in stating that I am entirely indebted for these laws to Col. A. W. Doniphan, of the First Regiment of Missouri Mounted Volunteers, who received much assistance from Private Willard P. Hall, of his regiment.

On the same day he appointed a governor and other officers, among them "Francis P. Blair, to be United States district attorney."

If he ever accepted the appointment, he only held it for a few days, as Hugh N. Smith was appointed to that position on October 1, 1846, and claims to have acted for two years and four months, although the offices of United States district attorney and marshal "were considered as abolished by instructions from the War Department bearing date January 11, 1847."

In 1847 he returned and resumed the practice of his profession and married Miss Apolline Alexander, of Woodford County, Ky., on September 8, 1847.

In 1852 he was elected a representative from St. Louis in the Seventeenth general assembly of Missouri, and was reelected in 1854, and was again elected in 1870.

In 1856 he was elected a Representative in Congress as a Republican, and was in 1858 a candidate for reelection and was defeated by J. R. Barrett, Democrat, and contested Mr. Barrett's election and was given the seat June 8, 1860, by yeas 93, nays 91, and served until that session of the Thirty-sixth Congress adjourned, June 25, 1860. Feeling himself vindicated, he resigned his seat for the remainder of the term—the last session of the Thirty-sixth Congress.

In the summer of 1860, in the election for the remainder of the term in the Thirty-sixth Congress and for the full term in the Thirty-seventh Congress, he was defeated by Mr. Barrett for the short term and elected by a large majority over Mr. Barrett for the term in the Thirty-seventh Congress, and was reelected to the Thirty-eighth Congress, March 4, 1863, to March 3, 1865. His election was contested by Mr. Samuel Knox, who was on June 10, 1864, declared entitled to the seat by yeas 70, nays 53, and was sworn in and seated June 15. This contest was pending in the House from the beginning of the session.

When the session began Blair was a major-general of volunteers in the field, commanding a corps, and about the last days of October, 1863, his brother, Hon. Montgomery Blair, consulted President Lincoln as to his wishes whether General Blair should take his seat in Congress or remain in the field.

On November 2, 1863, President Lincoln wrote Hon. Montgomery Blair:

My wish, then, is compounded of what I believe will be best for the country and best for him, and it is that he will come here, put his military commission in my hands, take his seat, go into caucus with our friends, abide the nominations, help elect the nominees, and thus aid to organize a House of Representatives which will really support the Government in the war. If the result shall be the election of himself as Speaker, let him serve in that position; if not, let him retake his commission and return to the Army. \* \* \* He is rising in military skill and usefulness. His recent appointment to the command of a corps by one so competent to judge as General Sherman proves this. In that line he can serve both the country and himself more profitably than he could as a member of Congress upon the floor. The foregoing is what I would say if Frank Blair were my brother instead of yours.

General Blair, on January 1, 1864, tendered his resignation as a major-general, United States Volunteers, which was accepted January 12, 1864.

On March 15, 1864, President Lincoln suggested to Lieutenant-General Grant the assignment of General Blair to the command of a corps. On March 30 General Grant telegraphed General Sherman: "Gen. F. P. Blair will be assigned to the Seventeenth Corps, and not the Fifteenth." On April 9, General Grant telegraphed General Halleck, chief of staff, to ascertain if General Blair was to be sent to General Sherman.

On April 20 General Blair wrote to President Lincoln requesting assignment to the command of the Seventeenth Corps, and on the 21st the President referred the same to "Honorable Secretary of War: Please have General Halleck make the proper order in this case."

On April 23 General Blair wrote the Secretary of War:

I respectfully request to withdraw my resignation as major-general of the United States Volunteers, tendered on the 12th day of January, 1864.

And President Lincoln wrote the Secretary of War April 23:

According to our understanding with Maj. Gen. Frank P. Blair at the time he took his seat in Congress last winter, he now asks to withdraw his resignation as major-general, then tendered, and be sent to the field. Let this be done. Let the order sending him be such as shown me to-day by the Adjutant-General, only dropping from it the names of Maguire and Tompkins.

The order assigning him to the Seventeenth Army Corps was made that day.

The records of the War Department "show that Frank P. Blair was mustered into service to take effect April 26, 1861, as colonel First Missouri Militia, to serve three years. This regiment was reorganized as the First Missouri Infantry Volunteers, and Colonel Blair was mustered into service with the regiment upon its reorganization, June 26, 1861, to take effect June 12, 1861, to serve

three years. After this muster into service as colonel for three years, he repaired to Washington, D. C., and took his seat as a member of Congress from the State of Missouri July 4, 1861, and served as chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, House of Representatives. It does not appear that he thereafter rejoined his regiment, the designation of which was changed September or October, 1861, to the First Regiment Missouri Light Artillery.

"On July 4, 1862, the Secretary of War authorized him to organize a brigade of volunteers, and he was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers August 7, 1862, and accepted the appointment August 21, 1862. He was commissioned major-general of volunteers March 13, 1863, to rank from November 29, 1862, and accepted the commission April 6, 1863, and was honorably discharged the service, to take effect November 1, 1865, in orders dated October 28, 1865, upon tender of his resignation.

"During the period of his service as brigadier-general and major-general of volunteers he was in command of the First Brigade, Fourth Division, Right Wing, Thirteenth Army Corps, of the First Brigade, First Division, Fifteenth Army Corps, of the Seventeenth Army Corps, and of the Department of Missouri, participating in the siege of Vicksburg and of Atlanta and in Sherman's march to the sea. A leave of absence was granted him September 15, 1864, and during the remainder of September and the month of October, 1864, he was engaged in organizing the defenses of the city of St. Louis, Mo."

March 14, 1866, he was nominated by President Johnson for collector of internal revenue, First Missouri district, and his nomination referred to committee March 16, 1866, and reported favorably by Senator Fessenden April 10, and rejected May 4, 1866—yeas 8, nays 21.

On March 25, 1867, President Johnson sent his nomination for minister to Austria to the Senate, vice Edgar Cowan, rejected. Senator Sumner on the same day reported the nomination adversely, and it was rejected March 28—yeas 5, nays 35.

He was afterwards appointed a commissioner of the Pacific Railroad, of the construction of which he had always been an able and earnest advocate. At the national Democratic convention at New York, in the summer of 1868, he was nominated for Vice-President of the United States on the ticket with Governor Horatio Seymour for President, and was defeated. Elected to the general assembly of Missouri in 1870, which met in 1871, he was in the same month elected to fill the vacancy in the United States Senate caused by the resignation on December 13, 1870, to take effect on December 19, 1870, of Senator Charles D. Drake, to accept an appointment to the Court of Claims.

He was sworn in and took his seat in the Senate on January 25, 1871, for the unexpired term ending March 3, 1873. He participated actively in behalf of Horace Greeley for President and B. Gratz Brown for Vice-President in the campaign of 1872.

On November 16, 1872, he was stricken down by paralysis, from which he never recovered.

Largely, if not entirely, owing to his stricken condition he was defeated for reelection to the Senate in January, 1873.

There were three distinctively marked periods in the life of General Blair which make him illustrious for historic renown and for distinguished civic services.

The first period extends to the beginning of the civil war, the second to the close of that war, and the third to his death.

He was a Southern man by birth, family connection, and residence; the young friend of President Jackson, during whose Administration he was of the susceptible and formative age, and imbibed largely of his views on national and political questions. He was the friend of, and unfaltering in his devotion to, the principles and policies of Benton, whose mantle fell upon his shoulders—a Democrat of the Jackson, Benton, and Van Buren school.

In 1848, when the "Wilmot proviso" agitated the country, he took a decided stand in favor of the free-soil movement and against the nominees of the Democratic party for President and Vice-President, opposed the extension of slavery, and argued and labored to remove slavery from Missouri.

He warmly espoused the cause of Benton in his appeal from the Jackson resolutions to the people, and in 1852 was elected to the legislature on the Benton ticket. In 1856 he was elected to Congress as a Republican from a slave State.

He fearlessly maintained his opposition to slavery extension and advocacy of removing slavery from Missouri, notwithstanding the censure and obloquy attached to such a course in a slave State, and established a high character for moral courage and great ability.

His greatest prescience and force of character were made manifest when the lowering clouds of civil war portended a dissolution of the Union. Equally with Jackson and Benton, uncompromising in his devotion to the Union and in opposition to nullification or secession, he foresaw plainly that war was inevitable and began preparations in advance of hostilities and organized the "Wide-awakes" in St. Louis, and other forces. He was the soul, the will,

the controlling power of the Union men in Missouri, determined at all hazards and all risks that Missouri should stand by the Union.

Believing that the State administration, under Gov. Claiborne F. Jackson, who had, as a State senator, reported the Jackson resolutions, was aiming to lead Missouri into cooperation with the seceding States, and having the confidence of President Lincoln, he determined to drive the administration from the State, and, as the adviser and coleader with General Lyon, the United States Army officer placed in command through his influence, had United States forces marched into Missouri from St. Louis, as the center, and from Leavenworth, Kans., on the west, and quickly occupied the railroads and the Missouri River. He to a greater extent than any other man held Missouri in allegiance to the Union and caused her to contribute to the Union armies 108,773 soldiers (a greater number than any of the States except New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and Massachusetts), as brave and fearless as those from any State and surpassed by none.

Not only this, but by the heroic movements he inspired, Missouri was prevented from cooperation with the seceding States to the full extent of the sympathy of her people.

During the four long, weary years of that war of the wars of all the ages, when the citizen soldiers met each other in fierce combat, with father against son, brother against brother, neighbor against neighbor, and friend against friend, all true to their honest convictions, Blair never said "go," but always "come."

He displayed remarkable military abilities and skill, and justly rose to the highest rank in the volunteer service, surpassed by none and equaled only by one—Maj. Gen. John A. Logan.

With the close of the war began the third marked epoch in General Blair's illustrious career, during which he displayed a moral courage and heroism equal to if not greater than that displayed at the beginning of the war.

A State convention assembled in Jefferson City September 1, 1863, and passed resolutions requesting Governor Gamble and Lieutenant-Governor Hall to vacate their positions and urging the President to remove General Schofield from the command of the department, and appointed a committee of seventy to present their grievances to the President.

The committee presented their address to the President on September 30, 1863, and four supplementary addresses on October 3. The President replied on October 5. The demands, as epitomized by the President in his reply, were:

First. That General Schofield should be relieved and General Butler be appointed as commander of the military department of Missouri.

Second. That the system of enrolled militia in Missouri should be broken up and national forces substituted for it.

Third. That at elections, persons might not be allowed to vote who were not entitled by law to do so.

The President's reply shows clearly the conditions then and subsequently existing in Missouri. He said:

We are in civil war. In such cases, there always is a main question; but in this case that question is a perplexing compound—Union and slavery. It thus becomes a question not of two sides merely, but of at least four sides, even among those who are for the Union, saying nothing of those who are against it. Thus, those who are for the Union *with* but not *without* slavery, those for it *without* but not *with*, those for it *with* or *without* but prefer it *with*, and those for it *with* or *without* but prefer it *without*. Among these again is a subdivision of those who are for *gradual* but not for *immediate*, and those who are for *immediate* but not for *gradual* extinction of slavery.

It is easy to conceive that all these shades of opinion, and even more, may be sincerely entertained by honest and truthful men. Yet all being for the Union, by reason of these differences each will prefer a different way of sustaining the Union. At once sincerity is questioned and motives assailed. Actual war coming, blood grows hot and blood is spilled. Thought is forced from old channels into confusion. Deception breeds and thrives. Confidence dies, and universal suspicion reigns. Each man feels an impulse to kill his neighbor lest he be killed by him. Revenge and retaliation follow. And all this, as before said, may be among honest men only. But this is not all. Every foul bird comes abroad, and every dirty reptile rises up. These add crime to confusion. Strong measures, deemed indispensable but harsh at best, such men make worse by maladministration. Murders for old grudges and murders for pelf proceed under any cloak that will best cover for the occasion. These causes amply account for what has occurred in Missouri, without ascribing it to the weakness or wickedness of any general.

The President refused the first and second demands and concurred in the third. The bitterness and contentions among the Union men, divided into Conservatives and Radicals, subsequently called Democrats and Republicans, increased. So, also, between the Union and Southern men. On January 6, 1865, a State constitutional convention assembled in St. Louis, adopted an ordinance abolishing slavery in Missouri, which as a practical fact had ceased to exist for some time previous, and adopted a constitution to be submitted to a vote of the people on June 6, 1865, for adoption or rejection, which was adopted by 43,670 votes for to 41,808 against it; majority, 1,862. The convention adjourned April 10, 1865.

This constitution by proclamation of the governor took effect July 4, 1865, was called the Drake constitution, from Hon. Charles D. Drake, vice-president of the convention, and its reputed author.

It contained the most stringent and proscriptive provisions in regard to the test oaths required of voters—persons capable of

holding any office or position of honor, trust, or profit, State, corporate, municipal, institutional, or fiduciary, and of attorneys, and teachers in our schools, male and female, and even ministers of the gospel of peace and good will.

General Blair took a bold and fearless stand against such measures and all proscription, refused to take the oath in order to vote, and brought suit in the courts to test his right. With General Blair the Union was the main question. When the Union arms had triumphed, an indissoluble Union of indestructible States had been secured, secession with slavery and all opposition to the Union had been forever buried in the grave of the dead Confederacy beyond resurrection, and our old flag waved in honor, glory, and power from ocean to ocean, and from the lakes to the Gulf, every tongue confessing and every knee bowing to its peaceful and rightful sway, General Blair believed that humanity, Christianity, the wisest statesmanship, as well as the very best interests of our common country demanded peace, reconciliation, and fraternity, that the wounds and bruises of the war might be healed, its wastes and devastations repaired, and our people, North and South, East and West, become one people, citizens of our common country in fact as in law, with like sympathies, feelings, aspirations, interests, and rights. He did not believe that proscription was the proper method to such ends.

He warmly supported General Grant's intercession in behalf of General Lee and other paroled Confederate officers and soldiers on the ground that their paroles, so long as they obeyed the laws, protected them from arrest and trial.

General Blair's efforts to restore to the proscribed people of Missouri equal rights of citizenship were equally as heroic and fearless as were his efforts to preserve the integrity of the Union and to overthrow all opposition to it.

So intense and embittered were the feelings of the extreme radical element in many counties that freedom of public discussion did not exist, and public meetings were broken up and threats made that no Democrat should address them.

General Blair, in the early summer of 1866, made a series of speeches in many different counties in Missouri. At many places efforts were made to break up his meetings and prevent him speaking and even to take him from the stand. He never quailed nor flinched, but boldly and defiantly denounced those creating the disturbances in the bitterest and most withering terms, and never failed to speak as long as he chose and to say whatever he pleased, and by these efforts removed every hindrance to the utmost freedom of public discussion ever thereafter. I refer to these incidents in his illustrious life to show his heroic and courageous nature and his uncompromising devotion to what he believed to be right, and not to revive the dead embers of hate and bitterness engendered by that fratricidal war, for "anathema maranatha" be to him who would rekindle the dead embers of hate and sectional animosities.

In addressing a large public audience in Memphis, Tenn., on September 20, 1866, General Blair said:

The utmost freedom of public discussion is the rock upon which all true liberty is founded. If that great bulwark is overthrown, or if public speakers seek only to express such views as are in accordance with public sentiment, the way is thrown wide open to the destruction of every guaranty of freedom. Hence I regard it as unworthy of myself and especially dishonoring to you to attempt an apology for anything I may advance because it may not meet your concurrence.

General Blair was a dutiful son, a loving, faithful husband, a kind and affectionate father, a true, steadfast friend, generous to a fault and often to his pecuniary loss, genial and attractive in his personality, forceful and impressive as a speaker, personally and officially honest and incorruptible, without even the suspicion of a stain upon his integrity.

He was open, frank, bold, and aggressive in the expression of his views and the advocacy of his principles, whether popular or obnoxious at the time, and yet so tempered them with geniality and magnanimity that few could keep from admiring him and few indeed were his personal enemies.

The good people of Missouri have erected a pure standard bronze statue of General Blair in Forest Park, St. Louis, of heroic size, to perpetuate the remembrance and appreciation of his great abilities and his distinguished services to our common country and to his adopted State.

I quote from the address of Rev. Dr. T. M. Post on the occasion of the unveiling of that statue:

Happy is it when, from an heroic grave, there is an outlook to the land immortal, and loyalty to country is consummated in loyalty to God—happy for our personal love and for our hope for our country. We believe a truth from a higher world came to our friend in that solemn, serene, and utterly real realm that lay, through months and seasons, before the open gates of the Everlasting; that in those solemn hours when time's shadows flee away and its pomp and pride are but pageants of a passing dream voices came to him from out eternity and the Highest revealed Himself, and that the lesson and confession of allegiance to the Eternal One came in to correct and consummate the utterances of his life. That lesson and confession are among the things that shall not pass away. The heroic form typed by yonder statue years ago crumbled into dust, the bronze and the granite shall in time follow; but this last utterance is above and beyond change, a truth and a force which, we trust, shall blend with the destinies of this nation forever.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, it is hardly necessary, after the wonderfully eloquent and ample tribute in memory of these two sons of Missouri, that any other voice should be heard. I have been asked, however, because, as I suppose, I represent in part that section of the Union farthest in situation and farthest in opinion from the people whom Benton loved and served, to say a few words in support of the resolution, and especially with reference to him.

The statute of 1862, which sets apart the beautiful chamber in the Capitol as a gallery for the statues of famous citizens, leaves the selection to the absolute discretion of the States. But the whole country approves the choice of Missouri.

The whole country remembers freshly the great career, the chivalrous character, the dauntless spirit of Blair. But when the figure of Benton is unveiled the genius of Missouri—rather, the genius of the West—has come. He is to stand among his peers, the representative, the embodiment, of a great history. He remembered the men of the Revolution. He was born before the war of the Revolution ended. He lived to greet Charles Sumner when he came into the Senate, to survive all the great leaders of the time before the war, and to see the sure signs of the coming conflict of arms between freedom and slavery.

Missouri did well that she waited nearly half a century after his death before electing him to the greater and perpetual Senate, which is to sit forever in yonder chamber. It would be well if this example were always followed. No party spirit, no influence of friendship, no mere personal gratitude, no temporary or fleeting popularity has influenced the choice. We know now what manner of man Missouri, by her deliberate choice, delighteth to honor and what manner of man the American people delight to honor.

Thomas H. Benton was a sturdy and courageous champion. He understood, as no other man ever understood, the interest of the great West. He is, beyond all question, without competitor or rival down to this moment, the foremost statesman of the States beyond the Mississippi. From 1820 to 1850 he was one of the four great leaders of the Senate. If in some special quality he was surpassed by each of the great triumvirate—Webster, Clay, Calhoun—yet neither of these men, perhaps not all together, exerted so powerful an influence upon the action of the Senate or of the people during that time. He was industrious, wasting no moment of time; earnest and indefatigable, pressing like a steel spring upon the armor of his opponent; trying every joint; sure to find the weak spot; untiring; courageous, never shrinking or flinching from the face of any antagonist; unselfish, striving for the public good as he understood it; loving his people, loving his State and section and country with a supreme and most disinterested love.

The statesman or the student of history to-day can investigate few subjects which interested the people during the first seventy years of our history under the Constitution without coming upon the work of Benton. By three or four things, however, he is specially known to his countrymen and will keep his place in their undying memory. One is his passionate personal attachment and devotion to Andrew Jackson. Another is his belief in a money of intrinsic value, gold and silver, and his utter detestation and contempt for any substitute of paper or credit. Another is his attachment to the union of the States, an attachment which no party feeling, no feeling as a Southern man ever for a moment weakened or impaired. Another was his brave resistance in his early life to the great intellectual champions who were arrayed against him in the Senate; and a resistance, braver still, in his old age, to the currents of popular delirium which swept away his own State and his own party into the attempt to extend slavery and what he deemed a wicked and unconstitutional war against Mexico.

He was eminently a man of the people. He liked popular applause. He was a man of intense party spirit. Yet he was able to stand alone. He had his foibles, to which his distinguished successor [Mr. VEST] has so well alluded; but, after all, there was never an American citizen to whom that tribute of the Latin poet, often quoted, but which we may well repeat, would better apply:

"Justam ac tenacem propositi virum  
Non civium ardor prava jubentium  
Non vultus instantis tyranni  
Mente quatit solida, neque Auster,  
Dux inquieti turbidus Hadriæ,  
Nec Fulminantis magna manus Jovis;  
Si fractus illabatur orbis,  
Impavidum ferient ruinae."

"Integer vitæ scelerisque purus."

"Cui Pudor, et Justitiæ soror,  
Incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas  
Quando ullum inveniet parem?"

He loved Missouri. He loved the West. He loved the South. From his coming into public life, indeed, from his first coming to manhood, there was scarcely a pulsation of the popular Western heart which he did not share. Yet when the time came for him to

choose between office, party, his State, popularity, the love of old friends and companions, influence, power, the master passions of his soul, as it seemed, on the one hand, and freedom and country upon the other, he did not hesitate in the choice. His latest biographer, Governor Roosevelt, describes the conditions that confronted Benton when the decline of his life came on. Benton had resisted what to most men in a republic is irresistible—the passions excited by a great war, the stirring and excited appeals to the love of the flag, the Anglo-Saxon greed for empire, as well as the spirit of a party of which he had been, for more than a generation, the greatest leader in the State of which he was the brightest ornament and foremost citizen.

Governor Roosevelt, writing in 1895, a little more than four years ago, described the public feeling which Mr. Benton had to encounter, and gives due praise to the lofty and noble courage with which he encountered it. He says:

The man of the West stood where he was because he was a conqueror; he had wrested his land by force from its rightful Indian lords; he fully intended to repeat the same feat as soon as he should reach the Spanish lands lying to the west and southwest; he would have done so in the case of French Louisiana if it had not been that the latter was purchased and was thus saved from being taken by force of arms. This belligerent or, more properly speaking, piratical way of looking at neighboring territory was very characteristic of the West and was at the root of the doctrine of "manifest destiny." (Page 17.)

Governor Roosevelt goes on:

The general feeling in the West upon this last subject afterwards crystallized into what became known as the "manifest destiny" idea, which, reduced to its simplest terms, was that it was our manifest destiny to swallow up the land of all adjoining nations who were too weak to withstand us; a theory that forthwith obtained immense popularity among all statesmen of easy international morality. (Page 40.)

Governor Roosevelt states Mr. Benton's doctrine upon this question, and the doctrine of the conscience and morality of the American people of that day, as follows:

Of course no one would wish to see these, or any other settled communities, now added to our domain by force; we want no unwilling citizens to enter our Union; the time to have taken the lands was before settlers came to them. European nations war for the possession of thickly settled districts, which, if conquered, will for centuries remain alien and hostile to the conquerors; we, wiser in our generation, have seized the waste solitudes that lay near us, the limitless forests and never-ending plains, and the valleys of the great, lonely rivers, and have thrust our own sons into them to take possession; and a score of years after each conquest we see the conquered land teeming with a people that is one with ourselves. (Pages 266, 267.)

Governor Roosevelt states this issue between imperialism, or as he terms it, "the piratical way of looking at neighboring territory by statesmen of easy international morality," on the one side, and Republicanism on the other, as represented by Mr. Clay on the one hand and Mr. Polk on the other. He says:

Almost every good element in the country stood behind Clay; the vast majority of intelligent, high-minded, upright men supported him. (Page 290.)

He adds:

Three men—Calhoun, Birney, and Isaiah Rynders—may be taken as types of the classes that were chiefly instrumental in the election of Polk, and that must therefore bear the responsibility for all the evils attendant thereon, including among them the bloody and unrighteous war with Mexico. (Page 292.)

The worthy biographer quotes, with emphatic approbation, Benton's indignant denunciation, when the Mexican war was approaching, of the want of manliness in our treatment of a weak republic. He says:

Would we take 2,000 miles of Canada in the same way? I presume not. And why not? Why not treat Great Britain and Mexico alike? Why not march up to "fifty-four forty" as courageously as we march upon the Rio Grande? Because Great Britain is powerful and Mexico is weak, a reason which may fail in policy as much as in morals. (Page 308.)

Mr. Benton himself adds upon this subject:

I am against all disguise and artifice, against all pretenses, and especially weak and groundless pretenses, discreditable to ourselves and offensive to others; too thin and shallow not to be seen through by every beholder, and merely invented to cover unworthy purposes. (Pages 309-310.)

Governor Roosevelt speaks of this period of Benton's life with zealous and eloquent approbation. He says:

He had now entered on what may be fairly called the heroic part of his career; for it would be difficult to choose any other word to express our admiration for the unflinching and defiant courage with which, supported only by conscience and by his loving loyalty to the Union, he battled for the losing side, although by so doing he jeopardized and eventually ruined his political prospects, being finally, as punishment for his boldness in opposing the dominant faction of the Missouri Democracy, turned out of the Senate, wherein he had passed nearly half his life. Indeed, he was one of those natures that show better in defeat than in victory. (Page 319.)

Mr. Benton's opposition to the Mexican war was followed by his opposition after it ended to any form of the extension of slavery, which he declared he deemed an evil and "would neither adopt it nor impose it on others." (Page 336.)

When the fugitive-slave act of 1850 was passed, through the help of some Northern votes, Benton refused to support it; and this was the last act of importance that he performed as a United States Senator. He had risen and grown steadily all through his long term of service; and during its last period he did greater service to the nation than any of his fellow-Senators. \* \* \* He always rose to meet a really great emergency; he kept doing continually better work throughout his term of public service, or showed himself able to rise to a higher level at the very end than at the beginning. (Page 338.)

This is the character, Mr. President, which the great State of Missouri, speaking through her governor and honored Senators, gives to the American people to-day, in this time of her sober second thought, as the best she has to offer. If it be the best she have to offer, no other State surely has anything better. We are likely to receive nothing better from any quarter. Certainly Massachusetts feels herself and her great children of the days of the Puritan and the days of the Revolution honored by the companionship. Sam Adams, if need be, will draw a thought more nigh to John Winthrop to make room for him. Webster will greet his old antagonist. The marble lips of Charles Sumner, whom Benton welcomed in the Senate in 1851, will return the greeting now from yonder stately antechamber. The old strifes are forgotten. The old differences have vanished. But the love of liberty, the love of justice, the love of national honor, the spirit that prizes liberty and justice and honor above gain or trade or empire—the spirit of this great statesman of the West—abides and shall abide forever more.

[Mr. ELKINS addressed the Senate. See Appendix.]

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President, I move the adoption of the concurrent resolution of the House of Representatives.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the concurrent resolution of the House of Representatives.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

#### STATUE OF GENERAL GRANT.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate a communication, which will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

HEADQUARTERS GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC,  
COMMITTEE ON GRANT MEMORIAL,  
Washington, D. C., May 19, 1900.

SIR: In accordance with the "Joint resolution to accept from the national encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic a statue (and pedestal) of the late Gen. Ulysses S. Grant," approved August 14, 1890, the committee of the Grand Army appointed to that end have caused such statue to be executed, and the same is now placed in the Rotunda of the Capitol.

The statue is an original work modeled by Mr. Franklin Simmons, an American artist having his studio in Rome.

A brief recital of the origin and purpose of this memorial work seems proper.

General Grant, as were others of the leaders of the Union armies—including Generals Sherman and Sheridan—was a comrade of the Grand Army of the Republic, having been mustered into Meade Post, No. 1, Department of Pennsylvania, on the 16th day of May, 1877. He wore its badge on proper occasion, sympathized with its objects, and fraternally mingled with its membership.

It was natural, therefore, upon his decease at Mount McGregor, New York, on the 23d day of July, 1885, that his comrades of the Grand Army, whilst mingling their grief with that of all of his countrymen, should desire in some special manner to signalize their personal regard for and devotion to their comrade and their deep appreciation of the inestimable services he had rendered to his country and to his age. Accordingly, on the 24th of September, 1885, the then commander in chief of the Grand Army of the Republic addressed a circular to the posts and departments of the order, suggesting the creation of a fund by voluntary contribution, no more than 15 cents to be received from any contributing comrade, for, as stated in the circular, "the erection of a monument which, avoiding all exaggeration or mere motive of display, shall be in keeping with the simplicity of the life and character of our great leader; of such intrinsic excellence as shall commend it to the care of the nation, and thus, through all succeeding generations, be our memorial as well as a monument to his fame."

At the succeeding national encampment the project was laid before it, met with hearty commendation, and steps were taken to facilitate its accomplishment.

By directions of succeeding national encampments the work was continued until the finished result was brought within the shelter of the Capitol, and is now presented for acceptance.

The fund contributed for the announced purpose represents the offerings of more than 70,000 of his comrades, most of whom had served in the field under his command, and all of whom had hailed him as a comrade in the later day of peace.

In their behalf we who now survive commit this semblance of his person to the care and keeping of the nation whose walls he helped to make stronger, rejoicing in the knowledge that the memories it will invoke are of good will to-day, and will be of concord through all coming time.

Very respectfully,

SAMUEL S. BURDETT,  
Chairman.  
ROBT. B. BEATH,  
Secretary.  
SELDEN CONNOR,  
EDMUND S. GRANT,  
R. A. ALGER,  
HORACE S. CLARK,  
Committee.

Hon. WILLIAM P. FRYE,  
President of the Senate.

Mr. HANSBROUGH. Mr. President, I offer the concurrent resolution which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from North Dakota offers a concurrent resolution, which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring). That the thanks of Congress be given to the Grand Army of the Republic for the statue of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant.

Resolved, That the statue be accepted and placed in the Capitol, and that a copy of these resolutions, signed by the presiding officers of the Senate and the House of Representatives, be forwarded to the chairman of the committee of the Grand Army of the Republic on the Grant memorial.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. President, I congratulate my comrades of the Grand Army upon the successful progress of their most praiseworthy enterprise. The wise purpose is very excellently set forth in the paragraph which I must do myself the credit of emphasizing by repetition.

It is for the erection of a monument which, avoiding all exaggeration or mere motive of display, shall be in keeping with the simplicity of the life and character of our great leader; of such intrinsic excellence as shall commend it to the care of the nation, and thus through all succeeding generations be our memorial as well as a monument to his fame.

And further the committee say:

In their behalf we who now survive commit this semblance of his person to the care and keeping of the nation whose walls he helped to make stronger, rejoicing in the knowledge that the memories it will invoke are of good will to-day and will be of concord through all coming time.

Thus say 70,000 veterans, representing hundreds of other thousands.

This noble gift will be accepted with sympathy and gratitude. I scarce know how to come to the discussion of the character of General Grant, but I will first refer to his genealogy, if you will permit me.

Matthew Grant, of Scotch extraction, came from Dorsetshire, England, in 1630, one of the first settlers in Dorchester, in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. In a few years he removed to Windsor, Conn., in which he and several generations of his descendants resided. Samuel Grant, son of Matthew, was born in Dorchester November 12, 1631. Samuel Grant, second, was born in Windsor, Conn., April 20, 1659; Noah Grant was born in Windsor, Conn., December 16, 1692; Noah Grant, second, was born in Tolland, Conn., July 12, 1718; Noah Grant, third, was born in Coventry, Conn., and removed to Pennsylvania in 1790. Jesse Root Grant, who lived to see his son President of the United States, was born in Westmoreland County, Pa., January 23, 1794. The elder son of Jesse R. Grant was born at Point Pleasant, Clermont County, Ohio, on the 27th of April, 1822, and was baptized Hiram Ulysses Grant, but we knew him as Ulysses S. Grant.

General Grant was not a vain man, nor in the ordinary sense of the word an ambitious man. What were his characteristics? We think of him first, perhaps, as a silent man, but many know how cheerfully and happily he could talk in a circle of men and women who knew each other and knew the subjects about which talk was not desired. To idle observations and questions or semi-interrogative suggestions or inappropriate approaches, he opposed no discussion, but a deadly, immobile silence, and nothing on earth could have more completely quenched the designs of interfering and meddling men.

He was reproved for withholding military intelligence from the people of the United States, but those who have studied the art of war know perfectly well that a large measure of reticence on the part of a commanding general is imperatively demanded. It is a duty. To conduct himself otherwise would be a wrong to his soldiers and his country.

General Grant was brave. Yes. He never made any display of it. He was unconsciously brave; perfectly calm; always steady. As to his decisions and purposes, he was dominated persistently by a sense of duty to God and his country. A singular fact is that his yea was yea and his nay was nay, more emphatically than I could say of any man I ever knew. I am told by officers who lived with him for years that he never was known to use any words of profanity, even the simple phrases "By George" or "By Jove," or anything of that sort. When he said a thing he said it. He said it without even emphasis.

At Appomattox you well know what he said to show that he was not animated by any wicked or revengeful purpose. He said:

Each officer and man will be allowed to return home, not to be disturbed by United States authorities so long as they observe their paroles and the laws of the places where they reside.

This was not the hasty impulse of a moment. It was the result of deliberate forethought, as we are assured by the secretary who stood nearest to him. It sent a welcome sense of relief throughout the South.

And here let me quote something that I am afraid is almost forgotten, if it has ever been published otherwise than in the book I hold. Some eleven days after the assassination of Mr. Lincoln and a few days after the surrender at Appomattox, General Grant went to Raleigh, as we remember very well, in order to perfect the surrender and the practical close of the war. He wrote a letter to his wife, which that very noble lady presented to Mr. Secretary Badeau. He says in this private letter:

\* \* \* The suffering that must exist in the South the next year, even with the war ending now, will be beyond conception. People who talk of further retaliation and punishment, except of the political leaders, either do not conceive of the suffering endured already, or they are heartless and unfeeling and wish to stay at home out of danger while the punishment is being inflicted.

Love and kisses for you and the children.

This is an inside view of the man, as warm hearted as any I ever knew, a most devoted husband, a loving father, an obedient son, by no means the butcher that some people called him, by no

means the rough and uncultured man, for he had the fineness in all things that makes a perfect gentleman.

I had the honor to become somewhat acquainted with him after the war. It fell to my fortunate lot to be president of the convention that gave him his first nomination for the Presidency. In accordance with usage I came here to Washington, where he was residing, at the head of a delegation, to go through the formalities of announcing to him his nomination. I called on him the evening I arrived to learn when he was willing to see us and what the proceedings would be. He made me sit down. He looked in a meditative, almost absent-minded way for a while, and said: "HAWLEY, I did not want this. I would have escaped it if I could. Think of it. I am at the very height of any man's military ambition in my chosen profession; at the very height! The people of the country in general speak kindly of me. I can pass, I think, an honored old age here in the great office which I now hold. As President, I should certainly become liable to unkind, perhaps bitterly unjust, criticism. I would be satisfied to live a private life, but I do not see how I can avoid the acceptance of this nomination."

I believe he spoke sincerely. I am proud of another recollection. In writing to me the letter of acceptance he put in those famous words "Let us have peace," and no man who has followed his history during those few years with any closeness whatever doubts that it was emphatically his desire to let us have peace.

Mr. President, I am unfit to-day to discuss General Grant's character as I should like to do. I should like to put upon his monument these happy words, devised for some unknown hero in England:

Patient of toil, serene amid alarms,  
Inflexible in faith, invincible in arms.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, to be permitted to say a few words in commemoration of the virtues of the great hero for whom this statue is erected is a high honor, and I do so with a full heart and with the utmost sincerity of purpose and thought.

Mr. President, here and there in the centuries of a nation's life, now and then in the long course of a nation's history, are seen, few and far apart, great figures that are the landmarks of the ages. Brought out by the storm and stress of appalling disaster and national need, they are at once the succor and the refuge of the people. In them are seen the composite results of the whole nation's life and character. As by the fixed stars we measure the flight of a world through space, so by these great and isolated characters we measure the march of humanity. By them we may estimate and measure the potent influences of heredity and environment, as these all-powerful factors do their work in molding and forming, upbuilding or destroying a nation. These influences, acting upon the particles, slight and insignificant individually, that make up the mysterious ocean of humanity, determine the character and tendencies of a nation's life.

The man whom we honor and reverence to-day was above all an American. He was typical of all that goes to make this nation great. He was the product of a life wholly American. His ancestors were sturdy men and women who had gone on their way of plain living and high thinking, "far from the madding crowd," unattracted by tinsel, unawed by pomp. Duty to themselves, to those around them, and to their country was the fixed and unswerving star by which they set their course. Their environment was such as to slowly deepen and intensify this steadiness, this faith, this devotion.

Let us thank God that in this land of ours there are thousands of such plain, simple homes, thousands and thousands of mothers and fathers, calm and self-contained, who are living the same lives and teaching the same lessons to thousands and thousands of boys whose environment is the same as was that of the boy Grant. On this we may rely with more confidence for the future than on all the "boast of heraldry" or "pomp of power" or "all that wealth e'er gave."

To ride, to shoot, to tell the truth, was the wisdom of the great Persian, and it has not been bettered in twenty-five centuries, if you would rear men. It means simplicity, self-control, courage, and honesty in thought and action. To these add gentleness, modesty, candor, and manly purity, and behold the man. It could not but be, then, that he was superior to every circumstance. At the head of a matchless army, in the midst of the mad rush and whirl and roar of battle, in the supreme hour of victory, hearing the tramp and shouts of his victorious legions in that grand triumphal review, as President of the great Republic, as the honored guest of flattering sovereigns, it was always the quiet, self-contained man; always the strong soul which calmly rested upon itself, whose virtue and courage was uniform and fixed, because it looked for approbation only from Him who is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever.

I pass over the glorious period, Mr. President, when all the world was at his feet, when there seemed no honor too high for him, a period which could only be described by an Iliad, to a still more heroic and deeply interesting period of his life. When the

dark days came, betrayed by false friends, distressed and tortured by incurable disease, grieved by thoughts of the future for those he loved, this sublime soul lost none of its steady radiance and shone on through the clouds, as through all the tremendous contrasts of his life, the same.

Constant as the northern star,  
Of whose true-fix'd and resting quality  
There is no fellow in the firmament.

Great as he was in the day of his meridian splendor, it was in the last sad years of his life that men saw the true stature of his soul, the true depth of his heart. Another has said of him that—

Suffering almost ceaseless pain and with the death shadow upon him, he sat down to write his autobiography for the benefit of his wife. He complained not at all, and allowed nothing to stand in the way of his work. He wrote on steadily up to the very day of his death, long after the power of speech was gone, revising his proofs, correcting his judgments of commanders as new evidence arose, and in the end producing a book which was a marvel of simple sincerity and modesty of statement and of a transparent clarity of style. It took rank at once as one of the great martial biographies of the world. It redeemed his name and gave his wife a competency. It was a greater deed than the taking of Vicksburg.

In those long hours, laborious days and sleepless nights, his thoughts went out from the lonely summit of Mount McGregor to the divided nation. His soul brooded over the problem and with the Angel of Death waiting at his side, his words of peace and gentleness and reconciliation were those of a man standing in the presence of his God. He had broken and destroyed all armed opposition to the Union, and now he sought to reunite and compact forever into patriotic brotherhood those who had followed and those who had opposed him. Hardly had the roar of the last gun at Appomattox died away among the Virginia hills when it was seen that this was the second great purpose of his soul. He thought of the poverty and helplessness of the gaunt and ragged heroes who had fought to the last, and he sought to relieve their hard condition; and from the bitterness of those who knew war only afar off he protected them when their only shield was his word, and they found it sufficient.

So begun, the glorious work was completed from Mount McGregor, and when men read his last words, "I feel that we are on the eve of a new era, when there is to be great harmony between the Federal and the Confederate. I can not stay to be a living witness to the correctness of this prophecy; but I feel it within me that it is to be so. The universally kind feeling expressed for me at a time when it was supposed that each day would prove my last seemed to me the beginning of the answer to 'Let us have peace,'" all hearts were touched and softened. Like a prayer, like a prophecy, like a benediction, those words came from lips touched by the hand of God.

In the years to come young and ardent spirits looking upon this statue will stand in awe of the arms of the great military hero, yet the thoughtful man, the lover of his country, will see and revere the greater and more noble patriot who abhorred war, who loved peace, and with his dying words reunited the hearts of his countrymen, and gave them an immortal and perpetual inspiration of fraternal love and patriotism.

Mr. TURLEY. Mr. President, in one respect it has always seemed to me that the historians and biographers have been unkind to Washington. They have portrayed him to us as one apart from us, as one created in a different mold, as an exalted being free from those weaknesses and frailties which characterize the ordinary man. I know now that this is not the truth. But the impressions which were instilled into my youthful mind can not be eradicated, and I shall ever regard Washington as a man different from all other men, and the sentiments his memory inspire are those of reverence and adoration rather than of love and affection.

Not so with Grant, Mr. President. I can only give my own impressions of him, and I do not intend to institute any comparison between him and Washington. To me he has always seemed one of us—a man among men, with all a man's faults, but with more than one man's share of virtues. It may be because he is nearer to us, a part of our own time. Washington has always embodied to me the idea of justice and right. In Grant I have always felt that justice was largely tempered with mercy and kindness. In all his dealings with men he seemed most considerate of those shortcomings and faults which are a part of human nature.

Mr. President, I have always been impressed with the grand simplicity and kindness of his nature. He was, if I understand his character, as unostentatious and unassuming as it was possible for a self-respecting gentleman to be. And his loyalty to his friends and to those who trusted him was beautiful in the extreme. This part of his character may have often led him into mistakes, but it is a quality which all must admire. Show me the man, Mr. President, who is loyal to his friends, and I will show you a man who is true to the core and is loyal and honest in all other relations, both private and public.

General Grant, if I read his character correctly, was a man who almost unconsciously did the right thing at the right time. Some men who are really great accomplish their work only after great

and labored effort. But he was so constituted, so well balanced, that every task was performed with seeming ease. In his make-up he might be compared to some exquisitely constructed engine that runs without noise and does its work without friction. His great achievements were accomplished with so little effort he seemed scarcely to realize that he had done anything out of the ordinary. I am told by those who know he believed in his great campaigns that the work could be done and the result accomplished as readily and successfully by many of his subordinates as by himself, and so little vanity had he that it was difficult for him to understand how it was that he was chosen for the high offices he filled so well.

I remember, Mr. President, that amongst the rank and file of the Confederate soldiers General Grant occupied a different position from most of the other Union commanders. Toward some of those commanders we entertained feelings of bitterest personal hostility. But I think I can safely say no Confederate soldier entertained any such feeling toward General Grant. The kindness and simplicity of his nature, of which I have spoken, seemed to have made itself felt even amongst his enemies. We felt that there was no hatred in his breast nor enmity in his soul against us, and we thought he was fighting us because he felt it was the right thing to do under the existing circumstances, just as we were fighting because we believed we had the right on our side. I do not mean that we then entertained kindly or friendly feelings for him, but we esteemed him, and there was no bitterness in our hearts for him. But for many years past the sentiments of the ex-Confederates and the Southern people toward the memory of this truly great man have gradually changed from those of comparative indifference to warm affection and esteem.

I do not wish to be misunderstood, Mr. President. He does not occupy every niche and corner of our hearts. There is in the heart of every Confederate soldier, as there will be in the hearts of our children and our children's children, an inner chamber—a sanctuary of sanctuaries—sacred to the memory and name of one man and one man alone, our immortal Lee. You on the other side would think less of us if it were not so. We love him because he was the very incarnation of our cause and because he suffered with us and for us. We love him as no other people ever loved a man before. We love him in sorrow, we love him with a love purified by suffering and chastened by defeat, with a love which "passeth all understanding" and defies all power of expression or description.

Mr. President, I think General Grant first found his way into the hearts of the Confederates when we came to understand and appreciate his conduct at Appomattox.

In the life of every nation there comes a time when its fortune and destiny lie in the hands of one all-powerful man. That time came to this country when Lee surrendered to Grant. The war had been inaugurated to save and restore the Union, but in the bitterness engendered by the long contest the views of many of the Northern leaders had changed. When the end finally came, the question was, How were the Southern States to be treated? were they to be treated as conquered territory and their people subjected to confiscation and punishment, or were they to be brought back into their proper places in the Union? It is to be remembered that in all previous civil wars, even amongst our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, the victors had imposed upon the vanquished the severest punishment. Such conflicts had always ended in executions, exiles, and imprisonment. Was such a policy to be pursued here? The issue rested with General Grant. He had behind him a mighty and devoted army and a great people whom he could sway and bend at will. The fate not only of the defeated Confederates, but of the victorious North rested with him. If he had raised the cry of treason and demanded that Confederate blood, which had watered every hill and valley and mountain side in the South, should still flow as an expiation and in ignominy and disgrace, who could have stayed his hand? As we now know, the life of the great Lincoln was nearing its close and there was no other man in all the land that could have successfully opposed Grant in any course he might have chosen to take toward the South.

We all realize now that to the magnanimous spirit shown by Grant, the liberal terms granted to Lee and his men, and the sentiments instilled into the Army and people of the North by their great commander is greatly due the speedy and happy restoration of the Union, and for this we love and esteem him. I do not know, Mr. President, that Grant reasoned out these things at that time. Doubtless he did, but it is more pleasing to me to believe that his conduct and course on that great occasion were dictated by his heart. I know, Mr. President, that when he rode out that morning to accept the surrender of the knightliest soldier the world has ever known he was not filled with thoughts of his own glory and his own great achievements. On the contrary, I believe his heart was full of sympathy for the agony of his great antagonist, and that in every starved and ragged Confederate he saw an honored brother in arms and a fellow-citizen of a common country. Verily the glory of all his great victories pales into insignificance

before the glory of his chivalrous conduct on that eventful occasion.

Mr. President, I do not think of him so much as a great commander, nor as President of this country, nor as in his time the foremost man of the world. I prefer now to remember him as the gallant soldier, the simple, kind-hearted, honorable gentleman, the friend of Lee, and the defender and protector of the Confederate soldiers when they sorely needed such a friend and protector; and it is as a private from the Confederate ranks, as one who believed in the justice and righteousness of its cause, that I now pay this tribute to his memory.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. President, the statue which is accepted by us to-day is that of a man who belongs to the whole country. No section of our land can claim exclusive right to do him honor. He stands, and will always stand, with Washington and Lincoln—one of the great Americans. I therefore think it fitting that those who are not members of the Grand Army of the Republic, whose gift to the nation this statue is, should add their tribute to the memory of Ulysses S. Grant. But I may urge my claim to this privilege on an additional ground. California is closely connected with one period of General Grant's life. He was once an officer of a military post in the then forest wilderness of Humboldt County. It was there that he entered upon his duties after his first promotion, and it was thence that he sent the resignation of his commission as captain in the United States Army. And during the war, from which he emerged the greatest military leader of the time, it was California to which he looked longingly as a place where he desired to pass the remainder of his days. It was California, too, which gave to him the first welcome home after what was almost a triumphant progress around the world—a welcome so heartfelt, so enthusiastic, and so proud that there was left no chance to doubt the gratitude and affection of the Republic.

In his career General Grant exhibited those qualities which are ever found in great men whose work lives after them. Patience, courage, unselfishness, steadfastness, faithfulness to duty, loyalty to ideals, persistence in the effort to accomplish the end in view—all were manifested in his life and in his works. None are better able to attest to the truth of this than his comrades in arms who give this statue. To them it were as though the marble itself embodied these very virtues. It is not alone Grant the victorious general that the Grand Army of the Republic intends this statue to recall. It is not simply the Grant of Donelson and Appomattox. It is the Grant of Mexico and California; of St. Louis and Galena; of Washington, New York, and Mount McGregor. Throughout his whole career and amid circumstances and experiences varying from the peace and calm of tilled fields to the rage and storm of battle grounds, there was always found that soldierly quality which shows itself in ability to suffer and to do for duty's sake, and which appeals particularly to the soldier, but which is not lost upon the men outside the ranks.

General Grant was not the first or the only one who has had to fight his way to an opportunity to make his power for usefulness known and recognized; but he was one of the few who, confident in themselves, press on in spite of obstacles and discouragement and conquer success. No part of his career appeals more to our sympathy than that during which he struggled bravely but ineffectually to provide for his family after his resignation from the Army. It was the struggle of a loyal and courageous man—of a man loyal to those who trusted in him and courageous in the face of a world which seemed to be his enemy. Though checked, he was not defeated. His face was always to the front, and he was always ready for advance. His opportunity came with the civil war. It was with difficulty that he secured a foothold in that Army of which he was in a few years to be the head. But the foothold secured, the qualities which he possessed rendered the subsequent course of his career certain. There was work for honest, loyal, earnest, and conscientious men to do, and he was one of those in whom these qualities were notable. With him it was not a question of military glory; it was a question of preservation of the Union.

Rank was not desired for its political or social prestige, but that he might have more freedom to exercise all his powers for the nation's welfare. Donelson and Shiloh were not won through pride in gold lace and a delight to be on men's tongues. They were won through an unselfish devotion to duty, which is the soldier's highest quality, and an unflinching determination that such work as lay to his hand should be done. The Grand Army of the Republic knows what a leader of that kind means. It knows that such a leader is an army in himself, and under him thousands of comrades went willingly to their death believing in him, and not one in the ranks of the veterans of to-day ever hesitated to go where Grant showed the way. The men who gained Vicksburg for him and who followed him through the Wilderness, leaving a trail of blood behind, had imbibed his unselfish loyalty, his persistence in a high aim, and his realization of the character and magnitude of the issue. They were brave men, as he was a brave leader, and that bravery was no more conspicuously shown than

at Appomattox, where his dismissal of the Confederate soldiers to their homes won a greater victory than any he had gained in the field by force of arms.

The terms granted the opposing army upon surrender, that "each officer and man will be allowed to return to their homes, not to be disturbed by the United States authority so long as they observe their parole and the laws in force where they reside," and the further provision releasing all claim on the captured horses, that the animals might be used in the cultivation of the owners' farms, marked the human, tender spirit of the man of war. General Lee's prediction that "this will have a most happy effect upon my army" was fully realized. It was the last, the greatest, and the decisive victory of the long struggle. By none except by a man having the highest human qualities could such a victory have been won.

Twice after the close of the civil war General Grant was called to the highest place within the gift of the people. As President he entered upon a sphere of life which was strange to him. Trained in youth to be a soldier, and his later experience being that of camps and battlefields, he shrank not from the cares, the toils, the thankless labors of the Chief Magistrate of the nation. He brought to his new station the same conscientiousness, the same steadfastness, the same devotion to duty that had distinguished him as a soldier, and with them the soldier's courage and directness. Though without political training, he became the head of a party, and inspired within it the same loyalty to himself which had been manifested by the Army under his command. As there had been soldiers who would have marched with him into any danger, so were there political followers who would stand with him against all odds. He was still the man of Shiloh and of Chattanooga, though the battles were fought with ballots and not with bullets.

But in no period of his life was his greatness so conspicuous as in those years when he had thought his labors would be ended. He had fought a great fight and had been victorious. He had served the people as their highest representative, and had returned to private life bearing with him their love and confidence, which it was not in his nature to betray. He looked forward to a calm enjoyment of a well-earned rest. But, as we know, misfortune came—a double misfortune—wrecking fortune and bringing death suddenly near. Stripping himself of everything for honor's sake, he began anew, with the soldier's courage, to build up a support for those he loved and trusted and who depended on him. Scarcely had he commenced when he learned that his days were numbered. But what he had set his hand to do must be done, and despite physical and mental agony he pressed on.

It was again the Wilderness in another guise, and, like the Wilderness, the struggles led to victory. When he was carried to Mount McGregor he had performed his work, but he had few days to live; yet in those few days shone out as never before the greatness of the man. His last thoughts were of that union and peace which he so earnestly desired for the country he loved so well—peace and happiness and concord among all men within its borders; union of all the interests, ambitions, and desires of all the people from ocean to ocean. And he spoke of no one but as a friend. The fierce enmities engendered by political war and civil conflicts had no place in his mind. All were forgiven and forgotten, and he died with his heart filled with love for those who had despitely used him. Who, who shall say that his greatest victory was not won on the summit of Mount McGregor?

To the members of the Grand Army of the Republic belongs the high honor of having served under the command of Ulysses S. Grant. But now not only they but every American is under the command of that great general's precept and example, and as long as we yield obedience so long will the Republic mark the furthest limit of human progress.

Mr. TURNER. Mr. President, the plowshare of the husbandman has obliterated from the bosom of mother earth most of the scars of the civil war, and the art of the landscape gardener has transformed the grim outlines of many of our domestic battlefields, on which brother contended against brother, into beautiful pleasure parks in which all may meet to do homage to American valor there displayed on both sides in that great conflict. This physical transformation has but followed and does but typify the transformation which has taken place in the feelings of the people of both sections of our common country.

The wounds in their hearts, more enduring even than those inflicted on physical nature by pick and spade and shot and shell, which long marred our national life, have also happily disappeared. Such as had not been softened and assuaged by the hand of time to the point of obliteration were suddenly healed by the crisis which came on the country two years ago, not great in itself, but so moving and compelling in its influence that it loosed the springs of patriotism in every heart and swept away, as if by magic, the brooding memories of thirty-five years, never, I hope, to return again.

We live now in the vital, throbbing, arduous duties of the present day, not forgetting the past or the memories of valorous

achievements which it carries for men of both sections, but holding them rather as an incentive and spur to patriotic endeavor in behalf of a country united not in name alone, but in the very hearts of a brave, generous, sympathetic people. It is peculiarly fitting that such a time should have been chosen by his comrades of the Grand Army of the Republic to erect in our national Rotunda, where it may be seen by all men for all time, the magnificent statue which we have seen this day of the great silent soldier who sleeps on the banks of the Hudson.

As he was first in war, so was he first in peace. As he struck the hardest blows in conflict, so was his the hand to pour the healing balm when the conflict was over. The passions of the hour took possession of other men and transported them, but he never forgot through it all that it was his brothers against whom he had been compelled to draw his sword. He said to General Lee at Appomattox, after the preliminaries of the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia had been agreed on:

I will instruct my paroling officers that the enlisted men of your cavalry and artillery who own their horses shall be permitted to retain them, just as the officers do theirs. They will need them for their spring plowing and farm work.

Twenty years later, his life work over, as he stood at bay confronted by his only conqueror, his thoughts reverted to the dark days through which the country had passed, and his last message to the American people was one of thankfulness that he had been spared long enough to enable him to see for himself the happy harmony which had so suddenly sprung up between those engaged but a few years before in deadly conflict. These two expressions—the one made in the flush of health and in the moment of supreme victory; the other in the solemn hour, when, sick and dispirited, he was closing his account with the world—mark the spirit which at all times animated the great heart of this great patriot, soldier, and statesman; and because of that fact the heart of this nation responds to-day in sympathetic approval of this memorial to his achievements and his virtues as it would not respond for any other man, however eminent in war or peace, in the history of our country.

Although only an obscure young man in his day, I knew him very well and received many characteristic kindnesses at his hands. I am proud to have the opportunity now to lay an humble wreath on his tomb and to assist in voicing the universal sentiment in grateful remembrance of the virtues exhibited by him and the great services rendered by him in the service of the nation.

Mr. President, this is neither the time nor the place to engage in a critical examination of the military career of General Grant, nor to claim for him over his contemporaries on either side supremacy as a commander. Time would not suffice for the one and the occasion is inopportune for the other. But that he was a great commander, ranking with the greatest in either ancient or modern history, all who are familiar with his campaigns must admit. If I were to assign him a rank among the world's great soldiers, I should say that he was a Moltke and a Wellington combined in one.

He planned his campaigns with all the care and precision of the former, and followed them up with all the stubborn persistency of the latter. It has been said of him that he was "direct as a thunderbolt, tenacious as a bull dog," and such, indeed, was the fact. He had the faculty of seeing clearly where he could strike most effectively, and having seen his objective, nothing was permitted to divert him from delivering the blow with all the strength at his command. Although not a student of military history or versed in the art of war, I have been struck with one marvelous fact in reading the campaigns of General Grant, and that is that he was never balked of his ultimate purpose in any of them and that he was but rarely checked. In confirmation of this fact, I beg to refer very briefly to some of the results achieved by him; but I do this in no invidious spirit, and I am certain that all who hear me will acquit me of a purpose to wound tender susceptibilities or to violate in any degree the proprieties which should mark this memorable occasion.

He undertook to open up the Tennessee River in the Middle West and to force back the frontiers of the Confederacy to the northern line of Alabama and Mississippi. He accomplished this in a series of engagements so brilliant and successful that immediately he became the military idol of the North. His work there was never undone at any period during the continuance of the war. He next undertook to cut the Confederacy in two on the line of the Mississippi River. How he accomplished this, fighting and defeating his adversaries in detail, crowning his work with the capture of Vicksburg and the army of General Pemberton, which he had forced within the defenses of that city, is a twice-told tale which I need not repeat.

His final and crowning task was the defeat and capture of the Army of Northern Virginia. His victories in the South and West had made this possible. He had sapped the reserve strength of that army and destroyed its recuperative powers. Henceforth

his objective was General Lee and his army, and this objective he pursued relentlessly and persistently, sometimes checked but never turned aside, sometimes suffering terrific loss, as might be expected from such an adversary, but always advancing in the accomplishment of his purpose, until finally he received the surrender of that great soldier, thereby bringing the war to a close and restoring the blessings of peace to his desolated country. He did his work well, and it is now seen and admitted by all, I imagine, that it is well he did his work well.

Mr. President, I shall not stop now to show how the work of the soldier was supplemented by that of the statesman. To do so would open up a field of investigation too extensive to be entered on here and now. It is sufficient to say that the old commander brought to the performance of his civil functions the same clearness and singleness of thought and the same tenacity of purpose that had always characterized his military operations, and if we are strong to-day where before we were weak, and if concord has succeeded discord in the hearts of our people, it is attributable largely to his wisdom and courage as a statesman, and to his broad and generous influence in softening the asperities which followed the close of the civil war. That he made mistakes may be admitted. Who has not? But his reputation is safe, and it will last as long as the American Republic endures.

This memorial which we have received from his comrades is useful and valuable in that it gratifies their desire to mark and honor his achievements and in that it presents to his countrymen in visible form, to move and inspire them, the personality of one of our greatest national characters. But it is not needed for his fame. Far from it. The corroding tooth of time will wear away and destroy brass and marble, but so long as history endures and virtue is honored in the land he served so well the name and fame of Ulysses S. Grant as patriot, soldier, and statesman will find a memorial in the hearts of his proud and grateful countrymen which neither time nor any of its vicissitudes can wear away or destroy.

Mr. President, on the death of General Grant, Gen. Samuel S. Burdett, of the city of Washington, then the commander in chief of the Grand Army of the Republic and now the chairman of the committee of that organization participating in these ceremonies, issued an order expressive of the sense of himself and his comrades on the happening of that sad and desolating event. That order is found in the published proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Encampment. It is a chaste but moving and eloquent tribute to the heroic dead, and as that fraternal and patriotic organization has been silent thus far in these proceedings, save in its letter presenting this statue to the nation, I send the order of General Burdett to the Secretary's desk and ask that it may be read as a part of my remarks.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

General Orders, No. 3.  
HEADQUARTERS GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC,  
Washington, D. C., July 24, 1885.

Expressing the profound grief of his comrades everywhere, the commander in chief performs the duty of formally announcing the death of Comrade Ulysses S. Grant, late a member of George G. Meade Post, No. 1, Department of Pennsylvania, Grand Army of the Republic, which occurred at Mount McGregor, New York, on the 23d instant at 8 o'clock and 9 minutes a. m.

Comrade Grant was born at Point Pleasant, Ohio, April 27, 1822; entered the United States Military Academy at West Point, N. Y., July 1, 1843, and was graduated therefrom and appointed brevet second lieutenant, Fourth Infantry, July 1, 1843; promoted second lieutenant September 30, 1845; brevetted first lieutenant September 8, 1847, for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Molino del Rey, Mexico, and captain September 13, 1847, for gallant conduct at Chapultepec; promoted first lieutenant September 18, 1847, and captain August 5, 1853; resigned July 31, 1854.

Upon the breaking out of the war of the rebellion he offered his services to his country without condition, and was commissioned colonel Twenty-first Illinois Volunteers, June 15, 1861; brigadier-general, August 5, 1861; major-general, United States Volunteers, February 16, 1862; major-general, United States Army, July 4, 1863; Lieutenant General, March 2, 1864; and General, July 25, 1865, which last commission he held until vacated, March 4, 1869, by reason of his inauguration as President of the United States.

Upon the demand of his grateful countrymen he was, on March 3, 1885, again made General United States Army (retired), and so died, as was most fitting, with the harness of his country upon him.

He bore the commission of the United States in active service for nineteen years; for seven years he was in the presence of actual war.

Measured by the number of engagements in which he participated; by the physical difficulties met and overcome; by the numbers engaged in actual battle under his leadership; by his masterly comprehension and quick adaptation of the changing and theretofore untried conditions resulting from improvements in arms; by the vastness of his strategic combinations he wisely conceived and successfully guided, and by the results achieved for his country, for his countrymen, for liberty and law everywhere, he was the peerless soldier of his own age and without a superior in any other.

His title to a high place among the statesmen of all time was established by the supreme wisdom which in the day of final triumph dictated those terms of surrender which in the compass of an hour well-nigh healed the wounds of four years of war.

Called by the imperative voice of his fellow-citizens to the office of President of the United States, for eight years he stood in their chief place and, surrendering then his trust, left to his successor a country which in every element of present strength and promise of future prosperity and glory surpassed the dream of the most sanguine.

Seeking in travel abroad the rest and recreation he had so well earned,

with only the title of American citizen to commend him, the great in station, in learning, and in achievement of every land sought to do him honor, whilst the humble, crowding his pathway, invoked for him the blessing which their empty hands could not bestow.

The chief citizen of a Christian land, he adorned the greatness of his public life by the practice of those simple virtues which is the fulfillment of the law.

The sanctities of home—the chief pillars of our State—found in him devout observance. In other days the mothers of the land builded altars to such as he.

Consciously marching over the road where only his footprints linger, and toward the goal he has now reached, his comrades of the Grand Army make to his memory this their last fraternal salutation.

It is recommended to department commanders that a day be announced in orders upon which the posts in their several jurisdictions may meet in open session or otherwise, that each comrade may have opportunity to pay the tribute of respect his full heart prompts.

Let the colors at national and department headquarters and of the posts be draped, and the usual badge of mourning be worn by all comrades for sixty days.

By command of S. S. Burdett, commander in chief:

JOHN CAMERON, *Adjutant-General.*

Mr. CARTER, Mr. President, public joint resolution No. 34, approved by the President August 14, 1890, recites the desire of the posts of the Grand Army of the Republic to testify their affectionate and patriotic regard for their late comrade, Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, by presenting a marble statue of General Grant to the Congress of the United States, to be placed in the Capitol of the nation. In sympathy with that patriotic desire it was provided by the resolution—

That a statue in marble, with a proper pedestal, of the late Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, tendered by the national encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic, shall be received and erected in the Capitol of the United States, and shall thereupon become the property of the United States: *Provided,* That the design of such statue and pedestal shall first be submitted to and receive the approval of the Joint Committee on the Library.

By unanimous consent, we to-day lay aside the unfinished business of the Senate to formally accept the status presented to Congress in pursuance of the resolution adopted ten years ago.

This tribute of respect to the memory of the "great commander" of the Union armies in the war of the rebellion very appropriately comes to the nation as the offering of the survivors of the mighty armies directed by him in the most deplorable and the most destructive war the world has ever known. To recount the actions and the achievements which gave to the name of Ulysses S. Grant a guaranty of imperishable renown would involve a mere recital of historical facts known to the whole civilized world. In the dreadful struggle of war and during the period of tempestuous passion following the return of peace every phase of the character of General Grant was tested in the crucible of fierce, hostile, and merciless criticism.

Men of all parties and from all sections of our reunited country now agree with one accord that his character has emerged from that test unalloyed by any base or unworthy element. Without note of discord from any source, we accept the gift of the Grand Army of the Republic and assign to the statue of General Grant a merited place under the Dome of the Capitol of the nation his valor and devotion so materially aided in preserving united, under the Constitution framed by our fathers. As visiting delegations of the present and coming generations pass under the great central Dome of this Capitol, the splendid marble statue of the generous victor of Appomattox there standing will recall to them heroic deeds of war and distinguished service in civil life, performed with dauntless courage and unaffected simplicity.

The sculptor could not select from the galaxy of our great men, living or dead, a subject better suited to illustrate simplicity, directness, truthfulness, bravery, and lofty courage than is found in the features, the life, and the achievements of General Grant. Unaffected as a child, incapable of telling or acting a lie, wholly without knowledge of physical fear, and possessed of courage to follow the path of duty through pitiless storms of passion and evil report, this remarkable man acquired and will ever hold the affectionate regard of his countrymen. In a special manner his name and fame will always be treasured by the members of the Grand Army of the Republic and their descendants. To the Grand Army man Grant was a comrade, an associate, and a friend. His name is to his comrades in arms consecrated by the memory of common dangers, trials, and sufferings.

To those of our brethren who wore the gray, recollection of his relentless action on the field of battle was obliterated by his chivalrous generosity at the dawn of peace. Compelled to plead for peace through the dreadful logic of the cannon's mouth, General Grant sought to relieve his antagonist from any sense of personal humiliation in the hour of defeat. To his generous impulse as much as his valor we owe the speedy reunion of the once warring States.

With the cause of sectional discord removed, we now enjoy the blessings of a union based on mutual respect and affection. As the centuries come and go, the lessons of our civil war will remain to admonish each succeeding generation that through the ways of peace alone can vexed problems be worked out in the United States. As long as the history of that war remains to tell of the sacrifice of life and treasure, of broken hearts and ruined homes,

our children and their children, North and South, East and West, will abide together in peace and unity.

Charity and forbearance will always avert resort to arms. As we now accept the statue of our distinguished countryman, it is surely the fervent prayer of all that Ulysses S. Grant may be recorded by the world's historian as the last commander of Federal armies during a civil war in the United States.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I knew nothing of this service until perhaps an hour or more ago, and it might be well for me, if I consulted my own interest, to permit the occasion to pass in silence. Yet as an humble soldier, who served in the ranks under General Grant at a time before he had risen to national fame, and as a member of the Grand Army of the Republic, I feel that I ought not to let this opportunity pass without dropping an observation. It was my fortune to know General Grant as a private soldier of tender years would know the distinguished commander of the army of which he was a part.

Mr. President, Grant was an ideal soldier. He was not an impulsive man. He was a man of deliberation, of conviction, and judgment, and whatever he conceived to be his duty he did, regardless of all obstacles that might be thrown in his way and regardless of all persuasion to the contrary. It must be remembered, in considering the character and life of this eminent citizen of our Republic, that he had the rare faculty of calling to his assistance and gaining the confidence of the ablest men in his army. Sherman, Thomas, Sheridan, the Smiths, Logan, all serving in the Western army, were his devoted friends, and carried his orders into execution with unerring accuracy. Whatever mistakes they may have made, those mistakes were looked upon in a kindly spirit by the commander in chief. It is due, perhaps, to this fact as much as to anything else that General Grant gained the reputation throughout the nation and throughout the world of never seeing any faults in his friends.

Concerning his civil career I know no more than any other citizen who read of his administration of the Government as its President for two successive terms. As a military man he was in my judgment a genius. Napoleon, I think, is accredited by the intellectual and the military world with being perhaps the most brilliant of all the military chieftains produced in ancient or modern times, but Napoleon made his mistakes. When Napoleon went south of the Pyrenees Mountains and invaded Spain it was a military mistake, and the world now recognizes that fact. When he left the proper scene of action and invaded Moscow it was a mistake that cost him isolation and death at St. Helena. If men are to be tested in this world by success, Grant was a greater military chieftain than Napoleon.

When Grant, in command of the western army, sought to reduce Vicksburg, in which others had failed, he did not invade it from the north, but, passing on the west bank of the Mississippi River down to the little town of Bruinsburg, below Port Gibson, he there crossed his troops and his trains, and there severed his communication with the authorities at Washington. Between Port Gibson and Jackson and Vicksburg Grant wedged his army between those of Johnston and Pemberton and Gardner. Fighting in the rear of Port Gibson, he soon drove Gardner back into his fortifications, and then, moving with unusual celerity to Jackson—the capital of Mississippi—he there engaged Johnston and drove him east of the Pearl River. Without waiting for his troops to rest more than an hour he retraced his steps, and, meeting Pemberton at Champion Hill, he defeated him, driving him west of the Black River and finally into Vicksburg, which culminated in a surrender on the 4th of July following. In my judgment no other general who lived and took part in the great civil war could have accomplished that great feat. Against Napoleon's mistake in Spain, Grant met with victory in his first effort to crush out the Confederacy along the Mississippi River.

From that grew his fame, and his services were demanded to take command of the Army of the Potomac. When he took command of that magnificent army that had been mustered and drilled by McClellan and other military chieftains of great renown, failure was predicted. Yet with good judgment and indomitable courage he fought the wonderful battle of the Wilderness, forcing Lee back slowly, but nevertheless surely; then Spottsylvania; then Cold Harbor. Then came that which astonished the authorities at Washington; he passed south of the James River, leaving but a few men between Washington and Richmond, and laid siege to Petersburg, which resulted in the complete rout in the course of time of Lee's army and the surrender at Appomattox. Those two campaigns, in my judgment, stamp him as a military genius who far outshines any man in modern times.

Mr. President, General Grant was a kindly disposed man. He was generous and magnanimous to his subordinate commanders. He was always just to his soldiers. He was not a martinet. He was never on parade. He was easily approachable by the humblest man in the ranks. He listened with patience to any complaint made to him. He had it in his power when he rose to the command of the Army in chief to crush out subordinate commanders.

His generosity to Thomas at Chattanooga stamped him, Mr. President, not only as a great military chieftain, but as a most generous and manly man, for when sent to take charge of the Army, he did not remove that great soldier, but, inspired by him, Thomas led his forces out of Chattanooga, and the wonderful battle or series of battles at Missionary Ridge ensued, with victory to our cause.

So I might, if the time would warrant and the occasion permit, point out instance after instance of the singular generosity and magnanimity of this great chieftain of ours, whose memory we commemorate at this time and whose statue we accept to be placed in this Capitol. But above all and beyond all Grant was a humanitarian. In war imagination becomes inflamed and people speak harshly of those in authority; and yet Grant lived long enough to demonstrate to those whom he was compelled to confront in grim-visaged war for over five years of our national existence that he was their devoted friend in time of need. In all the annals of warfare there can not be found a more generous or humane action than the orders of Grant at the close of the campaign and the surrender at Appomattox. All these things stamp him, in my judgment, as one of the greatest men of the age.

I do not believe it is given to one man to know all things; I do not believe it is given to one man to be a great statesman and at the same time a great soldier; and yet, perhaps more nearly than any other man we have produced in this country, General Grant blended those qualities. He was not, Mr. President, ferocious in his nature. He was as mild as a woman, kindly to the faults of others, disposed to make life's pathway as smooth as possible. He was not unjust or ungenerous to his soldiers. He did not ask them to go where he did not lead.

Mr. President, in all the singular career of this great military star of the Western Hemisphere he did not forget the lesson so splendidly taught by Gray:

The boast of heraldry, the pomp of pow'r,  
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,  
Await alike the inevitable hour—  
The paths of glory lead but to the grave.

Grant knew the great truths contained in that stanza. He knew—as we all know, as the world knows—that all these services rendered in behalf of humanity, sometimes unpleasant as they are, all lead in the performance of our duty to the mysterious realm to which we are all rapidly hastening.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. W. J. BROWNING, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed a concurrent resolution extending the thanks of Congress to the Grand Army of the Republic for the statue of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate resolutions from the House of Representatives, which will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, May 19, 1900.

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the thanks of Congress be given to the Grand Army of the Republic for the statue of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant.*

*Resolved, That the statue be accepted and placed in the Capitol, and that a copy of these resolutions, signed by the presiding officers of the House of Representatives and the Senate, be forwarded to the chairman of the committee of the Grand Army of the Republic on the Grant memorial.*

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I move that the Senate concur in the resolutions of the House of Representatives.

The resolutions were unanimously concurred in.

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I ask leave to withdraw the resolutions that I presented at the beginning of these proceedings.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the resolutions are withdrawn.

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 48 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, May 21, 1900, at 12 o'clock m.

### HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SATURDAY, May 19, 1900.

The House met at 12 o'clock m.

The following prayer was offered by the Chaplain, Rev. HENRY N. COUDEN, D. D.:

O Thou to whom myriads lift their hearts daily in adoration and praise, God of our fathers and our God, we come with our tribute of praise and gratitude for all the blessings which Thou hast bestowed upon us, grateful that we are citizens of the United States of America, incomparably greater than all other republics upon the face of the fair earth. We remember with fervency all the men who under Thy providence conceived, resolved, and maintained it through all its vicissitudes to the present moment—Washington, Warren, Adams, Jefferson, Lincoln, Grant, Garfield, and that innumerable host who toiled and sacrificed even unto death

that it might live. The splendid gift of the Grand Army of the Republic to the nation to-day reminds us of the stalwart, patriotic soldier and statesman to whom the nation owes a debt of gratitude which can never be canceled; gentle yet strong, mild yet aggressive, with indomitable courage and perseverance he moved on to the end a relentless force; yet, generous as he was brave, patient as he was courageous, magnanimous as he was bold, he became the man of peace when peace was most needed, an example not less to the world than to those he led to victory.

Bless, we pray Thee, the widow whom he has left to us. Grant that she may be comforted in these hours by the splendid tribute that his comrades, in their gift to the nation, offer to him, and by the memory of his precious life.

God be with us ever more; guide us as a nation and keep us strong and wise and true, an example to the nations of the world, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. GAMBLE for ten days, on account of important business.

#### GRANT MEMORIAL EXERCISES.

The committee of the Grand Army of the Republic having in charge the presentation of the statue of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant to the Government of the United States were announced and conducted to seats prepared for them in front of the Speaker's desk.

The SPEAKER. A few days ago this great body, without one dissenting voice, adopted the resolutions which the Clerk will now report.

The Clerk read as follows:

On April 27:

"On motion of Mr. McCLEARY, by unanimous consent, 'Resolved, That the exercises appropriate to the reception and acceptance from the Grand Army of the Republic of the statue of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, to be erected in the Capitol, be made the special order for Saturday, May 19, immediately after the reading of the Journal.'"

On May 15:

"Resolved, That during the exercises on the 19th instant, incident to the reception and acceptance of the statue of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, the committee of the Grand Army of the Republic on the Grant Memorial, the present commander in chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, the senior vice-commander in chief, the junior vice-commander in chief, the surgeon-general, the chaplain in chief, the adjutant-general, the quartermaster-general, the inspector-general, the judge-advocate-general, and the senior aid-de-camp and chief of staff of the Grand Army of the Republic be admitted to the floor of the House."

On May 16:

"Resolved, That during the exercises on the 19th instant, incident to the reception and acceptance of the statue of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, the gallery on the north side of the House be set apart and reserved for the guests of the Grand Army of the Republic, who shall be admitted thereto by card, countersigned by the Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives."

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Minnesota, chairman of the Committee on the Library.

Mr. McCLEARY. Mr. Speaker, I send to the Clerk's desk, to be read, the communication from the Grand Army of the Republic making this presentation.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the communication to the House.

The Clerk read as follows:

#### HEADQUARTERS GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC, COMMITTEE ON GRANT MEMORIAL, Washington, D. C., May 19, 1900.

SIR: In accordance with the "Joint resolution to accept from the national encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic a statue (and pedestal) of the late Gen. Ulysses S. Grant," approved August 14, 1890, the committee of the Grand Army appointed to that end have caused such statue to be executed, and the same is now placed in the Rotunda of the Capitol.

The statue is an original work modeled by Mr. Franklin Simmons, an American artist having his studio in Rome.

A brief recital of the origin and purpose of this memorial work seems proper.

General Grant, as were others of the leaders of the Union Armies, including Generals Sherman and Sheridan, was a comrade of the Grand Army of the Republic, having been mustered into Meade Post, No. 1, Department of Pennsylvania, on the 16th day of May, 1877. He wore its badge on proper occasion, sympathized with its objects, and fraternally mingled with its membership.

It was natural, therefore, upon his decease at Mount McGregor, New York, on the 23d day of July, 1885, that his comrades of the Grand Army, whilst mingling their grief with that of all his countrymen, should desire, in some special manner, to signalize their personal regard for and devotion to their comrade, and their deep appreciation of the inestimable services he had rendered to his country and to his age. Accordingly, on the 24th of September, 1885, the then commander in chief of the Grand Army of the Republic addressed a circular to the posts and departments of the order suggesting the creation of a fund by voluntary contribution, no more than 15 cents to be received from any contributing comrade, for, as stated in the circular, "the erection of a monument, which, avoiding all exaggeration or mere motive of display, shall be in keeping with the simplicity of the life and character of our great leader; of such intrinsic excellence as shall commend it to the care of the nation, and thus, through all succeeding generations, be our memorial as well as a monument to his fame."

At the succeeding national encampment the project was laid before it, met with hearty commendation, and steps were taken to facilitate its accomplishment.

By directions of succeeding national encampments the work was continued until the finished result was brought within the shelter of the Capitol, and is now presented for acceptance.

The fund contributed for the announced purpose represents the offerings of more than 70,000 of his comrades, most of whom had served in the field under his command, and all of whom had hailed him as a comrade in the later day of peace.

In their behalf we who now survive commit this semblance of his person to the care and keeping of the nation whose walls he helped to make stronger, rejoicing in the knowledge that the memories it will invoke are of good will to-day, and will be of concord through all coming time.

Very respectfully,

SAMUEL S. BURDETT,  
*Chairman,*  
ROBT. B. BEATH,  
*Secretary,*  
SELDEN CONNOR,  
EDMUND S. GRANT,  
R. A. ALGER,  
HORACE S. CLARK,  
*Committee.*

Hon. DAVID B. HENDERSON,  
*Speaker of the House of Representatives.*

Mr. McCLEARY. Mr. Speaker, I present the resolutions which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota presents the resolutions which will now be reported to the House.

The Clerk read as follows:

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the thanks of Congress be given to the Grand Army of the Republic for the statue of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant.*

*Resolved, That the statue be accepted and placed in the Capitol, and that a copy of these resolutions, signed by the presiding officers of the House of Representatives and the Senate, be forwarded to the chairman of the committee of the Grand Army of the Republic on the Grant Memorial.*

Mr. McCLEARY. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives has set aside this day to accept, with proper ceremonial from the Grand Army of the Republic, a statue of its most distinguished comrade, Gen. Ulysses S. Grant. The occasion is graced by the presence of the lady who was his loved and honored companion through life, with her daughter and her granddaughter and grandson.

The statue, which is in itself a fine piece of art, showing the great military leader in his uniform as a general, is a tribute of the affectionate regard of his old companions in arms. They take honest pride in his fame, which is in part their own, and feel that it is fit and proper that his form and features should be preserved in marble beneath the Dome of this Capitol.

On this occasion representatives of all parties and sections will pay tribute to the memory of the great commander, for we all feel that his fame is the common heritage of this nation, and that in it we can all take pride.

In the spring of 1865 more men moved obedient to the command of General Grant than were commanded by Napoleon in all his campaigns, from the beginning of his meteoric career, on the plains of Italy and before the pyramids of Egypt, until his sun set at Waterloo; and the area of Grant's operations exceeded the area covered by Napoleon from the vine-clad hills of France to the snowy steppes of Russia.

But to appreciate the real dignity and worth of General Grant's services to mankind, and those of his companions in arms, they must be considered in the light of universal history. His genius was exercised to save to the world its most precious secular possession. I measure my words, sir, when I say that the most valuable secular possession of this world to-day is the Union of the American States. [Applause.] Hundreds of thousands of lives and thousands of millions of treasure have been expended to preserve it; but in its potency for good to the world it is worth infinitely more than it has cost.

What is the spectacle which this country presents to the world to-day? It is that of forty-five little nations, each self-governing in all matters pertaining to itself individually, living side by side in peace; no fortresses on their frontiers; no standing armies within their borders. He who studies history aright will see that this nation is constructed on a great pacific political principle. It is the practical working out in the affairs of men of the idea which He came eighteen hundred years ago to bring, that of "Peace on earth and good will toward men."

What is that principle? It is the principle of federation based upon representation, a principle which had its origin in the forests of Germany, a principle unknown to Asia, unknown to Rome when she was mistress of the world.

The nations of Europe, burdened with the weight of standing armies, will yet learn through the example of this country the great lesson which it was created to teach. They will disband their armies, tear down their fortresses, and establish the United States of Europe. Already we have the Dominion of Canada framed on the principle of this Government. Australia is just about to form a government like ours, and the principle is extending its operation and will yet possess the earth.

On the 4th day of July, 1863, a group of Americans were assembled in Paris. They were met in honor of the natal day of their nation. At that banquet toasts were proposed. One of the toasts was "The United States." The toastmaster, in presenting it, said:

Here is to the United States, bounded on the north by the British possessions, bounded on the south—

And, oh, how much that meant—

by Mexico and the Gulf of Mexico, bounded on the east by the Atlantic, and on the west by the Pacific.

That gentleman was from New England, careful and exact in his statements.

Another American from farther West, let us say from Ohio, arose, and said:

When we are giving boundaries of the United States, why not see with the eye of prophecy? Here is to the United States, bounded on the north by the North Pole, on the south by the South Pole, on the east by the rising of the sun, and on the west by the setting thereof.

Then a tall, slender gentleman from the breezy prairies of the West, rose and said:

When we are indulging in prophecy, why not see with full comprehensiveness? Here is to the United States, bounded on the north by the Aurora Borealis, on the south by the precession of the equinoxes, on the east by primeval chaos, and on the west by the day of judgment.

[Laughter.]

That is a banquet picture, playful, but in a certain sense destined to be true. It is not difficult of belief that the children's children of men now living will see the time when the United States, under the process which I have undertaken to describe, will extend from pole to pole and from the rising to the setting of the sun. By and by international questions will be settled, as we now settle questions between States, by having a representative body assembled at some convenient place, as this Congress assembles here, to consider in the forum of peace questions that are international. Then will be realized the dream of the poet, when—

The war drum beats no longer,  
And the battle flags are furled  
In the parliament of man,  
The federation of the world.

Thus we see something of the true significance and dignity of the United States of America. The civil war was the supreme test to determine whether "a nation so conceived and so dedicated" could "longer endure." And every man who had any part, however humble, in the preservation of that Union is entitled to the gratitude of the world. Hence the propriety, the eminent propriety, of enshrining within this Capitol, the temple of the great pacific principle of the representation to which I have alluded, a statue of the great commander through whose genius the Union was preserved.

The statue, worthy alike of the genius which it commemorates and the brave men whose cheerful contributions produced it, will be accepted and it will be preserved in honor through the coming centuries. [Loud applause.]

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, Ulysses S. Grant does not need a statue in this Capitol or at any other place on earth in order that his name and fame may be perpetuated. Long after the marble figure of him this day presented to the nation shall have decayed and disappeared, his deeds will survive and the work of his hand be manifest. I believe it is true that history shows that every nation and people and tribe that has gone before us, or that now has an existence, has made a hero, if not an idol, of that man who in its great wars has proven himself to be its most successful soldier. Our own Republic is a conspicuous example of this historical fact.

When the United States emerged from the war of the Revolution the soldier of that great struggle who had won highest renown was George Washington. The most exalted honor in the gift of his countrymen was immediately and lovingly bestowed upon him, and he became the first Chief Magistrate. The war of 1812 with Great Britain had its illustrious hero in the person of Andrew Jackson, and in due time he received the same reward as that bestowed upon Washington. The great Indian wars of the West developed a hero in the person of William Henry Harrison, whom a generous people raised to the Presidency.

The war with Mexico gave the country a President in the person of General Taylor. The greatest of all our wars, the late war between the States, was not an exception to this rule, and likewise produced its hero. That hero we here and now delight to honor. It is not only historically true that each of our wars has produced one soldier who became its most conspicuous figure, but it is further true that the hero thus developed has each time been rewarded by his appreciative countrymen with the gift of their highest office.

The hero of the war between the States was born in Clermont County, Ohio, April 27, 1822. He was of Scotch ancestry, but his family had been American in all its branches for several generations. He was a descendant of Mathew Grant, who arrived at Dorchester, Mass., in May, 1630. His father was Jesse R. Grant and his mother Hannah Simpson. In the fall of 1823 his parents removed to Georgetown, the county seat of Brown County, Ohio. From an early age until 17 years old he attended the subscription schools of Georgetown, except during the winters of 1836-37 and 1838-39, which were spent at school in Maysville, Ky., and Ripley, Ohio.

In the spring of 1839, at the age of 17, he was appointed to a cadetship in the Military Academy at West Point, and entered the Academy July 1, 1839. He graduated from the Academy in

1843, twenty-first in a class of 39 members. July 1, 1843, he was attached to the Fourth United States Infantry as brevet second lieutenant; was appointed second lieutenant in the Seventh Infantry September 30, 1845. During the Mexican war he took part with his regiment, the Fourth Infantry, having been transferred to that regiment, and was in all the battles fought by Generals Scott and Taylor except that of Buena Vista. He was several times promoted during the war with Mexico. On the 22d day of August, 1848, he married Miss Julia Dent, of St. Louis, Mo., and who, blessed with long life, honors us with her presence and lends queenly grace to this occasion.

In 1853 his regiment was sent to the Pacific coast, and August 5, 1843, he was appointed captain. In 1854 he resigned from the Army and went to live on a farm near St. Louis, Mo. In 1860 he removed to Galena, Ill., and became a clerk in his father's store. In April, 1861, after President Lincoln's call for troops, he presided at a public meeting in Galena, which resulted in the organization of a company of volunteers which he drilled and accompanied to Springfield, Ill. He was employed at once by Governor Yates in the adjutant's office and appointed mustering officer. May 24, 1861, he offered his services to the National Government in a letter he then wrote, but no answer was ever made to it.

June 17, 1861, he was appointed colonel of the Twenty-first Illinois Volunteers, and served until August 7, when he was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers by the President. Was assigned September 1 to command the district of southeastern Missouri. On September 4 he established his headquarters at Cairo, and on the 6th captured Paducah, Ky. On the 2d of February, 1862, he advanced from Cairo, and on the 6th captured Fort Henry and on the 16th Fort Donelson.

Soon afterwards he was made a major-general of volunteers, his commission dating from February 16, 1862. He commanded at the battle of Shiloh, April 6 and 7, 1862, and was second in command to General Halleck during the advance upon and the siege of Corinth. He was placed in command of the district of West Tennessee, and in September fought the battle of Iuka, Miss., and in October the battle of Corinth. January 29, 1863, he took command of the troops on the Mississippi River opposite Vicksburg.

After a number of minor engagements with the Confederates in that department, they retired their armies into Vicksburg, and that city was besieged by General Grant, and it finally surrendered, July 4, 1863. On that day he was commissioned a major-general in the United States Army. In October he was assigned to the command of the military division of the Mississippi, which included Rosecrans's army at Chattanooga. He went to Chattanooga and commanded in the battle of Missionary Ridge in November. For his successes Congress, in December, 1863, passed a resolution of thanks to him and the officers and soldiers of his command, and presented him with a gold medal. The bill restoring the grade of Lieutenant-General became a law in February, 1864, and on March 1 he was nominated for the position and was confirmed the succeeding day.

On March 12 he assumed command of all the armies of the United States, and immediately began the plan of campaign that kept all the armies in motion until the war ended. About May 4, 1864, this campaign—the greatest of the war—began, and lasted until the surrender of the Confederates in April, 1865. During this period there were fought some of the bloodiest battles in the world's history. On April 9, 1865, the war was virtually closed by the surrender of the armies under General Lee at Appomattox, Va. On the closing of the war his attention was directed to mustering out of service the great armies under his command, and the disposal of the enormous quantities of stores of the Government.

In the discharge of his duties he visited different sections of the country and was received everywhere with genuine enthusiasm. The citizens of Philadelphia presented him with a handsome residence in that city; his old neighbors in Galena gave him a pretty home in their town; the people of New York presented to him a check for a large sum of money; and everywhere there were unmistakable evidences of the high esteem in which he was held. In November and December, 1865, he traveled through the Southern States, and made a report to the President upon the conditions there.

In May, 1866, he submitted a plan to the Government for the reorganization of the Regular Army of the United States, which became the basis of reorganization. July 25 Congress passed an act creating the grade of General of the Armies of the United States, and on the same day he was appointed to this rank. August 12, 1867, was appointed by President Johnson Secretary of War ad interim, which position he held until January 14, 1868.

At the national convention of the Republican party which met in Chicago on May 20, 1868, he was unanimously nominated for President on the first call of States, and was duly elected in November of that year. Was renominated by his party in national convention in Philadelphia, June 6, 1872, and was again successful. He retired from office March 4, 1877, and soon thereafter

made a journey into foreign countries, and in all of them visited by him he was received with great distinction and pomp by the governments and peoples. An earnest effort was made to nominate him for a third term, but it failed. By special act of Congress passed March 3, 1885, he was placed as general on the retired list of the Army.

I have necessarily spoken very briefly of the leading facts in the life and career of this truly great American soldier. The most extravagant and fulsome eulogy that can possibly be bestowed by human lips upon General Grant does not in the slightest degree derogate from the pure and matchless fame of the hero and idol of those who fought against him, and of all true Confederates, in that bloody period during which his marvelous character was developed, and which gave him the opportunity to win everlasting renown. But for the indomitable courage and valor of the Confederate soldier there would have been no opportunity for his development and for the proof of his giant strength.

As an ex-Confederate soldier I revere his memory and demand, and have a just right to demand, to share in the honor and glory which cluster like jeweled diadems around his name and render him conspicuous above his contemporaries as an American soldier and citizen. [Loud applause.] Confederates can and do honor him because in battle he was a foeman worthy of their steel. He said on one familiar occasion, "We will fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." This sentiment showed his lion heart and iron will, and for this we honored him. When the day of Appomattox came, and the bravest of the brave under Lee laid down their arms forever, he said, "Let the men take their horses and go to their homes; they will need them with which to raise a crop for the women and children."

If many honored him for the one sentiment I have quoted, many more loved him for the tenderness he displayed in his victory and for that touch of nature which made them feel that they were akin and that their conqueror was a true American soldier. [Applause.] The magnanimity then displayed by him to the Confederates won for himself from them their warmest gratitude. His magnanimity will always be remembered by Confederate soldiers and will stand conspicuous in history so long as nobility of character shall be appreciated by mankind. It was hardly reasonable to expect, when he was called without experience in civil life to the highest and most responsible position in the Government, that his career would be marked by that superlative degree of success which had added so much luster to his name as a soldier. Yet his administration of the office gave satisfaction to the country and was so successful that he was indorsed and reelected, as I have already stated.

During his eight years in the Presidency, legislation was almost completed for the restoration of the Southern States to their original positions in the Union, the reunion of the States was about perfected, and all sections of the land admitted to full and free representation under the Government. Much of the bitterness engendered by the war, and which had been left alive at its closing, and which was not appreciably diminished during President Johnson's term was almost dissipated, certainly much softened during his Administration.

An examination of his state papers will show that he dwelt especially upon the duty of paying the national debt in gold and returning to specie payments; that he urged upon Congress with great zeal a proposition to annex Santo Domingo; that during his Administration the "Quaker peace commission" was appointed to deal with the Indians, the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States was proclaimed, the treaty of Washington was negotiated, and, with a subsequent arbitration at Geneva, a settlement was provided of the difficulties relating to the Alabama claims and the fisheries; that in 1870 and frequently at later dates he urged upon Congress the need of reform in the civil service.

His appeal secured the passage of the law of March 3, 1871, under which he appointed a Civil Service Commission. This commission framed rules, which were approved by the President. They provided for open competitive examinations and went into effect January 1, 1873, and out of these grew the present civil-service rules. One of his most important papers was the message vetoing the "inflation bill." The closing months of his public life covered the stormy and exciting period following the Presidential election of 1876, when the result, as between Mr. Tilden and Mr. Hayes, was so long in doubt. There is scarcely anything, however, in any Presidential paper of that period to indicate the great peril to the country and the severe strain to which our institutions were subjected in the memorable contest.

President Grant died July 23, 1885, at Mount McGregor, New York, and his ashes peacefully rest at beautiful Riverside Park on the banks of the Hudson River, New York City. His burial place is marked by a splendid mausoleum, to which many of his admiring countrymen make frequent pilgrimage, that they may pay loving tribute to his memory and testify afresh their appreciation of his heroism and devotion to duty. [Loud applause.]

Mr. WARNER. Mr. Speaker, Illinois has the honor of having given Ulysses S. Grant to the Volunteer Army of the United States. In accepting, as a representative of that State, the invitation to speak of him on this occasion I appreciate my inability, the inability of any man, adequately to voice his greatness and his worth.

As a citizen, as a soldier, as a statesman, he was preeminent; and the fact is more and more understood and appreciated as the years go by, as we study and understand his character, his acts, his words, and his writings, as time demonstrates the correctness of his strategy and the wisdom of his civil Administration.

He was true, pure, gentle, and loyal as husband, father, and friend; and the most difficult word for him to utter was the word "No." Truly he had malice toward none and charity for all; and throughout his wonderful career, with its vicissitudes and triumphs, to all who knew him, he remained Ulysses S. Grant, a good, kind, considerate, lovable man. His earlier misfortunes did not depress him, and his later successes did not elate him. He did his duty as he understood it, modestly, in an honest, earnest, straightforward way, and accepted what our good Father gave him without complaint or exultation.

And what a wonder his life's history! The more truthfully told one hundred years hence the more will it appear like fiction.

Having been graduated from West Point and advanced to the rank of captain in the Regular Army, from which he had resigned, almost at middle life he found himself, with a family, in eastern Missouri desperately endeavoring to keep the wolf out of the door by clearing and farming a small tract of land and by peddling in St. Louis the wood cut by his own hands. A little later, to better that condition, he obtained of his father a clerkship, at a limited salary, in a small store in Galena, Ill. Within one year he was in command of an army of his country, and demanded and accepted the surrender of General Buckner, with 15,000 men, at Fort Donelson.

Within less than three years he demanded and accepted the surrender of General Pemberton, with 32,000 soldiers, at Vicksburg. Within four years his victorious army swept over the crest of Missionary Ridge and opened the way to the sea. Within five years he was in command of all the armies of the United States; the Army under his immediate command had moved, by the left flank, down through the Wilderness. General Lee had tendered him his sword and surrendered to him the gallant Army of Northern Virginia, and our country was saved and united forever. Within eight years he was President of the United States; and but a short time thereafter all the potentates of the world felt honored in standing uncovered before the modest, unassuming American, the former wood chopper and country clerk. To-day his statue honors the Capitol of the greatest nation on earth.

Verily, with his life's history before him, no one, at any age, in this country of ours should despair of final success.

It was my good fortune to see him, when he was known as Captain Grant, at the State capitol in Illinois, assisting the adjutant-general of that State in organizing its volunteers for the civil war, and later when he was colonel of the Twenty-first Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and when he was commanding the district of Cairo, and at Fort Donelson and Shiloh; and during the campaigns of Mississippi and Vicksburg and his occupancy of the Executive Mansion here in Washington I had the honor often to meet and know and be known by him, and he was ever and always the same kind, courteous, lovable gentleman. He voluntarily did me personal kindnesses when I was a boy subaltern under him, and I loved him and I revere his memory.

As a military commander he was patient, firm, earnest, and persistent. In action, under fire, he was quiet and impassive, seemingly intent only in working out victory, and utterly oblivious of personal danger. He abhorred unnecessary bloodshed; but thought it more merciful, when the opposing forces were within striking distance, to bring on a decisive battle than to allow his soldiers to be decimated by the diseases of idle camps; and when his victory was won his conquered opponents had no truer friend than he. He fought battles, not for the purpose of killing men, but for the purpose of saving his country; and when a battle was over he wished to take his enemies to his heart and make them his and his country's friends. I do not believe he ever had an unkind feeling for any man, living or dead, whether he wore the blue or the gray; and I do believe his great heart went out to all.

When General Buckner, at Fort Donelson, asked that commissioners might be appointed to consider the question of capitulation, General Grant answered that such commissioners were unnecessary, and demanded immediate and unconditional surrender, adding that he purposed to move immediately upon their works. That was Grant the general. General Buckner surrendered unconditionally; and that night, after "taps," General Grant found and entered General Buckner's tent, and taking out his pocketbook, said: "General Buckner, you are a prisoner and will be sent North. I presume you have no money that is current

with us, and I wish to share mine with you." That was Grant the man. [Loud applause.]

Again, before the commencement of the final campaign of Vicksburg, he called Sherman and others of his generals about him, and informed them that he proposed to put his army across the river, south of Vicksburg, cut loose from his base of supplies and communication with the North, move into the interior of Mississippi, and then attack Vicksburg from the high ground at its rear. None approved his plan; and Sherman, to put himself on record, wrote and delivered to General Grant an official letter protesting against the proposed operation. General Grant disregarded the opinions of his generals, the protest of Sherman, and executed the movement, fought the battles of Port Gibson, Raymond, Edwards Station, Jackson, Champion Hills, and Black River, and cooped the Confederate army up in Vicksburg, with its capture an absolute certainty. That was Grant the general. When the success of the movement was assured, instead of forwarding this letter in the regular way to the Adjutant-General of the Army, the usual course, he handed it to Sherman and told him he had better burn it. That was Grant the man.

Again, at Vicksburg, General Grant gave General Pemberton to understand that unless he surrendered his works would be assaulted on the 4th day of July. That was Grant the general. Pemberton surrendered, and General Grant set all the gallant Confederate army at liberty and allowed them to go to their homes on their words. That was Grant the man. [Applause.]

Down in Virginia, his order was to fight it out on that line—forward by the left flank. That was Grant the general. When General Lee surrendered, General Grant, on his own motion, stipulated that the brave men of that army should take with them to their homes, to aid in cultivating their fields, the animals they had used in trying to destroy him and his army. Further, when President Johnson proposed to arrest General Lee and try him for treason on account of the part he had taken in the rebellion, General Grant notified the President that if he did so he (General Grant) would resign his commission in the Army. That was Grant the man. [Loud applause.]

Lastly, when through his confidence in his fellow-men he had lost all his property and was dying at Mount McGregor, he waited an early and certain death without a murmur of complaint, and used his fast-fading vitality in writing his immortal Memoirs in the hope that their sale might bring his loved ones a little something after he should be gone. That was the soldier, the husband, the father, and the friend. That was Ulysses S. Grant.

Is it strange that all in this broad land, North and South, in blue and in gray, love him and join in person or in spirit in these services here to-day? They would not be Americans if they did not.

His life is a lesson, a hope, an inspiration. Our country is stronger and the world is better and hope is brighter that he lived, and it is fitting and proper that his statue shall forever honor the Capitol of the country he did more than any other man to save. [Loud applause.]

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Speaker, I desire particularly to speak of General Grant as a soldier. He was the highest type of a soldier; not such as the genius of Shakespeare has described in his seven ages, but a soldier far more lovable and admirable; a soldier who, like Lincoln, his august commander in chief, was carved out of the common clay of the Republic by the fingers of the Almighty to preserve this nation and serve as an object lesson to the world. He was the personification of loyalty. Truly tempered in the Military Academy of the people, where his illustrious opponent also received his education, he never swerved from his duty when the nation in its dire emergency required his services.

It was as a true soldier of the people that he won the esteem and admiration of the world. It depends upon the soldier himself whether he is to be esteemed or admired. He shows different qualities at different times and under different circumstances. Cromwell at Naseby and Cromwell at Drogheda contrast as the glorious sunrise to Cimmerian darkness. There are no such contrasts in Grant's career. He was a soldier of perfect symmetry in character, judgment, performance, and humanity.

It is the cause no less than the temper that makes the true soldier. The inspiration of Grant is found in the cause for which he fought. And the same, strange as it may seem, may be said of Lee. Two more knightly spirits never met. On their brows shame was ashamed to sit. Yet they met in the shock of battle, and negotiated from what appeared to be exactly opposite standpoints. It was our times that molded them into different types. Grant had faith in the wholesome grandeur of a national growth; Lee in the confederacy of political entities. Both believed in popular rule. The divergence came at the application. One was the champion of a cast-off political faith, once dear; the other of a new and glorious dawn in political progress. This made each a patriot from his own standpoint, and with unswerving constancy each held on to "the great argument of arms," as Longstreet puts it, until the verdict was awarded.

Grant was a model soldier. At the beginning he had to struggle through thick darkness. It would have daunted a less determined soul. At Belmont he was nearly obscured. It took the glory of Donelson to carry him through the first day's disaster at Shiloh. His sun reappeared at Vicksburg, and got fairly above the clouds at Chattanooga. He was a great soldier, but he never dreamed he was great. He was not warring for greatness, nor for conquest, nor glory, but for a united people on a common patrimony. Seated on a log in the Wilderness, in a common soldier's blouse, loosened and unbuttoned, with a cigar in one hand and a pencil in the other, receiving reports, sending off orders, listening to the guns, and pressing the desperate game to a final result, but one thought inspired him—the glory of his country and the happiness of a mighty people. As a soldier he has not yet attained his height. As centuries wane his figure will assume colossal proportions. His statue will be one of the most conspicuous on the grand plaza of American history. Standing on the pedestal of national appreciation, surrounded by the figures of Sherman, Sheridan, Meade, Hooker, Thomas, Hancock, Sedgwick, Logan, McPherson, and others of his generals, it will exemplify one of the greatest qualifications of a soldier—a true appreciation of his chieftains and of their abilities on the battlefield.

Grant more than fills the popular conception of a soldier. It was reserved for him to make the glory of Appomattox a common victory. He knew the war was closed, and he determined to make the triumph of his arms a victory for the whole people. He showed no taint of animosity. His action was a revelation to the nation, a surprising revelation to Lee and the South. When the two heroes met, forgetful of the wearisome struggle, Grant fell into conversation with Lee as with an older brother in arms. Memories of battles far away, where both had fought under the same flag, engrossed him. Lee, remembering his starving soldiers, twice reminded him of the occasion that called them together. With ready pen Grant then wrote out the terms of surrender. In them there was no suggestion of humiliation. They climaxed his glory as a patriot and soldier. They must have convinced his chivalrous opponent that he had not fallen into the hands of any enemy, but into the arms of a brother. Rations were issued to the starving Confederates. All their private property was allowed them, including their horses, which Grant said they would need in planting crops to repair the destitution caused by the war. He even forbade a salute in honor of the victory. The generous and unexpected terms were gladly accepted, and enemies of an hour ago mingled together as friends. The war was indeed over. Grant at Appomattox began the healing process that restored the Union and revived the cause of liberty throughout the world.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, he had all the characteristics of an American soldier—the highest type of the profession. Brave, but not rash; energetic, persistent, strategic, silent, aggressive, steady, patriotic, just, untiring, resourceful, patient, and uncomplaining, he is an ideal soldier. He abhorred delay; he was always ready; responsibility never fell on more willing shoulders. Yet the ravages of war were hateful to him. When the thunder of the guns had ceased, and babble grew sharp about the nature of the strife, he exclaimed almost beseechingly: "Let us have peace." Magnanimity is the highest virtue of a soldier—that sort of magnanimity that when an adversary confesses himself overthrown brings the victor to his side with every healing remedy that brotherhood can suggest, and, putting aside the cause of quarrel, invites him to a common fellowship and a common patrimony.

This did Grant. It was the crowning achievement of the war. The Union was not only preserved, but was cemented in the bonds of universal brotherhood. Sectional lines were washed away, and the nation to-day, one and indivisible, towers sublime among the realms of the earth.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Library has requested me to participate in this particularly interesting occasion, dedicating the statue of the dead warrior, General Grant, whose heroic deeds are part of our country's history and will live while the Republic lives or its annals are perused by coming generations. The beautiful work is the gift of the soldiery upon whose valor the reputation of commanding officers are built. A generation has come and gone since the close of the civil war. The number left who participated in its desperate encounters are rapidly becoming less and less. The remnant is slowly but surely tottering down the hill of life, and will soon, in the course of nature, "sleep together at its base." Being among the number of those who followed the furling flag of "the lost cause" is the reason, no doubt, for my taking part in this ceremony. The command to which I was attached surrendered to General Custer on the 6th day of April, 1865, just three days before the cartel between Generals Lee and Grant was signed at Appomattox. I was pardoned by President Johnson and admitted again to citizenship.

There was a period when we did not all keep step to the music of the Union, when two flags were given to the breezes of our country, precipitating the most bloody and stupendous conflict

of modern times. The Confederate has been furling forever—not in dishonor. May the other never cease to wave, the emblem of a united and inseparable country.

As we recur to that struggle two great strategists and masters of war naturally suggest themselves—General Grant and General Lee, graduates of West Point. Indeed, the men who accomplished most that was of real service in the civil war on either side received their training at the National Military Academy. What an argument is this in a country like ours, where there is a fixed antipathy to a large standing army, that such an institution should be liberally supported and broadened in its sphere that we may always have such men to organize and lead our armies when necessity arises.

Those were eventful days and years between the firing upon Fort Sumter and the final surrender of the Confederate army at Appomattox. A continuous battle, regardless of seasons; armies either in conflict or maneuvering for position.

The bravest and best blood of the country was freely poured out for the vindication of the cause which the respective combatants espoused.

The pages of our history are blazoned with the heroic deeds of fellow-countrymen who met in that fearful fratricidal conflict. When peace came two veteran armies returned to their homes to resume again the arts of peace. The Southern men went back to desolate firesides and disorganized State governments and applied themselves to building up the waste places. Its cost in life and treasure was something terrible to contemplate, but it had its good results. It taught the North and the South mutual respect, and demonstrated that there were no geographical lines bounding the bravery and patriotism of this country, but that the Anglo-Saxon of the Mississippi Valley and of the mountains of New Hampshire were alike courageous.

Every year brings us in closer sympathy by the increasing bonds of blood and commerce.

Iron bands tie the Pacific and the Atlantic oceans, the Lakes, and the Gulf together, with one flag triumphantly waving over every foot of our broad domain.

Never since Revolutionary days was there less of sectional feeling and the people more united than just now. If there had existed a doubt before 1898, it was finally and forever removed when the men of the cotton States touched elbows with the men of New England in the charge at San Juan Hill fighting beneath the folds of the Star Spangled Banner.

The blue and the gray  
In fierce array  
No local hates discover.  
Strike hands once more  
From shore to shore—  
The North and South forever.

Yankee Doodle and the Southern battle song Dixey are the property of one united glorious country. Dixey was among the assets at Appomattox. They were both played with the army in Cuba, and heard from the decks of our ironclads that destroyed Cervera's fleet and at Manila on May 1, 1898. Spanish journals predicted a renewal of strife between the North and South when war was threatened with Spain. How little they knew of the temper of our people. Each section was vying with the other as to who should be first at the front and in the post of danger. The contest was brief and sharp. Its results have been beneficial to our country, stimulating the patriotism of our people and demonstrating to the world that our military prowess is equal to any demand that can be made upon it.

We have by reason thereof assumed a new position among the powers of the earth, and new and unexpected responsibilities have been thrust upon us as a nation. We have some complicated propositions to unravel, but I have no doubt we will be equal to the occasion and carry the blessings of liberty to the Tropics.

The institution of slavery gone, there is no issue left that could divide us on geographical lines. We can face the future with confidence—a thoroughly united people.

No more the thirsty Erynis of this soil  
Shall daub her lips with her own children's blood;  
No more shall trenching war channel her fields  
Or bruise her flowerets with the armed troops  
Of hostile paces: Those opposed eyes  
Which, like the meteors of a troubled heaven,  
All of one nature, of one substance bred,  
Did lately meet in the intestine shock  
And furious close of civil butchery,  
Shall now in mutual well-beseeming ranks,  
March all one way and be no more opposed  
Against acquaintance, kindred, and allies.

An attempt in these halls to revive the animosities of the civil war are greeted with jeers and hisses. The President, in this same spirit of reconciliation, has recommended the care of the graves of those who wore the gray. And why not?

They gave the best evidence man can give of his devotion to principle in baring their breasts to the storm of battle. Some years after the war had closed, and it was concluded that the graves of all soldiers, Union and Confederate, should be remembered on

Decoration Day, a Union soldier who was in the desperate fight at Chancellorsville, and saw the boys in blue and gray with their bayonets crossed in death, wrote these lines:

On the moss-covered dell,  
Side by side as they fell,  
We have tenderly laid them at rest.  
Who shall tell us to-day  
Which is blue, which is gray,  
From the sods that lie cold on their breast?

Bloom the roses as red  
On their moss-covered bed,  
And the mocking bird carols as free;  
Droops the willow as low  
O'er friend as o'er foe—  
Sighs the zephyrs as soft to the sea.

Lightly tread on the grave  
Where were buried the brave—  
Scatter roses and garlands for all;  
As we think how they died,  
Let us kneel by their side,  
And remember 'tis heroes who fall.

Were they right, were they wrong,  
'Tis to God they belong.  
'Tis His to reject or receive;  
Ours to honor the clay  
Of the blue and the gray,  
Doubly ours to forget and forgive.

And now comes the State of Maryland with an invitation to the dedication of a monument on the bloody field of Antietam to the Union and Confederate soldier; who will question that we are a united people?

Let us, as we gather about this statue, resolve to devote ourselves to the arts of peace and triumph there. In peaceful competition conquer the markets of the world. The busy manufactories of the East are finding new demands for their multifarious products. The iron and steel industries of the United States are dictating prices everywhere. We build bridges for Africa, send railroad iron and supplies to Russia; locomotives to Great Britain. The iron of Alabama finds sale in the Mediterranean. England can supply herself with coal at Mobile cheaper than she can mine it at home. We will not only feed the world from our granaries, but supply it with fuel. The agricultural South is building up manufactories for her great staple. The delusion that only slave labor could produce cotton has been dissipated with 11,000,000 bales as the crop of last year. The triumphant commercial march of our country in the last few years is a matter of just pride to every patriotic American.

The financial condition of our country was never better. Our imports for the fiscal year were eight hundred and fifty millions in excess of all past records; our exports, one billion four hundred millions, giving the safe balance of five hundred and fifty millions. Such figures guarantee wealth and prosperity to our country and startle the foreign world, who are ever seeking new markets. Our receipts are six millions a month beyond our requirements.

What keen pleasure would it give to him whose statue we dedicate here to-day to look upon his beloved country in its present condition. The name of Grant will stand out in the annals of history as one of the great military geniuses of the closing century. The campaigns of Grant and Lee along the waters of the James and the Rappahannock will be the theme of students in the art of war for all time.

May I be excused just here for saying one word for the modest soldier, General Lee, who resisted the Federal Army with such consummate skill; who, when he realized that it would be murder to keep up the struggle, surrendered his tattered and emaciated army and accepted the final arbitrament of the sword? None recognized more than the people of the South the chivalrous character of General Grant. His refusal to take Lee's sword; his ordering his wagon train to bring 25,000 rations to his men, in whose haversacks he had found only a few grains of parched corn; his directing that the captured army retain their horses, saying, "They will need them on their farms," all evidence his magnanimity. His sincerity is manifested when, in his final report to Secretary Stanton, he said, "Let them hope for perpetual peace and harmony with that enemy whose manhood, however mistaken the cause, drew forth such heroic deeds of valor." Every Southern soldier should and does respect the man who uttered such sentiments to vanquished foes. He was the embodiment of grim-visaged war while the fight progressed, but he was humane and magnanimous when the enemy surrendered. None knew this better than General Lee.

His example will be an inspiration to the manhood of America. Truly might we apply to him the language of the poet:

Were a star quenched on high,  
For ages would its light,  
Still wandering downward through the sky,  
Beam on one mortal sight.  
So when a great man dies,  
For years beyond one ken  
The light he leaves behind him shines  
Upon the paths of men.

Visitors to our national Capitol wonder that there is no monument to commemorate the name and character of this brave soul. The people have awakened from their seeming lethargy. Congress has taken steps to repair an apparent neglect, and without a dissenting vote have appropriated \$10,000 to secure a design that shall express in a fitting way their veneration for one of their greatest sons. Could he look upon the scene here to-day and know that the men he so gallantly led are showing their gratitude and appreciation of his services, it certainly would repay him for every sacrifice he made for the country he so devotedly loved.

[Mr. GROSVENOR addressed the House. See Appendix.]

Mr. LINNEY. Mr. Speaker, without the memories and graves of the world we would indeed be poor. Grant's recorded thoughts will refresh and strengthen those who search for wisdom, knowledge, and understanding for centuries to come. If nothing were in existence except one war paper which he wrote without five minutes' thought at Appomattox, he would take rank among the world's great thinkers. That article has only five periods:

APPOMATTOX COURT-HOUSE, April 9, 1865.

GENERAL: In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of the 8th instant, I propose to receive the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia on the following terms, to wit: Rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate, one copy to be given to an officer to be designated by me, the other to be retained by such officer or officers as you may designate; the officers to give their individual paroles not to take up arms against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged; and each company or regimental commander sign a like parole for the men of their command. The arms, artillery, and public property to be parked and stacked, and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side arms of the officers nor their private horses or baggage. This done, each officer or man will be allowed to return to his home, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observe their paroles and the laws in force where they may reside.

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

Gen. R. E. LEE.

General Grant possessed the rare mental excellence of expressing himself with technical accuracy in the fewest words possible. Not a word can be taken from this great war paper without marring its beauty and perfection. If I were to attempt an analysis of his intellectual being, I should say he had two eyes and but one tongue. [Laughter.] He saw much and expressed it tersely. It is a common infirmity of orators to possess two tongues and one eye. They talk about matters which their mind's eye has never penetrated.

Grant was even greater with the sword than with the pen. While possessing a combination of the greatest moral and intellectual qualities that made him a great President, his fame as one of the very greatest leaders of armies entitles him to rank as the world's greatest hero, except possibly our own beloved Washington.

Being one of the vanquished in the great war in which General Grant was the greatest character, I approach the discussion of his great qualities with some embarrassment. It rarely happens that the vanquished can find it in their hearts to think well of the victors. When armed cohorts march at the drumbeat with flying colors and join in deadly conflict on the field of carnage, the shouts of victory by the conquering army are not relished by the vanquished.

The superb judgment, courage, and magnanimity of Grant, the three great excellencies that make up great character, will ever command the respect of the true Southern hero. Grant was great in performance without pretension. At the breaking out of the war between the States Grant wrote to the Secretary of War: "I think I am capable of commanding a regiment." This letter was never answered. Grant's modesty was such that his capacity was hidden from the gaze of the world for a great while. His statement as to how he felt upon the first advance upon the enemy proves his candor and loyalty to truth. Few warriors ever admit that they fear anything.

My heart kept getting higher and higher until it felt to me as though it was in my throat; when I found that the enemy had retreated, my heart resumed its place. From that time to the end I never experienced trepidation upon confronting an enemy, though I always felt more or less anxiety.

Grant was then 41 years of age. Within three years a bill renewing the grade of Lieutenant-General was passed by Congress and Grant was made Lieutenant-General and commanded an army of 700,000 men on the field. With this immense force he planned two campaigns to be simultaneously directed against the most vital points of the Confederacy. Meade was marching against Richmond, Sherman against Atlanta.

In the short period from his confirmation by the Senate to the surrender at Appomattox, thousands of the heroes whom Grant commanded had perished, and Grant stood in the presence of General Lee, whose army he had subdued, as great in sympathy for the fallen as he had been courageous in battle. Mr. Speaker, in the human heart itself is hidden the secret fountain which refreshes or saddens its sweet or bitter waters. Courage, knowledge, and the broadest philanthropy combined to make Grant one of the world's greatest characters. A bright day with Grant

"brought forth no adder." Honor crowned him in the popular heart "without putting a sting in him." His affection for mankind "held equal sway with his reason." When he reached the highest round in the ladder of fame, he scorned no agency by which he did ascend. No, my countrymen, at no stage of Grant's official life did he disregard the obligation that rested upon him before high Heaven "to love his friends." Thank God that in the midst of the highest official honors this Republic can boast of one Chief Executive who never forgot or neglected a friend. [Applause.]

A great general can not be properly judged without knowing much of the foe whom he has vanquished. Upon the principle of contrast and comparison we measure with technical accuracy the greatness of the military hero. Napoleon and Wellington, Washington and Cornwallis, Grant and Lee, will ever appear in the popular mind in some way associated. Neither of the three greatest warriors could be properly judged without the knowledge of the true character and strength of the foe vanquished. General Lee was the almost idolized hero of the dashing, gallant sons of the South, as General Grant was the darling of the steady, courageous soldiers of the North. It was left to the lamented Blaine to delineate in perfect truth the character of the men of the South. Their domestic relations imparted manners that were haughty and sometimes offensive; they were quick to affront, and they not infrequently brought needless personal disputation into the discussion of public questions; but they were almost without exception men of the highest integrity and courage. These great warriors and soldiers of the South underrated the courage and power of the North.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, we said to the people of the North, What will you be when emasculated by the withdrawal of fifteen States and warred upon by them with active and inveterate hostility? The courageous men of the South hurled this statement into the ears of the North with the utmost candor and sincerity. Every sea will swarm with our privateers, the volunteer militia of the ocean. We believed the Confederacy was right. Thus the motive actuating the men of the South and their hopes of success which made them a dreaded foe against any human power on the earth appears. Six hundred thousand such men led by Generals Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, and James Longstreet constituted a military force probably as formidable to resist invasion as any that the world's history has ever known. The subjugation of so powerful an army and so courageous a people by any military organization that could be brought upon the field of battle, and whose movements could be directed by any one commander, entitles Grant to rank with Julius Cæsar, Hannibal, Napoleon Bonaparte, or our own beloved Washington.

The moral courage displayed by General Grant in the very moment of victory touching his dealings with the vanquished was almost godlike.

Jugurtha, a Numidian king, appeared before the great city of the world and hurled this remarkable exclamation against it:

Behold a city for sale if she could but find a purchaser.

This insult being resented, armies were organized, but Jugurtha surprised and cut them to pieces. Finally Marius, whom Mr. Froude calls the gnarled and knotted oak, with an immense army, met Jugurtha, defeated him in battle, made slaves of his soldiers, and put him behind iron prison bars, where he starved to death. The flashing intellect of Sallust has made the historical pages of the Jugurthine war glitter as with diamond splendor, yet the greatest character of the vanquished in that great war starved to death in an iron prison, as the proper exercise of the rights of a conqueror over the vanquished. Regulus, whom General Lee resembles very much, after he had defeated a Carthaginian fleet of 350 sails under Hamilcar and repulsed three Carthaginian generals in three great battles in the mountains, as Lee did before the battle of Appomattox, said to the Carthaginians who sued for peace:

You who are good for anything should either conquer or submit to your betters.

But a short while thereafter the strong, lion-hearted Regulus, being overcome in battle by the Carthaginians, suffered death at the hands of the victorious Carthaginians by being placed in a barrel, which was afterwards perforated with sharp iron bars, and the unhappy, vanquished Regulus hurled over a precipice in this condition, and thus he perished. My Southern comrades in arms, our ideal military leader, Gen. Robert Edward Lee, the worshiped hero of the strong men of the South, inflicted heavier and deadlier blows upon our strong adversary than both Jugurtha and Regulus were capable of doing, and he stood, as chief of the vanquished, in the presence of the victorious conqueror, Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, as free from insult or violence or humiliation of any sort as the great mind of the matchless hero of American armies was free from any disposition to exercise arbitrary power even against a fallen foe. [Applause.]

The honor which this hour of victory bestowed upon Grant would have excited the vanity of almost any other human being in the universe. Grant had listened to the death rattle of more

than a hundred thousand of the brave soldiers whose deeds of daring had made his name immortal and saved this nation of the free from disintegration and death. The earth was then drinking the warm blood of the dead and dying heroes who followed him and the cause he represented with a loyalty never surpassed in the great performances of the human family.

As the heart of Grant bled in indescribable sympathy and anguish for the loss of these heroes, no doubt his great soul felt resentment toward the vanquished. Poor, frail humanity even with the great Grant could not claim exemption from this weakness, if weakness it be, but Grant rose above this influence, potential as it was in this greatest hour of his life, and by an act of sovereign virtue enthroned himself in the hearts of every vanquished Southern soldier worthy and able to bear a helmet. The sweep and range of his intellect and the dominion of his conscience took notice of everything that would claim the attention of man, to say nothing of the world's matchless, conquering hero.

As the windows of his soul rested upon the pallid faces, tattered garments, and bleeding feet of the surviving warriors, sons of the South, Grant uttered these expressions:

Let them take their horses home with them; they will need them to bring on their spring crops.

When the surrender of Lee came, Grant said:

I felt like anything rather than rejoicing at the downfall of a foe who had fought so long and so valiantly, and had suffered so much for a cause for which there was the least excuse.

When Grant heard from General Lee, at the time of the surrender, that the Southern army had been living on parched corn for some days, he invited General Lee to send his quartermaster to the Federal commissary for 25,000 rations for the 25,000 survivors of the Confederate army. When the news of the surrender of General Lee became known the United States Army began to make preparations for the firing of a salute of a hundred guns in honor of the victory. General Grant directed it to be stopped, saying, "The Confederates are now our prisoners, and we do not want to exult over their downfall."

Under the conditions stated these expressions established forever the claims of the admirers of the great warrior that in judgment, courage, and philanthropy Grant stands single and alone, without an equal in the universe. No wonder that as a legitimate result of the treatment by General Grant of General Lee at Appomattox so many of the survivors of that great national tragedy have seen the nation's heart swell and laugh at the march of Shafter at Santiago, a Northern hero, and Joe Wheeler, a battle-scarred son of the South, at elbow touch in the defense of the honor of our common country, the world's best hope.

'Tis ended; Grant's radiant course is run,  
For Grant's course was bright.  
His soul is like the glorious sun—  
A matchless, heavenly light!

[Loud applause.]

Mr. GARDNER of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the American civil war from 1861 to 1865 is the most prominent event of the nineteenth century. While tragic interest in the great drama itself may at first attract, the important questions settled will longest hold the attention of the intelligent observer. From the formative period of our Government there were two recognized difficulties, each portentous of evil, the peaceful and permanent solution of which baffled the skill of the wisest statesmen our country has produced. One of these gave origin to the motive, the other justification to the act, which in later years well-nigh disrupted the Republic.

Under the Constitution the doctrine of supremacy, represented in the legislative, executive, and judicial departments of the United States, as against the reserved rights and sovereignty of the individual States composing the Union, early gave rise to two schools of statesmen and to two great and varying issues, far-reaching in their consequences. Washington had not yet descended to his grave when men whose patriotic services in a common cause render luminous the pages of our country's earlier history ranged themselves on the one side or the other of a controversy which, taken up by their successors, was waged for more than sixty years, always with spirit and often with acrimony, evolving successively from the earlier tenet of reserved rights the principle of State rights, State sovereignty, nullification, and armed rebellion.

While it is true that it remained for one portion of our country rather than another to sectionalize and unify sentiment, to ripen nullification into secession and secession into a hostile attempt to destroy the Government, it is equally true that prior to 1861 the principle of nullification, so perilous to national unity and national supremacy, had its advocates north as well as south of Mason and Dixon's line. Federal enactments and Federal decrees had been repeatedly set at defiance in both sections of the country. Such seemed the inevitable drift of events that there were not wanting those in the North or South, at home or abroad, who confidently predicted an early dissolution of the Republic and a consequent failure of self-government on the American continent.

The shot that echoed across the waters of Charleston Harbor on that eventful April morning in 1861 transferred the conflict, which had waged successively about the standards of Hamilton and Jefferson, of Webster and Calhoun, of Lincoln and Douglas, from the forum of debate to the field of battle. It called to arms vast numbers of brave men, who struggled with consummate devotion for the mastery. Sir, I shall not undertake to compare the fighting qualities of the Federal and Confederate armies. It is enough for either to say that the military glory of the one is but the reflected valor of the other, and that both were, are now, and ever will be Americans.

I shall not undertake to compare the military merits of Grant with those of the acknowledged leaders on either side further than to say that he succeeded where other Union generals failed, and that the great chieftain, before whose well-directed blows every other Federal commander recoiled, came to Grant asking for terms of capitulation. I prefer, rather, to direct the attention of the House to some of the abiding results of that war in which, from the beginning to the end, the military genius of Grant shone with a steady and increasing splendor, results which best serve to crown his fame and perpetuate his name as the greatest of American commanders of men.

I trust I will not be misunderstood, now that the passions of the hour have cooled and the stirring events of a generation ago have passed into history, when I say that while deprecating war, yet, when the Government was assailed, there was for loyal men no honorable alternative but to accept the issue. To have done otherwise would have proved us unworthy of our heritage. It would have invited rather than averted war as a consequence of future inevitable divisions and subdivisions of territory. It would have placed side by side, with no natural barriers intervening, two governments representative of two irreconcilable civilizations, the corner stone of the one freedom: of the other, slavery. A cowardly assent to dismemberment of the Union without a heroic and determined effort to preserve it would have visited upon us the just contempt of the civilized world. [Applause.] It would have made the republican form of government a byword and a reproach among the nations of the earth. But inseparable from the defense of the Government was the settlement of certain great fundamental questions, the constant agitation of which was a perpetual menace to the Union. In the arena of debate discussion of these questions had been exhausted, and now in the appeal to arms they were present for final adjustment.

The war determined beyond controversy that in the United States of America the Federal Constitution is the supreme law of the land and that the primary allegiance of every citizen of the Republic is to the General rather than to the State government.

The war eliminated nullification as a factor from American politics by causing the Federal Supreme Court to be conceded the ultimate authority in the construction of law, and that the law as so construed must be respected and obeyed by all alike until changed by constitutional and not by revolutionary methods. The war settled forever the question of State sovereignty by declaring that in the relations existing between the National and State governments the latter are integral but subordinate parts of the former. The war put a permanent and unqualified prohibition upon the right of a State to secede from the Union; and never again, if a State should attempt to secede, will any Chief Executive hesitate as to his course of duty nor question the authority of the General Government to coerce until such rebellious member resumes its normal relations. When the war closed we were a nation, a Union of States, one and inseparable. Each and every one of these propositions, now irrevocably settled, was an open question when Grant first buckled on his sword at Galena, kissed his wife and children, and went forth to battle for his country and, as it was destined, to win imperishable renown.

I shall not dwell on the moral issue involved in that war. It is sufficient to say of it that when the flag of our country has been furled for the last time and laid away in the archives of nations dead—and may that day be distant a thousand years and more!—every intelligent child on the planet will know that in a great war during the nineteenth century of the Christian era, in a country known as the United States of America, a race of God-created, God-endowed beings were liberated from bondage, and that while the battle for freedom raged the hands of Abraham Lincoln were stayed up by those of Ulysses S. Grant.

On this day, when the North and the South join in common tribute, if the marble lips of the silent chieftain in yonder hall could but break into speech, I doubt not they would give utterance to feelings of gratitude that the sentiments of peace and good will between the sections, once the hope of his patriotic heart, are now the realization of all his countrymen. [Applause.] If yonder image of the illustrious dead were this day animate with life, the placid face would glow with the thought that not only in his beloved America, but in Cuba and Porto Rico and far-away Luzon representatives of the Confederate gray and the Federal blue stand side by side beneath a common flag, with their faces set to a com-

mon foe, ready to do or die in behalf of a common country, while 80,000,000 of Americans would join in glad acclaim—

Forever float that standard sheet!  
Where breathes the foe but falls before us,  
With Freedom's soil beneath our feet  
And Freedom's banner waving o'er us?

[Loud applause.]

Mr. BROSIUS. Mr. Speaker, the ceremony of this day affords an occasion for a review of the character and career of Ulysses S. Grant. It may be that the time has not come for history to seal the verdict which shall irrevocably fix his place in the ranks of fame. Yet the judgment of mankind on a general view of the totality of his character and achievements, within the limitations which the time and the sphere of his action impose, distinctly mark him as the colossal figure in the historic web of war's wonderful weaving.

As constant as the Northern Star,  
Of whose true-fixed and resting quality  
There is no fellow in the firmament.

As you dwell with me for a brief space upon the characteristics and forces with which this marvellous man reared the fabric of his greatness, your patience will be rewarded by the consolatory and instructive reflection that gratitude to public benefactors is the common sentiment of mankind, that the fame of noble men is at once the most enduring and most valuable public possession, and that the contemplation of the heroic dead exerts a salutary and ennobling influence upon the living. It was such an influence that led a young Greek, two thousand years ago, while walking over the fields upon which a Grecian warrior won his victories, to exclaim "The trophies of Miltiades will not let me sleep." So with the contemplation of the great career of our dead hero may come an incantation that will conjure spirits of high principle and exalted patriotism round about us until, like Hector's son, we catch heroic fire from the splendid courage, sublime devotion, and lofty genius of our illustrious soldier. [Applause.]

General Grant presents from every possible point of view an extraordinary career and a singularly unique character. In some of his attributes, and not a few of the characteristic exhibitions of his rare powers, he is without a parallel in American history. His acknowledged preeminence in no sense arose, nor was it in any degree promoted, by the conditions of his life. Neither birth, nor rank, nor fortune aided his advancement. Allowing for the national exigency which presented a field for the exercise of his powers, his achievements were due entirely to principles, qualities, and forces which summed up a remarkable personality, and in some respects the most imposing and colossal character of modern times. [Applause.]

He possessed an imperious will, sound judgment, stupendous endurance, and a courage that never quailed. In deportment he was thoughtful, quiet and unobtrusive, a stranger to ostentation or egotism, simple in his tastes, elevated in sentiment, and benevolent in feeling. He thought with alertness, observed with clearness, executed with promptness, and never left off until he was done. He was fertile in expedients, rich in resources, and under every extremity of circumstance held all his best powers in perfect command. He was ready to obey and willing to command, content to execute the orders of others or give them himself, as his duty required, and his elevated soul never knew the taint of jealousy or envy.

He was firm and resolute of purpose and a signal example of the highest fidelity to conviction, devotion to duty, and loyalty to conscience and country. As Cicero said of Cæsar, he was generous to his friends, forbearing with his enemies, without evil in himself, and reluctant to believe evil in others. Prosperity never made him arrogant; elevation never turned his head or made him forget the obligations of duty, the claims of friendship, or the restraints of moral principle. He maintained a high standard of personal character, possessed a vigorous moral sense, and an integrity of heart that kept him a stranger to moral delinquency through the severe strain of adverse circumstances with which a hard fate in his declining years tried the superb metal of his manhood.

With such an assemblage of qualities inhering in the man he grew like an oak, self-developed, into the extraordinary combination of working forces which he was able to employ with such signal advantage to his country on the most extended and elevated theater of action that ever called out the might and courage of man or witnessed the splendid achievements of his heroism.

There were in his character two forces which made his greatness possible. One was a sublime and lofty self-trust. He leaned upon no man's arm. He walked erect in every path of exertion he was called to pursue. When in command he assumed the responsibility which accompanied duty and advanced with firm and stately step; his march centered on his great soul's consciousness of rectitude, power, and leadership. The other principle which had a large agency in molding his life was that there is no royal road to eminence; that the best thing a man can do under any

circumstances is his duty. If Schiller's poetic soul had put to him the question, "What shall I do to gain eternal life?" his kindred spirit would have answered back in the poet's own glowing words:

Thy duty ever  
Discharge aright the simple duties with  
Which each day is rife. Yea, with thy might.

He dedicated his powers with rare singleness and devout self-consecration to the work before him. The obligation imposed by each day's duty was to him a "thus saith the Lord;" and his faith in the result was half the battle. Sherman once said to him: "Your belief in victory I can compare to nothing but the faith of a Christian in his Saviour."

Prior to the war there was nothing in Grant's career that arrested public attention. He had found no field for the exercise of those amazing aptitudes for war which he so promptly dedicated to his country's service when the national struggle summoned the genius and patriotism of America to that ultimate arena whereon the "wager of battle," by the most unexampled heroism and endurance and the most stupendous efforts of martial genius witnessed in modern times, was to solve the problem of our destiny.

At an age when Alexander Hamilton had laid the corner stone of the most splendid financial system the world ever saw and reached the summit of his fame; an age when Garfield had filled the chair of a college president, worn the glittering stars of a major-general, and occupied a seat in the National Congress; and an age at which Napoleon had vanquished the combined armies of a continent and was master of Europe, Grant was unknown. He had not even discovered himself; was living in safe obscurity, one of forty millions under the curse of Adam, earning his bread by the sweat of his brow. But within the four corners of his being God had lodged endowments of the rarest kind, forces which needed but the open air of opportunity and the solar energy of a majestic cause to hurry them on to bloom and fruition.

He was not a soldier from taste. His education at West Point was accepted rather than sought. His appointment to the Military Academy was an accident. When Lincoln issued his call for 75,000 men, Grant responded. A public meeting was held in his town, over which he presided. By prompting and with a stammering tongue he was able to state the object of the meeting. This was his first great day. It made possible his future career of usefulness and glory. He tendered his services to his country through the Adjutant-General of the Army. The letter was never answered, not even filed, and after the war was rescued from the rubbish of the War Department. Later, however, he was commissioned colonel of the Twenty-first Illinois Regiment. In a short time, through the recommendation of the Illinois delegation in Congress, he was commissioned a brigadier-general. His career now commenced. Said one of his eulogists: "He had gained a place to stand, and from it he moved the world." [Applause.]

The war opened to him the gates of his opportunity. It did not make him, but it enabled him to make himself. It was the fire-proof that tested the metal of the man.

In the reproof of chance  
Lies the true proof of men. The sea being smooth,  
How many shallow hauble boats dare sail  
Upon her patient breast, making their way  
With those of nobler bulk.  
But let the ruffian Boreas once engage  
The gentle Thetas, and anon behold  
The strong-ribbed bark through liquid mountains cut.  
Where then's the saucy boat  
Whose weak, untimbered sides but even now  
Co-rival'd greatness? Either to harbor fled  
Or made a toast for Neptune.

How well this high philosophy was exemplified during the war has passed into history. One by one the brightest stars in our military galaxy, our worshiped chieftains, succeeded each other in the demonstration of their incapacity for the command of so immense an army on so extended a field, until the tanner of Galena received his commission, accompanied by the benediction of our great war President, and rose at once to the supreme height and filled every condition of the most stupendous undertaking that ever challenged the exertions of martial genius.

We value a chain by the measure of its strength at the weakest point; but we value a man, it has been wisely said, by the measure of his strength at the place where he is strongest. Grant's strongest points were those which qualified him for a military commander.

On the field of war, as the leader of armies and fighter of battles, he won his chief distinction and reached the summit of his splendid fame.

To explain how men succeed, to analyze the amazing exploits of genius and lay bare to the mind's eye the elements which combine to make them possible, is a difficult task and one not suited to this occasion. But no observer of Grant's career could have failed to note some of the more obvious qualities which fitted him for successful war. They were displayed with brilliant effect and

startling emphasis in that succession of incomparable achievements from Belmont to Appomattox. True, the former and practically his first battle was lost; but Caesar lost Gergovia, and it is said of him that the manner in which he retrieved his failure showed his greatness more than the most brilliant of his victories.

So the success of Grant in covering his retreat and protecting his army at Belmont showed a high degree of dexterity and skill in the management of men, a remarkable celerity of movement, coolness, and perfect self-command under circumstances calculated in the highest degree to produce confusion and dismay. M. Thiers, in his History of the French Revolution, suggests as the crucial test of a great captain "the power to command a great mass of men amid the lightning shock of battle with the clearness and precision with which the philosopher works in his study."

It is said that in every decisive battle there is a moment of crisis, on which the fortunes of the day turn. The commander who seizes and holds that ridge of destiny wins the victory. This requires a swift and sure-footed faculty of observation, capable of covering the possibilities of a situation, discovering the key point of a battlefield and the weak point of the enemy's position with the sweep of the eye, as by a lightning flash. The possession of these high capabilities in a most conspicuous degree gave Grant a preeminence all his own.

The day of the battle of Belmont may be called Grant's second great day, for his qualities as a commander were subjected to the first severe test. That battle was first won and then lost; lost by losing the discipline of the army. The genius of the commander alone saved it from dispersion or capture. General Grant was the last man to leave the field, and he escaped, I have somewhere read, by running his horse from the bank of the river to the boat across a single gangway plank.

Early in the spring of 1862 Grant reached the conclusion that the effective line of operations was up the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, on which were situated Forts Henry and Donelson. In less than twenty days after he had obtained Halleck's assent to the projected movement these two forts had surrendered to this intrepid commander, together with 15,000 prisoners of war. This has well been called Grant's third great day. It established him in the confidence of the people and confirmed his title to the distinction of being a great soldier.

His letter to General Buckner, in answer to a proposition for an armistice, someone has said reads like the letter of Cromwell to the parsons of Edinburgh, and is one of the most remarkable epistles in the military literature of the world.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY IN THE FIELD,  
CAMP NEAR FORT DONELSON,  
February 16, 1862.

SIR: Yours of this date, proposing armistice and appointment of commissioners to settle terms of capitulation, is just received. No terms except an immediate and unconditional surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant.

U. S. GRANT, Brigadier-General.

Gen. S. B. BUCKNER, Confederate Army.

From that day forward he commanded the respect, admiration, and affection of every loyal citizen of the Republic. Yet, curiously enough, General Halleck suspended him on the 4th of March following. In nine days he was restored to his command. These nine days were sad and tearful to the chieftain, who felt the wrong like a scorpion's sting, but no word of complaint ever escaped his lips. [Applause.]

The plan of operations which led to the capture of Vicksburg was conceived by Grant and executed with great celerity and splendid success. The small space of thirty-three days witnessed a notable succession of brilliant movements, when the forces of the enemy within a circuit of 50 miles numbered 60,000 men; the capture of Port Gibson, the victories of Raymond, of Jackson, of Champion Hill, and Black River Bridge, culminating in the investment of Vicksburg, whose capitulation later on closed the memorable campaign and covered with glory the sagacious chieftain whose martial genius achieved the splendid triumph.

After the fatal battle of Chickamauga the Confederate authorities, notably Jefferson Davis, who had visited the seat of war early in October, expected the surrender of our army in a few days. But on the 24th of October General Grant arrived. An offensive movement was at once inaugurated and the battle of Missionary Ridge fought and won, with a trophy of 6,000 Confederate prisoners, 40 pieces of artillery, and 7,000 stand of arms. The Army of the Cumberland was saved, the siege of Chattanooga was raised, and Chickamauga avenged.

Grant then succeeded to the command of all the armies of the Union, numbering a million men, a larger army it is believed than was ever before commanded by one man. The field of its operations was commensurate with its number—from the Mississippi River to the Atlantic, thence south to the Gulf of Mexico, and west to Texas, one army cutting the Confederacy in two and another laying siege to its capital city, all by the direction of this matchless warrior without as much as a council of war. Such

consummate strategy, such masterful leadership could lead to but one result. Richmond fell, Lee's army surrendered and the Union was saved. [Applause.]

These stupendous achievements and surpassingly splendid strategic movements which led to the glory of Appomattox all furnish to the curious in such matters the most striking and convincing exhibitions of an exceptionally high order of martial genius.

What place will ultimately be assigned General Grant in the military constellation of history the judgment of the future must determine. For his contemporaries to place him in the company of Alexander, Cæsar, and Napoleon is fulsome adulation in which I have no disposition to indulge. To elevate any modern hero to a share in the glories of the battlefield with these phenomenal characters would be as unsuitable, Dr. Lord would say, as to divide the laurels of Homer, Dante, and Shakespeare with the poets of recent times.

Excluding these, however, from the comparison, the well-guarded judgment of dispassionate men will not rank our illustrious leader below the most successful and conspicuous masters of the art of war the world has ever seen. His fame can lose none of its lustre by comparison with Wellington, Marlborough, Gustavus Adolphus, Frederick the Great, Maurice of Nassau, or Henry of Navarre. A just analysis of the aptitudes of these men for war will show more points in which Grant excels than falls below them, and there can be no doubt that when history shall make its final assignment of rank he will stand either in their company or above them.

As a civil administrator he will hold eminent rank among the wisest and best; but the fame of the statesman will ever be eclipsed by the glory of the soldier. His eight years of administration were vexed and harassed by problems of greater difficulty and magnitude than had ever before been encountered by any Government in times of peace. The reconstruction of the Southern States presented questions with which no statesman had ever grappled. When he became President the situation of the United States was engaging the attention of the civilized world. Seven only of the eleven States lately in rebellion had been readmitted to the Union.

The previous Administration had been enfeebled and embittered by an unseemly controversy between the executive and legislative branches of the Government. The progress of reconstruction had been retarded, business interests were languishing, and the public credit was impaired. Foreign complications with Spain and Great Britain also confronted us, so that it may be said that Grant encountered at the beginning of his Administration difficulties of a very grave and threatening character. The power of generalizing and forecasting is one of the first qualities of statesmanship. Grant possessed this power.

In his first inaugural he outlined with great clearness the questions that would come up for settlement during his Administration and implored his countrymen to deal with them without prejudice, hate, or sectional pride. On the financial question he had a clear judgment and a fixed purpose. He insisted that national honor required every dollar of Government indebtedness to be paid in gold unless otherwise stipulated in the contract. "Let it be understood," said he, "that no repudiator of one farthing of our public debt will be trusted in public place." This was a prophecy. It became a triumph. He adhered steadfastly to the policy he had announced, and at the close of his Administration one-fifth part of the public debt had been paid and the public credit reestablished.

His foreign policy was equally wise and statesmanlike. "I would deal with nations," said he, "as equitable law requires individuals to deal with each other." He served notice on ambassadors, kings, and emperors in these words:

If others depart from this rule in their dealings with us, we may be compelled to follow their precedent.

At the close of his Administration there were no international questions unadjusted.

On the vexed question of suffrage he was wise and farseeing. In his inaugural he emphasized the urgency with which the ratification of the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution appealed to the best judgment of the nation as the only just and practicable settlement of the question of suffrage. He had an invincible conviction that the amendment embodied the fundamental idea of republican government and American liberty.

The experiment of popular government had not been completed before the war, but now every citizen was a member of the ruling as well as the subject class. The transition from the old régime to the new was sudden and great. With the overthrow of the Confederacy went the downfall of slavery and the extreme doctrine of State rights. With the triumph of the Union came the political equality of men in the States and of States in the Union. There was now a true national sovereignty and a true national citizenship. Every man was a sovereign, whether qualified for his kingdom or not. The nation welcomed the new ideas, and went promptly to work to create new institutions suited to them.

Concerning the principles which were to fashion the new fabric Grant had well-defined convictions and statesmanlike views. The problems to be solved were intricate and difficult, calculated, many of them, to appall the stoutest hearts and baffle the wisest heads, and yet at all points at which the Executive came in contact with these perplexing problems, which he helped to lift up until they comprehended in their scope the equality of citizenship and the elevation of a race, he treated them with a fullness and completeness of consideration, breadth of comprehension and rectitude of judgment, and disposed of them with such preeminent wisdom as to fairly establish his title to rank with the more eminent of American statesmen.

In one aspect of his character Grant had probably but one rival to share his laurels in the history of human greatness. He was a consummate master of a sublime and imposing silence. And this was a valuable auxiliary to the soldier, though it would have disqualified him for the Senate, where, it is said, the first duty of man is to speak. He accomplished more with less waste of vocal energy than any other man since William the Silent; but when he did speak, his utterances were notable, as potent as his silences. His words were cannon shots, half battles. They carried consternation with them like dazzling bolts from the darkened heavens.

They were ponderous, falling on his foes  
As fell the Norse god's hammer blows.

Some of his laconic expressions and terse dispatches will outlive the most brilliant of Cæsar's and the most crushing of Napoleon's. Men will be fighting out their battles "on this line if it takes all summer;" will be "moving immediately upon the enemy's works," and "demanding unconditional surrender" to the end of time. [Applause.]

The stars that glittered on General Grant's brow, like those that deck the heavens, were not all of the same magnitude. They differed in glory and had rank among themselves. There is one attribute of his character which removes him from the ranks of the illustrious leaders and statesmen in whose company he will in most respects go down to posterity and secures him a preeminence enjoyed by no other warrior in human history; a point of character at which the soldier and the statesman meet; an excellence which adorns the one and qualifies the other—a matchless magnanimity.

From no point of view does the greatness of his character shine with more supernal splendor. The ancient Romans dedicated temples to the highest human excellences. Our great soldier-statesman bowed before the temple which enshrined the divine attribute of magnanimity. *Ultimus Romanorum* was written upon the tomb of Cato and, if among the epitaphs which shall perpetuate the glories of General Grant there should be no expression of this transcendent perfection, the silent marble would break into speech to declare to posterity that in this phase of his character, at least, he was the noblest Roman of them all. [Applause.]

Grant and Appomattox are the two halves of one of the most interesting and impressive situations which history records. They constitute an historical unity that can never be severed. They are held in the enduring embrace of a happy conjunction of place and event which made the former the theater and the latter the star performer of one of the grandest dramas in the tide of time. That they are so linked in perpetual association in the public mind finds some denotement in the ease with which Senator Conkling took captive a national convention with the crude but clever rhyme:

And when asked what State he hails from  
Our sole reply shall be:  
"He hails from Appomattox  
And its famous apple tree."

From Appomattox he sent on wings of lightning to the Secretary of War the message which carried joy to more hearts than any previous one in human history:

Hon. E. M. STANTON:

General Lee has surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia this afternoon on terms proposed by myself.

APRIL 9, 1865—4.30 p. m.

U. S. GRANT, *Lieutenant-General*.

When this magnanimous chieftain laid his conquering sword on the capital of the Confederacy, received Lee's surrender and the curtain fell before the tragedy of the rebellion, he said to the vanquished armies: "Lay down your arms and go to your homes on your parole of honor, and take your horses with you to cultivate your farms, but come and take dinner with us before you go." Were ever before the vanquished thus treated by the victors? At the fall of Toulon a French warrior wrote: "We have only one way of celebrating victory; this evening we shoot 213 rebels." How resplendent by contrast appears the conqueror of the rebellion!

Who in the fear of God didst bear  
The sword of power, a nation's trust!  
"Let us have peace!" said the soldier  
Who grasped the sword for peace  
And smote to save.

From the hearts of patriots everywhere attuned to the same melody is lifted up the glad refrain; celestial choirs prolong the joyful chorus until the spirit of our statesman-warrior sends back the swelling anthem, "Let us have peace."

As I contemplate the last of earth of this rounded and completed character, passing from the sight of men in that beautiful park by the river side, a vision bursts upon my imagination, and I see the open grave over whose portals rests the casket waiting its descent into the darkness of the tomb; on either side stand with bowed heads the great chieftains who led the opposing armies in our civil war, the conquerors and the conquered, paying equal tributes of honor to the savior of the Union, and between them I see the great spirit of our dead, resplendent in the glory of immortality, reaching down his spirit hands and clasping those of the reconciled warriors, and I hear his celestial voice saying:

Americans, children of a common country, brethren in the bonds of patriotism, joint heirs of a heritage of glory, peace, blessed peace, be and abide with you evermore!

If a firmer and more indissoluble Union, a better understanding and more cordial relations between the sections, and a permanent and abiding peace, founded upon true respect for each other and veneration and affection for our common country, should be the fruition of his great example; if his surviving countrymen will but emulate his high character wherein it is most worthy, avoiding the faults which saved him from perfection, and will rededicate themselves with his singleness of purpose and self-consecration to the maintenance of his lofty standard of personal character and exalted patriotism, and thus, through the elevation of the citizen, secure throughout the Union he loved and saved the supremacy of virtue, honor, patriotism, and public reason, then the victory of his death will outshine the splendor of the greatest of his life; and as was said of the strong man of the olden days, so it may be said of our mighty and strong, that "The dead which he slew at his death were more than they which he slew in his life." And though the affection and veneration of his admiring countrymen have commemorated him in costliest marble and splendid mausoleum and elaborate epitaphs have summed up his virtues and will transmit to future generations the records of his imperishable renown, the fittest, noblest, most permanent, and abiding monument to this distinguished citizen, eminent statesman, and illustrious soldier will be his country's peace. [Loud applause.]

Mr. DOLLIVER. Mr. Speaker, I would very much have preferred to be silent on an occasion like this, when the old comrades of General Grant and representatives of the Confederate army have been paying these tributes to his memory; and I would not consent to say a word now except upon the request of the committee in charge of the ceremonies, who have been kind enough to suggest that there is a sense in which I may be said to speak for the generation born since 1850, which had not the privilege of bearing even a humble part in the national defense. In that year Thomas Carlyle, in a pamphlet, fierce and barbarous, called the "Present Time," wrote these words, curiously made up of sympathy and of sneer:

America's battle is yet to fight; and we sorrowful, though nothing doubting, will wish her strength for it; and she will have her own agony and her own victory, though on other terms than she is now quite aware of. What great human soul, what great thought, what great noble thing that one could worship or loyally admire has yet been produced there?

It is not certain that the belated prophet, crying in the wilderness of the Old World, lived long enough to revise this opinion of the new; but it is certain that he lived to see America find strength to fight her battle, to bear her agony, and to win her victory on such terms as were appointed; that he lived to see the grave of Abraham Lincoln become a shrine for the pilgrimage of the human race and to hear the name of Ulysses S. Grant saluted in all the languages of the earth; and had his days been lengthened but a little he would have seen the canon of Westminster open the doors of that venerable monument to admit the silent American soldier into the household of English-spoken fame. [Applause.]

The unchallenged place of General Grant in history expresses, as far as such thing can be expressed, the value of his service to his own nation and to his own age, and to all nations and all ages. Without a trace of selfish ambition in his entire career, he was in a high sense, from his youth up, guided by an inward monition that he was to play a decisive part in the arena of national affairs. At least twice in his life, by his own modest statement, he felt within himself a distinct intimation of the future—once, on the day he graduated at West Point, and afterwards, on the day that Vicksburg fell.

It may be an idle fancy, but it is not hard to believe that every step he took, from the farm to the Academy, from the Academy to the frontier, from the frontier through the Mexican campaign, and thence to private life, a life of toil and self-suppression, from which, with a timid and hesitating request for a small command, he emerged into the Union Army, was part of the preparation, the post-graduate course, for the full equipment of this mysterious

man. The greatest of his lieutenants said: "To me he is a mystery; and I believe he is a mystery to himself." If he had said to his classmates, "I will one day take Scott's place on review," he would have been laughed out of the Army.

If, after Vicksburg, he had announced that he was the one general in the Army able to bring the rebellion to an end, he would have gone the way of all the others. Yet both these thoughts were in his head, and we can not regret that in the shadow of the end, when in pain and anguish he was writing for posterity the story of his public life, he was moved to throw this light upon the inner life he lived within himself. There are those who impeach the whole social fabric because it imposes upon all a strenuous struggle for existence, and we have often heard that opportunity alone makes the difference between failure and success. That is the philosophy of a little world; for we know that without burdens there is no strength and that in exposed places, open to the storms of all skies, the frame of manhood takes upon itself the rugged fiber which is the master of opportunity, a victor over circumstances, a crowned athlete in the games of fortune and achievement.

General Grant belongs to the new departure, which dates from 1860. Though a man of mature years, he can scarcely be said to have lived before that time. He did not take enough interest in the Army to hold on to his commission; nor in his Missouri farm to make a living out of it; nor in the leather store in Galena to go back and lock it up after he heard of the fall of Fort Sumter. In a sense he had no politics. He voted for Buchanan in 1856, although he states in his Memoirs that he did it not out of affection for Buchanan, but because he had an old grudge against Fremont. [Laughter.] His politics were even more ambiguous than some of the heroes of later times. [Laughter and applause.] With the inheritance of a Whig, he joined a Know-nothing lodge; and while his sympathies were with Douglas, he spent that fall drilling the "Lincoln Wide Awakes." It almost looks as if Providence, needing him for the new age, kept him clear and free from the confusion of tongues that preceded it.

It is well-nigh impossible, even with the history of our country in our hands, to make our way through the political wilderness of fifty years ago. The most pathetic thing in the development of the nation is the picture of our fathers poring for generations over the musty volumes of the old debates, wearing the Federalist and Madison Papers to the covers, in their vain and hopeless search for the foundation of the faith. Washington grandly comprehended the Constitution he had helped to make; but that did not keep the legislature of Virginia from disowning the national authority while he yet lived in honored retirement at Mount Vernon.

Daniel Webster, supreme among the giants of those days, vindicated the national institutions in speeches that have become classic in the literature of our tongue; yet even our schoolboys can not recite them without a sense of humiliation that his great antagonists were able to dog the steps of that lofty argument with minutes of the Hartford convention, showing Massachusetts on the edge of the precipice before she had finished building Bunker Hill Monument. Andrew Jackson quit the game of politics long enough to swear his mighty oath, "By the Eternal, the Union must and shall be preserved;" but that did not prevent the State of South Carolina from organizing her people against the national authority while old soldiers of the Revolution still survived among them.

Little by little the nation had shriveled and diminished and the important States increased, until, as the older men on this floor can remember, the bonds of the United States offered for sale, were bid for in the money centers of Europe, and especially by the bankers of Holland, on condition that they should be countersigned by the State of Virginia. They knew that Virginia was on the map before the United States was, and they had a dim sort of suspicion that they might be able to locate the State of Virginia after the United States of America had disappeared from the map of the world. [Laughter.]

I would not heedlessly disparage any State, or any section, or any of the statesmen of that period. If they were called to deal with a situation to which they were not equal, it was one for which they were not responsible. James Buchanan was in no sense an ordinary man. He was all his lifetime a leader of men, though he was left at the end of his generation impotently trying to answer elemental and volcanic questions with the dead phrases of an obsolete vocabulary.

The conclusion had come. The time for rewriting the charter was at hand. The joint debate of lawyers, long a nuisance among men, had at last become an offense to heaven. The darkness upon the path of the Republic had grown too dense to walk in. Yet the truth was never altogether without witnesses; there were always some eyes that could see and some ears that could hear. But the mobs that threatened William Lloyd Garrison in the streets of Boston, that drove John Greenleaf Whittier out of New England villages—what did they care for the testimony of John Quincy

Adams, still eloquent in the grave? And the champions of freedom, worn out by their long vigil in the night of slavery, frantically denouncing the Constitution as "a covenant with hell"—what had they learned of that great son of New England, who, in the debate with Hayne, had filled the old Senate Chamber, where the Supreme Court now sits, with the splendor of his unrivaled genius?

A new era was at hand, and the events became dramatic, with the swiftest changes in the scenery; for within two years from the day the militia of Virginia paraded about the scaffold of John Brown the soul of that poor, old, immortal madman was marching before the mightiest armed host the world ever saw, upon whose banners had been written the sublime promises of public liberty. [Applause.]

That was our heroic age, and out of it came forth our ideal heroes—Lincoln, and the trusted counselors who sat by his side; Grant, and the generals who obeyed his orders: and behind them both and back of all, the countless ranks of the Grand Army of the Republic, ready and eager for that strange sacrifice of blood by which our weary and heavy-laden century has been redeemed. [Applause.]

It would not be possible, even if it were appropriate at this hour, to speak at length of General Grant's relation to those torn and bleeding years. Memory is still rich with the thoughts and emotions of that epoch, while for the youth of the nation the story of that rising reputation is handed down in pages more fascinating than the legends of chivalry.

He came into the Union Army without a friend; he left it above all rank. His brave but undistinguished service in Mexico had been forgotten, so that when he presented himself for duty they did not even answer his letters. He earned every promotion that he ever had, and asked for recognition only in the language of what he did. [Applause.] The woods around the old church at Shiloh showed the field soldier at his best.

At the end of the first day, when his army, 30,000 strong, was in confusion, General Beauregard felt warranted in announcing to the Davis government a complete victory. Before another nightfall Beauregard had obtained ideas on the subject of victory of a most instructive kind. [Laughter.] He had learned that he was dealing with a man who had the art of crowding two battles into one; the fixed habit of making no report until the thing was over. [Laughter and applause.] When General Buell, miles in advance of his troops, came upon the field and found scattered thousands of Grant's army huddled under the cover of the river bank, he said: "What preparations have been made for the retreat?" "I have not despaired of whipping them yet," said General Grant. "But if you should be compelled to fall back you have transports for only 10,000 men." "If I retreat," said the grim soldier, "10,000 men is all I shall need transports for." [Applause.]

A recent writer in a leading French review, commenting upon Gen. Horace Porter's Memoirs, takes occasion to deny to General Grant any place in the society of the world's great captains, and with a complaisance that amounts almost to jocose satire, in view of what has lately happened in this world, refuses even to our civil war a place among the great conflicts of history, stating that it was more akin to the rude combats of antiquity than to modern European warfare. But "such a criticism of military skill," if you will allow me to use the words of James G. Blaine, "is idle chatter in the face of an unbroken career of victory. When he was appointed Lieutenant-General and placed in command of all the armies of the Union, he exercised military control over a greater number of men than any general since the invention of firearms. In the campaigns of 1864 and 1865 the armies of the Union contained in the aggregate not less than a million men. The movements of all these vast forces were kept in harmony by his comprehensive mind, and in the grand consummation which insured Union and liberty his name became inseparably associated with the true glory of his country." [Applause.]

I have heard the names of Napoleon and of Caesar and of Alexander referred to on this floor to-day. I care nothing about Alexander or Caesar or Napoleon. So far as I can make out, not one of them is entitled to the respect of civilized men; not one of them represented an idea that was worth fighting for, much less worth dying for. The Duke of Weimar used to tell his friends when they talked to him of Napoleon to "be of good courage, this Napoleonism is unjust, a falsehood, and can not last." It did not last; and to-day there is hardly a trace of the little Corsican adventurer in Europe except his grave.

There can be no great soldier without a great cause; and no cause is great that is not right. [Applause.] It was the sublime fortune of Ulysses S. Grant to rise to the chief command of an army whose line of march was upon the highway of human progress, which carried with its muskets the future of civilization and in its heart the inviolable will of God.

The French military critic, to whose grotesque comment on

General Grant as a soldier I have before alluded, discerns in him at least one thing for grudging eulogy. He says that "he was a good citizen." Without intending it and without being so constituted as ever to know it, he has touched the secret of this unique career, both in the field and in the capital—the secret of all real service of mankind—the thing that is making kings ridiculous and thrones unnecessary; the thing which has abolished the aristocracy of the sword and made that awkward and absurd weapon no longer the master, but the obedient servant of the State.

The feature of our civil war least comprehended by foreign critics, and only partially comprehended by ourselves, was the fact that as soon as a conflict was over, all sides were willing to put an end to strife and to take up the broken relations of civil life in harmony and good will. From a human standpoint the advice of General Scott to Mr. Seward, to "Let the erring sisters go in peace," contained a measure of wisdom; for it must have made men sick at heart to think of civil war with its awful ministry of blood and its legacy still more terrible of feud and passion and sullen malice left over to plague the nation long after the victory of arms was won.

A mere statesman in the place of Lincoln and a mere soldier in the place of Grant might, indeed, have maintained the Government at Washington and overthrown the rebellion in the field. But the world was entitled to a larger outcome of these four tempestuous years—the new birth of freedom, the new national unity, the new outlook of the Republic in the midst of the ages. There were voices heard that lifted the civil war above all bloodshed of history; one at the beginning, saying, with tender eloquence, "We are not enemies, but friends;" the other at the end, in words that transfigured the face of Victory with a divine illumination, saying, "Let us have peace!" [Applause.]

Is it any wonder that within a single generation every evil passion of the strife is dead, every bitter memory of the past forgotten? Is it any wonder that the boys who cheered the defenders of Vicksburg as they stacked their arms, who divided their rations with the Army of Northern Virginia, while Grant and Lee sat down to talk together as countrymen and friends, have done their part, with the boys in gray, to bring in the new era of American patriotism? [Applause.]

We have often heard the details of the war discussed, and I read not very long ago a book devoted to the subject, "Why the Confederacy failed." There have been endless disputes as to which army was victorious in this engagement or in that, and I have heard it said on this floor that the Confederate army was never really whipped; that it simply wore itself out whipping General Grant. But here is a victory in which both armies have a share; that rich and splendid conquest of the hearts of men; nobler and worthier in the sight of heaven than captured trophies or the spoils of war! [Applause.]

It was once a fashion in some quarters to exaggerate the reputation of General Grant as a soldier as a sort of background on which to draw a mean picture of his figure in civil life. I have no sympathy with any such opinion. It is not credible that God endowed a man with the faculties required to order the steps of a million men in arms and at the same time left his eyes holden that he should not see the needs of his age and the destiny of his country. What man of his time had a clearer appreciation of the value of the public credit or did as much as he to establish the disordered finances of the civil war upon a safe foundation? [Applause.]

When he took the oath of office in 1869 he found the country filled with clamor about the payment of the public debt, some demanding its settlement in depreciated notes; others calling for new issues of paper promises, the cheap and easy product of the engraver's art, with which to wipe out the bonds which had been issued for the common defense. Into that noisy controversy came this calm and immovable man and from the east portico of the Capitol uttered words that have become part of the national character: "Let it be understood that no repudiator of one farthing of the national debt will be trusted in any public place." And from that hour the national credit of America, without limit and without terms, has been as good as gold in all the markets of the earth. [Applause.]

I count it also as a part of General Grant's place in history that he gave the sanction of his office to the most benignant treaty ever drawn between two nations, the treaty by which a deep-seated international difference was submitted to a high tribunal instead of being made a cause of war between two kindred peoples, which ought to stand side by side for the freedom of the world. [Applause.] Thus the man of war becomes the advocate of the world's peace, and turning to his own countrymen in his second appearance to take the oath as President, he makes a confession of his faith in the future of our race so serene and devout that it reflects the inspired visions of old and gives reality to the rapt aspirations of the poets and prophets of all centuries.

In his last annual message General Grant laments the fact that

he was "called to the office of Chief Executive without any previous political training." He was too busy in the years that intervened between his auction of stock and farm machinery on the little Missouri homestead and his entrance into the White House to study politics either as a science or an art. But there was one thing which he brought with him into civil life more important than anything else, and that was a firm confidence in the American people and a settled faith that in all great emergencies they may be trusted to sacredly guard their own interests and the public welfare.

It was that steady confidence which enabled him, when the Santo Domingo treaty was rejected by the Senate, in a storm of vituperation from which even his own high office did not escape, to appeal to the people of the United States, and in the language of his special message seek a decision from "that tribunal whose convictions so seldom err and against whose will I have no policy to enforce."

Because he believed in his countrymen he had faith in his country, and he expressed his belief that the civilized world was tending toward government by the people through their chosen representatives. "I do not share," said he in his second inaugural, "in the apprehension held by many as to the danger of governments being weakened or destroyed by reason of the extension of their territory. Commerce, education, rapid transit of thought and matter by telegraph have changed all this." It is not possible to think of him in the midst of such problems as now beset our affairs, deliberately adding to the national burden by defaming his country in order to exalt the motives of a mob of swift-footed barbarians in the Philippine Islands.

At least once in his Administration, at a crisis in the Cuban situation, he ordered the Navy to prepare for action, and if the brief conflict with Spain, which the present Government was not able to avoid, had come in his time, it would simply have anticipated the grave events of recent years; leaving us twenty years ago, with vastly less preparation, exactly where we are to-day. In that case who can imagine General Grant directing the Navy to throw its victories into the sea, or ordering our brave little armies of occupation to run headlong for their transports, leaving life and property and the social order in the keeping of half-naked tribes?

It does not require a very difficult feat of the imagination to hear the voice of the old commander, the voice of the battlefields upon which the American flag has been sanctified to the service of civilization, bidding his countrymen go forward in the fear of God, hopeful and courageous under the burdens of their day and generation. His comrades have presented to this Capitol his statue, a beautiful thing in itself, a thing, I believe, unheard of in the military traditions of any country except our own. It stands yonder in the Rotunda among our historic treasures. It will preserve his features and the inscription of his name until the heavens be no more. When the nation of America shall build in this capital, as it one day will, a monument to General Grant, it need not show forth the image of his person, it need not contain the record of his fame, for like the column of Waterloo proposed for Wellington in the graphic and noble conception of Victor Hugo's fiction, it shall not bear aloft the figure of a man; it shall be the memorial of a nation, the statue of a people. [Loud and prolonged applause on the floor and in the galleries.]

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolutions.

The resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

Mr. McCLEARY. Mr. Speaker, there are many other members of the House who would like to lay their laurels upon the brow of the great commander. I therefore ask that leave to print be extended to all who desire to avail themselves of it for ten days.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota asks unanimous consent that all who desire may print remarks on the life and character of General Grant for ten days. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. McCLEARY. Mr. Speaker, as a further mark of respect to General Grant, his memory, his family, and the Grand Army of the Republic, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota moves that as a further mark of respect to the memory of General Grant, to his family, and to the Grand Army of the Republic, this House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 55 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, Mr. EDDY, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 10664) granting permission to the Indians on the Grand Portage Indian Reservation, in the State of Minnesota, to cut and dispose of the timber on their several allotments on said reservation, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a

report (No. 1588); which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, private bills and resolutions of the following titles were severally reported from committees, delivered to the Clerk, and referred to the Committee of the Whole House, as follows:

Mr. LENTZ, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 6172) for the relief of Robert W. Caldwell, First Regiment Ohio Heavy Artillery Volunteers, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1589); which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

Mr. RIXEY, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 6735) for the relief of legal representatives of Henry H. Sibley, deceased, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1590); which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

#### PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. RHEA of Virginia: A bill (H. R. 11714) permitting building a bridge across New River—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. KAHN: A bill (H. R. 11715) providing for the designation of ports of entry for aliens along the boundary line between the United States and foreign contiguous territory—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. SMALL: A bill (H. R. 11716) authorizing a survey and estimate of cost of dredging a channel through Shallowbag Bay, State of North Carolina—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. ATWATER: A bill (H. R. 11717) to authorize the construction of a macadamized road from the city of Raleigh, N. C., to the national cemetery near said city—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. THAYER: A bill (H. R. 11718) for the appointment of a commission to inquire into the status of the Narragansett, Shinnecock, Mohegan, and Montauk Indians—to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. RAY of New York: A bill (H. R. 11719) amending section 5270 of the Revised Statutes of the United States—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CORLISS: A bill (H. R. 11720) to confer jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear and adjudicate the claim of Louis Scofield, jr., son and assignee of Louis Scofield, deceased—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. DE VRIES: A bill (H. R. 11721) to correct the military record of Charles M. Mayberry—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LATIMER: A bill (H. R. 11722) granting an increase of pension to Fannie A. Sullivan—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LENTZ: A bill (H. R. 11723) granting an increase of pension to William K. Grayson—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MUDD: A bill (H. R. 11724) granting relief to Elizabeth A. Nalley—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. RODENBERG: A bill (H. R. 11725) for the relief of Michael A. Dace—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. SPIGHT: A bill (H. R. 11726) to grant a pension to Mrs. Hester A. Furr—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HENRY C. SMITH: A bill (H. R. 11727) granting a pension to Nelson Pooler—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 11728) granting an increase of pension to Margaret Maguire—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SULLOWAY: A bill (H. R. 11729) granting an increase of pension to Ransolier Hurd—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 11730) granting a pension to James Watkins—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TAYLER of Ohio: A bill (H. R. 11731) for the relief of Thomas Reiley—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 11732) granting a pension to Elizabeth M. Chandler—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 11733) granting a pension to Daniel W. Weida—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 11734) granting a pension to John H. Gregory—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 11735) granting an increase of pension to J. V. Dickinson—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, the following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER: Petition of Dubuque Typographical Union, No. 22, of Dubuque, Iowa, favoring the passage of Senate bill No. 2814, in the interest of letter carriers—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. ALLEN of Maine: Petitions of C. E. Ward and 21 other citizens of Cumberland and L. W. Dyer and 17 others, of Falmouth, Me., in favor of the Grout bill increasing the tax on oleomargarine—to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. BARTHOLDT: Petition of A. H. Coussens, druggist, and 10 citizens of St. Louis, Mo., for the repeal of the tax on medicines, perfumery, and cosmetics—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of Pattern Makers' Association of St. Louis, Mo., for the building of one or more new war ships in Government navy-yards—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. BELLAMY: Petition of William Niestle, of Wilmington, N. C., for the repeal of the tax on medicines, perfumery, and cosmetics—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BOUTELLE of Maine: Petition of A. J. Fulton and other druggists of Blaine, Me., for the repeal of the tax on medicines, perfumery, and cosmetics—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BULL: Papers to accompany House bill No. 7580, granting a pension to Samuel N. Haskins—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BURLEIGH: Petition of Sister Louise, in charge of Providence Hospital, Washington, D. C., asking for an appropriation to build and equip an addition to the hospital—to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. LORIMER: Petitions of 2,300 citizens of Chicago, Ill., favoring the passage of House bill No. 4351, for the classification of post-office clerks—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, paper to accompany House bill to increase the pension of Fannie A. Sullivan—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. NEVILLE: Resolutions of Robinson Post, No. 261, Department of Nebraska, Grand Army of the Republic, in favor of House bill No. 7094, to establish a Branch Soldiers' Home at Johnson City, Tenn.—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, affidavit to accompany House bill No. 11560, to increase the pension of Ralph D. Parsons—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. NORTON of South Carolina: Resolutions of the Southern Industrial Convention, Huntsville, Ala., favoring the passage of House bill No. 887, for the promotion of exhibits in the Philadelphia museums—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of J. T. Douglas & Bro., of Bennettsville, S. C., for the repeal of the stamp tax on medicines, etc.—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

#### SENATE.

MONDAY, May 21, 1900.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of the proceedings of Saturday last, when, on request of Mr. ALLEN, and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Journal, without objection, will stand approved.

#### AFFAIRS IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States; which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on the Philippines, and ordered to be printed:

To the Senate:

In response to the following resolution of the Senate of April 28, 1900: "Resolved, That the President be, and he is hereby, requested, if not incompatible with the public interest, to inform the Senate whether General Torres, one of the officers of the Philippine army, came to General Otis with a flag of truce on February 5, 1899, the day after the fighting commenced between our forces and those of the Filipinos, and stated to General Otis that General Aguinaldo declared that fighting had been begun accidentally and was not authorized by him, and that Aguinaldo wished to have it stopped, and that to bring about a conclusion of hostilities he proposed the establishment of a neutral zone between the two armies of a width that would be agreeable to General Otis, so that during the peace negotiations there might be no further danger of conflict between the two armies, and whether Gen-

eral Otis replied that fighting having once begun must go on to the grim end. Was General Otis directed by the Secretary of War to make such an answer? Did General Otis telegraph the Secretary of War on February 9, 1899, as follows: 'Aguinaldo now applies for a cessation of hostilities and conference. Have declined to answer?' And did General Otis afterwards reply? Was he directed by the Secretary of War to reply, and what answer, if any, did he or the Secretary of War make to the application to cease fighting?"

"The President is also requested to inform the Senate whether the flag of the Philippine republic was ever saluted by Admiral Dewey or any of the vessels of his fleet at any time since May 1, 1898. Did Admiral Dewey, at the request of Aguinaldo or any officer under him, send the vessels *Concord* and *Raleigh* to Subig Bay to assist Aguinaldo's forces in the capture of the Spanish garrison at that place? Did said vessels assist in the capture of the Spanish garrison, and after the surrender did they turn the prisoners thus taken over to the Philippine forces?"

I herewith transmit a copy of a cable dispatch to General Otis dated April 30, 1900, and of his reply, dated May 1, 1900.

General Otis was not directed by the Secretary of War to make such an answer as is set forth in the resolution, nor were any answers to communications upon the subject of the cessation of hostilities prescribed by the Secretary of War to General Otis, but he was left to exercise, in respect thereof, his own judgment, based upon his superior knowledge of the conditions surrounding the troops under his command.

I also transmit a copy of a cable dispatch from General Otis, sent from Manila February 8, 1899, received in Washington February 9, 1899, being the same dispatch to which he refers in his reply of May 1, 1900, as misleading. So far as I am informed, General Otis did not afterwards reply, except as set forth in his said dispatch of May 1, 1900. He was not directed by the Secretary of War to reply, and no answer was made by him or the Secretary of War to an application to cease fighting. There appears to have been no such application.

I further transmit a copy of a letter from the Secretary of the Navy to Admiral George Dewey, dated May 14, 1900, and a copy of the Admiral's reply, dated May 17, 1900.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

#### EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 19, 1900.

#### MILK AND CREAM IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a communication from the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the 19th ultimo, a letter from the health officer of the District of Columbia, accompanied by a detailed report from J. P. Turner, V. M. D., inspector of live stock and dairy farms, and also a detailed report from J. D. Hird, M. A., inspector of dairy products and chemist, relative to the quality and condition of milk and cream sold in the District of Columbia; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, and ordered to be printed.

#### HOUSE BILLS REFERRED.

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Claims:

A bill (H. R. 321) for the relief of the legal representatives of Samuel Tewksbury, deceased;

A bill (H. R. 427) for the relief of heirs of Mrs. Tellisse W. Wilson;

A bill (H. R. 827) for the relief of the trustees of the Presbyterian Church of Dardanelle, Yell County, Ark.;

A bill (H. R. 1860) for the relief of the trustees of Carson-Newman College, at Mossycreek, Tenn.;

A bill (H. R. 1871) for the relief of E. B. Crozier, executrix of the last will of Dr. C. W. Crozier, of Tennessee;

A bill (H. R. 1889) for the relief of the trustees of Holston Seminary, at Newmarket, Tenn.;

A bill (H. R. 1959) for the relief of the heirs of George W. Saulpaw;

A bill (H. R. 2357) for the relief of A. T. Hensley, survivor of Fulton & Hensley, doing business under the name of Lavaca Wharf Company;

A bill (H. R. 2619) for the relief of Agnes and Maria De Leon;

A bill (H. R. 3020) for the relief of Rev. William T. McElroy;

A bill (H. R. 3599) for the relief of Lewis M. Millard;

A bill (H. R. 3799) for the relief of Stanley Snodgrass, of Jefferson County, Miss.;

A bill (H. R. 5264) for the relief of the estate of Maj. Guy Howard, deceased;

A bill (H. R. 5355) for the relief of John D. Hale, of Tilford, Meade County, S. Dak.;

A bill (H. R. 5755) for the relief of William Wolfe;

A bill (H. R. 6230) for the relief of Robert Smalls; and

A bill (H. R. 7483) for the relief of James T. Ellis, of Rankin County, Miss.

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs:

A bill (H. R. 231) for the relief of John Dailey;

A bill (H. R. 628) for the relief of Hamilton M. Sailors; and

A bill (H. R. 1136) for the relief of parties for property taken from them by military forces of the United States.

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads:

A bill (H. R. 4099) for the relief of the Marion Trust Company, administrator of the estate of Samuel Milliken, deceased; and

A bill (H. R. 5874) to pay H. P. Dyer for carrying mail.

The bill (H. R. 149) referring to the Court of Claims the claim of William E. Woodbridge for compensation for the use by the United States of his invention relating to projectiles, for which