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A Plea for General Amnesty, Carl Schurz, 1872

A Plea for General Amnesty

Title: A Plea for General Amnesty

Author: Carl Schurz

Date: 1872

Source: The World's Famous Orations, Vol.10, pp.27-53

Born in 1829, died in 1906; took part in an uprising in the Palatinate in 1849 and was arrested, but escaped to Switzerland; came to the United States in 1852; made Minister to Spain in 1861, but resigned to enter the Union army, where he became a Major-General; elected Senator from Missouri in 1869; a leader in the Liberal Republican movement of 1872; Secretary of the Interior in 1877; prominent in the "Mugwump" movement of 1884.

From a speech delivered in the United States Senate, January 30, 1872, as reported in The Congressional Globe. The subject of debate was a bill which provided that no person should be a senator, representative, or presidential elector, or hold any civil or military office under the United States, or in any State, provided that he, as a federal or State officer, had sworn to support the Constitution and had afterward engaged in the Secession cause. But provision was made that by a two-thirds vote of each House this disability could be removed. General amnesty was not aimed at in the Bill, three classes persons being excepted from relief. The Bill failed to become a law. These passages are given here by kind permission of the executors of General Schurz's estate.

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.27

IN the course of this debate we have listened to some senators, as they conjured up before our eyes once more all the horrors of the Rebellion, the wickedness of its conception, how terrible its consequences. Sir, I admit it all; I will not combat the correctness of the picture; and yet if I differ from the gentlemen who drew it, it is because, had the conception of the Rebellion been still more wicked, had its incidents been still more terrible, its consequences still more harrowing, I could not permit myself to forget that in dealing with the question now before us we have to deal not alone with the past, but with the present and future interests of this republic.

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.28

What do we want to accomplish as good citizens and patriots? Do we mean only to inflict upon the late rebels pain, degredation, mortification, annoyance, for its own sake; to torture their feelings without any ulterior purpose? Certainly such a purpose could not by any possibility animate high-minded men. I presume, therefore, that those who still favor the continuance of some of the disabilities imposed by the Fourteenth Amendment do so because they have some higher object of public usefulness in view, an object of public usefulness sufficient to justify, in their minds at least, the denial of rights to others which we ourselves enjoy.

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.28

What can those objects of public usefulness be? Let me assume that, if we differ as to the means to be employed, we are agreed as to the supreme end and aim to be reached. That end and aim of our endeavors can be no other than to secure to all the States the blessings of good and free government and the highest degree of prosperity and well-being they can attain, and to revive in all citizens of this republic that love for the Union and its institutions, and that inspiring consciousness of a common nationality, which, after all, must bind all Americans together.

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.29

What are the best means for the attainment of that end? This, sir, as I conceive it, is the only legitimate question we have to decide. Certainly all will agree that this end is far from having been attained so far. Look at the Southern States as they stand before us to-day. Some are in a condition bordering upon anarchy, not only on account of the social disorders which are occurring there, or the inefficiency of their local governments in securing the enforcement of the laws; but you will find in many of them fearful corruption pervading the whole political organization; a combination of rascality and ignorance wielding official power; their finances deranged by profligate practises; their credit ruined; bankruptcy staring them in the face; their industries staggering under a fearful load of taxation; their property-holders and capitalists paralyzed by a feeling of insecurity and distrust almost amounting to despair. Sir, let us not try to disguise these facts, for the world knows them to be so, and knows it but too well.

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.29

What are the causes that have contributed to bring about this distressing condition? I admit that great civil wars, resulting in such vast social transformations as the sudden abolition of slavery, are calculated to produce similar results; but it might be presumed that a recuperative power such as this country possesses might, during the time which has elapsed since the close of the war, at least have very materially alleviated many of the consequences of that revulsion, had a wise policy been followed.

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.30

Was the policy we followed wise? Was it calculated to promote the great purposes we are endeavoring to serve? Let us see. At the close of the war we had to establish and secure free labor and the rights of the emancipated class. To that end we had to disarm those who could have prevented this, and we had to give the power of self-protection to those who needed it. For this reason temporary restrictions were imposed upon the late rebels, and we gave the right of suffrage to the colored people. Until the latter were enabled to protect themselves, political disabilities even more extensive than those which now exist rested upon the plea of eminent political necessity. I would be the last man to conceal that I thought so then, and I think there was very good reason for it.

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.30

But, sir, when the enfranchisement of the colored people was secured; when they had obtained the political means to protect themselves, then another problem began to loom up. It was not only to find new guarantees for the rights of the colored people, but it was to secure good and honest government to all. Let us not underestimate the importance of that problem, for in a great measure it includes the solution of the other. Certainly nothing could have been more calculated to remove the prevailing discontent concerning the changes that had taken place, and to reconcile men's minds to the new order of things, than the tangible proof that that new order of things was practically working well; that it could produce a wise and economical administration of public affairs, and that it would promote general prosperity, thus healing the wounds of the past and opening to all the prospect of a future of material well-being and contentment.

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.31

And, on the other hand, nothing could have been more calculated to impede a general, hearty, and honest acceptance of the new order of things by the late rebel population than just those failures of public administration which involve the people in material embarrassments and so seriously disturb their comfort. In fact, good, honest, and successful government in the Southern States would in its moral effects, in the long run, have exerted a far more beneficial influence than all your penal legislation, while your penal legislation will fail in its desired effects if we fail in establishing in the Southern States an honest and successful administration of the public business.

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.31

Now, what happened in the South? It is a well-known fact that the more intelligent classes of Southern society almost uniformly identified themselves with the Rebellion; and by our system of political disabilities just those classes were excluded from the management of political affairs. That they could not be trusted with the business of introducing into living practise the results of the war, to establish true free labor, and to protect the rights of the emancipated slaves, is true; I willingly admit it. But when those results and rights were constitutionally secured there were other things to be done. Just at that period when the Southern States lay prostrated and exhausted at our feet, when the destructive besom of war had swept over them and left nothing but desolation and ruin in its track, when their material interests were to be built up again with care and foresight—just then the public business demanded, more than ordinarily, the cooperation of all the intelligence and all the political experience that could be mustered in the Southern States. But just then a large portion of that intelligence and experience was excluded from the management of public affairs by political disabilities, and the controlling power in those States rested in a great measure in the hands of those who had but recently been slaves and just emerged from that condition, and in the hands of others who had sometimes honestly, sometimes by crooked means and for sinister purposes, found a way to their confidence.

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.32

But while the colored people of the South earned our admiration and gratitude, I ask you in all candor could they be reasonably expected, when, just after having emerged from a condition of slavery, they were invested with political rights and privileges, to step into the political arena as men armed with the intelligence and experience necessary for the management of public affairs and for the solution of problems made double intricate by the disasters which had desolated the Southern country? Could they reasonably be expected to manage the business of public administration, involving to so great an extent the financial interests and the material well-being of the people, and surrounded by difficulties of such fearful perplexity, with the wisdom and skill required by the exigencies of the situation?

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.33

That as a class they were ignorant and inexperienced and lacked a just conception of public interests, was certainly not their fault; for those who have studied the history of the world know but too well that slavery and oppression are very bad political schools. But the stubborn fact remains that they were ignorant and inexperienced; that the public business was an unknown world to them; and that in spite of the best intentions they were easily misled, not infrequently by the most reckless rascality which had found a way to their confidence. Thus their political rights and privileges were undoubtedly well calculated, and even necessary to protect their rights as free laborers and citizens; but, they were not well calculated to secure a successful administration of other public interests.

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.33

But what did we do? To the uneducated and inexperienced classes—uneducated and inexperienced, I repeat, entirely without their fault—we opened the road to power; and, at the same time, we condemned a large proportion of the intelligence of those States, of the property-holding, the industrial, the professional, the tax-paying interest, to a worse than passive attitude. We made it, as it were, easy for rascals who had gone South in quest of profitable adventure to gain the control of masses so easily misled, by permitting them to appear as the exponents and representatives of the national power and of our policy; and at the same time we branded a large number of men of intelligence, and many of them of personal integrity, whose material interests were so largely involved in honest government, and many of whom would have cooperated in managing the public business with care and foresight—we branded them, I say, as outcasts; telling them that they ought not to be suffered to exercise any influence upon the management of the public business, and it would be unwarrantable presumption in them to attempt it.

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.34

The introduction of the colored people, the late slaves, into the body-politic as voters, pointedly affronted the traditional prejudices prevailing among the Southern whites. What should we care about those prejudices? In war, nothing. After the close of the war, in the settlement of peace, not enough to deter us from doing what was right and necessary, and yet, still enough to take them into account when considering the manner in which right and necessity were to be served. Statesmen will care about popular prejudices as physicians will care about the diseased condition of their patients, which they want to ameliorate. Would it not have been wise for us, looking at those prejudices as a morbid condition of the Southern mind, to mitigate, to assuage, to disarm them by prudent measures, and thus to weaken their evil influence?

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.35

We desire the Southern whites to accept in good faith universal suffrage, to recognize the political rights of the colored man, and to protect him in their exercise. Was not that our sincere desire? But if it was, would it not have been wise to remove as much as possible the obstacles that stood in the way of that consummation? But what did we do? When we raised the colored people to the rights of active citizenship and opened to them all the privileges of eligibility, we excluded from those privileges a large and influential class of whites; in other words, we lifted the late slave, uneducated and inexperienced as he was—I repeat, without his fault—not merely to the level of the late master class, but even above it. We asked certain white men to recognize the colored man in a political status not only as high as but even higher than their own. We might say that under the circumstances we had a perfect right to do that, and I will not dispute it; but I ask you most earnestly, sir, was it wise to do it? If you desired the white man to accept and recognize the political equality of the black, was it wise to imbitter and exasperate his spirit with the stinging stigma of his own inferiority?

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.36

You tell me that the late rebels had deserved all this in the way of punishment. Granting that, I beg leave to suggest that this is not the question. The question is: What were the means best calculated to overcome the difficulties standing in the way of a willing and universal recognition of the new rights and privileges of the emancipated class? What were the means to overcome the hostile influences impending the development of the harmony of society in its new order? I am far from asserting that, had no disabilities existed, universal suffrage would have been received by the Southern whites with universal favor. No, sir, most probably it would not; but I do assert that the existence of disabilities, which put so large and influential a class of whites in point of political privileges below the colored people, could not fail to inflame those prejudices which stood in the way of a general and honest acceptance of the new order of things; they increased instead of diminishing the dangers and difficulties surrounding the emancipated class; and nobody felt that more keenly than the colored people of the South themselves. To their honor be it said, following a just instinct, they were among the very first, not only in the South but all over the country, in entreating Congress to remove those odious discriminations which put in jeopardy their own rights by making them greater than those of others. From the colored people themselves, it seems, we have in this respect received a lesson in statesmanship.

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.37

Well, then, what policy does common sense suggest to us now? If we sincerely desire to give to the Southern States good and honest government, material prosperity, and measurable contentment, as far at least as we can contribute to that end; if we really desire to weaken and disarm those prejudices and resentments which still disturb the harmony of society, will it not be wise, will it not be necessary, will it not be our duty to show that we are in no sense the allies and abettors of those who use their political power to plunder their fellow citizens, and that we do not mean to keep one class of people in unnecessary degredation by withholding from them rights and privileges which all others enjoy? Seeing the mischief which the system of disabilities is accomplishing, is it not time that there should be at least an end of it; or is there any good it can possibly do to make up for the harm it has already wrought and is still working?

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.37

Look at it. Do these disabilities serve in any way to protect anybody in his rights or in his liberty or in his property or in his life? Does the fact that some men are excluded from office, in any sense or measure, make others more secure in their lives or in their property or in their rights? Can anybody tell me how? Or do they, perhaps, prevent even those who are excluded from official position from doing mischief if they are mischievously inclined? Does the exclusion from office, does any feature of your system of political disabilities, take the revolver or the bowie-knife or the scourge from the hands of anyone who wishes to use it? Does it destroy the influence of the more intelligent upon society, if they mean to use that influence for mischievous purposes?

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.38

We accuse the Southern whites of having missed their chance of gaining the confidence of the emancipated class when, by a fairly demonstrated purpose of recognizing and protecting them in their rights, they might have acquired upon them a salutary influence. That accusation is by no means unjust; but must we not admit, also, that by excluding them from their political rights and privileges we put the damper of most serious discouragement upon the good intentions which might have grown up among them? Let us place ourselves in their situation, and then I ask you how many of us would, under the same circumstances have risen above the ordinary impulses of human nature to exert a salutary influence in defiance of our own prejudices, being so pointedly told every day that it was not the business of those laboring under political disabilities to meddle with public affairs at all? And thus, in whatever direction you may turn your eyes, you look in vain for any practical good your political disabilities might possibly accomplish. You find nothing, absolutely nothing, in their practical effects but the aggravation of evils already existing, and the prevention of a salutary development.

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.39

Is it not the part of wise men, sir, to acknowledge the failure of a policy like this in order to remedy it, especially since every candid mind must recognize that, by continuing the mistake, absolutely no practical good can be subserved?

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.39

You tell me that many of the late rebels do not deserve a full restoration of their rights. That may be so—I do not deny it; but yet, sir, if many of them do not deserve it, is it not a far more important consideration how much the welfare of the country will be promoted by it?

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.39

I am told that many of the late rebels, if we volunteer a pardon to them, would not appreciate it. I do not deny this—it may be so, for the race of fools, unfortunately, is not all dead yet; but if they do not appreciate it, shall we have no reason to appreciate the great good which by this measure of generosity will be conferred upon the whole land?

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.39

Look at the nations around us. In the Parliament of Germany how many men are there sitting who were once what you would call fugitives from justice, exiles on account of their revolutionary acts, now admitted to the great council of the nation in the fulness of their rights and privileges?—and mark you, without having been asked to abjure the opinions they formerly held, for at the present moment most of them still belong to the Liberal Opposition. Look at Austria, where Count Andrassy, a man who, in 1849, was condemned to the gallows as a rebel, at this moment stands at the head of the imperial ministry; and those who know the history of that country are fully aware that the policy of which that amnesty was a part, which opened to Count Andrassy the road to power, has attached Hungary more closely than ever to the Austrian Crown, from which a narrow-minded policy of severity would have driven her.

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.40

Now, sir, ought not we to profit by the wisdom of such examples? It may be said that other governments were far more rigorous in their first repressive measures, and that they put off the grant of a general amnesty much longer after suppressing an insurrection than we are required to do. So they did; but is not this the great republic of the New World which marches in the very vanguard of modern civilization, and which, when an example of wisdom is set by other nations, should not only rise to its level, but far above it?

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.40

It seems now to be generally admitted that the time has come for a more comprehensive removal of political disabilities than has so far been granted. If that sentiment be sincere, if you really do desire to accomplish the greatest possible good by this measure that can be done, I would ask you what practical advantage do you expect to derive from the exclusions for which this bill provides? Look at them, one after another.

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.40

First, all those are excluded who, when the Rebellion broke out, were members of Congress, and left their seats in these halls to join it. Why are these men to be excluded as a class? Because this class contains a number of prominent individuals, who, in the Rebellion, became practically conspicuous and obnoxious, and among them we find those whom we might designate as the original conspirators. But these are few, and they might have been mentioned by name. Most of those, however, who left their seats in Congress to make common cause with the rebels were in no way more responsible for the Rebellion than other prominent men in the South who do not fall under this exception. If we accept at all the argument that it will be well for the cause of good government and the material welfare of the South to readmit to the management of public affairs all the intelligence and political experience in those States, why, then, exclude as a class men who, having been members of Congress, may be presumed to possess a higher degree of that intelligence and experience than the rest? If you want that article at all for good purposes, I ask you, do you not want as large a supply of that article as you can obtain?

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.41

Leaving aside the original conspirators, is there any reason in the world why those members of Congress should be singled out from the numerous class of intelligent and prominent men who were or had been in office and had taken the same oath which is administered in these halls? Look at it! You do not propose to continue the disqualification of men who served this country as foreign ministers, who left their important posts, betrayed the interests of this country in foreign lands to come back and join the Rebellion; you do not propose to exclude from the benefit of this act those who sat upon the bench and doffed the judicial ermine to take part in the Rebellion; and if such men are not to be disfranchised, why disfranchise the common run of the congressmen, whose guilt is certainly not greater, if it be as great? Can you tell me? Is it wise even to incur the suspicion of making an exception merely for the sake of excluding somebody, when no possible good can be accomplished by it, and when you can thus only increase the number of men incited to discontent and mischief by small and unnecessary degradations?

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.42

And now as to the original conspirators, what has become of them? Some of them are dead; and as to those who are still living, I ask you, sir, are they not dead also? Look at Jefferson Davis himself. What if you exclude even him—and certainly our feelings would naturally impel us to do so; but let our reason speak—what if you exclude even him? Would you not give him an importance which otherwise he never would possess, by making people believe that you are even occupying your minds enough with him to make him an exception to an act of generous wisdom? Truly to refrain from making an act of amnesty general on account of the original conspirators, candidly speaking, I would not consider worth while. I would not leave them the pitable distinction of not being pardoned. Your very generosity will be to them the source of the bitterest disappointment. As long as they are excluded, they may still find some satisfaction in the delusion of being considered men of dangerous importance. Their very disabilities they look upon to-day as a recognition of their power. They may still make themselves and others believe that, were the Southern people only left free in their choice, they would eagerly raise them again to the highest honors.

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.43

So much for the first exception. Now to the second. It excludes from the benefit of this act all those who were officers of the army or of the navy and then joined the Rebellion. Why exclude that class of person? I have heard the reason very frequently stated upon the floor of the Senate; it is because those more had been educated at the public expense, and their turning against the government was therefore an act of peculiar faithlessness and black ingratitude. That might appear a very argument at first sight. But I ask you was it not one of the very first acts of this administration to appoint one of the most prominent and conspicuous of that class to a very lucrative and respectable public office? I mean General Longstreet. He had obtained his military education at the expense of the American people. He was one of the wards, one of the pets of the American Republic, and then he turned against it as a rebel. Whatever of faithlessness, whatever of black ingratitude there is in such conduct, it was in his; and yet, in spite of all this, the president nominated him for an office, and your consent, senators, made him a public dignitary.

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.44

Why did you break the rule in his case? I will not say that you did it because he had become a Republican, for I am far from attributing any mere partizan motive to your action. No; you did it because his conduct after the close of hostilities had been that of a well-disposed and law-abiding citizen. Thus, then, the rule which you, senators, have established for your own conduct is simply this: you will, in the case of officers of the army or the navy, waive the charge of peculiar faithlessness and ingratitude if the persons in question after the war had become law-abiding and well-disposed citizens. Well, is it not a fact universally recognized, and I believe entirely uncontradicted, that of all classes of men connected with the Rebellion there is not one whose conduct since the close of the war has been so unexceptionable, and in a great many instances so beneficial in its influence upon Southern society, as the officers of the army and the navy, especially those who before the war had been member of our regular establishments? Why, then, except them from this act of amnesty? If you take subsequent good conduct into account at all, these men are the very last who as a class ought to be excluded. And would it not be well to encourage them in well-doing by a sign on your part that they are not to be looked upon as outcasts whose influence is not desired, even when they are inclined to sue it for the promotion of the common welfare?

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.45

The third class excluded consists of those who were members of State conventions, and in those State conventions voted for ordinances of secession. If we may judge from the words which fell from the lips of the senator from Indiana, they were the objects of his particular displeasure. Why this? Here we have a large number of men of local standing who in some cases may have been leaders on a small scale, but most of whom were drawn into the whirl of the revolutionary movement just like the rest of the Southern population. If you accept the proposition that it will be well and wise to permit the intelligence of the country to participate in the management of the public business, the exclusion of just these people will appear especially inappropriate, because their local influence might be made peculiarly beneficial; and if you exclude these persons, whose number is considerable, you tell just that class of people whose cooperation might be made most valuable that their cooperation is not wanted, for the reason that, according to the meaning and intent of your system of disabilities, public affairs are no business of theirs.

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.45

You object that they are more guilty than the rest. Suppose they are—and in many cases I am sure they are only apparently so—but if they were not guilty of any wrong, they would need no amnesty. Amnesty is made for those who bear a certain degree of guilt. Or would you indulge here in the solemn farce of giving pardon only to those who are presumably innocent? You grant your amnesty that it may bear good fruit; and if you do it for that purpose, then do not diminish the good fruit it may bear by leaving unplanted the most promising soil upon which it may grow.

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.46

Let met tell you it is the experience of all civilized nations the world over, when an amnesty is to be granted at all, the completest amnesty is always the best. Any limitation you may impose, however plausible it may seem at first sight, will be calculated to take away much of the virtue of that which is granted. I entreat you, then, in the name of the accumulated experience of history, let there be an end of these bitter and useless and disturbing questions; let the books be finally closed, and when the subject is for ever dismissed from our discussions and our minds, we shall feel as much relieved as those who are relieved of their political disabilities.

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.46

Sir, I have to say a few words about an accusation which has been brought against those who speak in favor of universal amnesty. It is the accusation resorted to, in default of more solid argument, that those who advise amnesty, especially universal amnesty, do so because they have fallen in love with the rebels. No, sir, it is not merely for the rebels I plead. We are asked, Shall the Rebellion go entirely unpunished? No, sir, it shall not. Neither do I think that the Rebellion has gone entirely unpunished. I ask you, had the rebels nothing to lose but their lives and their offices? Look at it. There was a proud and arrogant aristocracy, planting their feet on the necks of the laboring people, and pretending to be the born rulers of this great Republic. They looked down, not only upon their slaves, but also upon the people of the North, with the haughty contempt of self-asserting superiority. When their pretensions to rule us all were first successfully disputed, they resolved to destroy this Republic, and to build up on the corner-stone of slavery an empire of their own in which they could hold absolute sway. They made the attempt with the most overweeningly confident expectation of certain victory.

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.47

Then came the Civil War, and after four years of struggle their whole power and pride lay shivered to atoms at our feet, their sons dead by tens of thousands on the battle-fields of this country, their fields and their homes devastated, their fortunes destroyed; and more than that, the whole social system in which they had their being, with all their hopes and pride, utterly wiped out; slavery for ever abolished, and the slaves themselves created a political power before which they had to bow their heads, and they, broken, ruined, helpless, and hopeless in the dust before those upon whom they had so haughtily looked down as their vassals and inferiors. Sir, can it be said that the Rebellion has gone entirely unpunished?

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.48

You may object that the loyal people, too, were subjected to terrible sufferings; that their sons, too, were slaughtered by tens of thousands; that the mourning of countless widows and orphans is still darkening our land; that we are groaning under terrible burdens which the Rebellion has loaded upon us, and that therefore part of the punishment has fallen upon the innocent. And it is certainly true.

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.48

But look at the difference. We issued from this great conflict as conquerors; upon the graves of our slain we could lay the wreath of victory; our widows and orphans, while mourning the loss of their dearest, still remember with proud exultation that the blood of their husbands and fathers was not spilled in vain; that it flowed for the greatest and holiest and at the same time the most victorious of causes; and when our people labor in the sweat of their brow to pay the debt which the Rebellion has loaded upon us, they do it with the proud consciousness that the heavy price they have paid is infinitely overbalanced by the value of the results they have gained: slavery abolished; the great American Republic purified of her foulest stain; the American people no longer a people of masters and slaves, but a people of equal citizens; the most dangerous element of disturbance and disintegration wiped out from among us; this country put upon the course of harmonious development, greater, more beautiful, mightier than ever in its self-conscious power. And thus, whatever losses, whatever sacrifice, whatever sufferings we may have endured, they appear before us in a blaze of glory.

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.49

But how do the Southern people stand there? All they have sacrificed, all they have lost, all the blood they have spilled, all the desolation of their homes, all the distress that stares them in the face, all the wreck and ruin they see around them—all for nothing; all for a wicked folly; all for a disastrous infatuation; they very graves of their slain nothing but monuments of a shadowy delusion; all their former hopes vanished for ever; and the very magniloquence which some of their leaders are still indulging in, nothing but a mocking illustration of their utter discomfiture! Ah, sir, if ever human efforts broke down in irretrievable disaster, if ever human pride was humiliated to the dust, if ever human hopes were turned into despair, there you behold them.

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.49

You may say that they deserved it all. Yes, but surely, sir, you can not say that the Rebellion has gone entirely unpunished. Nor will the senator from Indiana, with all his declamation (and I am sorry not now to see him before me), make any sane man believe that had no political disabilities ever been imposed, the history of the Rebellion, as long as the memory of men retains the recollection of the great story, will ever encourage a future generation to rebel again, or that if even this great example of disaster should fail to extinguish the spirit of rebellion, his little scarecrow of exclusion from office will be more than a thing to be laughed by little boys.

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.50

Sir, such appeals as these, which we have heard so frequently, may be well apt to tickle the ear of an unthinking multitude. But unless I am grievously in error, the people of the United States are a multitude not unthinking. The American people are fast becoming aware that, great as the crime of rebellion is, there are other villainies beside it; that, much as it may deserve punishment, there are other evils flagrant enough to demand energetic correction; that the remedy for such evils does, after all ,not consist in the maintenance of political disabilities, and that it would be well to look behind those vociferous demonstrations of exclusive and austere patriotism to see what abuses and faults of policy they are to cover, and what rotten sores they are to disguise. The American people are fast beginning to perceive that good and honest government in the South, as well as throughout the whole country, restoring a measurable degree of confidence and contentment, will do infinitely more to revive true loyalty and a healthy national spirit, than keeping alive the resentments of the past by a useless degradation of certain classes of persons; and that we shall fail to do our duty unless we use every means to contribute our share to that end. And those, I apprehend, expose themselves to grievous disappointment who still think that, by dinning again and again in the ears of the people the old battle-cries of the Civil War, they can befog the popular mind as to the true requirements of the times, and overawe and terrorize the public sentiment of the country.

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.51

But, sir, as the people of the North and of the South must live together as one people, and as they must be bound together by the bonds of a common national feeling, I ask you, will it not be well for us so to act that the history of our great civil conflict, which can not be forgotten, can never be remembered by Southern men without finding in its closing chapter this irresistible assurance: that we, their conquerors, meant to be, and were after all, not their enemies, but their friends? When the Southern people con over the distressing catalog of the misfortunes they have brought upon themselves, will it not be well, will it not be "devoutly to be wished" for our common future, if at the end of that catalog they find an act which will force every fair-minded man in the South to say of the Northern people, "When we were at war they inflicted upon us the severities of war; but when the contest had closed and they found us prostrate before them, grievously suffering, surrounded by the most perplexing difficulties and on the brink of new disasters, they promptly swept all the resentments of the past out of their way and stretched out their hands to us with the very fullest measure of generosity—anxious, eager to lift us up from our prostration?"

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.52

Sir, will not this do something to dispel those mists of error and prejudice which are still clouding the Southern mind? I ask again, will it not be well to add to the sad memories of the past which for ever will live in their minds, this cheering experience, so apt to prepare them for the harmony of a better and common future?

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.52

No, sir, I would not have the past forgotten, but I would have its history completed and crowned by an act most worthy of a great, noble, and wise people. By all the means which we have in our hands, I would make even those who have sinned against this republic see in its flag, not the symbol of their lasting degradation, but of rights equal to all; I would make them feel in their hearts that in its good and evil fortunes their rights and interest are bound up just as ours are, and that therefore its peace, its welfare, its honor, and its greatness may and ought to be as dear to them as they are to us.

Schurz, Plea for General Amnesty, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.52

I do not, indeed, indulge in the delusion that this act alone will remedy all the evils which we now deplore. No, it will not; but it will be a powerful appeal to the very best instincts and impulses of human nature; it will, like a warm ray of sunshine in springtime, quicken and call to light the germs of good intention wherever they exist; it will give new courage, confidence, and inspiration to the well-disposed; it will weaken the power of the mischievous, by stripping off their pretexts and exposing in their nakedness the wicked designs they still may cherish; it will light anew the beneficent glow of fraternal feeling and of national spirit; for, sir, your good sense as well as your heart must tell you that, when this is truly a people of citizens equal in their political rights, it will then be easier to make it also a people of brothers.

Greenley During His Campaign for President, Greenley, 1872

Greenley During His Campaign for President

Title: Greenley During His Campaign for President

Author: Greenley

Date: 1872

Source: The World's Famous Orations, Vol.10, pp.54-57

Born in 1811, died in 1872; founded the New York Tribune in 1841; elected to Congress in 1848; a notable antislavery leader; an unsuccessful candidate for President in 1872; author of "Recollections of a Busy Life."

Greeley was nominated in May, 1872. His first formal speech in the campaign was the one here given, delivered at Portland, Maine, on August 14. The New York Herald, from which the following report is taken, described Greeley, as he entered the hall to deliver this speech, as wearing "his historical white hat, his black alpaca coat, white vest, and black pants [sic], and carrying his white overcoat on his arm."

Greenley During His Campaign for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.54

IT is certain that throughout the course of my life, as far as I have been connected with public affairs, I have struggled with such capacity as God has given me, for: first, impartial and universal liberty; secondly, for the unity and greatness of our common country; thirdly, and by no means last, when the former end was attained, for an early and hearty reconciliation and peace among our countrymen. For these great ends I have struggled, and I hope the issue is not doubtful.

Greenley During His Campaign for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.54

Those adverse to me ask what pledges I have given to those lately hostile to the Union to secure their favor and support. I answer, no man or woman in all the South ever asked of me, directly or through another, any other pledge than is given through all my acts and words. From the hour of Lee's surrender down to this moment, no Southern man has ever hinted to me an expectation, hope, or wish that the rebel debt, whether Confederate or State, should be assumed or paid by the Union, and no Southern man who could be elected to a legislature or made colonel of a militia regiment, has suggested the pension of the rebel soldiers, or any of them, even as a remote possibility.

Greenley During His Campaign for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.55

All who nominated me were perfectly aware that I had upheld and justified Federal legislation to repress Kuklux conspiracy and outrage, tho I have long ago insisted as strenuously as I do now that complete amnesty and general oblivion of the bloody and hateful past would do more for the suppression and utter extinction of such outrages than all the force bills and suspensions of habeas corpus ever devised by man. Wrong and crime must be suppressed and punished, but far wise and nobler is the legislation, the policy, by which they are prevented.

Greenley During His Campaign for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.55

From those who support me in the South I have heard but one demand—justice; but one desire—reconciliation. They wish to be heartily reunited with the North on any terms which do not involve the surrender of their manhood. They ask that they should be regarded and treated by the Federal authorities as citizens, not as culprits, so long as they obey and uphold every law consistent with equality and right. They desire a rule which, alike for white and black, shall encourage industry and thrift and discourage rapacity and villainy. They cherish a joyful hope, in which I fully concur, that between the fifth of November and the fourth of March next, a number of the governors and other dignitaries who in the absurd name of republicanism and loyalty have for years been piling debts and taxes upon their war-wasted States, will follow the wholesome example of Bullock of Georgia and seek the shades of private life. The darker and deeper those shades, the better for themselves and for mankind; and the hope that my election may hasten the much desired hegira of thieving carpetbaggers has reconciled to the necessity of supporting me many who would otherwise have hesitated and probably refused.

Greenley During His Campaign for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.56

Fellow citizens, the deposed and partially exiled Tammany ring has stolen about $30,000,000 from the City of New York; that was a most gigantic robbery and hurled its contrivers and abettors from power and splendor to impotency and infamy; but the thieving carpetbaggers have stolen at least three times that amount—stolen it from the impoverished and needy—and they still flaunt their prosperous villainy in the highest places in the land, and are addressed as "Honorable" and "Excellency."

Greenley During His Campaign for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.56

I think I hear a voice from the honest people of all the States declaring their infamy shall be gainful and insolent no longer—at the furthest, until the fourth of March next. By that time those criminals will have heard a national verdict pronounced that will cause them to "fold their tents like the Arabs" and as silently steal away, and that I trust will be the end of their stealing at the cost of the good name of our country and the well-being of our people.

Woman's Rights to the Suffrage, Susan B. Anthony, 1873

Woman's Rights to the Suffrage

Title: Woman's Rights to the Suffrage

Author: Susan B. Anthony

Date: 1873

Source: The World's Famous Orations, Vol.10, pp.58-60

Born in 1820, died in 1906; in early life a social reformer and advocate of the suffrage and other civil rights of women, with which she remained through life closely identified.

Delivered in 1873 after she had been arrested, put on trial, and fined one hundred dollars for voting at the presidential election in 1872. She refused to pay the fine and never did pay it.

Anthony, Woman's Rights to the Suffrage, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.58

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS:—I stand before you to-night under indictment for the alleged crime of having voted at the last presidential election, without having a lawful right to vote. It shall be my work this evening to prove to you that in thus voting, I not only committed no crime, but, instead, simply exercised my citizen's rights, guaranteed to me and all United States citizens by the National Constitution, beyond the power of any State to deny. \* \* \* \* The preamble of the Federal Constitution says:

Anthony, Woman's Rights to the Suffrage, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.58

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

Anthony, Woman's Rights to the Suffrage, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.58

It was we, the people; not we, the white male citizens; nor yet we, the male citizens; but we, the whole people, who formed the Union. And we formed it, not to give the blessings of liberty, but to secure them; not to the half of ourselves and the half of our posterity, but to the whole people—women as well as men. And it is a downright mockery to talk to women of their enjoyment of the blessings of liberty while they are denied the use of the only means of securing them provided by this democratic-republican government—the ballot.

Anthony, Woman's Rights to the Suffrage, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.59

For any State to make sex a qualification that must ever result in the disfranchisement of one entire half of the people is to pass a bill of attainder, or an ex post facto law, and is therefore a violation of the supreme law of the land. By it the blessings of liberty are for ever withheld from women and their female posterity. To them this government has no just powers derived from the consent of the governed. To them this government is not a democracy. It is not a republic. It is an odious aristocracy; a hateful oligarchy of sex; the most hateful aristocracy ever established on the face of the globe; an oligarchy of wealth, where the right govern the poor. An oligarchy of learning, where the educated govern the ignorant, or even an oligarchy of race, where the Saxon rules the African, might be endured; but this oligarchy of sex, which makes father, brothers, husband, sons, the oligarchs over the mother and sisters, the wife and daughters of every household—which ordains all men sovereigns, all women subjects, carries dissension, discord and rebellion into every home of the nation.

Anthony, Woman's Rights to the Suffrage, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.60

Webster, Worcester and Bouvier all define a citizen to be a person in the United States, entitled to vote and hold office.

Anthony, Woman's Rights to the Suffrage, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.60

The only question left to be settled now is: Are women persons? And I hardly believe any of our opponents will have the hardihood to say they are not. Being persons, then, women are citizens; and no State has a right to make any law, or to enforce any old law, that shall abridge their privileges or immunities. Hence, every discrimination against women in the constitutions and laws of the several States is to-day null and void, precisely as in every one against negroes.

Sumner and the South, Lamar, 1874

Sumner and the South

Title: Sumner and the South

Author: Lamar

Date: 1874

Source: The World's Famous Orations, Vol.10, pp.61-64

Born in 1825, died in 1893; elected to Congress from Missouri in 1857; served in the Confederacy in the Civil War; elected to Congress in 1873; a United States Senator, 1877-85; Secretary of the Interior in 1885; Justice of the Supreme Court in 1888.

From a speech in the House of Representatives on April 28, 1874—soon after the death of Sumner.

Lamar, Sumner and the South, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.61

IT was certainly a gracious act on the part of Charles Sumner toward the South, tho unhappily it jarred on the sensibilities of the people at the other extreme of the Union, to propose to erase from the banners of the national army the mementoes of the bloody internal struggle which might be regarded as assailing the pride or wounding the sensibilities of the Southern people. The proposal will never be forgotten by that people so long as the name of Charles Sumner lives in the memory of man.

Lamar, Sumner and the South, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.61

But while it touche the heart and elicited her profound gratitude, her people would not have asked of the North such an act of self-renunciation. Conscious that they themselves were animated by devotion to constitutional liberty, and that the brightest pages of history are replete with evidences of the depth and sincerity of that devotion, they can but cherish the recollection of the battles fought and the victories won in defense of their hopeless cause; and respecting, as all true and brave men must respect, the martial spirit with which the men of the North vindicated the integrity of the Union, and their devotion to the principles of human freedom, they do not ask, they do not wish the North to strike the mementoes of heroism and victory from either records or monuments or battle-flags. They would rather that both sections should gather up the glories won by each section, not envious, but proud of each other, and regard them as a common heritage of American valor. Let us hope that future generations, when they remember the deeds of heroism and devotion done on both sides, will speak, not of Northern prowess or Southern courage, but of the heroism, courage and fortitude of the Americans in a war of ideas—a war in which each section signalized its consecration to the principles, as each understood them, of American liberty and of the Constitution received from their fathers.

Lamar, Sumner and the South, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.62

Charles Sumner in life believed that all occasion for strife and distrust between the North and South had passed away, and there no longer remained any cause for continued estrangement between those two sections of our common country. Are there not many of us who believe the same thing? Is not that the common sentiment, or if not, ought it not to be, of the great mass of our people, North and South? Bound to each other by a common constitution, destined to live together under a common government, forming unitedly but a single member of the great family of nations, shall we not now at last endeavor to grow toward each other once more in heart, as we are indissolubly linked to each other in fortunes? Shall we not, while honoring the memory of this great champion of liberty, this feeling sympathizer with human sorrow, this earnest pleader for the exercise of human tenderness and heavenly charity, lay aside the concealments which serve only to perpetuate misunderstandings and distrust, and frankly confess that on both sides we most earnestly desire to be one—one not merely in political organization; one not merely in community of language, and literature, and traditions, and country; but more and better than all that, one also in feeling and in heart?

Lamar, Sumner and the South, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.63

Am I mistaken in this? Do the concealments of which I speak still cover animosities, which neither time nor reflection nor the march of events have yet sufficed to subdue? I can not believe it. Since I have been here I have scrutinized your sentiments, as expressed not merely in public debate, but in the abandon of personal confidence. I know well the sentiments of these my Southern friends, whose hearts are so infolded that the feeling of each is the feeling of all; and I see on both sides only the seeming of a constraint which each apparently hesitates to dismiss.

Lamar, Sumner and the South, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.63

The South—prostrate, exhausted, drained of her life-blood as well as her material resources, yet still honorable and true—accepts the bitter award of the bloody arbitrament without reservation, resolutely determined to abide the result with chivalrous fidelity. Yet, as if struck dumb by the magnitude of her reverses, she suffers on in silence. The North, exultant in her triumph and elevated by success, still cherishes, as we are assured, a heart full of magnanimous emotions toward her disarmed and discomfited antagonist; and yet, as if under some mysterious spell, her words and acts are words and acts of suspicion and distrust. Would that the spirit of the illustrious dead, whom we lament to-day, could speak from the grave to both parties to this deplorable discord, in tones which would reach each and every heart throughout this broad territory: My countrymen! know one another and you will love one another.

Oration at Concord, Curtis, 1875

Oration at Concord

Title: Oration at Concord

Author: Curtis

Date: 1875

Source: The World's Famous Orations, Vol.10, pp.65-76

Born in 1824, died in 1892; member of the Brook Farm community; connected with Harper's Magazine and harper's Weekly from 1854 and 1863 until his death; made a Commissioner to devise rules for the Civil Service in 1871, but resigned because of differences with President Grant; President of the Civil Service National Reform League from its formation until its death.

From an oration delivered at the Centennial celebration of the Battle of Concord, on april 19, 1875. Copyright 1804 by Harper & Brothers.

Curtis, Oration at Concord, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.65

WE are fortunate that we behold this day. The heavens bend benignly over, the earth blossoms with renewed life, and our hearts beat joyfully together with one emotion of filial gratitude and patriotic exultation. Citizens of a great, free, and prosperous country, we come hither to honor the men, our fathers, who, on this spot and upon this day, a hundred years ago, struck the first blow in the contest which made that country independent. Here beneath the hills they trod, by the peaceful river on whose shores they dwelt, amid the fields that they sowed and reaped, proudly recalling their virtue and their valor, we come to tell their story, to try ourselves by their lofty standard to know if we are their worthy children; and, standing reverently where they stood and fought and died, to swear before God and each other, in the words of him upon whom in our day the spirit of the revolutionary fathers visibly descended, that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Curtis, Oration at Concord, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.66

This ancient town with its neighbors who share its glory, has never failed fitly to commemorate this great day of its history. Fifty years ago, while some soldiers of the Concord fight were yet living—twenty-five years ago, while still a few venerable survivors lingered—with prayer and eloquence and song you renewed the pious vow. But the last living link with the Revolution has long been broken . Great events and a mightier struggle have absorbed our own generation. Yet we who stand here to-day have a sympathy with the men at the old North Bridge which those who preceded us here at earlier celebrations could not know. With them war was a name and a tradition. So swift and vast had been the change and the development of the country that the revolutionary clash of arms was already vague and unreal, and Concord and Lexington seemed to them almost as remote and historic as Arbela and Sempach. When they assembled to celebrate this day they saw a little group of tottering forms, eyes from which the light was fading, arms nerveless and withered, thin white hairs that fluttered in the wind—they saw a few venerable relics of a vanished age, whose pride was that before living memory they had bene minute-men of American Independence.

Curtis, Oration at Concord, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.67

But with us how changed! War is no longer a tradition half romantic obscure. It has ravaged how many of our homes! it has wrung how many of the hearts before me! North and South, we know the pang. Our common liberty is consecrated by common sorrow. We do not count around us a few feeble veterans of the contest, but are girt with a cloud of witnesses. We are surrounded everywhere by multitudes in the vigor of their prime—behold them here to-day sharing in these pious and peaceful rites, the honored citizens, legislators, magistrates—yes, the chief magistrate of the Republic—whose glory it is that they were minute-men of American liberty and union. These men of to-day interpret to us with resistless eloquence the men and the times we commemorate. Now, if never before, we understand the Revolution. Now we know the secret of those old hearts and homes. We can measure the sacrifice, the courage, the devotion, for we have seen them all. Green hills of Concord, broad fields of Middlesex, that heard the voice of Hancock and of Adams, you heard also the call of Lincoln and of Andrew, and your Ladd and Whitney, your Prescott and Ripley and Melvin, have revealed to us more truly the Davis and the Buttrick, the Hosmer and the Parker, of a hundred years age.

Curtis, Oration at Concord, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.68

At the end of a century we can see the work as our fathers could not; we can see that then the final movement began of a process long and unconsciously preparing, which was to intrust liberty to new forms and institutions that seemed full of happy promise for mankind. And now for nearly a century what was formerly called the experiment of a representative republic of imperial extent and power has been tried. Has it fulfilled the hopes of its founders and the just expectations of mankind! I have already glanced at its early and fortunate conditions, and we know how vast and splendid were its early growth and development. Our material statistics soon dazzled the world. Europe no longer sneered but gazed in wonder, waiting and watching. Our population doubled every fifteen years, and our wealth every ten years. Every little stream among the hills turned a mill; and the great inland seas, bound by the genius of Clinton to the ocean, became the highway of boundless commerce, the path of unprecedented empire. Our farms were the granary of other lands. Our cotton fields made England rich. Still we chased the whale in the Pacific Ocean and took fish in the tumbling seas of Labrador. We hung our friendly lights along thousands of miles of coast to tempt the trade of every clime; and wherever, on the dim rim of the globe there was a harbor, it was white with American sails. Meanwhile at home the political foreboding of federalism had died away, and its very wail seemed a tribute to the pacific glories of the land.

Curtis, Oration at Concord, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.69

"The ornament of beauty is suspect,

A crow that flies in heaven's sweetest air."

Curtis, Oration at Concord, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.69

The government was felt to be but a hand of protection and blessing; labor was fully employed; capital was secured; the army was a jest; enterprise was pushing through the Alleghanies, grasping and settling the El Dorado of the prairies, and still braving the wilderness, reached out toward the Rocky Mountains, and reversing the voyages of Columbus, rediscovered the Old World from the New. America was the Benjamin of nations, the best beloved of heaven, and the starry flag of the United States flashed a line of celestial light around the world, the harbinger of freedom, peace, and prosperity.

Curtis, Oration at Concord, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.69

Think, for instance, of the change wrought by foreign immigration, with all its necessary consequences. In the State of Massachusetts to-day the number of citizens of foreign birth who have no traditional association with the story of Concord and Lexington is larger than the entire population of the State on the day of battle. The first fifty years after the battle brought to the whole country fewer immigrants than are now living in Massachusetts alone. At the end of that half century, when mr. Everett stood here, less than three hundred thousand foreign immigrants had come to this country; but in the fifty years that have since elapsed, that immigration has been more than nine millions of persons. The aggregate population in the last fifty years has advanced somewhat more than threefold, the foreign immigration more than thirtyfold, so that now immigrants and the children of immigrants are a quarter of the whole population.

Curtis, Oration at Concord, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.70

This enormous influx of foreigners has added an immense ignorance and entire unfamiliarity with republican ideas and habits to the voting class. It has brought other political traditions, other languages and other religious faiths. It has introduced powerful and organized influences not friendly to the republican principle of freedom of thought and action. It is to the change produced by immigration that we owe the first serious questioning of the public school system, which was the nursery of the early republic, and which is to-day the palladium of free popular government.

Curtis, Oration at Concord, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.70

Do not misunderstand me. I am not lamenting even in thought the boundless hospitality of America. I do not forget that the whole European race came hither but yesterday, and has been domesticated here not yet three hundred years. I am not insensible of the proud claim of America to be the refuge of the oppressed of every clime; nor do I doubt in her maturity, her power, if duly directed, to assimilate whole nations, if need be, as in her infancy she achieved her independence, and in her prime maintained her unity. But is she has been the hope of the world, and is so still, it is because she has understood both the conditions and the perils of freedom, and watches carefully the changing conditions under which republican liberty is to be maintained. She will still welcome to her ample bosom all who choose to be called her children. But if she is to remain the mother of liberty, it will not be the result of those craven counsels whose type is the ostrich burying his head in the sand, but of that wise and heroic statesmanship whose symbol is her own heaven-soaring eagle, gazing undazzled even at the spots upon the sun.

Curtis, Oration at Concord, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.71

Again, within the century steam has enormously expanded the national domain, and every added mile is an added strain to our system. The marvelous ease of communication both by rail and telegraph tends to obliterate conservative local lines and to make a fatal centralization more possible. The telegraph, which instantly echoes the central command at the remotest point, becomes both a facility and a temptation to exercise command, while below upon the rail the armed blow swiftly follows the word that flies along the wire. Steam concentrates population in cities. But when the government was formed the people were strictly rural, and there were but six cities with eight thousand inhabitants or more. In 1790 only one-thirtieth of the population lived in cities, in 1870 more than one-fifth. Steam destroys the natural difficulties of communication; but those very difficulties are barriers against invasion, and protect the independence of each little community, the true foundation of our free republican system. In New England the characteristic village and local life of the last century perishes in the age of steam. Meanwhile the enormous accumulation of capital engaged in great enterprises, with unscrupulous greed of power, constantly tends to make itself felt in corruption of the Press which molds public opinion, and of the Legislature which makes the laws.

Curtis, Oration at Concord, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.72

But the most formidable problem for popular government which the opening of our second century presents, springs from a source which was unsuspected a hundred years ago, and which the orators of fifty years since forbore to name. This was the system of slave labor which vanished in civil war. But slavery had not been the fatal evil that it was, if with its abolition its consequences had disappeared. It hold us still in mortmain. Its dead hand is strong, as its living power was terrible. Emancipation has left the Republic exposed to a new and extraordinary trial of the principles and practises of free government. A civilization resting upon slavery, as formerly in part of the country, however polished and ornate, is necessarily aristocratic and hostile to republican equality, while the exigencies of such a society forbid that universal education which is indispensable to wise popular government. When war emancipates the slaves and makes them equal citizens, the ignorance and venality which are the fatal legacies of slavery to the subject-class, whether white or black, and the natural alienation of the master-class, which alone has political knowledge and experience, with all the secret conspiracies, the reckless corruption, the political knavery, springing naturally from such a situation, and ending often in menacing disorder that seems to invite the military interference and supervision of the government—all this accumulation of difficulty and danger lays a strain along the very fiber of free institutions.

Curtis, Oration at Concord, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.73

These are some of the more obvious changes in the conditions under which the Republic is to be maintained. I mention them merely; but every wise patriot sees and ponders them. Does he therefore despond? Heaven forbid! When was there ever an auspicious day for humanity that was not one of doubt and of conflict? The robust moral manhood of America confronts the future with steadfast faith and indomitable will, raising the old battle-cry of the race for larger liberty and surer law. It sees clouds, indeed, as Sam Adams saw them when this day dawned. But with him it sees through and through them, But with him thanks God for the glorious morning. There is, indeed, a fashion of skepticism of American principles even among some Americans, but it is one of the oldest and worst fashions in our history. There is a cynicism which fondly fancies that in its beginning the American Republic moved proudly toward the future with all the splendid assurances of the Persian Xerxes descending on the shores of Greece, but that it sits to-day among shattered hopes, like Xerxes above his ships at Salamis.

Curtis, Oration at Concord, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.74

And when was this golden age? Was it when John Adams appealed from the baseness of his own time to the greater candor and patriotism of this? Was it when Fisher Ames mourned over lost America like Rachel for her children, and would not be comforted? Was it when William Wirt said that he sought in vain for a man fit for the presidency or for great responsibility? Was it when Chancellor Livingston saw only a threatening future because Congress was so feeble? Was it when we ourselves saw the industry, the commerce, the society, the church, the courts, the statesmanship, the conscience of America seemingly prostrate under the foot of slavery? Was this the golden age of these sentimental sighs, this the region behind the north wind of these reproachful regrets? And is it the young nation which with prayer and faith, with untiring devotion and unconquerable will, has lifted its bruised and broken body from beneath that crushing heel, whose future is distrusted?

Curtis, Oration at Concord, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.74

Nay, this very cynicism is one of the foes that we must meet and conquer. Remember, fellow citizens, that the impulse of republican government, given a century ago at the old North Bridge, has shaken every government in the world, but has been itself wholly unshaken by them. It has made monarchy impossible in France. It has freed the Russian serfs. It has united Germany against ecclesiastical despotism. It has flashed into the night of Spain. It has emancipated Italy and discrowned the pope as king. In England, repealing the disabilities of Catholic and Hebrew, it forecasts the separation of Church and State, and step by step transforms monarchy into another form of republic.

Curtis, Oration at Concord, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.75

And here at home, how glorious its story! In a tremendous war between men of the same blood—men who recognize and respect each other's valor—we have proved what was always doubted: the prodigious power, endurance and resources of a republic: and in emancipating an eighth of the population we have at last gained the full opportunity of the republican principle. Sir, it is the signal felicity of this occasion that on the one hundredth anniversary of the first battle of the war of American independence, I may salute you, who led to victory the citizen soldiers of American liberty, as the first elected president of the free Republic of the United States. Fortunate man! to whom God has given the priceless boon of associating your name with that triumph of freedom which will presently bind the East and the West, the North and the South, in a closer and more perfect union for the establishment of justice and the security of the blessings of liberty than these States have ever known.

Curtis, Oration at Concord, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.75

Fellow citizens, that union is the lofty task which this hallowed day and this sacred spot impose upon us. And what cloud of doubt so dark hangs over us as that which lowered above the Colonies when the troops of the king marched into the town, and the men of Middlesex resolved to pass the bridge? With their faith and their will we shall win their victory. No royal governor, indeed, sits in yon stately capital, no hostile fleet for many a year has vexed the waters of our coasts, nor is any army but our own ever likely to tread our soil. Not such are our enemies to-day. They do not come proudly stepping to the drum-beat, with bayonets flashing in the morning sun.

Curtis, Oration at Concord, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.76

But wherever party spirit shall strain the ancient guarantees of freedom, or bigotry and ignorance shall lay their fatal hands upon education, or the arrogance of caste shall strike at equal rights, or corruption shall poison the very springs of national life, there, minute-men of liberty, are your Lexington Green and Concord Bridge, and as you love your country and your kind, and would have your children rise up and call you blessed, spare not the enemy! Over the hills, out of the earth, down from the clouds, pour in resistless might. Fire from every rock and tree, from door and window, from hearthstone, and chamber; hang upon his flank and rear from noon to sunset, and so through a land blazing with holy indignation hurl the hordes of ignorance and corruption and injustice back, back, in utter defeat and ruin.

Speech Nominating Blaine for President, Ingersoll, 1876

Speech Nominating Blaine for President

Title: Speech Nominating Blaine for President

Author: Ingersoll

Date: 1876

Source: The World's Famous Orations, Vol.10, pp.77-83

Born in 1833, died in 1899; began to practise law at Peoria, Illinois, in 1857; Colonel of Cavalry in 1862; Attorney-General for Illinois in 1866; afterward settled in New York, where he gained wide reputation as a lecturer and lawyer.

Delivered in the Republican National Convention at Cincinnati, June 15, 1876. As printed in the New York Times on the following day.

Ingersoll, Speech nominating Blaine for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.77

MASSACHUSETTS may be satisfied with the loyalty of Benjamin H. Bristow—so am I; but if any man nominated by this convention can not carry the State of Massachusetts I am not satisfied with the loyalty of that State. If the nominee of this convention can not carry the grand old Commonwealth of Massachusetts by seventy-five thousand majority, I would advise them to sell out Faneuil Hall as a Democratic headquarters. I would advise them to take from Bunker Hill that old monument of glory.

Ingersoll, Speech nominating Blaine for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.77

The Republicans of the United States demand as their leader in the great contest of 1786 a man of intellect, a man of integrity, a man of well-known and approved political opinion. They demand a statesman. They demand a reformer after, as well as before, the election. They demand a politician in the highest and broadest and best sense of that word. They demand a man acquainted with public affairs—with the wants of the people—with not only the requirements of the hour, but with the demands of the future.

Ingersoll, Speech nominating Blaine for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.78

They demand a man broad enough to comprehend the relations of this government to the other nations of the earth. They demand a man well versed in the powers, duties, and prerogatives of each and every department of this government.

Ingersoll, Speech nominating Blaine for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.78

They demand a man who will sacredly preserve the financial honor of the United States—one who knows enough to know that the national debt must be paid through the prosperity of this people. One who knows enough to know that all the financial theories in the world can not redeem a single dollar. One who knows enough to know that the people of the United States have the industry to make the money and the honor to pay it over just as fast as they make it.

Ingersoll, Speech nominating Blaine for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.78

The Republicans of the United States demand a man who knows that prosperity and resumption, when they come, must come together. When they come they will come hand in hand through the golden harvest fields; hand in hand by the whirling spindle and the turning wheel; hand in hand past the open furnace doors; hand in hand by the flaming forges; hand in hand by the chimneys filled with eager fire by the hands of the countless sons of toil. This money has got to be dug out of the earth. You can not make it by passing resolutions in a political meeting.

Ingersoll, Speech nominating Blaine for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.79

The Republicans of the United States want a man who knows that this government should protect every citizen at home and abroad; who knows that any government that will defend its defenders and will not protect its protectors is a disgrace to the map of the world. They demand a man who believes in the eternal separation and divorcement of church and school. They demand a man whose political reputation is spotless as a star; but they do not demand that their candidate shall have a certificate of moral character signed by a Confederate Congress. The man who has in full-heaped and rounded measure all of these splendid qualifications is the present grand and gallant leader of the Republican party—James G. Blaine.

Ingersoll, Speech nominating Blaine for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.79

Our country, crowned with the vast and marvelous achievements of its first century, asks for a man worthy of her past—prophetic of her future; asks for a man who has the audacity of genius; asks for a man who is the grandest combination of heart, conscience, and brains beneath the flag. That man is James G. Blaine.

Ingersoll, Speech nominating Blaine for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.79

For the Republican host led by that intrepid man there can be no such thing as defeat.

Ingersoll, Speech nominating Blaine for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.79

This is a grand year—a year filled with the recollections of the Revolution; filled with proud and tender memories of the sacred past; filled with the legends of liberty; a year in which the sons of freedom will drink from the fountain of enthusiasm; a year in which the people call for a man who has preserved in Congress what our soldiers won upon the field; a year in which we call for the man who has torn from the throat of treason the tongue of slander—a man that has snatched the mask of democracy from the hideous face of rebellion—a man who, like an intellectual athlete, stood in the arena of debate, challenged all comers, and who, up to the present moment, is a total stranger to defeat.

Ingersoll, Speech nominating Blaine for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.80

Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lances full and fair against the brazen foreheads of every defamer of his country and maligner of its honor.

Ingersoll, Speech nominating Blaine for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.80

For the Republican party to desert a gallant man now is worse than if an army should desert their general upon the field of battle.

Ingersoll, Speech nominating Blaine for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.80

James G. Blaine is now, and has been for years, the bearer of the sacred standard of the Republic. I call it sacred because no human being can stand beneath its folds without becoming, and without remaining, free.

Ingersoll, Speech nominating Blaine for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.80

Gentlemen of the Convention, in the name of the great Republic, the only republic that ever existed upon this earth; in the name of all her defenders and of all her supporters; in the name of all her soldiers living; in the name of all her soldiers who died upon the field of battle; and in the name of those who perished in the skeleton clutch of famine at Andersonville and Libby, whose sufferings he so eloquently remembers, Illinois nominates for the next president of this country that prince of parliamentarians, that leader of leaders—James G. Blaine.

Ingersoll at His Brother's Grave, Ingersoll, 1879

Ingersoll at His Brother's Grave

Title: Ingersoll at His Brother's Grave

Author: Ingersoll

Date: 1879

Source: The World's Famous Orations, Vol.10, pp.81-83

Delivered in Washington of June 3, 1879, at the funeral of Ebon C. Ingersoll. Printed in the New York Tribune on the following day.

Ingersoll at His Brother's Grave, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.81

MY FRIENDS:—I am going to do that which the dead oft promised he would do for me.

Ingersoll at His Brother's Grave, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.81

The loved and loving brother, husband, father, friend, died where manhood's morning almost touches noon, and while the shadows still were falling toward the west.

Ingersoll at His Brother's Grave, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.81

He had not passed on life's highway the stone that marks the highest point, but, being weary for a moment, lay down by the wayside, and, using his burden for a pillow, fell into that dreamless sleep that kisses down his eyelids still. While yet in love with life and raptured with the world, he passed to silence and pathetic dust.

Ingersoll at His Brother's Grave, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.81

Yet, after all, it may be best, just in the happiest, sunniest hour of all the voyage, while eager winds are kissing every sail, to dash against the unseen rock, and in an instant hear the billows roar above a sunken ship. For, whether in mid-sea or 'mong the breakers of the farther shore, a wreck at last must mark the end of each and all. And every life, no matter if its every hour is rich with love and every moment jeweled with a joy, will, at it close, become a tragedy as sad and deep and dark as can be woven of the warp and woof of mystery and death.

Ingersoll at His Brother's Grave, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.82

This brave and tender man in every storm of life was oak and rock, but in the sunshine he was vine and flower. He was the friend of all heroic souls. He climbed the heights and left all superstitions far below, while on his forehead fell the golden dawning of the grander day.

Ingersoll at His Brother's Grave, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.82

He loved the beautiful, and was with color, form, and music touched to tears. He sided with the weak, and with a willing hand gave alms; with loyal heart and with purest hands he faithfully discharged all public trusts.

Ingersoll at His Brother's Grave, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.82

He was a worshiper of liberty, a friend of the oppressed. A thousand times I have heard him quote these words: "For justice all place a temple, and all season, summer." He believed that happiness was the only worship, humanity the only religion, and love the only priest. He added to the sum of human joy; and were every one to whom he did some loving service to bring a blossom to his grave, he would sleep to-night beneath a wilderness of flowers.

Ingersoll at His Brother's Grave, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.83

Life is a narrow vale between the cold and barren peaks of two eternities. We strive in vain to look beyond the heights. We cry aloud, and the only answer is the echo of our wailing cry. From the voiceless lips of the unreplying dead there comes no word; but in the night of death hope sees a star, and listening love can hear the rustle of a wing.

Ingersoll at His Brother's Grave, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.83

He who sleeps here, when dying, mistaking the approach of death for the return of health, whispered with his last breath: "I am better now." Let us believe, in spite of doubts and dogmas, and tears and fears, that these dear words are true of all the countless dead.

Ingersoll at His Brother's Grave, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.83

And now to you who have been chosen, from among the many men he loved, to do the last sad office for the dead, we give his sacred dust. Speech can not contain our love. There was, there is, no greater, stronger, manlier man.

What Think Ye of Christ?, Moody, 1879

What Think Ye of Christ?

Title: What Think Ye of Christ?

Author: Moody

Date: 1879

Source: The World's Famous Orations, Vol.10, pp.84-93

Born in 1837, died in 1899; became engaged in missionary work in Chicago about 1856; conducted revival meetings in the United States and Great Britain with Ira D. Sankey, 1873-1883; established a school for Christian workers in Northfield, Massachusetts, and a Bible Institute in Chicago.

From a sermon preached in England during his tour with Ira D. Sankey in 1873-75.

Moody, What Think Ye of Christ?, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.84

I SUPPOSE there is no one here who has not thought more or less about Christ. You have heard about him, and read about him, and heard men preach about him. For eighteen hundred years men have been talking about him and thinking about him; and some have their minds made up about who he is, and doubtless some have not. And altho all these years have rolled away, this question comes up, addressed to each of us, to-day, "What think ye of Christ?"

Moody, What Think Ye of Christ?, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.84

I do not know why it should not be thought a proper question for one man to put to another. If I were to ask you what you think of any of your prominent men, you would already have your mind made up about him. If I were to ask you what you thought of your noble queen, you would speak right out and tell me your opinion in a minute.

Moody, What Think Ye of Christ?, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.84

If I were to ask about your prime minister, you would tell me freely what you had for or against him. And why should not people make up their minds about he Lord Jesus Christ, and take their stand for or against him? If you think well of him, why not speak will of him and range yourselves on his side? And if you think ill of him, and believe him to an impostor, and that he did not die to save the world, why not lift up your voice and say you are against him? It would be a happy day for Christianity if men would just take sides—if we could know positively who was really for him and who was against him.

Moody, What Think Ye of Christ?, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.85

It is of very little importance what the world things of any one else. The queen and the statesmen, the peers and the princes, must soon be gone. Yes; it matter little, comparatively, what we think of them. Their lives can interest only a few; but every living soul on the face of the earth is concerned with this Man. The question for the world is, "What think ye of Christ?"

Moody, What Think Ye of Christ?, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.85

I do not ask you what you think of the Established Church, or of the Presbyterians, or the Baptists, or the Roman Catholics; I do not ask you what you think of this minister or that, of this doctrine or that; but I want to ask you what you think of the living person of Christ?

Moody, What Think Ye of Christ?, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.85

I should like to ask, Was he really the Son of God—the great God-Man? Did he leave the heaven and come down to this world for a purpose? Was it really to seek and to save? I should like to begin with the manger, and follow him up through the thirty-three years he was here upon earth. I should ask you what you think of his coming into this world and being born in a manger when it might have been a palace; why he left the grandeur and the glory of heaven, and the royal retinue of angels; why he passed by palaces and crowns and dominions and came down here alone?

Moody, What Think Ye of Christ?, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.86

I should like to ask you what you think of him as a teacher. He spake as never man spake. I should like to take him up as a preacher. I should like to bring you to that mountainside, that we might listen to the words as they fall from his gentle lips. Talk about the preachers of the present day! I would rather a thousand times be five minute at the feet of Christ than listen a lifetime to all the wise men in the world. He used just to hang truth upon anything. Yonder is a sower, a fox, a bird, and he just gathers the truth round them, so that you can not see a sower, a fox, or a bird without thinking what Jesus said. Yonder is a lily of the valley; you can not see it without thinking of his words, "They toil not, neither do they spin."

Moody, What Think Ye of Christ?, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.86

He makes the little sparrow chirping in the air preach to us. How fresh those wonderful sermons are; how they live to-day! How we love to tell them to our children; now the children love to hear! "Tell me a story about Jesus,"—how often we hear it; how the little ones love his sermons! No story-book in the world will ever interest them like the stories that he told. And yet how profound he was; how he puzzled the wise men; how the scribes and the Pharisees could never fathom him! Oh, do you not think he was a wonderful preacher?

Moody, What Think Ye of Christ?, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.87

If you want to find out what a man is nowadays, you inquire about him from those who know him best. I do not wish to be partial; we will go to his enemies, and to his friends. We will ask them, What think ye of Christ? We will ask his friends and his enemies.

Moody, What Think Ye of Christ?, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.87

First, among the witnesses, let us call upon the Pharisees. We know how they hated him. Let us put a few questions to them. "Come, Pharisees, tell us what you have against the Son of God. What do you think of Christ?" Hear what they say! "This man receiveth sinners." What an argument to bring against him! Why, it is the very thing that makes us love him. It is the glory of the gospel. He receives sinners. If he had not, what would have become of us? Have you nothing more to bring against him than this? Why, it is one of the greatest compliments that was ever paid him. Once more: "When he was hanging on the tree, you had this to say of him, 'He saved others, but he could not save himself and save us, too.'" So he laid down his own life for yours and mine. Yes, Pharisees, you have told the truth for once in your lives! He saved others. He died for others. He was a ransom for many; so it is quite true what you think of him—he saved others, himself he can not save.

Moody, What Think Ye of Christ?, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.88

Now, let us call upon Caiaphas. Let him stand up here in his flowing robes; let us ask him for his evidence. "Caiaphas, you were chief priest when Christ was tried; you were president of the Sanhedrim; you were in the council-chamber when they found him guilty; you yourself condemned him. Tell us; what did the witnesses say? On what grounds did you judge him? What testimony was brought against him?" "He hath spoken blasphemy," says Caiaphas. "He said, 'Hereafter shall ye see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven.' When I heard that, I found him guilty of blasphemy; I rent my mantle and condemned him to death." Yes, all that they had against him was that he was the Son of God; and they slew him for the promise of his coming for his bride!

Moody, What Think Ye of Christ?, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.88

Now let us summon Pilate. Let him enter the witness-box.

Moody, What Think Ye of Christ?, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.88

"Pilate, this man was brought before you; you examined him; you talked with him face to face; what think you of Christ?"

Moody, What Think Ye of Christ?, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.88

"I find no fault in him," says Pilate. "He said he was the King of the Jews (just as he wrote it over the cross), but I find no fault in him." Such is the testimony of the man who examined him! And, as he stands there, the center of Jewish mob, there comes along a man, elbowing his way in haste. He rushes up to Pilate, and, thrusting out his hand, gives him a message. He tears it open; his face turns pale as he reads, "Have thou nothing to do with this just man, for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him." It is from Pilate's wife—her testimony to Christ. You want to know what his enemies thought of him? You want to know what a heathen thought? Well, here it is: "no fault in him"; and the wife of a heathen: "this just man!"

Moody, What Think Ye of Christ?, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.89

And now, look—in comes Judas. He ought to make a good witness. Let us address him. "Come, tell us, Judas, what think you of Christ? You knew the master well; you sold him for thirty pieces of silver; you betrayed him with a kiss; you saw him perform those miracles; you were with him in Jerusalem. In Bethany, when he summoned up Lazarus, you were there. What think you of him?" I can see him as he comes into the presence of the chief priests; I can hear the money ring as he dashes it upon the table with, "I have betrayed innocent blood!" Here is the man who betrayed him, and this is what he thinks of him! Yes, those who were guilty of his death put their testimony on record that he was an innocent man.

Moody, What Think Ye of Christ?, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.89

Let us take the centurion who was present at the execution. He had charge of the Roman soldiers. He had told them to make him carry his cross; he had given orders for the nails to be driven into his feet and hands, for the spear to be thrust in his side. Let the centurion come forward. "Centurion, you had charge of the executioners; you saw that the order for his death was carried out; you saw him die; you heard him speak upon the cross. Tell us, what think you of Christ?" Hark! Look at him; he is smiting his breast as he cries, "Truly, this was the Son of God!"

Moody, What Think Ye of Christ?, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.90

I might go to the thief upon the cross, and ask what he thought of him. At first he railed upon him and reviled him. But then he thought better of it. "This man hath done nothing amiss," he says.

Moody, What Think Ye of Christ?, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.90

I might go further. I might summon the very devils themselves and ask them for their testimony. Have they anything to say of him? Why, the very devils called him the Son of God! In Mark we have the unclean spirit crying, "Jesus, thou Son of the Most High God." Men say, "Oh, I believe Christ to be the Son of God, and because I believe Christ to be the Son of God, and because I believe it intellectually I shall be saved." I tell you, the devils did that. And they did more than that; they trembled.

Moody, What Think Ye of Christ?, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.90

Let us bring in his friends. We want you to hear their evidence. Let us call that prince of preachers. Let us hear the forerunner; none ever preached like this man—this man who drew all Jerusalem and all Judea into the wilderness to hear him; this man who burst upon the nations like the flash of a meteor. Let John the Baptist come with his heathen girdle and his hairy coat, and let him tell us what he thinks of Christ. His words, tho they were echoed in the wilderness of Palestine, are written in the Book for ever: "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world!" This is what John the Baptist thought of him. "I bear record that he is the Son of God." No wonder he drew all Jerusalem and Judea to him, because he preached Christ. And whenever men preach Christ, they are sure to have plenty of followers.

Moody, What Think Ye of Christ?, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.91

But I shall go still further. I shall go away from earth into the other world. I shall summon the angels and ask what they think of Christ. They saw him in the bosom of the Father before the world was. Before the dawn of creation, before the morning stars sang together, he was there. They saw him leave the throne and come down to the manger. What a scene for them to witness! Ask these heavenly beings what they thought of him then. For once they are permitted to speak; for once the silence of heaven is broken. Listen to their song on the plains of Bethlehem, "Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day, in the city of David, a Savior, which is Christ the Lord." He leaves the throne to save the world. Is it a wonder the angles thought well of him?

Moody, What Think Ye of Christ?, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.91

Then there are the redeemed saints—they that see him face to face. Here on earth he was never known, no one seemed really to be acquainted with him; but he was known in that world where he had been from the foundation. What do they think of him there? If we could hear from heaven we should hear a shout which would glorify and magnify his name. We are told that when John was in the Spirit on the Lord's Day, and being caught up, he heard a shout around him, ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands and thousands of voices, "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing!" Yes, he is worthy of all this. Heaven can not speak too well of him. Oh, that earth would take up the echo and join with heaven in singing, "Worthy to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing!"

Moody, What Think Ye of Christ?, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.92

But there is still another witness—a higher still. Some think that the God of the Old Testament is the Christ of the New. But when Jesus came out of Jordan, baptized by John, there came a voice from heaven. God the Father spoke. It was his testimony to Christ: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." Ah, yes! God the Father thinks well of the Son. And if God is well pleased with him, so ought we. If the sinner and God are well pleased with Christ, then the sinner and God can meet. The moment you say, as the Father said, "I am well pleased with him," and accept him, you are wedded to God. Will you not believe the testimony? Will you not believe this witness, this last of all, the Lord of hosts, the King of kings himself? Once more he repeats it, so that all may know it. With Peter and James and John, on the mount of transfiguration, he cries again, "This is my beloved Son; hear him." And that voice went echoing and reechoing through Palestine, through all the earth from sea to sea; yes, that voice is echoing still, Hear him! Hear him!

Moody, What Think Ye of Christ?, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.93

My friend, will you hear him to-day? Hark! what is he saying to you? "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light." Will you not think well of such a Savior? Will you not believe in him? Will you not trust in him with all your heart and mind? Will you not live for him? If he laid down his life for us, is it not the least we can do to lay down ours for him? If he bore the Cross and died on it for me, ought I not to be willing to take it up for him? Oh, have we not reason to think well of him? Do you think it is right and noble to life up your voice against such a Savior? Do you think it is just to cry, "Crucify him! crucify him!" Oh, may God help all of us to glorify the Father, by thinking well of his only-begotten Son.

Conklings' Speech Nominating Grant for a Third Term, Conkling, 1880

Conklings' Speech Nominating Grant for a Third Term

Title: Conklings' Speech Nominating Grant for a Third Term

Author: Conkling

Date: 1880

Source: The World's Famous Orations, Vol.10, pp.94-98

Born in 1829, died in 1888; elected to Congress in 1859, 1851 and 1865; elected to the United States Senate in 1867, serving until 1881, when he resigned in consequence of a dispute with President Garfield; came to New York and began to practise law in 1882.

Delivered before the National Republican Convention on June 5, 1880, and printed here by kind permission of Alfred R. Conkling, author of "The Lief and Letters of Roscoe Conkling."

Conklings' Speech Nominating Grant for a Third Term, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.94

WHEN asked whence comes our candidate, we say, from Appomattox. Obeying instructions I should never dare to disregard, expressing, also, my own firm conviction, I rise in behalf of the State of New York to propose a nomination with which the country and the Republican party can grandly win. The election before us will be the Austerlitz of American politics. It will decide whether for years to come the country will be "Republican or Cossack." The need of the hour is a candidate who can carry the doubtful States, North and south; and, believing that he more surely than any other can carry New York against any opponent, and carry not only the North, but several States of the South, New York is for Ulysses Grant. He alone of living Republicans has carried New York as a presidential candidate. Once he carried it even according to a Democratic count, and twice he carried it by the people's vote, and he is stronger now. The Republican party with its standard in his hand is stronger now than in 1868 or 1872. Never defeated in war or in peace, his name is the most illustrious borne by any living man; his services attest his greatness, and the country knows them by heart. His fame was born not alone of things written and said, but of the arduous greatness of things done; and dangers and emergencies will search in vain in the future, as they have searched in vain in the past, for any other on whom the nation leans with such confidence and trust. Standing on the highest eminence of human distinction, and having filled all lands with his renown; modest, firm, simple, self-poised; he has seen not only the titled but the poor and the lowly in the utmost ends of the world rise and uncover before him. He has studied the needs and defects of many systems of government, and he comes back a better American than ever, with a wealth of knowledge and experience added to the hard common sense which so conspicuously distinguished him in all the fierce light that beat upon him throughout the most eventful, trying, and perilous sixteen years of the nation's history.

Conklings' Speech Nominating Grant for a Third Term, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.96

Never having had "a policy to enforce against the will of the people," he never betrayed a cause or a friend, and the people will never betray or desert him. Vilified and reviled, ruthlessly aspersed by numberless presses, not in other lands, but in his own, the assaults upon him have strengthened and seasoned his hold upon the public heart. The ammunition of calumny has all been exploded; the powder has all been burned; its force is spent; and General Grant's name will glitter as a bright and imperishable star in the diadem of the Republic when those who have tried to tarnish it will have moldered in forgotten graves and their memories and epitaphs have vanished utterly.

Conklings' Speech Nominating Grant for a Third Term, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.96

There is no field of human activity, responsibility, or reason in which rational beings object to Grant, because he has been weighed in the balance and not found wanting, and because he has had unequaled experience, making him exceptionally competent and fit. From the man who shoes your horse to the lawyer who pleads your case, the officer who manages your railway, the doctor into whose hands you give your life, or the minister who seeks to save your soul, whom now do you reject because you have tried him and by his works have known him? What makes the presidential office an exception to all things else in the common sense to be applied to selecting its incumbent? Who dares to put fetters on the free choice and judgment, which is the birthright of the American people? Can it be said that Grant used official power to perpetuate his plan? He has no plan . No official power has been used for him. Without patronage or power, without telegraph wires running from his house to he Convention, without electioneering contrivances, without effort on his part, his name is on his country's lips, and he is struck at by the whole Democratic party because his nomination will be the death blow to Democratic success. He is struck at by others who find offense and disqualification in the very service he has gained. Show me a better man. Name one and I am answered; but do not point, as a disqualification, to the very facts which make this man fit beyond all others. Let not experience disqualify or excellences impeach him. There is no third term in the case, and the pretense will die with the political dog-days which engendered it. Nobody is really worried about a third term except those hopelessly longing for a first term and the dupes they have made. Without bureaus, committees, officials or emissaries to manufacture sentiment in his favor, without intrigue or effort on his part, Grant is the candidate whose supporters have never threatened to bolt. As they say, he is a Republican who never wavers. He and his friends stood by the creed and the candidates of the Republican party, holding the right of a majority as the very essence of their faith, and meaning to uphold that faith against the common enemy and the charlatans and the guerrillas who from time to time deploy between the lines and forage on one side or the other.

Garfields' Speech Nominating Sherman for President, James A. Garfield, 1880

Garfields' Speech Nominating Sherman for President

Title: Garfields' Speech Nominating Sherman for President

Author: James A. Garfield

Date: 1880

Source: The World's Famous Orations, Vol.10, pp.99-106

Born in 1831, died in 1881; President of Hiram College (Ohio), 1859-61; promoted to be Brigadier-General of Volunteers in the Civil War, 1862; Major-General in 1863; elected to Congress from Ohio in 1863, serving until 1880; Member of the Electoral Commission of 1877; elected United States Senator from Ohio in 1880; elected President in 1880; shot by an assassin on July 2, 1881, and died September 19.

Delivered in the Republican National Convention at Chicago, June 5, 1880, immediately after the speech of Roscoe Conkling, nominating General Grant for a third term. See Hinsdale's "The Works of James A. Garfield," 2 volumes, Boston, 1882. This speech made a deep impression, and has since been generally cited as the immediate cause of Garfield's own nomination a few days later. The correspondent of the New York Times, writing on the day following the delivery of the speech, said:

"Curious remarks were made about it. Those who were utterly unable to recognize the secretary of the treasury in the ideal man whose portrait Garfield drew, begin to think that the picture was Garfield's picture of himself. Suggestions to this effect have been frequently made to-day by men who are in no way hostile to Garfield, and who see in the course he has pursued during the Convention indications of an honest desire to advance his own fortunes."

Garfields' Speech Nominating Sherman for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.99

I HAVE witnessed the extraordinary scenes of this Convention with deep solicitude. Nothing touches my heart more quickly than a tribute of honor to a great and noble character; but as I sat in my seat and witnessed this demonstration, this assemblage seemed to me a human ocean in tempest. I have seen the sea lashed into fury and tossed into spray, and its grandeur moves the soul of the dullest man; but I remember that it is not the billows, but the calm level of the sea, from which all heights and depths are measured. When the storm has passed and the hour of calm settles on the ocean, when the sunlight bathes is peaceful surface, then the astronomer and surveyor take the level from which they measure all terrestrial heights and depths.

Garfields' Speech Nominating Sherman for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.100

Gentlemen of the Convention, your present temper may not mark the healthful pulse of our people. When your enthusiasm has passed, when the emotions of this hour have subsided, we shall find below the storm and passion that calm level of public opinion from which the thoughts of a mighty people are to be measured, and by which final action will be determined.

Garfields' Speech Nominating Sherman for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.100

Not here, in this brilliant circle, where fifteen thousand men and women are gathered, is the destiny of the Republic to be decreed for the next four years. Not here, where I see the enthusiastic faces of seven hundred and fifty-six delegates, waiting to cast their lots into the urn and determine the choice of the Republic, but by four millions of Republican firesides, where the thoughtful voters, with wives and children about them, with the calm thoughts inspired by love of home and country, with the history of the past, the hopes of the future, and reverence for the great men who have adorned and blessed our nation in days gone by, burning in their hearts,—there God prepares the verdict which will determine the wisdom of our work to-night. Not in Chicago, in the heat of June, but at the ballot-boxes of the Republic, in the quiet of November, after the silence of deliberate judgment, will this question be settled. And now, gentlemen of the Convention, what do we want?

Garfields' Speech Nominating Sherman for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.101

Bear with me a moment. "Hear me for my cause," and for a moment "be silent that you may hear."

Garfields' Speech Nominating Sherman for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.101

Twenty-five years ago this Republic was bearing and wearing a triple chain of bondage. Long familiarity with traffic in the bodies and souls of men had paralyzed the consciences of a majority of our people; the narrowing and disintegrating doctrine of State sovereignty had shackled and weakened the noblest and most beneficent powers of the national government; and the grasping power of slavery was seizing upon the virgin territories of the West, and dragging them into the den of eternal bondage.

Garfields' Speech Nominating Sherman for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.101

At that crisis the Republican party was born. it drew its first inspiration from that fire of liberty which God has lighted in every human heart, and which all the powers of ignorance and tyranny can never wholly extinguish. The Republican party came to deliver and to save. It entered the arena where the beleaguered and assailed Territories were struggling for freedom, and drew around them the sacred circle of liberty, which the demon of slavery has never dared to cross. It made them free for ever. Strengthened by its victory on the frontier, the young party, under the leadership of that great man who on this spot, twenty years ago, was made its chief, entered the national Capitol, and assumed the high duties of government. The light which shone from its banner illumined its pathway to power. Every slave-pen and the shackles of every slave within the shadow of the Capitol were consumed in the rekindled fire of freedom.

Garfields' Speech Nominating Sherman for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.102

Our great national industries by cruel and calculating neglect had been prostrated, and the streams of revenue flowed in such feeble currents that the treasury itself was well-nigh empty. The money of the people consisted mainly of the wretched notes of two thousand uncontrolled and irresponsible State banking corporations, which were filling the country with a circulation that poisoned, rather than sustained, the life of business.

Garfields' Speech Nominating Sherman for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.102

The Republican party changed all this. It abolished the Babel of confusion, and gave to the country a currency as national as its flag, based upon the sacred faith of the people. It threw its protecting arm around our great industries, and they stood erect with new life. It filled with the spirit of true nationality all the great functions of the government. It confronted a rebellion of unexampled magnitude, with slavery behind it, and, under God, fought the final battle of liberty until the victory was won.

Garfields' Speech Nominating Sherman for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.103

Then, after the storms of battle, were heard the calm words of peace spoken by the conquering nation, saying to the foe that lay prostrate at its feet: "This is our only revenge—that you join us in lifting into the serene firmament of the Constitution, to shine like stars for ever and ever, the immortal principles of truth and justice: that all men, white or black, shall be free, and shall stand equal before the law."

Garfields' Speech Nominating Sherman for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.103

Then came the questions of reconstruction, the national debt, and the keeping of the public faith. In the settlement of these questions, the Republican party has completed its twenty-five years of glorious existence and it has sent us here to prepare it for another lustrum of duty and of victory. How shall we accomplish this great work? We can not do it, my friends, by assailing our Republican brethren. God forbid that I should say one word, or cast one shadow, upon any name on the roll of our heroes. The coming fight is our Thermopylae. We are standing upon a narrow isthmus. If our Spartan hosts are united, we can withstand all the Persians that the Xerxes of Democracy can bring against us. Let us hold our ground this one year, and then "the stars in their courses" will fight for us. The census will bring reinforcements and continued power.

Garfields' Speech Nominating Sherman for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.103

But in order to win victory now, we want the vote of every Republican—of every Grant Republican, and every anti-Grant Republican, in America—of every Blaine man and every anti-Blaine man. The vote of every follower of every candidate is needed to make success certain. Therefore I say, gentlemen and brethren, we are here to take calm counsel together, and inquire what we shall do.

Garfields' Speech Nominating Sherman for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.104

We want a man whose life and opinions embody all the achievements of which I have spoken. We want a man who, standing on a mountain height, traces the victorious footsteps of our party in the past, and, carrying in his heart the memory of its glorious deeds, looks forward prepared to meet the dangers to come. We want one who will act in no spirit of unkindness toward those we lately met in battle. The Republican party offers to our brethren of the South the olive-branch of peace, and invites them to renewed brotherhood on this supreme condition—that it shall be admitted for ever, that in the war for the Union we were right and they were wrong. On that supreme condition we meet them as brethren, and ask them to share with us the blessings and honors of this great Republic.

Garfields' Speech Nominating Sherman for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.104

Now, gentlemen, not to weary you, I am about to present a name for your consideration,—the name of one who was the comrade, associate, and friend of nearly all the noble dead, whose faces look down upon us from these walls to-night; a man who began his career of public service twenty-five years ago,—who courageously confronted the slave power in the days of peril on the plains of Kansas, when first began to fall the red drops of that bloody shower which finally swelled into the deluge of gore in the late Rebellion. He bravely stood by young Kansas, and returning to his seat in the national Legislature, his pathway through all the subsequent years has been marked by labors worthily performed in every department of legislation.

Garfields' Speech Nominating Sherman for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.105

You ask for his monument. I point you to twenty-five years of national statutes. Not one great, beneficent law has bene place on our statute-books without his intelligent and powerful aid. He aided in formulating the laws to raise the great armies and navies which carried us through the war. His hand was seen in the workmanship of those statutes that restored and brought back "the unity and married calm of States." His hand was in all that great legislation that created the war currency, and in all the still greater work that redeemed the promises of the government and made the currency equal to gold.

Garfields' Speech Nominating Sherman for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.105

When at last he passed from the halls of legislation into a high executive office, he displayed that experience, intelligence, firmness, and poise of character, which have carried us through a stormy period of three years, with one[half the public Press crying "Crucify him!" and a hostile Congress seeking to prevent success. In all this he remained unmoved until victory crowned him. The great fiscal affairs of the nation, and the vast business interests of the country, he guarded and preserved while executing the law of resumption, and effected its object without a jar and against the false prophecies of one-half of the Press and of all the Democratic party.

Garfields' Speech Nominating Sherman for President, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.106

He has shown himself able to meet with calmness the great emergencies of the government. For twenty-five years he has trodden the perilous heights of public duty, and against all the shafts of malice has borne his breast unharmed. He has stood in the blaze of "that fierce light that beats against the throne"; but its fiercest ray has found no flaw in his armor, no stain upon his shield. I do not present him as a better Republican or a better man than thousands of others that we honor; but I present him for your deliberate and favorable consideration. I nominate John Sherman, of Ohio.

E. Benjamin Andrews on the Evils of Reconstruction

Title: E. Benjamin Andrews on the Evils of Reconstruction

Author: E. Benjamin Andrews

Date: 1866

Source: Great Epochs in American History, Vol.9, pp.65-69

E. Benjamin Andrews on the Evils of Reconstruction, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.65

The war left the South in indescribable desolation. Great numbers of Confederates came home to find their farms sold for unpaid taxes, perhaps mortgaged to ex-slaves. The best Southern land, after the war, was worth but a trifle of its old value. Their ruin rendered many insane; in multitudes more it broke down all energy. The braver spirits—men to whom till now all toil had been strange—set to work as clerks, depot-masters and agents of various business enterprises. High-born ladies, widowed by Northern bullets, became teachers or governesses. In the comparatively few cases where families retained their estates, their efforts to keep up appearances was pathetic. One by one domestics were dismissed; dinner parties grew rare; stately coaches lost their paint and became rickety; carriage and saddle-horses were worn out at the plow and replaced by mules. At last the master learned to open his own gates, the mistress to do her own cooking.

E. Benjamin Andrews on the Evils of Reconstruction, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.66

In a majority of the Southern cities owners of real estate found it for years after hostilities closed a source of poverty instead of profit. In the heart of Charleston charred ruins of huge blocks or stately churches long lingered as reminders of the horrid past. Many mansions were vacant, vainly flaunting each its placard "for rent." Most of the smaller towns, like Beaufort, threatened permanent decay, their streets silent and empty save for negro policemen here and there in shiny blue uniforms. The cotton plantations were at first largely abandoned owing to the severe foreign competition in cotton-growing occasioned by the war. It was difficult to get help on the plantation, so immersed in politics and so lazy had the field-hands become.

E. Benjamin Andrews on the Evils of Reconstruction, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.66

Causes were at work which soon lessened Sambo's respect for "Old Massa," and "Old Massa's" for Sambo. Republicans from the North flocked to the South, whom the blacks, viewing them as representing the emancipation party, naturally welcomed and followed. These "carpet-baggers," as they were called, were made up, in the main, of military officers still or formerly in service, Freedmen's Bureau agents, old Union soldiers who had bought Southern farms, and peoplewho had settled at the South for purposes of trade.

E. Benjamin Andrews on the Evils of Reconstruction, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.67

There were, no doubt, many perfectly honest carpet-baggers, and the fullest justice should be done to such. They considered themselves as true missionaries in partibus, commissioned by the great Republican party to complete the regime of righteousness which the war and the emancipation proclamation had begun. A prominent Democratic politician, describing a reconstruction governor of his State, whom he had done his best to overthrow, said: "I regard him as a thoroughly honest man and opposed to corruption and extravagance in office. I think his desire was to make a good Executive and to administer the affairs of the State in the interest of the people, but the want of sympathy between him and the white people of the State, and his failure to appreciate the relations and prejudices of the two races, made it next to impossible for him to succeed." . . .

E. Benjamin Andrews on the Evils of Reconstruction, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.67

The good carpet-baggers and the bad alike somehow exerted an influence which had the effect of morbidly inflaming the negro's sense of independence and of engaging him in politics. His former wrongs were dwelt upon and the ballot held up as a providential means of righting them. The negro was too apt a pupil, not in the higher politics of principle, but in the politics of office and "swag." In 1872 the National Colored Republican Convention adopted a resolution "earnestly praying that the colored Republicans of States where no Federal positions were given to colored men might no longer be ignored, but be stimulated by some recognition of Federal patron-age." The average negro exprest his views on public affairs by the South Carolina catch: "De bottom rail am on de top, and we's gwineter keep it dar." "The reformers complain of taxes being too high," said Beverly Nash in 1874, after he had become State Senator; "I tell you that they are not high enough. I want them taxed until they put those lands back where they belong, into the hands of those who worked for them. You worked for them; you labored for them and were sold to pay for them, and you ought to have them."

E. Benjamin Andrews on the Evils of Reconstruction, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.68

The tendency of such exhortation was most vicious. In their days of serfdom the negroes' besetting sin had been thievery. Now that the opportunities for this were multiplied, the fear of punishment gone, and many a carpet-bagger at hand to encourage it, the prevalence of public and private stealing was not strange. Larceny was nearly universal, burglary painfully common. At night watch had to be kept over property with dogs and guns. It was part, or at least an effect, of the carpet-bag policy to aggravate race jealousies and sectional misunderstandings. The duello, still good form all over the South, induced disregard of law and of human life….

E. Benjamin Andrews on the Evils of Reconstruction, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.68

Colored men were quite too unintelligent to make laws or even to elect those who were to do so. At one time dozens of engrossed bills were passed back and forth between the two Houses of the Alabama Legislature that errors in them might be corrected….

E. Benjamin Andrews on the Evils of Reconstruction, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.68

The colored legislators of South Carolina furnished the State House with gorgeous clocks at $480 each, mirrors at $750, and chandeliers at 650. Their own apartments were a barbaric display ofgewgaws, carpets and upholstery. The minority of a congressional committee recited that "these ebony statesmen" purchased a lot of imported china cuspidors at $8 apiece, while Senators and Representatives "at the glorious capital of the nation" had to be "content with a plain earthenware article of domestic manufacture." . . .

E. Benjamin Andrews on the Evils of Reconstruction, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.69

There were said to be in South Carolina alone, in November, 1874, two hundred negro trial justices who could neither read nor write, also negro school commissioners equally ignorant, receiving a thousand a year each, while negro juries, deciding delicate points of legal evidence, settled questions involving lives and property. Property, which had to bear the burden of taxation, had no voice, for the colored man had no property. Taxes were levied ruinously, and money was appropriated with a lavish hand.

Laying the First Successful Atlantic Cable

Title: Laying the First Successful Atlantic Cable

Author: Cyrus W. Field

Date: 1866

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.20-30

Henry M. Field, brother of Cyrus W. Field, its chief promoter, has told the story (Volume VII) of the first Atlantic cable laid in 1858. After a few messages were transmitted it ceased to work. In this account, written in 1866, Cyrus Field resumes the wonder story where it was left off eight years previously, and carries it to the successful establishment of the enterprise, in September, 1866. Since then cable communication between Europe and America has been uninterrupted.

In view of its long and continuous success, it is hard to realize the obstacles Field had to surmount. In the face of disheartening failures he never despaired of the triumph achieved July 27, 1866, when the "Great Eastern" reached Newfoundland without a mishap, and the land connection was made. Other brothers of the promoter were Stephen J. Field, United States Supreme Court Justice, and David Dudley Field, the eminent lawyer.

Field, First Successful Atlantic Cable, America, Vol.9, p.20

AFTER the failure of 1858 came our darkest days. When a thing is dead, it is hard to galvanize it into life. It is more difficult to revive an old enterprise than to start a new one. The freshness and novelty are gone, and the feeling of disappointment discourage further effort.

Field, First Successful Atlantic Cable, America, Vol.9, p.20–p.21

Other causes delayed a new attempt. The United States had become in a tremendous war; and while the nation was struggling for life, it had no time to spend in foreign enterprises. But in England the project was still kept alive. The Atlantic Telegraph Company kept up its organization. It had a noble body of directors, who had faith in the enterprise and looked beyond its present low estate to ultimate success. Our chairman, the Right Honorable James Stuart Wortley, did not join us in the hour of victory, but in what seemed the hour of despair, after the failure of 1858, and he has been a steady support through all these years.

Field, First Successful Atlantic Cable, America, Vol.9, p.21

All this time the science of submarine telegraphy was making progress. The British Government appointed a commission to investigate the whole subject. It was composed of eminent scientific men and practical engineers—Galton, Wheatstone, Fairbairn, Bidder, Varley and Latimer and Edwin Clark—with the secretary of the company, Mr. Saward—names to be held in honor in connection with this enterprise, along with those of other English engineers, such as Stephenson and Brunel and Whitworth and Penn and Lloyd and Joshua Field, who gave time and thought and labor freely to this enterprise, refusing all compensation. This commission sat for nearly two years, and spent many thousands of pounds in experiments. The result was a clear conviction in every mind that it was possible to lay a telegraph across the Atlantic. Science was also being all the while applied to practice. Submarine cables were laid in different seas—in the Mediterranean, in the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf. The last was laid by my friend Sir Charles Bright.

Field, First Successful Atlantic Cable, America, Vol.9, p.21–p.22

When the scientific and engineering problems were solved, we took heart again and began to prepare for a fresh attempt. This was in 1863. In the United States—though the war was still raging—I went from city to city, holding meetings and trying to raise capital, but with poor success. Men came and listened and said it was all very fine and hoped I would succeed, but did nothing. In one of the cities they gave me a large meeting and passed some beautiful resolutions and appointed a committee of "solid men" to canvass the city, but I did not get a solitary subscriber! In New York city I did better, though money came by the hardest effort. By personal solicitations, encouraged by good friends, I succeeded in raising three hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Since not many had faith, I must present one example to the contrary, though it was not till a year later. When almost all deemed it a hopeless scheme, one gentleman came to me and purchased stock of the Atlantic Telegraph Company to the amount of one hundred thousand dollars. That was Mr. Loring Andrews. But at the time I speak of, it was plain that our main hope must be in England, and I went to London. There, too, it dragged heavily. There was a profound discouragement. Many had lost before, and were not willing to throw more money into the sea. We needed six hundred thousand pounds, and with our utmost efforts we had raised less than half, and there the enterprise stood in a deadlock. It was plain that we must have help from some new quarter. I looked around to find a man who had broad shoulders and could carry a heavy load, and who would be a giant in the cause.

Field, First Successful Atlantic Cable, America, Vol.9, p.23

At this time I was introduced to a gentleman, whom I would hold up to the American public as a specimen of a great-hearted Englishman, Mr. Thomas Brassey. In London he is known as one of the men who have made British enterprise and British capital felt in all parts of the earth. I went to see him, though with fear and trembling. He received me kindly, but put me through such an examination as I never had before. I thought I was in the witness-box. He asked me every possible question, but my answers satisfied him, and he ended by saying it was an enterprise that should be carried out, and that he would be one of ten men to furnish the money to do it. This was a pledge of sixty thousand pounds sterling! Encouraged by this noble offer, I looked around to find another such man, though it was almost like trying to find two Wellingtons. But he was found in Mr. John Pender, of Manchester. I went to his office in London one day, and we walked together to the House of Commons, and before we got there he said he would take an equal share with Mr. Brassey.

Field, First Successful Atlantic Cable, America, Vol.9, p.23–p.24

The action of these two gentlemen was a turning point in the history of our enterprise; for it led shortly after to a union of the well-known firm of Glass, Elliott & Company, with the Guttapercha Company, making of the two one concern known as the Telegraph Construction and Maintenance Company, which included not only Mr. Brassey and Mr. Pender, but other men of great wealth, such as Mr. George Elliott, and Mr. Barclay of London, and Mr. Henry Bewley of Jublin, and which, thus re-enforced with immense capital, took up the whole enterprise in its strong arms. We needed, I have said, six hundred thousand pounds, and with all our efforts in England and America we raised only two hundred eighty-five thousand pounds. This new company now came forward, and offered to take the whole remaining three hundred fifteen thousand pounds, besides one hundred thousand pounds of the bonds, and to make its own profits contingent on success. Mr. Richard A. Glass was made managing director and gave energy and vigor to all its departments, being admirably seconded by the secretary, Mr. Shuter.

Field, First Successful Atlantic Cable, America, Vol.9, p.24

A few days after, half a dozen gentlemen joined together and bought the "Great Eastern" to lay the cable; and at the head of this company was placed Mr. Daniel Gooch, a member of Parliament, and chairman of the Great Western Railway, who was with us in both the expeditions which followed. His son, Mr. Charles Gooch, a volunteer in the service, worked faithfully on board the "Great Eastern."

Field, First Successful Atlantic Cable, America, Vol.9, p.24–p.25

The good fortune which favored us in our ship favored us also in our commander, Captain Anderson, who was for years in the Cunard Line. How well he did his part in two expeditions the result has proved, and it was just that a mark of royal favor should fall on that manly head. Thus organized, the work of making a new Atlantic cable was begun. The core was prepared with infinite care, under the able superintendence of Mr. Chatterton and Mr. Willoughby Smith, and the whole was completed in about eight months. As fast as ready, it was taken on board the "Great Eastern" and coiled in three enormous tanks, and on July 15, 1865, the ship sailed.

Field, First Successful Atlantic Cable, America, Vol.9, p.25

I will not stop to tell the story of that expedition. For a week all went well; we had paid out one thousand two hundred miles of cable, and had only six hundred miles farther to go, when, hauling in the cable to remedy a fault, it parted and went to the bottom. That day I never can forget—how men paced the deck in despair, looking out on the broad sea that had swallowed up their hopes; and then how the brave Canning for nine days and nights dragged the bottom of the ocean for our lost treasure, and, though he grappled it three times, failed to bring it to the surface. The story of that expedition, as written by Dr. Russell, who was on board the "Great Eastern," is one of the most marvelous chapters in the whole history of modern enterprise. We returned to England defeated, yet full of resolution to begin the battle anew. Measures were at once taken to make a second cable and fit out a new expedition; and with that assurance I came home to New York in the autumn.

Field, First Successful Atlantic Cable, America, Vol.9, p.25–p.26–p.27

In December I went back again, when lot all our hopes had sunk to nothing. The Attorney-General of England had given his written opinion that we had no legal right, without a special act of Parliament (which could not be obtained under a year), to issue the new 12 per cent. shares, on which we relied to raise our capital. This was a terrible blow. The works works were at once stopped, and the money which had been paid in returned to the subscribers. Such was the state of things when I reached London on December 24,1865, and the next day was not a "merry" Christmas to me. But it was an inexpressible comfort to have the counsel of such men as Sir Daniel Gooch and Sir Richard A. Glass, and to hear stouthearted Mr. Brassey tell us to go ahead, and, if need were, he would put down sixty thousand pounds more. It was finally concluded that the best course was to organize a new company, which should assume the work; and so originated the Anglo-American Telegraph Company. It was formed by ten gentlemen who met around a table in London and put down ten thousand pounds apiece. The great Telegraph Construction and Maintenance Company, undaunted by the failure of last year, answered us with a subscription—of one hundred thousand pounds. Soon after the books were opened to the public, through the eminent banking-house of J. S. Morgan and Company, and in fourteen days we had raised the six hundred thousand pounds. Then the work began again, and went on with speed. Never was greater energy infused into any enterprise. It was only the last day of March that the new company was formed, and it was registered as a company the next day; and yet such was the vigor and dispatch that in five months from that day the cable had been manufactured, shipped on the "Great Eastern," stretched across the Atlantic, and was sending messages, literally swift as lightning, from continent to continent.

Field, First Successful Atlantic Cable, America, Vol.9, p.27

Yet this was not "a lucky hit"—a fine run across the ocean in calm weather. It was the worst weather I ever knew at that season of the year. The dispatch that appeared in the New York papers read, "The weather has been most pleasant." I wrote it "unpleasant." We had fogs and storms almost the whole way. Our success was the result of the highest science combined with practical experience. Everything was perfectly organized to the minutest detail.

Field, First Successful Atlantic Cable, America, Vol.9, p.27–p.28

But our work was not over. After landing the cable safely at Newfoundland, we had another task—to return to mid-ocean and recover that lost in the expedition of last year. This achievement has perhaps excited more surprise than the other. Many even now "don't understand it," and every day I am asked "How it was done?" Well, it does seem rather difficult to fish for a jewel at the bottom of the ocean two and a half miles deep. But it is not so very difficult when you know how. You may be sure we did not go fishing at random, nor was our success mere "luck." It was the triumph of the highest nautical and engineering skill. We had four ships, and on board of them some of the best seamen in England—men who knew the ocean as a hunter knows every trail in the forest. There was Captain Moriarty, who was in the "Agamemnon" in 1857-1858. He was in the "Great Eastern" in 1865, and saw the cable when it broke; and he and Captain Anderson at once took observations so exact that they could so 115th spot. After finding it, they marked the line of the cable by buoys; for fogs would come, and shut out sun and stars, so that no man could take an observation.

Field, First Successful Atlantic Cable, America, Vol.9, p.28

These buoys were anchored a few miles apart, they were numbered, and each had a flagstaff on it so that it could be seen by day, and a lantern by night. Having thus taken our bearings, we stood off three or four miles, so as to come broadside on, and then, casting over the grapnel, drifted slowly down upon it, dragging the bottom of the ocean as we went. At first it was a little awkward to fish in such deep water, but our men got used to it, and soon could cast a grapnel almost as straight as an old whaler throws a harpoon. Our fishing line was a formidable size. It was made of rope, twisted with wires of steel, so as to bear a strain of thirty tons. It took about two hours for the grapnel to reach bottom, but we could tell when it struck. I often went to the bow, and sat on the rope, and could feel by the quiver that the grapnel was dragging on the bottom two miles under us. But it was a very slow business. We had storms and calms and fogs and squalls.

Field, First Successful Atlantic Cable, America, Vol.9, p.28–p.29

Still we worked on day after day. Once, on August 17th, we got the cable up, and had it in full sight for five minutes, a long, slimy monster, fresh from the ooze of the ocean's bed, but our men began to cheer so wildly that it seemed to be frightened and suddenly broke away and went down into the sea. This accident kept us at work two weeks longer, but, finally, on the last night of August we caught it. We had cast the grapnel thirty times. It was a little before midnight on Friday night that we hooked the cable and it was a little after midnight Sunday morning when we got it on board. What was the anxiety of those twenty-six hours! The strain on every man was like the strain on the cable itself. When finally it appeared, it was midnight; the lights of the ship, and those in the boats around our bows, as they flashed in the faces of the men, showed them eagerly watching for the cable to appear on the water.

Field, First Successful Atlantic Cable, America, Vol.9, p.29–p.30

At length it was brought to the surface. All who were allowed to approach crowded forward to see it. Yet not a word was spoken save by the officers in command who were heard giving orders. All felt as if life and death hung on the issue. It was only when the cable was brought over the bow and on to the deck that men dared to breathe. Even then they hardly believed their eyes. Some crept toward it to feel of it, to be sure it was there. Then we carried it along to the electricians' room, to see if our long-sought-for treasure was alive or dead. A few minutes of suspense, and a flash told of the lightning current again set free. Then did the feeling long pent up burst forth. Some turned away their heads and wept. Others broke into cheers, and the cry ran from man to man, and was heard down in the engine-rooms, deck below deck, and from the boats on the water, and the other ships, while rockets lighted the darkness of the sea. Then with thankful hearts we turned our faces again to the west.

Field, First Successful Atlantic Cable, America, Vol.9, p.30

But soon the wind rose, and for thirty-six hours we were exposed to all the dangers of a storm on the Atlantic. Yet in the very height and fury of the gale, as I sat in the electricians' room, a flash of light came up from the deep, which, having crossed to Ireland, came back to me in mid-ocean, telling that those so dear to me, whom I had left on the bank of the Hudson, were well and following us with their wishes and their prayers. This was like a whisper of God from the sea, bidding me keep heart and hope. The "Great Eastern" bore herself proudly through the storm, as if she knew that the vital cord, which was to join two hemispheres, hung at her stern; and so, on Saturday, September 7th, we brought our second cable safely to the shore.

Why the United States Wanted Alaska

Title: Why the United States Wanted Alaska

Author: Charles Sumner

Date: 1867

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.31-37

Although the purchase of Alaska was consummated by William H. Seward, as Secretary of State, Sumner, as chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, was its chief sponsor in Congress. His speech upon the cession of Russian America to the United States, on April 9, 1867, was followed the next day by the vote in favor of ratification.

In this celebrated address he described to his less enlightened compeers the character and value of Alfalfa, comprising 590,000 square miles of territory, exceeding that of the original thirteen States and nearly one-sixth the area of the United States. Its coast line, including bays and islands, is greater than the circumference of the earth.

Subsequently Senator Sumner wrote out his speech for publication, and this is the main portion of it. It is taken from his collected "Works," by permission of the publishers, Lothrop, Lee & Shepard, Boston.

Summer, Why the U.S. Wanted Alaska, America, Vol.9, p.31

ADVANTAGES to the Pacific Coast.—Foremost in order, if not in importance, I put the desires of our fellow-citizens on the Pacific coast, and the special advantages they will derive from this enlargement of boundary. They were the first to ask for it, and will be the first to profit by it. While others knew the Russian possessions only on the map, they knew them practically on their own resources. While others were indifferent, they were planning how to appropriate Russian pelteries and fisheries. This is attested by the resolutions of the Legislature of Washington Territory; also by the exertions at different times of two Senators from California, who differing in political sentiments and in party relations, took the initial steps which ended in this treaty.

Summer, Why the U.S. Wanted Alaska, America, Vol.9, p.32

These well-known desires were founded, of course, on supposed advantages; and here experience and neighborhood were prompters. Since 1854 the people of California have received their ice from the fresh-water lakes in the island of Kadiak, not far westward from Mount St. Elias. Later still, their fishermen have searched the waters about the Aleutians and the Shumagins, commencing a promising fishery. Others have proposed to substitute themselves for the Hudson's Bay Company in their franchise on the coast. But all are looking to the Orient, as in the time of Columbus, although like him they sail to the west. To them China and Japan, those ancient realms of fabulous wealth, are the Indies.

Summer, Why the U.S. Wanted Alaska, America, Vol.9, p.32

The absence of harbors belonging to the United States on the Pacific limits the outlets of the country. On that whole extent, from Panama to Puget Sound, the only harbor of any considerable value is San Francisco. Farther north the harbors are abundant, and they are all nearer to the great marts of Japan and China. But San Francisco itself will be nearer by the way of the Aleutians than by Honolulu….

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The advantages to the Pacific coast have two aspects—domestic and foreign. Not only does the treaty extend the coasting trade of California, Oregon and Washington Territory northward, but it also extends the base of commerce with China and Japan.

Summer, Why the U.S. Wanted Alaska, America, Vol.9, p.33

To unite the East of Asia with the West of America is the aspiration of commerce now as when the English navigator recorded his voyage. Of course, whatever helps this result is an advantage. The Pacific Railroad is such an advantage; for, though running westward, it will be, when completed, a new highway to the East. This treaty is another advantage; for nothing can be clearer than that the western coast must exercise an attraction which will be felt in China and Japan just in proportion as it is occupied by a commercial people communicating readily with the Atlantic and with Europe. This cannot be without consequences not less important politically than commercially. Owing so much to the Union, the people there will be bound to it anew, and the national unity will receive another confirmation. Thus the whole country will be a gainer. SO are we knit together that the advantages to the Pacific coast will contribute to the general welfare.

Summer, Why the U.S. Wanted Alaska, America, Vol.9, p.33

2. Extension of Dominion.—The extension of dominion is another consideration calculated to captivate the public mind….

Summer, Why the U.S. Wanted Alaska, America, Vol.9, p.33–p.34

The passion for acquisition, so strong in the individual, is not less strong in the community. A nation seeks an outlying territory, as an individual seeks an outlying farm…. ' It is common to the human family. There are few anywhere who could hear of a considerable accession of territory, obtained peacefully and honestly, without a pride of country, oven if at certain moments the judgment hesitated. With increased size on the map there is increased consciousness of strength, and the heart of the citizen throbs anew as he traces the extending line.

Summer, Why the U.S. Wanted Alaska, America, Vol.9, p.34

3. Extension of Republican Institutions.—More than the extension of dominion is the extension of republican institutions, which is a traditional aspiration….

Summer, Why the U.S. Wanted Alaska, America, Vol.9, p.34

John Adams, in the preface to his Defense of the American Constitutions written in London, where he resided at the time as Minister, and dated January 1, 1787, at Grosvenor Square, the central seat of aristocratic fashion, after exposing the fabulous origin of the kingly power in contrast with the simple origin of our republican constitutions, thus for a moment lifts the curtain: "Thirteen governments," he says plainly, "thus founded on the natural authority of the people alone, without a pretense of miracle or mystery, and which are destined to spread over the northern part of that whole quarter of the globe, are a great point gained in favor of the rights of mankind." Thus, according to the prophetic Minister, even at that early day was the detesting of the Republic manifest. It was to spread over the northern part of the American quarter of the globe, and it was to help the rights of mankind.

Summer, Why the U.S. Wanted Alaska, America, Vol.9, p.34–p.35

By the text of our Constitution, the United States are bound to guaranty "a republican form of government" to every State in the Union; but this obligation, which is applicable only at home, is an unquestionable indication of the national aspiration everywhere. The Republic is something more than a local policy; it is a general principle, not to be forgotten at any time, especially when the opportunity is presented of bringing an immense region within its influence….

Summer, Why the U.S. Wanted Alaska, America, Vol.9, p.35

The present treaty is a visible step in the occupation of the whole North American continent. As such it will be recognized by the world and accepted by the American people. But the treaty involves something more. We dismiss one other monarch from the continent. One by one they have retired,—first France, then Spain, then France again, and now Russia,—all giving way to the absorbing Unity declared in the national motto, "E pluribus unum."

Summer, Why the U.S. Wanted Alaska, America, Vol.9, p.35

4. Anticipation of Great Britain.—Another motive to this acquisition may be found in the desire to anticipate imagined schemes or necessities of Great Britain. With regard to all these I confess doubt; and yet, if we credit report, it would seem as if there were already a British movement in this direction. Sometimes it is said that Great Britain desires to buy, if Russia will sell….

Summer, Why the U.S. Wanted Alaska, America, Vol.9, p.35–p.36

5. Amity of Russia.—There is still another consideration concerning this treaty not to be disregarded. It attests and assures the amity of Russia. Even if you doubt the value of these possessions, the treaty is a sign of friendship. It is a new expression of that "entente cordiale" between the two powers which is a phenomenon of history. Though unlike in institutions, they are not unlike in recent experience. Sharers of common glory in a great act of Emancipation, they also share together the opposition or antipathy of other nations. Perhaps this experience has not been without effect in bringing them together. At all events, no coldness or unkindness has interfered at any time with their good relations.

Summer, Why the U.S. Wanted Alaska, America, Vol.9, p.36

The Rebellion, which tempted so many other powers into its embrace, could not draw Russia from her habitual good-will. Her solicitude for the Union was early declared. She made no unjustifiable concession of ocean belligerence, with all its immunities and powers, to rebels in arms against the Union. She furnished no hospitality to rebel cruisers, nor was any rebel agent ever received, entertained, or encouraged at St. Petersburg,—while, on the other hand, there was an understanding that the United States should be at liberty to carry prizes into Russian ports. So natural and easy were the relations between the two Governments, that such complaints as incidentally arose on either side were amicably adjusted by verbal explanations without written controversy….

Summer, Why the U.S. Wanted Alaska, America, Vol.9, p.36

In relations such as I have described, the cession of territory seems a natural transaction, entirely in harmony with the past. It remains to hope that it may be a new link in an amity which, without effort, has overcome differences of institutions and intervening space on the globe….

Summer, Why the U.S. Wanted Alaska, America, Vol.9, p.36–p.37

At all events, now that the treaty has been signed by plenipotentiaries on each side duly empowered, it is difficult to see how we can refuse to complete the purchase without putting to hazard the friendly relations which happily subsist between the United States and Russia. The overtures originally proceeded from us. After a delay of years, and other intervening propositions, the bargain was at length concluded. It is with nations as with individuals. A bargain once made must be kept. Even if still open to consideration, it must not be lightly abandoned. I am satisfied that the dishonoring of this treaty, after what has passed, would be a serious responsibility for our country. As an international question, it would be tried by the public opinion of the world; and there are many who, not appreciating the requirement of our Constitution by which a treaty must have "the advice and consent of the Senate," would regard its rejection as bad faith. There would be jeers at us, and jeers at Russia also: at us for levity in making overtures, and at Russia for levity in yielding to them. Had the Senate been consulted in advance, before the treaty was signed or either power publicly committed, as is often done on important occasions, it would be under less constraint. On such a consultation there would have been opportunity for all possible objections, and a large latitude for reasonable discretion. Let me add that, while forbearing objection now, I hope that this treaty may not be drawn into a precedent, at least in the independent manner of its negotiations. I would save to the Senate an important power justly belonging to it.

Treaty with Russia, 1867

Title: Treaty with Russia

Author: The U.S. and Russian Governments

Date: 1867

Source: Harvard Classics, Vol.43, pp.459-463

The risk of encroachment by Russia had been one of the causes which induced President Monroe to give official utterance to the "Monroe Doctrine." After his statement, Russia ceased from attempts to increase her influence on the Pacific coast, and became willing to dispose of Alaska, regarding it as a possession difficult to defend and of little value. The territory was formally transferred on October 18, 1867.

Treaty with Russia, 1867, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.459

CONVENTION between the United States of America and His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, for the Cession of the Russian Possessions in North America to the United States, Concluded at Washington, March 30, 1867; Ratification Advised by Senate, April 9, 1867; Ratified by President, May 28, 1867; Ratifications Exchanged at Washington, June 20, 1867; Proclaimed, June 20, 1867.

Treaty with Russia, 1867, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.459

The United States of America and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, being desirous of strengthening, if possible, the good understanding which exists between them, have, for that purpose, appointed as their Plenipotentiaries, the President of the United States, William H. Seward, Secretary of State; and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the Privy Counsellor Edward de Stoeckl, his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States;

Treaty with Russia, 1867, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.459

And the said Plenipotentiaries, having exchanged their full powers, which were found to be in due form, have agreed upon and signed the following articles:

Treaty with Russia, 1867, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.459

ARTICLE I

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, agrees to cede to the United States, by this convention, immediately upon the exchange of the ratifications thereof, all the territory and dominion now possessed by his said Majesty on the continent of America and in adjacent islands, the same being contained within the geographical limits herein set forth, to wit: The eastern limit is the line of demarcation between the Russian and the British possessions in North America, as established by the convention between Russia and Great Britain, of February 28-16, 1825, and described in Articles III and IV of said convention, in the following terms:

Treaty with Russia, 1867, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.460

"III Commencing from the southernmost point of the island called Prince of Wales Island, which point lies in the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, and between the 131st and 133d degree of west longitude (meridian of Greenwich), the said line shall ascend to the north along the channel called Portland Channel, as far as the point of the continent where it strikes the 56th degree of north latitude; from this last-mentioned point, the line of demarcation shall follow the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast, as far as the point of intersection of the 141st degree of west longitude (of the same meridian); and finally, from the said point of intersection, the said meridian line of the 141st degree, in its prolongation as far as the Frozen Ocean.

Treaty with Russia, 1867, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.460

"IV With reference to the line of demarcation laid down in the preceding article, it is understood—

Treaty with Russia, 1867, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.460

"1st That the island called Prince of Wales Island shall belong wholly to Russia" (now, by this cession to the United States).

Treaty with Russia, 1867, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.460

"2d That whenever the Summit of the mountains which extend in a direction parallel to the coast, from the 56th degree of north latitude to the point of intersection of the 141st degree of west longitude, shall prove to be at the distance of more than ten marine leagues from the ocean, the limit between the British possessions and the line of coast which is to belong to Russia as above mentioned (that is to say, the limit to the possessions ceded by this convention), shall be formed by a line parallel to the winding of the coast, and which shall never exceed the distance of ten marine leagues therefrom."

Treaty with Russia, 1867, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.461

The western limit within which the territories and dominion conveyed are contained passes through a point in Behring's Straits on the parallel of sixty-five degrees thirty minutes north latitude, at its intersection by the meridian which passes midway between the islands of Krusenstern or Ignalook, and the island of Ratmanoff, or Noonarbook, and proceeds due north without limitation, into the same Frozen Ocean. The same western limit, beginning at the same initial point, proceeds thence in a course nearly southwest, through Behring's Straits and Behring's Sea, so as to pass midway between the northwest point of the island of St. Lawrence and the southeast point of Cape Choukotski, to the meridian of one hundred and seventy-two west longitude; thence, from the intersection of that meridian, in a southwesterly direction, so as to pass midway between the island of Attou and the Copper Island of the Kormandorski couplet or group, in the North Pacific Ocean, to the meridian of one hundred and ninety-three degrees west longitude, so as to include in the territory conveyed the whole of the Aleutian Islands east of that meridian.

Treaty with Russia, 1867, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.461

ARTICLE II

In the cession of territory and dominion made by the preceding article, are included the right of property in all public lots and squares, vacant lands, and all public buildings, fortifications, barracks, and other edifices which are not private individual property. It is, however, understood and agreed, that the churches which have been built in the ceded territory by the Russian Government, shall remain the property of such members of the Greek Oriental Church resident in the territory as may choose to worship therein. Any Government archives, papers, and documents relative to the territory and dominion aforesaid, which may now be existing there, will be left in the possession of the agent of the United States; but an authenticated copy of such of them as may be required, will be, at all times, given by the United States to the Russian Government, or to such Russian officers or subjects as they may apply for.

Treaty with Russia, 1867, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.462

ARTICLE IV

His Majesty, the Emperor of all the Russias, shall appoint, with convenient despatch, an agent or agents for the purpose of formally delivering to a similar agent or agents, appointed on behalf of the United States, the territory, dominion, property, dependencies, and appurtenances which are ceded as above, and for doing any other act which may be necessary in regard thereto. But the cession, with the right of immediate possession, is nevertheless to be deemed complete and absolute on the exchange of ratifications, without waiting for such formal delivery.

Treaty with Russia, 1867, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.462

ARTICLE V

Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this convention, any fortifications or military posts which may be in the ceded territory shall be delivered to the agent of the United States, and any Russian troops which may be in the territory shall be withdrawn as soon as may be reasonably and conveniently practicable.

Treaty with Russia, 1867, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.462

ARTICLE VI

In consideration of the cession aforesaid, the United States agree to pay at the Treasury in Washington, within ten months after the exchange of the ratifications of this convention, to the diplomatic representative or other agent of His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, duly authorized to receive the same, seven million two hundred thousand dollars in gold. The cession of territory and dominion herein made is hereby declared to be free and umencumbered by any reservations, privileges, franchises, grants, or possessions, by any associated companies, whether corporate or incorporate, Russian or any other, or by any parties, except merely private individual property-holders; and the cession hereby made conveys all the rights, franchises, and privileges now belonging to Russia in the said territory or dominion, and appurtenances thereto.

Treaty with Russia, 1867, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.463

ARTICLE VII

When this convention shall have been duly ratified by the President, of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, on the one part, and, on the other, by His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington within three months from the date thereof, or sooner if possible.

Treaty with Russia, 1867, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.463

In faith whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed this convention, and thereto affixed the seals of their arms.

Treaty with Russia, 1867, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.463

Done at Washington, the thirtieth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven.

 WILLIAM H. SEWARD [L. S.]

 EDOUARD DE STOECKL [L. S.]

The Purchase of Alaska (Bancroft)

Title: The Purchase of Alaska

Author: Frederic Bancroft

Date: 1867

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.38-42

Seward not only regarded the purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867 as of the highest value and significance, but he believed it was the destiny of the United States to incorporate the whole of North America, with the City of Mexico as the ultimate capital of the Republic. Asked what he considered the most important act of his political career, he replied: "The purchase of Alaska; but it will take the people a generation to find it out." As early as 1846 he said: "Our population is destined to roll its resistless waves to the icy barriers of the North, and to encounter Oriental civilization on the Pacific."

Two years after the transaction, here recounted by Frederic Bancroft in his "Life of Seward," the imperialistic Secretary of State visited what was called "Seward's Arctic Province," and at Sitka made a memorable address expressing his impressions of the $7,200,000 purchase.

Bancroft, Purchase of Alaska, America, Vol.9, p.38

THE purchase of Alaska has often been called Seward's greatest service to his country. A vast territory which Russia acquired by right of discovery and held for considerably more than a century was sold to the United States before hardly a dozen Americans knew that such a proposition was even under consideration. There is a tradition that during Polk's administration something was said to Russia about parting with her possessions in North America. It is certain that as early as 1859 Senator Gwin and the Assistant Secretary of State discussed the question with Stoeckl, the Russian Minister at Washington, and that as much as five million dollars was offered. The official answer was that this sum was not regarded as adequate, but that Russia would be ready to carry on negotiations as soon as the Minister of Finance could look into the question. There was no occasion for haste; Buchanan soon went out of office; and the subject, which was never known to many persons, seems to have been entirely forgotten for several years.

Bancroft, Purchase of Alaska, America, Vol.9, p.39–p.40

The interests of a few citizens on the Pacific slope were the mainspring of the little that had been done. For more than a decade San Francisco had annually received a large amount of ice from Russian America, and United States fishermen had been profitably engaged in different parts of the far northern Pacific. Those interests had rapidly increased from year to year. At the beginning of 1866 the legislature of Washington Territory sent a petition to President Johnson, saying that an abundance of codfish, halibut and salmon had been found along the shores of Russian America, and requesting him to obtain from the Russian government such concessions as would enable American fishing vessels to visit the ports and harbors of that region for the purpose of obtaining fuel, water and provisions. Sumner says that this was referred to the Secretary of State, who suggested to Stoeckl that some comprehensive arrangement should be made to prevent any difficulties arising between the United States and Russia on account of the fisheries. About this time several Californians wished to obtain a franchise to carry on the fur-trade in Russian America. Senator Cole, of California, urged both Seward and Stoeckl to support the request. Seward instructed Cassius M. Clay, the United States Minister at St. Petersburg, to consult the Russian government on the subject. Clay reported on February, 1867, that there was a prospect of success. In fact, the time happened to be peculiarly opportune for negotiation.

Bancroft, Purchase of Alaska, America, Vol.9, p.40–p.41

Russian America had never been brought under the regular rule of the imperial government. Since the beginning of the century its few thousand civilized inhabitants had been governed by a great monopoly called the Russian-American Company. Its charter had expired with the year 1861, and had not been renewed; yet a renewal was expected. This monopoly was so unprofitable that it had sought and obtained special privileges, such as the free importation of tea into Russia. It had even sublet some of its privileges to the Hudson Bay Company. This sublease to Englishmen was to expire in June, 1867. By the usual means of communication Russian America was from Russia one of the most distant regions on earth. To organize it as a colony would involve great expense and continuous financial loss. To defend it in time of war with Great Britain or the United States would be an impossibility. When the Crimean war broke out common interest led the Russian-American and the Hudson Bay companies to induce their respective governments to neutralize the Russian and the British possessions on the northwest coast of America. Otherwise Great Britain might easily have seized the Russian Territory. To the imperial government at the beginning of 1867 the problem resolved itself into these three questions: Shall the charter of the monopoly, with its privileges and unsatisfactory treatment of the inhabitants, be renewed? Shall an expensive colonial system be organized? Shall we sell at a fair price territory that will surely be lost, if it ever becomes populated and valuable? It was foreseen that unless sold to the most constant and grateful of Russia's friends, it was likely to be taken by her strongest and most inveterate enemy. Stoeckl was spending part of the winter of 1866-67 in St. Petersburg, and the different questions were talked over with him, for he had long been Minister to the United States. In February, 1867, as he was about to return to Washington, "the Archduke Constantine, the brother and chief adviser of the Emperor, handed him a map with the lines in our treaty marked upon it, and told him he might treat for this cession.

Bancroft, Purchase of Alaska, America, Vol.9, p.41–p.42

The following month Stoeckl and Seward began negotiations. One named ten million dollars as a reasonable price; the other offered five millions. Then they took the middle ground—namely, seven million five hundred thousand—as a basis. Seward urged and Stoeckl agreed that the half million should be dropped. The Russian-American Company still claimed privileges and held interests that could not be ignored. Seward saw the objections to assuming any responsibility for matters of this kind; so he offered to add two hundred thousand dollars to the seven millions if Russia would give a title free from all liabilities. On the evening of March 29, 1867, the Russian Minister called at Seward's house and informed him of the receipt of a cablegram reporting the Emperor's consent to the proposition, and then he added that he would be ready to take up the final work the next day, for haste was desirable. With a smile of satisfaction at the news, Seward pushed aside the table where he had been enjoying his usual evening game of whist, and said: "Why wait until tomorrow, Mr. Stoeckl? Let us make the treaty to-night." The needed clerks were summoned; the Assistant Secretary went after Sumner, the chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs; the Russian Minister sent for his assistants; and at midnight all met at the Department of State. By four O'clock in the morning the task was completed. In a few hours the President sent the treaty to the Senate.

The Purchase of Alaska (Blaine)

Title: The Purchase of Alaska

Author: James G. Blaine

Date: 1868

Source: Great Epochs in American History, Vol.9, pp.98-105

Blaine, Purchase of Alaska, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.98

The purchase of Alaska was completed by the Act of July 27, 1868, which appropriated the amount agreed upon in the treaty of March 30, 1867—negotiated by Mr. Seward on behalf of the United States, and by Baron Stoeckl representing the Emperor of all the Russias. The Russian Government had initiated the matter, and desired to sell much more earnestly than the United States desired to buy. There is little doubt that a like offer from any other European government would have been rejected. The pressure of our financial troubles, the fact that gold was still at a high premium, suggested the absolute necessity of economy in every from in which it could be exercised; and in the general judgment of the people the last thing we needed was additional territory. There was, however, a feeling of marked kindliness toward Russia; and this, no doubt, had great weight with Mr. Seward when he assented to the obvious wishes of that Government.

Blaine, Purchase of Alaska, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.98

But while there was no special difficulty in securing the ratification of the treaty by the Senate, a more serious question arose when the House was asked to appropriate the necessary amount to fulfil the obligation. Seven million two hundred thousand dollars in gold represented at that time more than ten million dollars in the currency of the Government; and many Republicans felt, on the eve, or rather in the midst, of a Presidential canvass, that it was a hazardous political step (deeply in debt as the Government was, and with its paper still at heavy discount) to embark in the speculation of acquiring a vast area of "rocks and ice," as Alaska was termed in the popular and derisive description of Mr. Seward's purchase.

Blaine, Purchase of Alaska, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.99

When the bill came before the House, General Banks, as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, urged the appropriation with great earnestness, not merely because of the obligation imposed upon the Government by the treaty, which he ably presented; not merely by reason of the intrinsic value of the teritory, which he abundantly demonstrated; but especialy on account of the fact that Russia was the other party to the treaty, and had for nearly a century shown a most cordial disposition toward the United States. General Banks maintained that at every step of our history, from 1780 to the moment when he was speaking, Russia had been our friend. "In the darkest hour of our peril," said he, "during the Rebellion, when we were enacting a history which no man yet thoroughly comprehends, when France and England were contemplating the recognition of the Confederacy, the whole world was thrilled by the appearance in San Francisco of a fleet of Russian war-vessels, and nearly at the same time, whetherby accident or design, a second Russian fleet appeared in the harbor of New York. Who knew how many more there were on their voyage here? From that hour France, on the one hand, and England on the other, receded, and the American Government regained its position and its power.

Blaine, Purchase of Alaska, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.100

Mr. Cadwalader C. Washburn answered the speech of General Banks on the succeeding day (July 1, 1868). He assumed the leadership of the opposition to the treaty. He proposed to demonstrate to the satisfaction of the House five distinct propositions: "First, that at the time the treaty for Alaska was negotiated, and in a manner to prevent the representatives of the people from being heard; third, that by existing treaties we possess every right that is of any value to us, without the responsibility and never-ending expense of governing a nation of savages; fourth, that the country ceded is absolutely without value; fifth, that it is the right and duty of the House to inquire into the treaty, and to vote or not vote the money, according to its best judgment." Mr. Washburn made an able speech in support of his radical propositions.

Blaine, Purchase of Alaska, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.100

General Butler sustained Mr. Washburn's position in a characteristic speech, especially answering General Bank's argument that we should pay this amount from a spirit of friendship for Russia. "If," said General Butler, "we are to pay this price as usury on the friendship of Russia, we are paying for it very dear indeed. If we are to pay for her friendship, I desire to give her the seven million two hundred thousand dollars in cash, andlet her keep Alaska, because I think it may be a small sum to give for the friendship if we could only get rid of the land, or rather the ice, which we are to get by paying for it." He maintained that it was in evidence before the House officially, "that for ten years the entire product of the whole country of Alaska did not exceed three million dollars."

Blaine, Purchase of Alaska, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.101

Mr. Peters, of Maine, pronounced the territory "intrinsically valueless; the conclusive proof of which is found in the fact that Russia is willing to sell it." He criticized the action of the Senate in negotiating the treaty. "If the treaty-making power can buy, they can sell. If they can buy land with money, they can buy money with land. If they can buy a part of a country, they can buy the whole of a country. If they can sell a part of our country, they can sell the whole of it!"

Blaine, Purchase of Alaska, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.101

Mr. Spalding, of Ohio, on the other hand, maintained that "notwithstanding all the sneers that have been cast on Alaska, if it could be sold again, individuals would take it off our hands and pay us two or three millions for the bargain."

Blaine, Purchase of Alaska, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.101

General Schenck thought the purchase in itself highly objectionable, but was "willing to vote the money because the treaty has been made with a friendly power; one of those that stood by us—almost the only one that stood by us when all the rest of the powers of the world seemed to be turning away from us in our recent troubles."

Blaine, Purchase of Alaska, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.101

Mr. Stevens supported the measure on the ground that it was a valuable acquisition to the wealth and power of the country. He argued also in favor of the right of the Senate to make the treaty.

Blaine, Purchase of Alaska, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.102

Mr. Leonard Myers was sure that if we did not acquire Alaska it would be transferred to Great Britain. "The nation," said he, "which struggled so hard for Vancouver and her present Pacific boundary, and which still insists on having the little island of San Juan, will never let such an opportunity slip. Canada, as matters now stand, would become ours some day could her people learn to be Americans; but never, if England secures Alaska."

Blaine, Purchase of Alaska, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.102

Mr. Higby, of California, answered the objections relating to climate. "I do not know," said he, "whether the people of the East yet believe what has been so often declared, that our winters on the Pacific are nearly as mild as our summers, and yet such is the fact. In my own little village, situated over fourteen hundred feet above the level of the ocean, I have seen a plant growing in the earth green through all the months from October to April."

Blaine, Purchase of Alaska, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.102

Mr. Shellabarger opposed the purchase. He said those nations which had been compact and solid had been the most enduring, while those which had the most extended territory lasted the least space of time….

Blaine, Purchase of Alaska, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.102

General Butler moved a proviso, that "the payment of $500,000 of said appropriation be withheld until the Imperial Government of Russia shall signify its willingness to refer to an impartial tribunal all such claims by American citizens against the Imperial Government as have been investigated by the State Department of the United States and declared to be just, and the amounts so awarded to be paid from said $500,000 so withheld."

Blaine, Purchase of Alaska, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.103

General Garfield, presiding at the time over the Committee of the Whole, ruled it out of order, and on an appeal being taken the decision was sustained by ayes 93, noes 27. After dilatory motions and the offer of various amendments, which were rejected, the bill was passed by ayes 113, noes 43.

Blaine, Purchase of Alaska, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.103

The House prefaced the bill by a preamble, asserting in effect that "the subjects embraced in the treaty are among those which by the Constitution are submitted to the power of Congress, and over which Congress has jurisdiction; and for these reasons, it is necessary that the consent of Congress should be given to the said stipulations before the same can have full force and effect." There was no mention of the Senate's ratification, merely a reference to the fact that "the President has entered into a treaty with the Emperor of Russia, and has agreed to pay him the sum of seven million two hundred thousand dollars in coin." The House by this preamble evidently claimed that its consent to the treaty was just as essential as the consent of the Senate—that it was, in short, a subject for the consideration of Congress.

Blaine, Purchase of Alaska, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.103

The Senate was unwilling to admit such a pretension, especially when put forth by the House in this bald form, and therefore rejected it unanimously. The matter was sent to a conference, and by changing the preamble a compromise was promptly effected, which preserved the rank and dignity of both branches. It declared that "whereas the President had entered into a treaty with the Emperor of Russia, and the Senate thereafter gives its advice and consent to said treaty . . . andwhereas said stipulations can not be carried into full force and effect, except by legislation to which the consent of both Houses of Congress is necessary; therefore be it enacted that there be appropriated the sum of $7,200,000" for the purpose named. With this compromise the bill was readily passed, and became a law by the President's approval July 27, 1868….

Blaine, Purchase of Alaska, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.104

The important transaction was not closed without a feeling of resentment in Congress against Mr. Seward, because of his going so far in the negotiation without reserving any judgment for other departments of the Government. The treaty with Russia was absolute in its terms. There was no qualifying clause making its fulfilment dependent upon the appropriation of the money by Congress. By the time Congress had the subject under consideration, Russia had removed her military guard and surrendered the territory to President Johnson, who had taken formal possession of it in the name of the United States. Our flag was hoisted where that of Russia had lately floated. It was no doubt r. Seward's intention by this course to render a withholding of the purchase money by Congress impossible, and it must be confest that the moral coercion was skilfully applied and was found to be irresistible. Mr. Seward did not consider the treaty from a financial point of view. He knew intuitively that the territory was worth more to the United States than to any other power; and he knew that at the most critical point in our Civil War the outspoken friendship of Russia had been worth to the cause of the American Union many times over the amount we were about to pay for Alaska.

Blaine, Purchase of Alaska, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.105

From the time of the acquisition of Louisiana until the purchase of Alaska, the additions of territory to the United States had all been in the interest of slavery. Louisiana, stretching across the entire country from South to North, was of equal value to each section; but the acquisition of Florida, the annexation of Texas, the territory acquired form Mexico by the treaty of Gaudalupe Hidalgo, with the addition of Arizona under the Gadsden treaty, were all made under the lead of Southern statesmen to strengthen the political power and the material resources of the South. Meanwhile, by the inexcusable errors of the Democratic party, and especially of Democratic diplomacy, we lost that vast tract on the north known as British Columbia, the possession of which, after the acquisition of Alaska, would have given to the United States the continuous frontage on the Pacific Ocean from the south line of California to Bering's Straits. Looking northward for territory, instead of southward, was a radical change of policy in the conduct of the Government—a policy which, happily and appropriately, it was the good fortune of Mr. Seward to initiate under impressive and significant circumstances.

Hunting Buffalo to Feed the Railroad Builders

Title: Hunting Buffalo to Feed the Railroad Builders

Author: William F. Cody

Date: 1867

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.43-47

Colonel Cody, better known as "Buffalo Bill," was the last of the line of great American scouts. In his True Tales of the Plains" (Harper & Brothers) he gives this account of his buffalo hunting exploits. He gained his sobriquet as a hunter engaged, in 1867, to furnish buffalo-meat to the laborers at work on what is now the Union Pacific Railroad. In a twelvemonth, as here recorded, he killed 4,280 bison, 69 of them in one day. Later he was made chief of United States Army scouts by General Sheridan, then campaigning against the Indians, and in 1876 he slew Chief Yellow Hand in a celebrated personal encounter during the Sioux War.

With his picturesque "Wild West Show," he toured America and Europe for many years, accumulating a fortune which he invested in land embracing the present site of Cody, Wyoming. Dying in 1917, his picturesque grave is on a Colorado mountaintop near Denver.

Cody, Hunting Buffalo to Feed Railroad Workers, America, Vol.9, p.43–p.44

ONE of my favorite buffalo-hunting horses was a small roan or large Indian pony which I got from a Ute Indian. As this horse came from Utah I named him "Brigham," after the Mormon prophet, Brigham Young. During the construction of the Kansas Pacific Railroad (now the Union Pacific), in 1867, the construction of the end of the track got into the great buffalo country, and at that time the Indians—the Sioux, Cheyennes, Comanches and Arapahoes—were all on the war-path. It was before the railway refrigerator car was in use and the contractors had no fresh meat to feed their employees. The men were grumbling considerably for fresh meat, for they could see fresh meat—that is, the buffalo, deer and antelope—in every direction, and they would growl because the contractors did not kill the buffaloes so that they could have fresh meat to eat. This was a little more difficult job than they thought, as the Indians were contesting every mile of railroad that was being built into their country. Besides having military escorts to guard the graders every man from the boss down who went to work on the grading of the road carried a rifle with him as well as a pick and shovel, and when he was using them his gun lay on the ground near him, as the Indians would daily attack them.

Cody, Hunting Buffalo to Feed Railroad Workers, America, Vol.9, p.44

The construction of that road, in 1867, was nearly a continuous fight, and it was dangerous for a man to venture any distance away from the troops and the graders to hunt the buffalo. They tried several hunters who claimed that they could kill buffalo and bring it into camp so that they could have fresh meat for their men. One or two of these men were killed by Indians while doing so, and the others gave up the job.

Cody, Hunting Buffalo to Feed Railroad Workers, America, Vol.9, p.44

At that time I was guide and scout at Fort Hays, Kansas, and had quite a reputation as a buffalo hunter. Some one told the main contractor that if he could get me I would be able to kill all the buffalo he would require. He came to Fort Hays to see me. Of course I could not accept—although he made me a very tempting financial offer—without permission of the Military Department Commander, General Sheridan.

Cody, Hunting Buffalo to Feed Railroad Workers, America, Vol.9, p.45

The subject was even discussed at headquarters in Washington, and, after considerable delay, evidence was presented that it would solve one of the main labor problems in the great work of constructing the transcontinental railroad and facilitate matters greatly. Leave of absence for the purpose was given me, with the understanding that in case of an important outbreak I should resume the duties of my position. As roving Indians generally followed the herds of buffalo, I was really in a certain sense performing scouting duty also.

Cody, Hunting Buffalo to Feed Railroad Workers, America, Vol.9, p.45

I started in killing buffalo for the Union Pacific Railroad. I had a wagon with four mules, one driver and two butchers, all brave, well-armed men, myself riding my horse "Brigham." We could leave the end of the construction work to go out after buffalo, and had an understanding with the commanding officer who had charge of the troops guarding the construction that, should a smoke signal be seen in the direction in which I had gone, they would know I was in trouble and would send mounted men to my assistance.

Cody, Hunting Buffalo to Feed Railroad Workers, America, Vol.9, p.45–p.46

I had to keep a close and careful lookout for Indians before making my run into a herd of buffalo. It was my custom in those days to pick out a herd that seemed to have the fattest cows and young heifers. I would then rush my horse into them, picking out the fattest cows and shooting them down, while my horse would be running alongside of them. I had a happy faculty in knowing how to shoot down the leaders and get the herd to run in a circle. I have killed from twenty-five to forty buffalo while the herd was circling, and they would all be dropped very close together; that is to say, in a space covering about five acres. When I had the number I wanted, I would stop shooting and allow the balance of the herd to get away. The wagon would drive up and my men would instantly begin to secure the hams, the tenderloins, the tongues, and the choicest meat of each buffalo, including the heads, which were afterward mounted and used for advertisement for the said road, loading the wagon until it was full. We would then drive back to our camp, or to the end of the track where the men were at work, and when the men would see me coming with a load of fresh meat they would say: "Ah, here comes Bill with a lot of nice buffalo!" For a while they were delighted with the fresh tender meat, but after a time they tired of it, and, seeing me come would say: "Here comes this old Bill with more buffalo!" and finally they connected the name buffalo and Bill together, and that is where the foundation was laid to the name of "Buffalo Bill," which afterward I defended as a title with Comstock before the officers at Fort Wallace with success.

Cody, Hunting Buffalo to Feed Railroad Workers, America, Vol.9, p.46–p.47

I killed buffalo for the railroad company for twelve months, and during that time the number I brought into camp was kept account of, and at the end of that period I had killed 4,280 buffalo on old "Brigham." This was all accomplished with one needle-gun or breech-loader, which I named "Lucretia Borgia."

Cody, Hunting Buffalo to Feed Railroad Workers, America, Vol.9, p.47

During those twelve months I had many fights with the Indians. On several occasions they "jumped" myself and little party while several miles from the end of the grade. We would always prefer to have them "jump" us after our wagon was loaded with buffalo hams, for we had rehearsed our little stockade so often that it did not take more than a few minutes from the time we saw them coming until the mules were unhitched from the wagon and tied to the wheels. We would make our breastwork around the wheels of the wagon by throwing out the meat, and would protect ourselves by getting behind the buffalo hams. In this manner we held off from forty to sixty Indians on one or two occasions until we received assistance. I would make my smoke signals at once, which the soldiers would instantly see and rush to our rescue. I had five men killed during my connection with the U. P. R. R., three drivers and the others butchers.

The Second Visit of Dickens

Title: The Second Visit of Dickens

Author: Charles Dickens

Date: 1868

Source: Great Epochs in American History, Vol.9, pp.106-121

This article is taken from letters written to friends at home in England during Dickens' second visit to the United States in 1868.

Second Visit of Dickens, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.106

On the night of Tuesday the 19th of November Dickens arrived at Boston, where he took up his residence at Parker House hotel; and his first letter (21st) stated that the tickets for the first four readings, all to that time issued, had been sold immediately on their becoming salable. "An immense train of people waited in the freezing street for twelve hours, and passed into the office in their turns, as at a French theater. The receipts already taken for these nights exceed our calculation by more than þ250."

Second Visit of Dickens, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.106

Up to the last moment, he had not been able to clear off wholly a shade of misgiving that some of the old grudges might make themselves felt; but from the instant of his setting foot in Boston not a vestige of such fear remained. The greeting was to the full as extraordinary as that of twenty-five years before, and was given now, as then, to the man who had made himself the most popular writer in the country. His novels and tales were crowding the shelves of all the dealers in books in all the cities of the Union. In every house, in every car, on every steamboat, in every theater of America, the characters, the fancies, the phraseology of Dickens were become familiar beyond those of any other writer of books.

Second Visit of Dickens, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.107

"Even in England," said one of the New York journals, "Dickens is less known than here; and of the millions here who treasure every word he has written, there are tens of thousands who would make a large sacrifice to see and hear the man who has made happy so many hours. Whatever sensitiveness there once was to adverse or sneering criticism, the lapse of a quarter of a century, and the profound significance of a great war, have modified or removed." The point was more pithily, and as truly, put by Mr. Horace Greeley in the Tribune. "The fame as a novelist which Mr. Dickens had already created in America, and which, at the best, has never yielded him anything particularly munificent or substantial, is become his capital stock in the present enterprise."

Second Visit of Dickens, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.107

The first reading was appointed for the second of December, and in the interval he saw some old friends and made some new ones. Boston he was fond of comparing to Edinburgh as Edinburgh was in the days when several dear friends of his own still lived there. Twenty-five years had changed much in the American city; some genial faces were gone, and on ground which he had left a swamp he found now the most princely streets; but there was no abatement of the old warmth of kindness, and, with every attention and consideration shown to him, there was no intrusion. He was not at first completely conscious of the change in this respect, or of the prodigious increase in the size of Boston. But the latter grew upon him from day to-day, and then there was imprest along with it a contrast to which it was diffi-cult to reconcile himself. Nothing enchanted him so much as what he again saw of the delightful domestic life of Cambridge, simple, self-respectful, cordial, and affectionate; and it seemed impossible to believe that within half an hour's distance of it should be found what might at any time be witnessed in such hotels as that which he was staying at; crowds of swaggerers, loafers, bar-loungers, and dram-drinkers, that seemed to be making up, from day to day, not the least important part of the human life of the city.

Second Visit of Dickens, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.108

"The city has increased prodigiously in twenty-five years," he wrote to his daughter Mary. "It has grown more mercantile. It is like Leeds mixed with Preston, and flavored with New Brighton. Only, instead of smoke and fog, there is an exquisitely bright light air." "Cambridge is exactly as I left it," he wrote me. "Boston more mercantile, and much larger. The hotel I formerly stayed at, and thought a very big one, is now regarded as a very small affair. I do not yet notice—but a day, you know, is not a long time for observation!—any marked change in character or habits. In this immense hotel I live very high up, and have a hot and cold bath in my bedroom, with other comforts not in existence in my former day. The cost of living is enormous." "Two of the staff are at New York," he wrote to his sister-in-law on the 25th of November, "where we are at our wits' end how to keep tickets out of the hands of speculators. We have communications from all parts of the country, but we take no offer whatever. The young undergraduates of Cambridge have made a representation to Longfellow that they are 500 strong and can not get one ticket. Idon't know what is to be done, but I suppose I must read there, somehow. We are all in the clouds until I shall have broken ground in New York." The sale of tickets, there, had begun two days before the first reading in Boston. "At the New York barriers," he wrote to his daughter on the first of December, "where the tickets were on sale and the people ranged as at the Paris theaters, speculators went up and down offering twenty dollars for anybody's place. The money was in no case accepted. But one man sold two tickets for the second, third, and fourth nights; his payment in exchange being one ticket for the first night, fifty dollars (about þ7 10s.), and a 'brandy-cocktail.'"

Second Visit of Dickens, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.109

On Monday the second of December he read for the first time in Boston, his subjects being the "Carol" and the "Trial from Pickwick"; and his reception, from an audience than which perhaps none more remarkable could have been brought together, went beyond all expectations formed. "It is really impossible," he wrote to me next morning, "to exaggerate the magnificence of the reception or the effect of the reading. The whole city will talk of nothing else and hear of nothing else to-day. Every ticket for those announced here, and in New York, is sold. All are sold at the highest price, for which in our calculation we made no allowance; and it is impossible to keep out speculators who immediately sell at a premium. At the decreased rate of money even, we had above þ450 English in the house last night; and the New York hall holds 500 people more. Everything looks brilliant beyond the most sanguine hopes, and I was quite as cool last night as thoI were reading at Chatham." The next night he read again; and also on Thursday and Friday; on Wednesday he had rested; and on Saturday he traveled to New York.

Second Visit of Dickens, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.110

He had written, the day before he left, that he was making a clear profit of thirteen hundred pounds English a week, even allowing seven dollars to the pound; but words were added having no good omen in them, that the weather was taking a turn of even unusual severity, and that he found the climate, in the suddenness of its changes, "and the wide leaps they take," excessively trying. "The work is of course rather trying too; but the sound position that everything must be subservient to it enables me to keep aloof from invitations. To-morrow," ran the close of the letter, "we move to New York. We can not beat the speculators in our tickets. We sell no more than six to any one person for the course of four readings; but these speculators, who sell at greatly increased prices and make large profits, will employ any number of men to buy. One of the chief of them—now living in this house, in order that he may move as we move!—can put on 50 people in any place we go to; and thus he gets 300 tickets into his own hands."

Second Visit of Dickens, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.110

Almost while Dickens was writing an eye-witness was describing to a Philadelphia paper the sale of the New York tickets. The pay-place was to open at nine on a Wednesday morning, and at midnight of Tuesday a long line of speculators were assembled in queue; at two in the morning a few honest buyers had begun to arrive; at five there were, of all classes, two lines of not less than 800 each; at eight there were at least 5,000 per-sons in the two lines; at nine each line was more than three-quarters of a mile in length, and neither became sensibly shorter during the whole morning. "The tickets for the course were all sold before noon. Members of families relieved each other in the queues; waiters flew across the streets and squares from neighboring restaurant, to serve parties who were taking their breakfast in the open December air; while excited men offered five and ten dollars for the mere permission to exchange places with other persons standing nearer the head of the line!"

Second Visit of Dickens, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.111

The effect of the reading in New York corresponded with this marvelous preparation, and Dickens characterized his audience as an unexpected support to him; in its appreciation quick and unfailing, and highly demonstrative in its satisfactions. On the 11th of December he wrote to his daughter: "Amazing success. A very fine audience, far better than at Boston. 'Carol' and 'Trial' on first night, great: still greater, 'Copperfield' and 'Bob Sawyer' on second. For the tickets of the four readings of next week there were, at nine o'clock this morning, 3,000 people in waiting, and they had begun to assemble in the bitter cold as early as two o'clock in the morning." To myself he wrote on the 15th, adding touches to the curious picture. "Dolby has got into trouble about the manner of issuing the tickets for next week's series. He cannot get four thousand people into a room holding only two thousand, he can not induce people to pay at the ordinary price for themselves instead of giving thrice as much to speculators, and he is attacked in all directions…. I don't much like my hall, for it has two largebalconies far removed from the platform; but no one ever waylays me as I go into it or come out of it, and it is kept as rigidly quiet as the Francais at a rehearsal. We have not yet had in it less than þ430 per night, allowing for the depreciated currency. I send þ3,000 to England by this packet. From all parts of the States, applications and offers continually come in. We go to Boston next Saturday for two more readings, and come back here on Christmas Day for four more. I am not yet bound to go elsewhere, except three times (each time for two nights) to Philadelphia; thinking it wisest to keep free for the largest places. I have had an action brought against me by a man who considered himself injured (and really may have been) in the matter of his tickets. Personal service being necessary, I was politely waited on by a marshal for that purpose; whom I received with the greatest courtesy, apparently very much to his amazement. The action was handsomely withdrawn next day, and the plaintiff paid his own costs….

Second Visit of Dickens, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.112

Next day a letter to his sister-in-law related an incident too common in American cities to disconcert any but strangers. He had lodged himself, I should have said, at the Westminster Hotel in Irving Place. "Last night I was getting into bed just at 12 o'clock, when Dolby came to my door to inform me that the house was on fire. I got Scott up directly; told him first to pack the books and clothes for the readings; drest, and pocketed my jewels and papers; while the manager stuffed himself out with money. Meanwhile the police and firemen were in the house tracing the mischief to its source in a certain fire-grate. By this timethe hose was laid all through from a great tank on the roof, and everybody turned out to help. It was the oddest sight, and people had put the strangest things on! After chopping and cutting with axes through stairs, and much handing about of water, the fire was confined to a dining-room in which it had originated; and then everybody talked to everybody else, the ladies being particularly loquacious and cheerful. I may remark that the second landlord (from both, but especially the first, I have had untiring attention) no sooner saw me on this agitating occasion, than, with his property blazing, he insisted on taking me down into a room full of hot smoke, to drink brandy and water with him! And so we got to bed again about 2."

Second Visit of Dickens, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.113

Dickens had been a week in New York before he was able to identify the great city which a lapse of twenty-five years had so prodigiously increased. "The only portion that has even now come back to me," he wrote, "is the part of Broadway in which the Carlton Hotel (long since destroyed) used to stand. There is a very fine new park in the outskirts, and the number of grand houses and splendid equipages is quite surprizing. There are hotels close here with 500 bedrooms, and I don't know how many boarders; but this hotel is quite as quiet as, and not much larger than, Mivart's in Brook Street. My rooms are all en suite, and I come and go by a private door and private staircase communicating with my bedroom. The waiters are French, and one might be living in Paris. One of the two proprietors is also proprietor of Niblo's Theater, and the greatest care is taken of me. Niblo's great attraction, the 'Black Crook,'has now been played every night for sixteen months (!), and is the most preposterous peg to hang ballets on that was ever seen. The people who act in it have not the slightest idea of what it is about, and never had, but, after taxing my intellectual powers to the utmost, I fancy that I have discovered 'Black Crook' to be a malignant hunchback leagued with the Powers of Darkness to separate two lovers; and that the Powers of Lightness coming (in no skirts whatever) to the rescue, he is defeated. I am quite serious in saying that I do not suppose there are two pages of All the Year Round in the whole piece (which acts all night); the whole of the rest of it being ballets of all sorts, perfectly unaccountable processions, and the Donkey out of last year's Covent Garden pantomime! At the other theaters, comic operas, melodramas, and domestic dramas prevail all over the city, and my stories play no inconsiderable part in them. I go nowhere, having laid down the rule that to combine visiting with any work would be absolutely impossible….

Second Visit of Dickens, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.114

"At Brooklyn I am going to read in Mr. Henry Ward Beecher's chapel: the only building there available for the purpose. You must understand that Brooklyn is a kind of sleeping-place for New York, and is supposed to be a great place in the money way. We let the seats pew by pew! the pulpit is taken down for my screen and gas! and I appear out of the vestry in canonical form! These ecclesiastical entertainments come off on the evenings of the 16th, 17th, 20th, and 21st, of the present month."

Second Visit of Dickens, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.114

His first letter after returning to New York (9th of January) made additions to the Brooklynpicture. "Each evening an enormous ferryboat will convey me and my state carriage (not to mention half a dozen wagons and any number of people and a few score of horses) across the river to Brooklyn, and will bring me back again. The sale of tickets there was an amazing scene. The noble army of speculators are now furnished (this is literally true, and I am quite serious) each man with a straw mattress, a little bag of bread and meat, two blankets, and a bottle of whisky. With this outfit, they lie down in line on the pavement the whole of the night before the tickets are sold; generally taking up their position at about 10. It being severely cold at Brooklyn, they made an immense bonfire in the street—a narrow street of wooden houses—which the police turned out to extinguish. A general fight then took place; from which the people farthest off in the line rushed bleeding when they saw any chance of ousting others nearer the door, put their mattresses in the spots so gained, and held on by the iron rails. At 8 in the morning Dolby appeared with the tickets in a portmanteau. He was immediately saluted with a roar of Halloa! Dolby! So Charley has let you have the carriage, has he, Dolby! How is he, Dolby? Don't drop the tickets, Dolby! Look alive, Dolby! etc., etc., etc., in the midst of which he proceeded to business, and concluded (as usual) by giving universal dissatisfaction. He is now going off upon a little journey to look over the ground and cut back again." . . .

Second Visit of Dickens, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.115

Three days later, still at New York, he wrote to his sister-in-law. "I am off to Philadelphia this evening for the first of three visits of two nights each, tickets for all being sold. My cold steadilyrefuses to leave me, but otherwise I am as well as I can hope to be under this heavy work. My New York readings are over (except the farewell nights), and I look forward to the relief of being out of my hardest hall. On Friday I was again dead beat at the end, and was once more laid upon a sofa. But the faintness went off after a little while. We have now cold bright frosty weather, without snow: the best weather for me."

Second Visit of Dickens, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.116

Next day from Philadelphia he wrote to his daughter that he was lodged in the Continental, one of the most immense of American hotels, but that he found himself just as quiet as elsewhere. "Everything is very good, my waiter is German, and the greater part of the servants seem to be colored people. The town is very clean, and the day as blue and bright as a fine Italian day. But it freezes very, very hard, and my cold is not improved; for the cars were so intolerably hot that I was often obliged to stand upon the brake outside, and then the frosty air bit me indeed. I find it necessary (so opprest am I with this American catarrh as they call it) to dine at three o'clock instead of four, that I may have more time to get voice; so that the days are cut short and letter-writing is not easy."

Second Visit of Dickens, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.116

He nevertheless found time in this city to write to me (14th of January) the most interesting mention he had yet made of such opinions as he had been able to form during his present visit, apart from the pursuit that absorbed him. While the tone of party politics still imprest him unfavorably, he had thus far seen everywhere great changes for the better socially. I will add other points from the same letter. That he was unfor-tunate in his time of visiting New York, as far as its politics were concerned, what has since happened conclusively shows. "The Irish element is acquiring such enormous influence in New York City that, when I think of it, and see the large Roman Catholic cathedral rising there, it seems unfair to stigmatize as 'American' other monstrous things that one also sees. But the general corruption in respect of the local funds appears to be stupendous, and there is an alarming thing as to some of the courts of law which I am afraid is native-born. A case came under my notice the other day in which it was perfectly plain, from what was said to me by a person interested in resisting an injunction, that his first proceeding had been to 'look up the judge.'" Of such occasional provincial oddity, harmless in itself but strange in large cities, as he noticed in the sort of half disappointment at the small fuss made by himself about the readings, and in the newspaper references to "Mr. Dickens's extraordinary composure" on the platform, he gives an illustration. "Last night here in Philadelphia (my first night), a very impressible and responsive audience were so astounded by my simply walking in and opening my book that I wondered what was the matter. They evidently thought that there ought to have been a flourish, and Dolby sent in to prepare for me. With them it is the simplicity of the operation that raises wonder."

Second Visit of Dickens, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.117

His testimony as to improved social habits and ways was exprest very decidedly. "I think it reasonable to expect that as I go westward, I shall find the old manners going on before me, and may tread upon their shirts mayhap. But so far, I have had no more intrusion or boredom than I have when I lead the same life in England. I write this in an immense hotel, but I am as much at peace in my own rooms, and am left as wholly undisturbed, as if I were at the Station Hotel in York. I have now read in New York city to 40,000 people, and am quite as well known in the streets there as I am in London. People will turn back, turn again and face me, and have a look at me, or will say to one another 'Look here! Dickens coming!' But no one ever stops me or addresses me. Sitting reading in the carriage outside the New York post-office while one of the staff was stamping the letters inside, I became conscious that a few people who had been looking at the turn-out had discovered me within. On my peeping out good-humoredly, one of them (I should say a merchant's bookkeeper) stept up to the door, took off his hat, and said in a frank way: 'Mr. Dickens, I should very much like to have the honor of shaking hands with you'—and, that done, presented two others. Nothing could be more quiet or less intrusive. In the railway cars, if I see anybody who clearly wants to speak to me, I usually anticipate the wish by speaking myself. If I am standing on the brake outside (to avoid the intolerable stove), people getting down will say with a smile: 'As I am taking my departure, Mr. Dickens, and can't trouble you for more than a moment, I should like to take you by the hand, sir." And so we shake hands and go our ways.

Second Visit of Dickens, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.118

"To-night's reading is my 26th; but as all the Philadelphia tickets for four more are sold, as well as four at Brooklyn, you must assume that I am at—say—my 35th reading. I have remittedto Coutt's in English gold þ10,000 odd; and I roughly calculate that on this number Dolby will have another thousand pounds profit to pay me. These figures are of course between ourselves, at present; but are they not magnificent? The expenses, always recollect, are enormous. On the other hand we never have occasion to print a bill of any sort (bill-printing and posting are great charges at home); and have just now sold off þ90 worth of bill paper, provided beforehand, as a wholly useless incumbrance." . . .

Second Visit of Dickens, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.119

Dicken's last letter from America was written to his daughter Mary from Boston on the 9th of April, the day before his sixth and last farewell night. "I not only read last Friday when I was doubtful of being able to do so, but read as I never did before, and astonished the audience quite as much as myself. You never saw or heard such a scene of excitement. Longfellow and all the Cambridge men have urged me to give in. I have been very near doing so, but feel stronger to-day. I can not tell whether the catarrh may have done me any lasting injury in the lungs or other breathing organs, until I shall have rested and got home. I hope and believe not. Consider the weather! There have been two snow-storms since I wrote last, and to-day the town is blotted out in a ceaseless whirl of snow and wind. Dolby is a stender as a woman, and as watchful as a doctor. He never leaves me during the reading, now, but sits at the side of the platform, and keeps his eye upon me all the time. Ditto George the gasman, steadiest and most reliable man I ever employed. I have 'Dombey' to do to-night, and must go through it carefully; so here ends my report. The personalaffection of the people in this place is charming to the last. Did I tell you that the New York Press are going to give me a public dinner on Saturday the 18th?"

Second Visit of Dickens, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.120

In New York, where there were five farewell nights, three thousand two hundred and ninety-eight dollars were the recipts of the last, on the 20th of April; those of the last at Boston, on the 8th, having been three thousand four hundred and fifty-six dollars. But on earlier nights in the same cities respectively, these sums also had been reached; and indeed, making allowance for an exceptional night here and there, the receipts varied so wonderfully little, that a mention of the highest average returns from other places will give no exaggerated impression of the ordinary receipts throughout. Excluding fractions of dollars, the lowest were New Bedford ($1,640), Rochester ($1,906), Springfield ($1,970), and Providence ($2,140). Albany and Worcester averaged something less than $2,400; while Hartford, Buffalo, Baltimore, Syracuse, New Haven, and Portland rose to $2,600. Washington's last night was $2,610, no night there having less than $2,500. Philadelphia exceeded Washington by $300, and Brooklyn went ahead of Philadelphia by $200. The amount taken at the four Brooklyn readings was $11,128.

Second Visit of Dickens, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.120

The New York public dinner was given at Delmonico's the hosts were more than two hundred, and the chair was taken by Mr. Horace Greeley. Dickens attended with great difficulty, and spoke in pain. But he used the occasion to bear his testimony to the changes of twenty-five years; the rise of vast new cities; growth in the graces andamenities of life; much improvement in the press, essential to every other advance; and changes in himself leading to opinions more deliberately formed. He promised his kindly entertainers that no copy of his "Notes," or his "Chuzzlewit," should in future be issued by him without accompanying mention of the changes to which he had referred that night; of the politeness, delicacy, sweet temper, hospitality, and consideration in all ways for which he had to thank them; and of his gratitude for the respect shown, during all his visit, to the privacy enforced upon him by the nature of his work and the condition of his health.

Second Visit of Dickens, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.121

He had to leave the room before the proceedings were over. On the following Monday he read to his last American audience, telling them at the close that he hoped often to recall them, equally by his winter fire and in the green summer weather, and never as a mere public audience but as a host of personal friends. He sailed two days later in the Russia, and reached England in the first week of May, 1868.

The Threatened Impeachment of Andrew Johnson

Title: The Threatened Impeachment of Andrew Johnson

Author: Shelby M. Cullom

Date: 1868

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.48-62

Senator Cullom, from whose "Fifty Years of Public Service" this account is taken, by permission of A. C. McClurg & Company, was a member of Congress from Illinois at the time impeachment proceedings were brought against President Andrew Johnson.

Leading up to the threatened impeachment of Johnson, which was averted in the Senate by the narrow margin of one vote less than the two-thirds necessary, Congress had repassed, several bills over the Presidents veto. In August, 1867, Stanton was displaced by General Grant as Secretary of War. A month later Congress refused to ratify Stanton's suspension, whereupon Grant resigned and Stanton resumed his post. Early in 1868 Johnson again removed Stanton, and put General Lorenzo Thomas in his place, thereby provoking the historic impeachment proceedings, which Cullom supported.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.48

AS I look back now over the vista of the years that have come and gone, it seems to me that I entered the Lower House of Congress just at the beginning of the most important period in all our history. The great President had been assassinated; the war was over; Andrew Johnson, a Union Democrat, was President of the United States. Reconstruction was the problem which confronted us, how to heal up the nation's wounds and remake a Union which would endure for all time to come. These were the difficult conditions that had to be dealt with by the Thirty-ninth Congress.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.48–p.49

Andrew Johnson was the queerest character that ever occupied the White House, and, with the exception of Lincoln only, he entered it under the most trying and difficult circumstances in all our history; but Lincoln had, what Johnson lacked, the support and confidence of the great Republican party. Johnson was never a Republican, and never pretended to be one. He was a lifelong Democrat, and a slaveholder as well; but he was loyal to the Union, no man living more so. As a Senator from Tennessee, alone of all the Southern Senators, he faced his colleagues from the South in denouncing secession as treason. His subsequent phenomenal course in armed opposition to the Rebellion brought about his nomination for the Vice-Presidency as a shrewd stroke to secure the support of the War Democrats of the North and the Union men of his State and section….

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.49

The scene which took place in the Senate chamber when Johnson was inducted into office as Vice-President; the exhibition he made of himself at the time of taking the oath of office, in the presence of the President of the United States, and the representatives of the governments of the world—all this, advertised at the time in the opposition press, added to the prejudice against Johnson in the North and made his position more trying and difficult.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.49

There were two striking points in Johnson's character, and I knew him well: first, his loyalty to the Union; and, second, his utter fearlessness of character. He could not be cowed; old Ben Wade, Sumner, Stevens, all the great leaders of that day could not, through fear, influence him one particle.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.50

In 1861, when he was being made the target of all sorts of threats on account of his solitary stand against secession in the Senate, he let fall this characteristic utterance: "I want to say, not boastingly, with no anger in my bosom, that these two eyes of mine have never looked upon anything in the shape of mortal man that this heart has feared." This utterance probably illustrates Johnson's character more clearly than anything that I could say. He sought rather than avoided a fight. Headstrong, domineering, having fought his way in a State filled with aristocratic Southerners, from the class of so-called "low whites" to the highest position in the United states, he did not readily yield to the dictates of the dominating forces in Congress.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.50

Lincoln had a well-defined policy of reconstruction. Indeed, so liberal was he disposed to be in his treatment of the Southern States that immediately after the surrender of Richmond he would have recognized the old State Government of Virginia had it not been for the peremptory veto of Stanton. Congress was not in session when Johnson came to the Presidency in April, 1865. To do him no more than simple justice, I firmly believe that he wanted to follow out, in reconstruction, what he thought was the policy of Mr. Lincoln, and in this he was guided largely by the advice of Mr. Seward.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.50–p.51

But there was this difference. Johnson was, probably in good faith, pursuing the Lincoln policy of reconstruction; but when the legislatures and executives of the Southern States began openly passing laws and executing them so that the negro was substantially placed back into slavery, practically nullifying the results of the awful struggle, the untold loss of life and treasure, Mr. Lincoln certainly would have receded and would have dealt with the South with an iron hand, as Congress had determined to do, and as General Grant was compelled to do when he assumed the Presidency.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.51

From April to the reassembling of Congress in December, Johnson had a free hand in dealing with the seceding States, and he was not slow to take advantage of it. He seemed disposed to recognize the old State governments; to restrict the suffrage to the whites; to exercise freely the pardoning power in the way of extending executive clemency not only to almost all classes, but to every individual who would apply for it. The result was, it seemed to be certain that if the Johnson policy were carried out to the fullest extent the supremacy of the Republican party in the councils of the nation would be at stake.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.51–p.52

To express it in a word, the motive of the opposition to the Johnson plan of reconstruction was the firm conviction that its success would wreck the Republican party, and by restoring the Democrats to power bring back Southern supremacy and Northern vassalage. The impeachment, in a word, was a culmination of the struggle between the legislative and the executive departments of the Government over the problem of reconstruction. The legislative department claimed exclusive jurisdiction over reconstruction; the executive claimed that it alone was competent to deal with the subject….

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.52

It was at once determined by the Republican majority in Congress that the representatives of the eleven seceding States should not be admitted. The Constitution expressly gives to the House and Senate the exclusive power to judge of the admission and qualification of its own members.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.52

We were surprised at the moderation of the President's message, which came in on Tuesday after Congress assembled. In tone and general character the message was wholly unlike Johnson. It was an admirable state document, one of the finest from a literary and probably from every other standpoint that ever came from an executive to Congress. It was thought at the time that Mr. Seward wrote it, but it has since been asserted that it was the product of that foremost of American historians [George] Bancroft, one of Mr. Johnson's close personal friends.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.52

There existed three theories of dealing with the Southern States; one was the President's theory of recognizing the State governments, allowing the States to deal with the suffrage question as they might see fit; the Stevens policy of wiping out all State lines and dealing with the regions as conquered military provinces; and the Sumner theory of treating them as organized territories, recognizing the State lines…. .

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.52–p.53

What determined Johnson in his course, I do not know. It was thought that he would be a radical of radicals. Being of the "poor white" class, he may have been flattered by the attentions showered on him by the old Southern aristocrats. Writers of this period have frequently given that as a reason. My own belief has been that he was far too strong a man to be governed in so vital a matter by so trivial a cause. My conviction is that the radical Republican leaders in the House were right; that he believed in the old Democratic party, aside from his loyalty to the Union; and was a Democrat determined to turn the Government over to the Democratic party, reconstructed on a Union basis.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.53

I cannot undertake to go into all the long details of that memorable struggle. As I look back over the history of it now, it seems to me to bear a close resemblance to the beginning of the French Revolution, to the struggle between the States General of France and Louis XVI. Might we not, if things had turned differently, have drifted into chaos and revolution? If Johnson had been impeached and refused to submit, adopting the same tactics as did Stanton in retaining the War Department; had Ben Wade taken the oath of office and demanded possession, Heaven only knows what might have been the result.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.53–p.54

But reminiscing in this way, as I cannot avoid doing when I think back over those terrible times, I lose the continuity of my subject. An extension to the Freedman's Bureau bill was passed, was promptly vetoed by the Executive, the veto was as promptly overruled by the House, where there was no substantial opposition, but the Senate failed to pass the bill, the veto of the President to the contrary notwithstanding.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.54

I had not the remotest idea that Johnson would dare to veto the Freedman's Bureau bill, and I made a speech on the subject, declaring a firm conviction to that effect. A veto at that time was almost unheard of. Except during the administration of Tyler, no important bill had ever been vetoed by an executive. It came as a shock to Congress and the country. Excitement reigned supreme. The question was, "Should the bill pass the veto of the President regardless thereof?"

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.54

Not the slightest difficulty existed in the House; Thaddeus Stevens had too complete control of that body to allow any question concerning it there. The bill, therefore, was promptly passed over the veto of the President. But the situation in the Senate was different. At that time the Sumner-Wade radical element did not have the necessary two-thirds majority, and the bill failed to pass over the veto of the President. The war between the executive and legislative departments of the Government had fairly commenced, and the first victory had been won by the President.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.54–p.55

The Civil Rights bill, drawn and introduced by Judge Trumbull, than whom there was no greater lawyer in the United States Senate, in January, 1866, on the reassembling of Congress, was passed. Then began the real struggle on the part of the radicals in the Senate, headed by Sumner and Wade, to muster the necessary two-thirds majority to pass a bill over the veto of the President.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.55

Let me digress here to say a word in reference to Charles Sumner…. It was his mission to awake the public conscience to the horrors of slavery. He performed his duty unfalteringly, and it almost cost him his life. Mr. Lincoln was the only man living who ever managed Charles Sumner, or could use him for his purpose. Sumner's end has always seemed to me most pitiful. Removed from his high position as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, followed relentlessly by the enmity of President Grant, then at the very acme of his fame; drifting from the Republican party, his own State repudiating him, Charles Sumner died of a broken heart.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.55

But to return to the struggle between the President and Congress. Trumbull, Sumner, Wade and the leaders were bound in one way or another to get the necessary two-thirds. The vote was taken in the Senate: 'Shall the Civil Rights bill pass the veto of the President to the contrary notwithstanding?" It was understood the vote would be very close, and the result uncertain.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.55–p.56

The excitement was intense. The galleries were crowded; members of the House were on the Senate floor. The result seemed to depend entirely on the vote of Senator Morgan, of New York, and he seemed to be irresolute, uncertain in his own mind which way he would vote. The call of the roll proceeded. When his name was reached there was profound silence. He first voted nay, and then immediately changed to yea. A wonderful demonstration burst forth, as it was then known that the bill would pass over the veto of the President, and that the Republican party in Congress at last had complete control. Senator Trumbull made a remarkable speech on that occasion, and I was never prouder of any living man.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.56

So the struggle went on from day to day and year to year, growing all the time more intense. I have always been disposed to be conservative; I was then; and it was with profound regret that I saw the feeling between the President and Congress becoming more and more strained.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.56

I disliked to follow the extreme radical element, and when the row was at its height, Judge Orth, a colleague in the House from Indiana, and I concluded to go and see the President and advise with him, in an attempt to smooth over the differences. I will never forget that interview. It was at night. He received us politely enough, and without mincing any words he gave us to understand that we were on a fool's errand and that he would not yield. We went away, and naturally joined the extreme radicals in the House, always voting with them afterward.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.56–p.57

The row continued in the Fortieth Congress. Bills were passed, promptly vetoed, and the bills immediately passed over the President's veto. Many of the bills were not only unwise legislation, but were unconstitutional as well. We passed the Tenure of Office bill; we attempted to restrict the President's pardoning power; and as I look back over the history of the period, it seems to me that we did not have the slightest regard for the Constitution. Some of President Johnson's veto messages were admirable. He had the advice and assistance of one of the ablest lawyers of his day, Jeremiah Black.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.57

To make the feeling more intense, just about this time Johnson made his famous swing around the circle," as it was termed. His speeches published in the opposition press were intemperate and extreme. He denounced Congress. He threatened to "kick people out of office," in violation of the Tenure of Office act. He was undignified in his actions and language, and many people thought he was intoxicated most of the time, although I do not believe this.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.57–p.58

The radicals in both the House and Senate determined that he should be impeached and removed from office. They had the votes in the House easily, and they thought they could muster the necessary number in the Senate, as we had been passing all sorts of legislation over the President's veto. When the subject was up, I was doubtful, and I really believe, strong Republican that I was, that had it not been for Judge Trumbull I would have voted against the impeachment articles. I advised with the judge, for whom I had profound respect. I visited him at his house. I explained to him my doubts, and I recall very clearly the expression he used in reply. He said: "Johnson is an obstruction to the Government, and should be removed." Judge Trumbull himself changed afterward much to the astonishment of every one, and denounced the impeachment proceeding as unworthy of a justice of the peace court.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.58

It seems to me difficult to realize that it was as far back as March 2, 1868, that I addressed the House in favor of the impeachment articles. I think I made a pretty good speech on that occasion and supported my position very well. I took rather an extreme view in favor of the predominance of the legislative department of the Government, contending that the executive and judiciary departments of the Government, while they are finally responsible to the people, are directly accountable to the legislative department.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.58

The first and principal article in the impeachment proposed by the House was the President's issuance of an order removing Edwin M. Stanton as Secretary of War, he having been duly appointed and commissioned by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and the Senate having been in session at the time of his removal. I contended then, on the floor of the House, that such a removal was a violation of the Constitution, and could not be excused on any pretext whatever, in addition to being a direct violation of the Tenure of Office act.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.58–p.59

I do not intend to go into the details of the various articles proposed by the House; suffice it to say that they were mainly based on the attempted removal of Mr. Stanton, and the appointment of Mr. Thomas as Secretary of War….

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.59

Needless for me to say, as the subject continued feeling remained at a high pitch in the House. It was debated from day to day. Stevens was urging the impeachment with all the force at his command; some were doubtful and holding back, as I was; some changed—for instance, James G. Blaine, who was taunted by Stevens and sneered at for his change of front.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.59

Under the law then existing the President of the Senate succeeded a Vice-President who became, by the death or removal of the President, President of the United States. The radicals in complete control—and I have no doubt that Stevens had a hand in it—elected the most radical of their number as President of the Senate—Ben Wade, of Ohio. Johnson removed, Wade would have been President, and the extreme radicals would have been in supreme control of the legislative and executive departments of the Government.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.59–p.60

This condition is what made Mr. Blaine hesitate. He told me on one occasion: "Johnson in the White House is bad enough, but we know what we have; Lord knows what we would get with old Ben Wade there. I do not know but I would rather trust Johnson than Wade." But in the end Blaine supported the impeachment articles, just as I did, and as Senator Allison and other somewhat conservative members did, all feeling at the same time not a little doubtful of our course.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.60

Stevens, Logan, Boutwell, Williams and Wilson were appointed managers on the part of the House, and solemnly and officially notified the Senate of the action of the House in impeaching the President of the United States. The Senate proceeded without long delay to resolve itself as a High Court of Impeachment, for the purpose of trying the President of the United States for high crimes and misdemeanors. The most eminent counsel of the nation were engaged. Mr. Evarts was President Johnson's principal counsel. He was ably assisted by lawyers of scarcely less renown.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.60

The trial dragged along from day to day. Part of the time the Senate considered the matter in executive session. The corridors were crowded; and I remember with what astonishment we heard that Judge Trumbull had taken the floor denouncing the proceeding as unworthy of a justice of the peace court. The Illinois delegation held a meeting, and Logan, Farnsworth and Washburne urged that we unite in a letter to Judge Trumbull, with a view to influencing his vote for conviction, or of inducing him to withhold his vote if he could not vote for conviction. A number of our delegation opposed it, and the letter was not sent.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.60–p.61

I do not think that it would have made the slightest effect on Judge Trumbull had we sent it. All sorts of coercing methods were used to influence wavering Senators. Old Bob Schenck was the chairman of this movement, and he sent telegrams broadcast all over the United States to the effect that there was great danger to the peace of the country and the Republican cause if impeachment failed, and asking the recipients to send to their Senators public opinion by resolutions and delegations. And responses came from all over the North, urging and demanding the impeachment of the President.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.61

It is difficult now to realize the intense excitement of that period. General Grant was there, tacitly acknowledged as the next nominee of the Republican party for the Presidency. He took no active part, but it was pretty well understood, from the position of his friends such as Logan and Washburne, that the impeachment had his sympathy; and in the Senate Conkling was especially vindictive. Grimes, Fessenden, and Trumbull led the fight for acquittal. Many were noncommittal; but in the end the struggle turned on the one doubtful Senator, Edmund G. Ross of Kansas.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.61

It was determined to vote on the tenth article first, as that article was the strongest one and more votes could be mustered for it than any other. It was well understood that the vote on that article would settle the matter.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.61–p.62

More than forty-three years have passed into history since that memorable day when the Senate of the United States was sitting as a Court of Impeachment for the purpose of trying the President of the United States for high crimes and misdemeanors. The occasion is unforgettable. As I look back now, I see arising before me the forms and features of the great men who were sitting in that high court: I see presiding Chief Justice Chase; I see Sumner, cold and dignified; Wade, Trumbull, Hendricks, Conkling, Yates; I see Logan as one of the managers on the part of the House; I see old Thad Stevens, weak and wasted from illness, being carried in—all long since have passed to the beyond, the accused President, the members of the high court, the counsel. Of all the eminent men who were present on that day, aside from the Honorable J. B. Henderson, I do not know of a single one now living.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.62

As the roll was called, there was such a solemn hush as only comes when man stands in the presence of Deity. Finally, when the name of Ross was reached and he voted "NO"; when it was understood that his vote meant acquittal, the friends of the President in the galleries thundered forth in applause.

Cullom, Threatened Impeachment of Johnson, America, Vol.9, p.62

And thus ended for the first, and I hope the last, time the trial of a President of the United States before the Senate, sitting as a Court of Impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanors.

The Fourteenth Amendment

Title: The Fourteenth Amendment

Author: Thaddeus Stevens

Date: 1868

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.63-86

Stevens was the recognized leader of the radical Republicans in Congress from 1859 until his death in 1868. It was Stevens who reported the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution, giving the negroes citizenship. At that time he was chairman of the important House Reconstruction Committee. After the House had passed the amendment the Senate modified it, greatly to his disapproval.

Stevens and Johnson were bitter political enemies, and it was the former who was mainly responsible for the impeachment proceedings against President Johnson. Stevens was intolerant of compromises. During the Civil War, as chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, he was as prompt and unsparing in helping the Federal Government meet its financial obligations as he afterwards was in condemning "rebels, traitors and copperheads." His theory of reconstruction was that the Southern States had forfeited all their rights, and being guilty of treason merited no mercy.

Stevens, Fourteenth Amendment, America, Vol.9, p.63

THIS proposition is not all that the committee desired. It falls far short of my wishes, but it fulfills my hopes. I believe it is all that can be obtained in the present state of public opinion. Not only Congress but the several States are to be consulted. Upon a careful survey of the whole ground, we did not believe that nineteen of the loyal States could be induced to ratify any proposition more stringent than this. I say nineteen, for I utterly repudiate and scorn the idea that any State not acting in the Union is to be counted on the question of ratification. It is absurd to suppose that any more than three-fourths of the States that propose the amendment are required to make it valid; that States not here are to be counted as present, Believing then, that this is the best proposition that can be made effectual, I accept it….

Stevens, Fourteenth Amendment, America, Vol.9, p.64

The first section prohibits the States from abridging the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, or unlawfully depriving them of life, liberty, or property, or of denying to any person within their jurisdiction the "equal" protection of the laws.

Stevens, Fourteenth Amendment, America, Vol.9, p.64–p.65

I can hardly believe that any person can be found who will not admit that every one of these provisions is just. They are all asserted, in some form or other, in our Declaration or organic law. But the Constitution limits only the action of Congress, and is not a limitation on the States. This amendment supplies that defect, and allows Congress to correct the unjust legislation of the States, so far that the law which operates upon one man shall operate equally upon all. Whatever law punishes a white man for a crime shall punish the black man precisely in the same way and to the same degree. Whatever law protects the white man shall afford "equal" protection to the black man. Whatever means of redress is afforded to one shall be afforded to all. Whatever law allows the white man to testify in court shall allow the man of color to do the same. These are great advantages over their present codes. Now different degrees of punishment are inflicted, not on account of the magnitude of the crime, but according to the color of the skin. Now color disqualifies a man from testifying in courts, or being tried in the same way as white men. I need not enumerate these partial and oppressive laws. Unless the Constitution should restrain them those States will all, I fear, keep up this discrimination, and crush to death the hated freedmen. Some answer, "Your civil rights bill secures the same things." That is partly true, but a law is repealable by a majority. And I need hardly say that the first time that the South with their copperhead allies obtain the command of Congress it will be repealed. The veto of the President and their votes on the bill are conclusive evidence of that. And yet I am amazed and alarmed at the impatience of certain well-meaning Republicans at the exclusion of the rebel States until the Constitution shall be so amended as to restrain their despotic desires. This amendment once adopted cannot be annulled without two-thirds of Congress. That they will hardly get. And yet certain of our distinguished friends propose to admit State after State before this becomes a part of the Constitution. What madness! Is their judgment misled by their kindness; or are they unconsciously drifting into the haven of power at the other end of the avenue? I do not suspect it, but others will.

Stevens, Fourteenth Amendment, America, Vol.9, p.65–p.66

The second section I consider the most important in the article. It fixes the basis of representation in Congress. If any State shall exclude any of her adult male citizens from the elective franchise, or abridge that right, she shall forfeit her right to representation in the same proportion. The effect of this provision will be either to compel the States to grant universal suffrage or so to shear them of their power as to keep them forever in a hopeless minority in the national Government, both legislative and executive. If they do not enfranchise the freedmen, it would give to the rebel States but thirty-seven Representatives. Thus shorn of their power, they would soon become restive. Southern pride would not long brook a hopeless minority. True it will take two, three, possibly five years before they conquer their prejudices sufficiently to allow their late slaves to become their equals at the polls. That short delay would not be injurious. In the meantime the freedmen would become more enlightened, and more fit to discharge the high duties of their new condition. In that time, too, the loyal Congress could mature their laws and so amend the Constitution as to secure the rights of every human being, and render disunion impossible. Heaven forbid that the southern States, or any one of them, should be represented on this floor until such muniments of freedom are built high and firm. Against our will they have been absent for four bloody years; against our will they must not come back until we are ready to receive them. DO not tell me that they are loyal representatives waiting for admission—until their States are loyal they can have no standing here. They would merely misrepresent their constituents.

Stevens, Fourteenth Amendment, America, Vol.9, p.66–p.67

I admit that this article is not as good as the one we sent to death in the Senate. In my judgment, we shall not approach the measure of justice until we have given every adult freedman a homestead on the land where he was born and toiled and suffered. Forty acres of land and a hut would be more valuable to him than the immediate right to vote. Unless we give them this we shall receive the censure of mankind and the curse of Heaven. That article referred to provided that if one of the injured race was excluded the State should forfeit the right to have any of them represented. That would have hastened their full enfranchisement. This section allows the States to discriminate among the same class, and receive proportionate credit in representation. This I dislike. But it is a short step forward. The large stride which we in vain proposed is dead; the murderers must answer to the suffering race. I would not have been the perpetrator. A load of misery must sit heavy on their souls.

Stevens, Fourteenth Amendment, America, Vol.9, p.67–p.68

The third section may encounter more difference of opinion here. Among the people I believe it will be the most popular of all the provisions; it prohibits rebels from voting for members of Congress and electors of President until 1870. My only objection to it is that it is too lenient. I know that there is a morbid sensibility, sometimes called mercy, which affects a few of all classes, from the priest to the clown, which has more sympathy for the murderer on the gallows than for his victim. I hope I have a heart as capable of feeling for human woe as others. I have long since wished that capital punishment were abolished. But I never dreamed that all punishment could be dispensed with in human society. Anarchy, treason, and violence would reign triumphant. Here is the mildest of all punishments ever inflicted on traitors. I might not consent to the extreme severity denounced upon them by a provisional Governor of Tennessee—I mean the late lamented Andrew Johnson of blessed memory—but I would have increased the severity of this section. I would be glad to see it extend to 1876, and to include all State and municipal as well as national elections. In my judgment we do not sufficiently protect the loyal men of the rebel States from the vindictive persecutions of their victorious rebel neighbors. Still I will move no amendment, nor vote for any, lest the whole fabric should tumble to pieces.

Stevens, Fourteenth Amendment, America, Vol.9, p.68

I need say nothing of the fourth section, for none dare object to it who is not himself a rebel. TO the friend of justice, the friend of the Union, of the perpetuity of liberty, and the final triumph of the rights of man and their extension to every human being, let me say, sacrifice as we have done your peculiar views, and instead of vainly insisting upon the instantaneous operation of all that is right accept what is possible, and "all these things shall be added unto you.

Ulysses S. Grant, Eighteenth President

Title: Ulysses S. Grant, Eighteenth President

Author: James Ford Rhodes

Date: 1868

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.69-75

Grant came as near being the unanimous choice of the country for President in 1868 as any candidate for that office ever has been. Besieged by both the Republican and Democratic parties to accept the nomination, his views were more in accord with the former, and in the race against Horatio Seymour, the Democratic candidate, Grant carried all but eight States.

Rhodes, from whose "History of the United States" this account is taken, by permission of the Macmillan Company, spent much time, during Grant's first administration, making industrial investigations in the South and gathering material for his monumental history, to the writing of which he devoted sixteen years. His narrative is impartial and sober, and is generally considered the best work covering the period treated.

Rhodes, Grant, Eighteenth President, America, Vol.9, p.69–p.70

BETWEEN the days the two votes on the articles of impeachment the National Union Republican Convention assembled in Chicago [May 20] and with great enthusiasm nominated General Grant for President by a unanimous vote. Grant's position during the ante-Convention canvass had been an enviable one. Either party was willing to take him as its standard bearer. So far as he had ever had any political leanings they were Democratic. His only presidential vote had been cast for Buchanan and, had he acquired a residence in Illinois in 1860, he would have voted for Douglas. In 1867 the radical Republicans, fearing that Grant was not sound on Reconstruction and the negro, had desired the nomination of Chase; and there were also advocates of Colfax, who, as a great friend of his wrote, "has got the White House on the brain." Referring to Grant, Wade said, "A man may be all right on horses and all wrong on politics." But the shrewd Republican leaders and the bulk of the party wanted Grant and showed great eagerness to get him on their side. He had however told General Sherman that he would not accept a nomination for the Presidency. On August 9, John Sherman wrote: "If he has really made up his mind that he would like to hold that office he can have it. Popular opinion is all in his favor…. I see nothing in his way unless he is foolish enough to connect his future with the Democratic party." Yet, "if Grant declines then by all odds Chase is the safest man for the country." "So far as mortal ken can decide," wrote Bowles a month later, "Grant will take the game at a swoop. The Democratic victories of the autumn of 1867 convinced all the sagacious Republicans of influence that their success in 1868 would be in jeopardy if they could not bolster up their failing fortunes by the great personal popularity of Grant. Fate now intervened with Johnson's stupid quarrel which drove him avowedly into their fold. He was quick to acknowledge the situation and during the impeachment trial it became generally understood that he would accept the Republican nomination: he promptly confirmed expectation in a brief and characteristic letter of acceptance….

Rhodes, Grant, Eighteenth President, America, Vol.9, p.71

Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, the Speaker of the House, was nominated for Vice-President on the fifth ballot, his most formidable competitor being Wade who led on every ballot until the last.

Rhodes, Grant, Eighteenth President, America, Vol.9, p.71

The important platform declarations were, the approval of the reconstruction policy of Congress, the denunciation as 'a national crime" of all forms of repudiation and the demand that the debt of the nation be paid according to the spirit as well as the letter of the law.

Rhodes, Grant, Eighteenth President, America, Vol.9, p.71

The Democratic Convention was the more interesting owing to the maneuvers of George H. Pendleton and Chief Justice Chase, both Ohio men….

Rhodes, Grant, Eighteenth President, America, Vol.9, p.71–p.72

That the Democrats were hopeful of success is shown by the eagerness with which their nomination was sought. And the enthusiasm engendered by their convention seemed to indicate that the country was weary of Republican rule. Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana held State elections in October and, to carry them, both sides made a strenuous effort; in Pennsylvania and Indiana it was a sharp contest. Pennsylvania went Republican by less than ten thousand; and Hendricks, who had accepted the Democratic nomination for Governor of Indiana in the hope of carrying the State, so that he might be reelected Senator, was beaten by only 961. Ohio, a more certain Republican State than either, gave the Republican candidate only 17,000 majority. These elections, however, made the main result a practically foregone conclusion. Seymour with great energy took the stump and made a number of excellent and moderate speeches in Western New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Pennsylvania; but the tide had set against his party and his efforts to stem it were ineffectual. Grant carried 26 States receiving 214 electoral votes while Seymour had a majority in 8 that chose 80 electors. Of the late Confederate States, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Arkansas and Tennessee went for Grant; Georgia and Louisiana for Seymour. Virginia, Mississippi and Texas were, as we have seen, unreconstructed and took no part in the presidential election. The victory for Grant was not so overwhelming as the figures seem to indicate. Seymour carried New York, New Jersey and Oregon and had he received as well the votes of the "solid South," which were a possession of the Democrats from 1880 to 1892, he would have been elected. It was however believed by Republicans at the North that Georgia and Louisiana had been carried for Seymour by "organized assassination" and that in Louisiana fraud had come to the assistance of terror.

Rhodes, Grant, Eighteenth President, America, Vol.9, p.72–p.73

The strongest factor in Republican success was the immense personal popularity of Grant; the adroit use made of the unrest and "outrages at the South was another. That the result did not turn on the financial question is obvious enough; for New York and New Jersey, hard money States, went for Seymour while Ohio and Indiana where the "Ohio idea" was most influential went for Grant. Could Seymour have made his own platform and chosen his associate on the ticket, the election would have been more closely contested but no combination of circumstances could have beaten Grant. His candidacy allayed the discontent both with negro suffrage and with the high-handed rule at the South. And the result of his election was generally tranquillizing…. .

Rhodes, Grant, Eighteenth President, America, Vol.9, p.73

Amid the general acclamations of the people on March 4, 1869 General Grant was inaugurated President. NO President since Washington, except Monroe and Lincoln at their second inaugurations, went into office so favorably regarded by men of all parties. As I have previously stated, he could have had the Democratic nomination had he not decided to cast his lot with the Republicans; and although the contest had been a lively one, Democratic zeal had in hardly any degree been directed against Grant but rather against Republican policy. Thus Democrats regarded him as their President as well as that of the party which chose him. His record as a general had won the admiration, and his simple and honest nature the affections, of the educated and highly placed as well as of the plain people. In the ceremony of inauguration there was but one jarring note. Grant felt so bitterly towards Johnson, because of their controversy of the year before, that he departed from the usual custom and declined to drive with him in the same carriage from the White House to the Capitol.

Rhodes, Grant, Eighteenth President, America, Vol.9, p.73–p.74–p.75

His brief inaugural address was characteristic. "The responsibilities of the position I feel," he said, "but accept them without fear. The office has come to me unsought; I commence its duties untrammeled." He had a great opportunity; only Washington's and Lincoln's were greater. In his appointments for the Cabinet he showed his complete independence, choosing his ministers without the usual consultations with prominent men of the party and without regard to public sentiment and its canvassing of the merits of different candidates through the press. Hardly any newspaper guessing of the make-up of the Cabinet was even in part correct and five of the appointments were a general surprise, some of them indeed to the men themselves who were named. Elihu B. Washburne of Illinois, the faithful friend of Lincoln and Grant, was nominated for Secretary of State. He had been an excellent representative in Congress but was entirely without fitness for the State Department. For Secretary of the Treasury the President's choice fell upon Alexander T. Stewart, the rich and successful dry goods merchant of New York City. Some senators and representatives did not like this selection but it was well received by the public. Stewart was one of the three richest men in the country and had built up his immense fortune from a small inheritance by remarkably able business management. For a number of years the newspapers had been full of anecdotes of his executive ability as shown in his systematization of a large trade and his excellent choice of subordinates; and few men outside of public life were better known. Grant, so it was said, had observed the skill with which Stewart conducted his private affairs and desired to enlist it in the public service. His nomination, along with all the others, was promptly and unanimously confirmed, but within two days it was discovered that he was not eligible for the office. The Act of September 2, 1789 establishing the Department provided that no one appointed Secretary of the Treasury should "directly or indirectly be concerned or interested in carrying on the business of trade or commerce." The President asked Congress to exempt Stewart by joint resolution from the operation of the act and Sherman asked unanimous consent of the Senate to introduce a bill repealing so much of the act as made Stewart ineligible, his intention being to have it passed at once; but Sumner objected to such a summary proceeding. The President withdrew his request, and, "to fill a vacancy," appointed George S. Boutwell of Massachusetts, a sturdy Puritan and politician of sterling virtue but with no especial qualifications for Secretaryship of the Treasury…. Jacob D. Cox, of Ohio, was made Secretary of the Interior; E. Rockwood Hoar, of Massachusetts, Attorney-General; John A. Rawlins, Grant's faithful friend and mentor in the army, was appointed Secretary of War, and John A. J. Creswell, of Maryland, Postmaster-General.

The First Transcontinental Railroad

Title: The First Transcontinental Railroad

Author: John P. Davis

Date: 1869

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.87-96

On May 10, 1869, the last spike was driven, at Promontory Point, Utah, that joined the Union and Central Pacific and signalized the completion of the first transcontinental American railroad. In "The Union Pacific Railway," from which this account is taken by permission of the Scott, Forsman Company, the author tells of the ingenious plans to apprise the country of the "wedding of the rails."

Spikes of gold were contributed by California and neighboring Territories. A silver sledge was provided and wires were connected with it so that the sound of each stroke, delivered alternately by President Stanford, of the Central Pacific, and Vice-President Durant, of the Union Pacific, was instantaneously transmitted to a nation-wide audience. Locomotives were drawn up to "touch noses," bands blared, there was feasting in private cars, and a parade of banners reading, "What God hath joined together let no man put asunder.

Davis, First Transcontinental Railroad, America, Vol.9, p.87–p.88

THE inducements offered by the Act of 1862 were insufficient to attract to the Union Pacific individual capitalists desirous to display industrial heroism and save the nation, but doubling the amount of the prizes by the amendments of 1864 had the desired effect, and a beginning was made by the completion of eleven miles of the Union Pacific by September 25, 1865, and of forty miles by the end of that year. On October 5, 1866, the mileage had increased to two hundred forty-seven. By January 1, 1867, the road was finished and operated to a point three hundred five miles west from Omaha. In 1867 two hundred forty miles were built. The year 1868 produced four hundred twenty-five miles; and the first four months of 1869 added the one hundred twenty-five miles necessary to complete the road to its junction with the Central Pacific at Promontory Point.

Davis, First Transcontinental Railroad, America, Vol.9, p.88

Work on the Central Pacific had begun at Sacramento more than a year before it was begun on the Union Pacific at Omaha; and by the time the first eleven miles of the latter had been completed, the former had attained a length of fifty-six miles, increased by January 1, 1867, to ninety-four miles. In 1867 forty-six miles were built; in 1868 three hundred sixty-three miles were added; in 1869 the remaining one hundred eighty-six miles were covered, and Promontory Point was reached. The Union Pacific had built one thousand eighty-six miles from Omaha; the Central Pacific had built six hundred eighty-nine miles from Sacramento.

Davis, First Transcontinental Railroad, America, Vol.9, p.88–p.89

The natural obstacles presented by the mountains and desert land, the absence of timber on the prairies, of water in the mountains, and of both in the alkali desert, had made the work exceptionally difficult and expensive. The Central Pacific, though under the necessity of getting its iron, finished supplies, and machinery by sea, via Cape Horn or Panama, had the advantage of Chinese coolie labor and the unified management of its construction company; while the Union Pacific, having no railway connection until January, 1867, was subjected to the hardship of getting its supplies overland from the termini of the Iowa railways or by the Missouri River boats, and had to depend on intractable Irish labor and the warring factions of the Credit Mobilier.

Davis, First Transcontinental Railroad, America, Vol.9, p.89

The Sierra Nevada furnished the Central Pacific all the timber needed for ties, trestlework and snowsheds, but the Union Pacific had little or no timber along its line, except the unserviceable cottonwood of the Platte Valley, and many boats were kept busy for a hundred miles above and below Omaha on the Missouri River in furnishing ties and heavy timbers. Both roads were being built through a new, uninhabited, and uncultivated region, where were no foundries, machine-shops, or any other conveniences of a settled country. The large engine used in the Union Pacific Railway shops was dragged across the country to Omaha from Des Moines. Twenty-five thousand men, about equally divided between two companies, are said to have been employed during the closing months of the great work. Several thousand Chinamen had been imported to California for the express purpose of building the Central Pacific. On the Union Pacific, European emigrant labor, principally Irish, was employed. At the close of the Civil War many of the soldiers, laborers, teamsters and camp followers drifted west to gather the aftermath of the war in the work of railway construction.

Davis, First Transcontinental Railroad, America, Vol.9, p.89–p.90

The work was essentially military, and one is not surprised to find among the superintendents and managers a liberal sprinkling of military titles. The surveying parties were always accompanied by a detachment of soldiery as a protection against interference by Indians. The construction-trains were amply supplied with rifles and other arms, and it was boasted that a gang of tracklayers could be transmuted at any moment into a battalion of infantry….

Davis, First Transcontinental Railroad, America, Vol.9, p.90

The only settlements between Omaha and Sacramento in 1862 were those of the Mormons in Utah, and Denver and a few mining camps in Colorado and Nevada, Colorado was given over to the Kansas Pacific, and Salt Lake City was left for a branch line; Ogden, a Mormon town of a few hundred inhabitants, was the only station between the terminal of the Union Central Pacific. The necessities of the work of construction created new settlements and stations as it progressed, and as fast as the road was completed to each convenient point it was operated to it, while the work went on from the terminus town as a headquarters or base of operations; thus, when the entire line was put in operation, July 15, 1869, such places as North Platte, Kearney, and Cheyenne had "got a start," while other towns, being made the termini of branch lines, secured the additional impulse due in general to junction towns. Some of the "headquarters towns," like Benton, enjoyed only a temporary, Jonah's gourd existence, and nothing is now left to mark their former location. The life in them was rough and profligate in the extreme….

Davis, First Transcontinental Railroad, America, Vol.9, p.90–p.91

It had been expected that the Central Pacific, chartered by the State of California, would build east to the Nevada boundary, and that the Union Pacific, chartered by the National Government, would build westward from Omaha through the territories to a meeting at the California boundary. But the object of the Pacific Railroad charter was to secure a railway from the Missouri to the Pacific, by whomsoever constructed, and its terms (section 10 of the Act of 1862) had provided that "in case said first-named [Union Pacific] company shall complete their line to the eastern boundary of California before it is completed across said State by the Central Pacific Railroad Company of California, said first-named company is hereby authorized to continue in constructing the same through California until said roads shall meet and connect, and the Central Pacific Railroad Company of California, after completing its road across said State, is authorized to continue the construction of said railroad and telegraph through the Territories of the United States to the Missouri River, including the branch lines specified, until said roads shall meet and connect."

Davis, First Transcontinental Railroad, America, Vol.9, p.91–p.92

This was changed in the Act of 1864 (section 16) to a provision that the Central Pacific might "extend their line of road eastward one hundred fifty miles on the established route, so as to meet and connect with the line of the Union Pacific road." Of which change Collis P. Huntington, of the Central Pacific, has said: "'One hundred fifty miles' should not have gone into the bill; but I said to Mr. Union Pacific, when I saw it, I would take that out as soon as I wanted it out. In 1866 I went to Washington. I got a large majority of them without the use of a dollar." Accordingly the Act of 1866 renewed the original provision of the Act of 1862, and provided (section 2) that "the Central Pacific Railroad Company of California, with the consent and approval of the Secretary of the Interior, are hereby authorized to locate, construct, and continue their road eastward in a continuous completed line, until they shall meet and connect with the Union Pacific Railroad."

Davis, First Transcontinental Railroad, America, Vol.9, p.92

The renewed provision resulted in the greatest race on record. The Central Pacific had to surmount the Sierra Nevada range at the beginning of its course, but the "Big Four," under the legal disguise of Charles Crocker and Company, were plucky, and the rise of seven thousand twelve feet above the sea-level in the one hundred five miles east of Sacramento to Summit was accomplished by the autumn of 1867. The Central Pacific did not wait for the completion of its fourteen tunnels, and especially its longest one of more than one thousand six hundred feet, at Summit, but hauled iron and supplies, and even locomotives, over the Sierra Nevada beyond the completed track, and went ahead with track-laying, to be connected later with the track through the tunnels. The Union Pacific had comparatively easy work from Omaha along the Platte Valley and up the slope to the summit of the Rocky Mountains, and boasted that its line would reach the eastern side of the Sierra Nevada before the Central Pacific had surmounted it. But the boast was not warranted.

Davis, First Transcontinental Railroad, America, Vol.9, p.93

In the autumn of 1867 the invading army of Mongolians emerged from the mountains on the west, while the rival army of Celts had reached the summit of the Black Hills and were beginning their descent into the Great Basin on the east. Every mile now meant a prize of $64,000 to $96,000 for the contending giants, with the commercial advantage of the control of the traffic of the Salt Lake Valley in addition. The construction of road went on at the rate of four to ten miles a day. Each of the two companies had more than ten thousand men at work.

Davis, First Transcontinental Railroad, America, Vol.9, p.93

For the purpose of facilitating the work, the amendatory Act of 1864 had permitted, on the certificate of the chief engineer and government commissioners, that a portion of the work required to prepare the road for the superstructure was done, that a proportion of the bonds to be fully earned on the final completion of the work, not exceeding two-thirds of the value of the portion of the work done, and not exceeding two-thirds of the whole amount of bonds to be earned, should be delivered to each company; the full benefit of this inducement was sought by each of the contestants. The Union Pacific Company had its parties of graders working two hundred miles in advance of its completed line in places as far west as Humboldt Wells, but financial difficulties prevented its following up this advantage. The Central Pacific Company, on the other hand, had its grading-parties one hundred miles ahead of its completed line and thirty miles east of Ogden.

Davis, First Transcontinental Railroad, America, Vol.9, p.94

When the two roads met at Promontory Point, it was found that the Central Pacific had graded eighty miles to the east that it never would cover, and the Union Pacific had wasted a million dollars on grading west of the meeting-place that it could not use. The Central Pacific had obtained from the Secretary of the Treasury an advance of two-thirds of the bond subsidy on its graded line to Echo Summit, about forty miles east of Ogden, before its completed line had reached Promontory Point; while the Union Pacific had actually laid its track to and westward from Ogden, and appeared thus to have gained the advantage of controlling the Salt Lake Valley traffic from Ogden as a base.

Davis, First Transcontinental Railroad, America, Vol.9, p.94–p.95

The Union Pacific was pushing westward from Ogden with its completed line about a mile distant from and parallel with the surveyed and graded line of the Central Pacific, and the two companies were each claiming the right to build the line between Ogden and Promontory Point on their separate surveys. The completed lines were threatening to lap as the graded lines already lapped, when Congress interfered and tried to clear the muddle by statute. Before Congress could reach a conclusion, the companies compromised their differences, and Congress then approved the settlement by a joint resolution, April 10, 1869, "That the common terminus of the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific railroads shall be at or near Ogden; and the Union Pacific Railroad Company shall build, and the Central Pacific Railroad Company pay for and own, the railroad from the terminus aforesaid to Promontory Summit, at which point the rails shall meet and connect and form one continuous line." In the following year Congress, by further enactment, fixed "the common terminus and point of junction" at a particular point about five miles "northwest of the station at Ogden"; later the Union Pacific leased to the Central Pacific the five miles of track between the station at Ogden and the point fixed by Congress; thus Ogden became the actual point of junction of the two links of the completed Pacific Railway….

Davis, First Transcontinental Railroad, America, Vol.9, p.95–p.96

The disputed question of the point of junction did not interfere with a due celebration of the meeting and joining of the two "ends of track" at Promontory Point on May 10, 1869. A space of about one hundred feet was left between the ends of the lines. Early in the day, Leland Stanford, Governor of California and president of the Central Pacific, arrived with his party from the west; in the forenoon Vice-President Durant and Directors Duff and Dillon, of the Union Pacific, with other men, including a delegation of Mormon saints from Salt Lake City, came in on a train from the east. The National Government was represented by a detachment of regulars from Fort Douglas, with the opportune accessories of ornamental officers and a military band. Curious Mexicans, Indians and half-breeds, with the Chinese, negro and Irish laborers, lent to the auspicious little gathering a suggestive air of cosmopolitanism. The ties were laid for the rails in the open space, and while the coolies from the West laid the rails at one end, the Irishmen from the East laid them at the other end, until they met and joined.

Davis, First Transcontinental Railroad, America, Vol.9, p.96

The last spike remained to be driven. Telegraphic wires were so connected that each blow of the sledge could be reported instantly on the telegraphic instruments in most of the large cities from the Atlantic to the Pacific; corresponding blows were struck on the bell of the City Hall in San Francisco, and with the last blow of the sledge a cannon was fired at Fort Point. General Safford presented a spike of gold, silver and iron as the offering of the Territory of Arizona; Tuttle, of Nevada, performed with a spike of silver a like office for his State. The tie of California laurel was put in place, and Doctor Harkness, of California, presented the last spike of gold in behalf of his State. A silver sledge had also been presented for the occasion. The driving of the spike by President Stanford and Vice-President Durant was greeted with lusty cheers; and the shouts of the six hundred persons present, to the accompaniment of the screams of the locomotive whistles and the blare of the military band, in the midst of the desert, found hearty and enthusiastic echoes in the great cities east and west.

Black Friday (Medbery)

Title: Black Friday

Author: J. K. Medbery

Date: 1869

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.76-86

The name, Black Friday, is applied to the first of two disastrous days (September 24-5, 1869) in the financial history of the United States. It involved a panic caused by the effort of Gould and Fisk to corner the gold market, and originated in a fight between them and the Vanderbilts for control of the Erie Railroad. A campaign of bribery and corruption was carried on that soiled the reputations of public officials, including legislatures and judges by wholesale, reaching its climax in the gold conspiracy of 1869 and Black Friday. An attempt was made to control President Grant himself.

The event was a sort of precursor to a subsequent evil experience Grant had in Wall Street, after his second term as President, when he became a partner in the firm of Grant and Ward, which came to grief and involved him in financial ruin. This contemporaneous account is given in Medbery's "Men and Mysteries of Wall Street.

Medbery, Black Friday, America, Vol.9, p.76–p.77

ON the 22nd of September gold stood at 137 1/2 when Trinity bells rung out the hour of twelve. By two it was at 139. Before night its lowest quotation was 141. This ascent, regular, unfluctuating, and evidently predetermined, carried the more alarm by the very extent of the rise. In the old Rebellion days a ten-per-cent increase in eight hours was an affair of no moment whatever. It happened every week, sometimes twice and thrice a week. But since the sharp vibrations of June 16 and 18, 1866, when gold rose and fell from 154 to 160, and again from 133 to 167 3/4, the utmost daily range had been two per cent, with occasional fractional additions. Three years of dull monotony, and now an advance of three and a half per cent in five hours! At the same time the Stock Market conditions exhibited tokens of excessive febrility, New York Central dropping twenty-three per cent and Harlem thirteen. Loans had become extremely difficult to negotiate. The most usurious prices for a twenty-four hours' turn were freely paid. The storm was palpably reaching the proportions of a tempest.

Medbery, Black Friday, America, Vol.9, p.77–p.78

Nevertheless, the brokers on the bear side strove manfully under their burden. The character and purposes of the clique were fully known. Whatever of mystery had heretofore enfolded them was now boldly thrown aside, and the men of Erie, with the sublime Fisk in the forefront of the assailing column, assured the shorts that they could not settle too quickly, since it remained with the ring, now holding calls for one hundred millions, either to kindly compromise at 150 or to carry the metal to 200 and nail it there. This threat was accompanied by consequences in which the mailed hand revealed itself under the silken glove. The movement had intertwisted itself deep into the affairs of every dealer in the Street, and entangled in its meshes vast numbers of outside speculators. In borrowing or in margins the entire capital of the former had been nearly absorbed, while some five millions had been deposited by the latter with their brokers in answer to repeated calls. When Thursday morning rose, gold started at 141 Ve, and soon shot up to 144. Then the clique began to tighten the screws. The shorts received peremptory orders to increase their borrowing margins. At the ame moment the terms of loans overnight were raised beyond the pitch of ordinary human endurance. Stories were insidiously circulated exciting suspicion of the integrity of the Administration, and strengthening the belief that the National Treasury would bring no help to the wounded bears. Whispers of an impending lock-up of money were prevalent; and the fact, then shrewdly suspected, and now known, of certifications of checks to the amount of twenty-five millions by one bank alone on that day lent color to the rumor. Many brokers lost courage, and settled instantly. The Gold Boom shook with the conflict, and the battle prolonged itself into a midnight session at the Fifth Avenue Hotel. The din of the tumult had penetrated to the upper chambers of journalism. Reporters were on the alert. The great dailies magnified the struggle, and the Associated Press spread intelligence of the excitement to remote sections.

Medbery, Black Friday, America, Vol.9, p.78–p.79–p.80–p.81

When Friday opened clear and calm, the pavement of Broad and New Streets soon filled up with unwonted visitors. All the idle population of the city and its neighborhood crowded into the financial quarter to witness the throes of the tortured shorts. Blended with the merely curious were hundreds of outside speculators who had ventured their all in the great stake, and trembled in doubt of the honor of their dealers. Long before 9 A. M. these men, intensely interested in the day's encounter, poured through the alleyway from Broad Street, and between the narrow walls of New Street, surging up around the doorways, and piling themselves densely and painfully within the cramped galleries of the Room itself. They had made good the fresh calls for margins up to 143, the closing figure of the night before. The paramount question now was, How would gold open? They had not many minutes to wait. Pressing up to the fountain, around which some fifty brokers had already congregated, a bull operator with resonant voice bid 145 for twenty thousand. The shout startled the galleries. Their margins were once more in jeopardy. Would their brokers remain firm? It was a terrible moment. The bears closed round the aggressors. Yells and shrieks filled the air. A confused and baffling whirl of sounds ensued, in which all sorts of fractional bids and offers mingled, till '46 emerged from the chaos. The crowd within the arena increased rapidly in numbers. The clique agents became vociferous. Gold steadily pushed forward in its perilous upward movement from '46 to '47, thence to '49, and, pausing for a brief twenty minutes, dashed on to 150s. It was now considerably past the hour of regular session. The President was in the chair. The Secretary's pen was bounding over his registry book. The floor of the Gold Room was covered with three hundred agitated dealers and operators, shouting, heaving in masses against and around the iron railing of the fountain, falling back upon the approaches of the committee-rooms and the outer entrance, guarded with rigorous care by sturdy doorkeepers. Many of the principal brokers of the street were there,—Kimber, who had turned traitor to the ring; Colgate, the Baptist; Clews, a veteran government broker; one of the Marvins; James Brown; Albert Speyer, and dozens of others hardly less famous. Every individual of all that seething throng had a personal stake beyond, and, in natural human estimate, a thousand-fold more dear than that of any outside patron, no matter how deeply or ruinously that patron might be involved. At 11 of the dial gold was 150 1/2; in six minutes it jumped to 155. Then the pent-up tiger spirit burst from control. The arena rocked as the Coliseum may have rocked when the gates of the wild beasts were thrown open, and with wails and shrieks the captives of the empire sprang to merciless encounter with the ravenous demons of the desert. The storm of voices lost human semblance. Clenched hands, livid faces, pallid foreheads on which beads of cold sweat told of the interior anguish, lurid, passion fired eyes,—all the symptoms of a fever which at any moment might become frenzy were there. The shouts of golden millions upon millions hurtled in all ears. The labor of years was disappearing and reappearing in the wave line of advancing and receding prices. With fortunes melting away in a second, with five hundred millions of gold in process of sale or purchase, with the terror of yet higher prices, and the exultation which came and went with the whispers of fresh men entering from Broad Street bearing confused rumors of the probable interposition of the government, it is not hard to understand how reason faltered on its throne, and operators became reckless, buying or selling without thought of the morrow or consciousness of the present.

Medbery, Black Friday, America, Vol.9, p.81–p.82

Then came the terrific bid of Albert Speyer for any number of millions at 160. William Parks sold instantly two millions and a half in one lot. Yet the bids so far from yielding rose to 161, 162, 162 1/2. For five minutes the Board reeled under the ferocity of the attack. Seconds became hours. The agony of Wellington awaiting Blucher was in the souls of the bears. Then a broker, reported to be acting for Baring and Brothers at London, sold five millions to the clique at the top price of the day. Hallgarten followed; and as the shorts were gathering courage, the certain news that the Secretary of the Treasury had come to the rescue swept through the chamber, gold fell from 160 to 140, and thence, with hardly the interval of one quotation, to 133. The end had come, and the exhausted operators streamed out of the stifling hall into the fresh air of the street. To them, however, came no peace. In some offices customers by dozens, whose margins were irrevocably burnt away in the smelting-furnaces of the Gold Board, confronted their dealers with taunts and threats of violence for their treachery. In others the nucleus of mobs began to form, and, as the day wore off, Broad Street had the aspect of a riot, Huge masses of men gathered before the doorway of Smith, Gould, Martin & CO. and Heath & CO. Fisk was assaulted, and his life threatened. Deputy-sheriffs and police-officers appeared on the scene. In Brooklyn a company of troops were beld in readiness to march upon Wall Street.

Medbery, Black Friday, America, Vol.9, p.82

When night came, Broad Street and its vicinity saw an unwonted sight. The silence and the darkness; whichever rests over the lower city after seven of the evening, was broken by the blaze of gas-light from a hundred windows, and the footfall of clerks hurrying from a hasty repast back to their desks. Until long after Trinity bells pealed out the dawn of a new day, men bent over their books, scrutinized the Clearing-House statement for the morrow, took what thought was possible for the future. At the Gold Exchange Bank the weary accountants were making ineffective efforts to complete Thursday's business. That toilful midnight, at the close of the last great passion-day of the bullion-worshipers, will be ever memorable for its anxieties and unsatisfying anguish.

Medbery, Black Friday, America, Vol.9, p.82–p.83–p.84

Saturday brought no relief. The Gold Board met only to adjourn, as the Clearing-House had been incapable of the task of settling its accounts, complicated as they were by ever fresh failures. The small brokers had gone under by scores. The rumors of the impending suspension of some of the largest houses of the Street gave fresh grounds for fear. The Stock Exchange was now the center of attraction. If that yielded, all was lost. To sustain the market was vital. But whence was the saving power to come? All through yesterday shares had been falling headlong. New York Central careened to 148, and then recovered to 18574. Hudson plunged from 173 to 145. Pittsburgh fell to 68. Northwest reached 627. The shrinkage throughout all securities had been not less than thirty millions. Would the impulse downward continue? The throngs which filled the corridors and overhung the stairway from which one can look down upon the Long Room saw only mad tumult, heard only the roar of the biddings. For any certain knowledge they might have been in Alaska. But the financial public in the quiet of their offices, and nervously scrutinizing the prices reeled off from the automaton telegraph, saw that Vanderbilt was supporting the New York stocks, and that the weakness in other shares was not sufficient to shadow forth panic. It soon became known that the capitalists from Philadelphia, Boston, and the great Western cities had thrown themselves into the breach, and were earning fortunes for themselves as well as gratitude from the money-market, by the judicious daring of their purchases. The consciousness of this new element was quieting, but Wall Street was still too feverish to be reposed by any ordinary anodyne. A run on the Tenth National Bank had commenced, and all day long a steady line of dealers filed up to the counter of the paying teller demanding their balances. The courage and the ability in withstanding the attack which were shown by the president and his associates deserve something more than praise. The Gold Exchange Bank witnessed a similar scene, angry brokers assaulting the clerks and threatening all possible things unless instantaneous settlements were made. The freedom with which the press had given details of the explosion had been extremely hurtful to the credit of many of the best houses. In a crisis like that of Black Friday the sluicegates of passion open. Cloaked in the masquerade of genuine distrust, came forth whispers whose only origin was in ancient enmities, long-treasured spites, the soundless depths of unquenchable malignities. Firms of stanchest reputation felt the rapier stroke of old angers. The knowledge that certain houses were large holders of particular stocks was the signal of attacks upon the shares. Despite of outside orders for vast amounts, these influences had their effect upon securities, and aided to tighten the loan market. One, one and a half, two and even four per cent were the compulsory terms on which money could alone be borrowed to carry stocks over Sunday.

Medbery, Black Friday, America, Vol.9, p.84–p.85

On Monday the 27th the Gold Board met, but only to be informed that the Clearing-House was not yet ready to complete the work of Friday. Important accounts had been kept back, and the dealings, swollen in sum-total to five hundred millions, were beyond the capacity of the clerical force of the Gold Bank to grapple with. A resolution was brought forward proposing the resumption of operations Ex-Clearing House. The measure took the members by surprise, for a moment quivered between acceptance and rejection, and then was swiftly tabled. It was an immense bear scheme, for no Exchange can transact business where its dealers are under suspicion. All outstanding accounts require immediate fulfilment. Failure to make good deliveries would have insured the instant selling out of defaulters "under the rule." As the majority of brokers were inextricably involved in the late difficulty, the only consequence would have been to throw them into bankruptcy, thus bringing some sixty millions under the hammer. The market could not have borne up under such an avalanche. It was decided that the Room should be kept open for borrowings and loans, but that all dealings should be suspended. One result of this complication was that gold had no fixed value. It could be bought at one house for 133, and at other offices sold for 139. The Board thus proved its utility at the very juncture when least in favor.

Medbery, Black Friday, America, Vol.9, p.85–p.86

The remaining history of the panic need not long detain us. As more and more light fell upon the tactics of the ring, it was seen that the final basis of their scheme was the use of a very old trick, first put in practice long ago on the London Stock Exchange. Two dealers league together. One buys all that he can by cash or credit; the other sells proportionately. One loses heavily; the other gains vastly. The former breaks and retires; the latter remains, and secretly divides up the profits. With proper regard for that bulwark of the American people, the libel law, we shall not undertake to carry out the comparison. It may not be unfair, however, to note as an example of the proportions of the struggle, that Albert Speyer, on Friday, bought $47,000,000 and failed to make good his contracts; while Belden & CO, "broke" for $50,000,000; and several others, supposed to be acting for the clique, had obligations out for so many millions that no attempt has yet been made to give them numerical computation.

Black Friday (Andrews)

Title: Black Friday

Author: E. Benjamin Andrews

Date: 1869

Source: Great Epochs in American History, Vol.9, pp.131-134

Andrews, Black Friday, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.131

In June, 1869, President Grant on a trip from New York to Boston, accepted a place in a private box of the theater which Fisk owned, and next day took, at the invitation of Fisk and Gould, one of their magnificent steamers to Fall River. After a handsome supper the most skilfully turned the conversation to the financial situation. Grant remarked that he thought there was a certain fictitiousness in the prosperity of the country, and that the bubble might as well be tapped. This suggestion "struck across us," said Mr. Gould, later, "like a wet blanket." Another wire must be pulled.

Andrews, Black Friday, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.131

Facts and figures were now heaped together and published to prove that, should gold rise in this country about harvest time, grain, the price of which, being fixt in Liverpool, was independent of currency fluctuations, would be worth so much the more and would at once be hurried abroad; but that to secure this blessing Government must not sell any gold. Gould laid still other pipes. He visited the Presidential sphinx at Newport; others saw him at Washington. At New York Gould buttonholed him so assiduously that he was obliged to open his lips to rebuke his servant for giving Gould such ready access to him.

Andrews, Black Friday, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.132

The President seems to have been persuaded that a rise in gold while the crops were moving would advantage the country. At any rate, orders were given early in September to sell only gold sufficient to buy bonds for the sinking fund. The conspirators redoubled their purchases. The price of gold rose till, two days before Black Friday, it stood at 140 1/2.

Andrews, Black Friday, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.132

Tho he kept it to himself Gould was in terror lest the Treasury floodgates should be opened to prevent a panic. Business was palsied, and the bears were importuning the Government to sell. At his wit's end he wrote Secretary Boutwell:

Andrews, Black Friday, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.132

"Sir: There is a panic in Wall Street, engineered by a bear combination. They have withdrawn currency to such an extent that it is impossible to do ordinary business. The Erie Company requires eight hundred thousand dollars to disburse . . . much of it in Ohio, where an exciting political contest is going on, and where we have about ten thousand men employed, and the trouble is charged on the administration…. Can not you, consistently, increase your line of currency?"

Andrews, Black Friday, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.132

Gould, like Mayor Bagstock, was "devilish sly, sir." In his desperation he determined to turn "bear" and, if necessary, rend in pieces Fisk himself. Saying nothing of his fears, he encouraged Fisk boldly to keep on buying, while he himself secretly began to sell. Fisk fell into the trap, and his partner, taking care in his sales to steer clear of Fisk's brokers, proceeded secretly and swiftlyto unload gold and fulfil all his contracts. From this moment they acted each by and for himself, Gould operating through his firm and Fisk through an old partner of his named Belden.

Andrews, Black Friday, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.133

On Thursday, September 23d, while his broker, Speyers is buying, Fisk coolly walks into the gold room, and, amid the wildest excitement, offers to bet any part of $50,000 that gold will rise to 200. Not a man dares take his bet.

Andrews, Black Friday, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.133

On Black Friday the gold room is crowded two hours before the time of business. In the center excited brokers are betting, swearing, and quarreling, many of them pallid with fear of ruin, others hilarious in expectation of big commissions. In a back office across from the gold room Fisk, in shirt-sleeves, struts up and down, declaring himself the Napoleon of the street. At this time the ring was believed to hold in gold and in contracts to deliver the same, over $100,000,000.

Andrews, Black Friday, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.133

Speyers, whom all suppose to represent Gould as well as Fisk, begins by offering 145, then 146, 147, 148, 149, but none will sell. "Put it up to 150," Fisk orders, and gold rises to that figure. At 150 a half-million is sold him by Mr. James Brown, who had quietly organized a band of merchants to meet the gamblers on their own ground. From all over the country the "shorts" are telegraphing orders to buy. Speyers is informed that if he continues to put up gold he will be shot; but he goes on offering 151, 152, 153, 154. Still none will sell. Meantime the victims of the corner are summoned to pay in cash the difference between 135, at which the gold was borrowed, and 150, at which the firm is willing to settle. Fearing lest gold go to 200, many settle at 148. At 155, amid the tremendous roar of the bull brokers bidding higher and higher, Brown again sells half a million. "160 for any part of five millions." Brown sells a million more. "161 for five millions." No bid. "162 for five millions." At first no response. Again, "162 for any part of five millions." A voice is heard, "Sold one million at 162." "163 1/2 for five millions." "Sold five millions at 163." Crash! The market has been broken, and by Gould's sales. Everybody now begins to sell, when the news comes that the Government has telegraphed to sell four millions. Gold instantly falls to 140, then 133. "Somebody," cried Fisk, "has run a saw right into us. We are forty miles down the Delaware and don't know where we are. Our fantom gold can't stand the weight of the real stuff."

Andrews, Black Friday, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.134

Gould has no mind permanently to ruin his partner. He coolly suggests that Fisk has only to repudiate his contracts, and Fisk complies. His offers to buy gold he declares "off," making good only a single one of them, as to which he was so placed that he had no option. What was due him, on the other hand, he collected to the uttermost dollar. To prevent being mobbed the pair encircled their opera house with armed toughs and fled thither. There was no civil process or other molestation was likely to reach them. Presently certain of "the thieves' judges," as they were called, came to their relief by issuing injunctions estopping all transactions connected with the conspiracy which would have been disadvantageous for the conspirators.

The Alabama Claims and the Geneva Arbitration

Title: The Alabama Claims and the Geneva Arbitration

Author: James G. Blaine

Date: 1866-1972

Source: Great Epochs in American History, Vol.9, pp.158-172

Blaine, Alabama Claims and the Geneva Arbitration, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.158

The Government of the United States had steadily protested during the continuance of the Civil War against the unfriendly and unlawful course of England, and it was determined that compensation should be demanded upon the return of peace. Mr. Adams, under instructions from Secretary Seward, had presented and ably argued the American case. He proposed a friendly arbitration of the Alabama claims, but was met by a flat refusal from Earl Russell, who declined on the part of the British Government either to make reparation or compensation, or permit a reference to any foreign State friendly to both parties.

Blaine, Alabama Claims and the Geneva Arbitration, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.158

In the autumn succeeding the close of the war, Mr. Seward notified the British Government that no further effort would be made for arbitration, and in the following August (1866) he transmitted a list of individual claims based upon the destruction caused by the Alabama. Lord Stanley (the present Earl of Derby) had succeeded Earl Russell in the Foreign Office, and declined to recognize the claims of this Government in as decisive a tone as that employed by Earl Russell. Of opposite parties, Earl Russell and Lord Stanley were supposed to represent the aggregate, if not indeed the unanimous, public opinion of England; so that the refusal to accede to the demands of the United States was popularly accepted as conclusive. Mr. Adams retired from his mission, in which his services to the country had been zealous and useful, without effecting the negotiations which he had urged upon the attention of the British Government. He took his formal leave in May, 1868, and was succeeded the following month by Mr. Reverdy Johnson.

Blaine, Alabama Claims and the Geneva Arbitration, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.159

The new Minister carried with him the respect and confidence of his fellow citizens. Appointed directly after the Impeachment trial of President Johnson, he was among the few statesmen of the Democratic party who could have secured the ready confirmation of the Senate for a mission which demanded in its incumbent a talent for diplomacy and a thorough knowledge of international law. The only objection seriously mentioned at the time against Mr. Johnson's appointment was the fact that he was in his seventy-third year, and might not therefore be equal to the exacting duties which his mission involved.

Blaine, Alabama Claims and the Geneva Arbitration, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.159

Before Mr. Johnson could open his negotiation, the British Minister was changed—Mr. Disraeli giving way to Mr. Gladstone as Premier, and Lord Stanley being succeeded by Lord Clarendon as Minister of Foreign Affairs. With the latter Mr. Johnson very promptly agreed upon a treaty, which reached the United States in the month of February, 1869. It purported to be a settlement of the questions in dispute between the two countries. There was great curiosity to learn its provisions. Much was hoped from it, because it was known to have been approved by Mr. Seward at the various stages of the negotiation—a constant and confidential correspondence having been maintained by cable, between the State Department and the American Legation in London, on every phase of the treaty.

Blaine, Alabama Claims and the Geneva Arbitration, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.160

Mr. Seward had earned approbation so hearty and general by his diplomatic correspondence with Great Britain during the war and in the years immediately succeeding, that no one was prepared for the disappointment and chagrin experienced in the United States when the Johnson-Clarendon treaty was made public. It gave almost personal offense to the mass of people in the loyal States. It overlooked, and yet by cunning phrase condoned, every unfriendly act of England during our Civil War. It affected to class the injuries inflicted upon the nation as mere private claims, to be offset by private claims of British subjects—the whole to be referred to a joint commission, after the ordinary and constantly recurring method of adjusting claims of private individuals that may have become matter of diplomatic interposition….

Blaine, Alabama Claims and the Geneva Arbitration, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.160

Mr. Johnson and Lord Clarendon had concluded a treaty which practically admitted that the complaints of the United States, as a government, against the conduct of Great Britain, as a government, had been mere rant and bravado on the part of the United States, and were not to be insisted on before any international tribunal, but to bemerged in an ordinary claims convention, by whose award a certain amount in dollars and cents might be paid to American claimants and a certain amount in pounds, shillings, and pence might be paid to British claimants. The text of the treaty did not indicate in any manner whatever that either nation was more at fault than the other touching the matters to be arbitrated.

Blaine, Alabama Claims and the Geneva Arbitration, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.161

The treaty had short life in the Senate. The Committee on Foreign Relations, after examination of its provisions, reported that it should "be rejected." Mr. Sumner, who made the report, said it was the first time since he had entered the Senate that such a report had been made concerning any treaty. Amendments, he said, were sometimes suggested, and sometimes a treaty had been reported without any recommendation; but the hostility to the entire spirit and to every detail of the Johnson-Clarendon treaty was so intense that the committee had made the positive recommendation that it be rejected. This action was taken in the month of April, 1869, a few weeks after President Grant had entered upon his office. It was accompanied by a speech from Mr. Sumner, made in executive session, but by direction of the Senate given to the public, in which the reasons for the action of the Senate were stated with great directness, precision and force….

Blaine, Alabama Claims and the Geneva Arbitration, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.161

The rejection of the Johnson-Clarendon treaty was formally announced to the British Government through Mr. Motley, who succeeded Mr. Johnson as Minister at London. Mr. Fish, in his letter of instructions, suggested to Mr. Motley the propriety of suspending negotiations for the present on the whole question. At the same time he committed the Government of the United States anew to the maintenance of the claim for national damages, as well as for the losses of individual citizens. And thus the matter was allowed to rest. The United States, tho deeply aggrieved, did not desire to urge the negotiation in a spirit of hostility that implied readiness to go to war upon the issue, and simply trusted that a returning sense of justice in the British Government would lead to a renewal of negotiations and a friendly adjustment of all differences between the two governments.

Blaine, Alabama Claims and the Geneva Arbitration, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.162

A year went by and nothing was done. The English Government was not disposed to go a step beyond the provisions of the Johnson-Clarendon treaty, and had indeed been somewhat offended by the promptness with which the Senate had rejected that agreement, especially by the emphasis which the speech of Mr. Sumner had given to the Senate's action. President Grant remained altogether patient and composed—feeling that postponement could not be a loss to the American Government, and would certainly prove no gain to the British Government. In his annual message to Congress of December, 1870, he assumed a position which proved embarrassing to England. He recognized the fact that "the Cabinet at London does not appear willing to concede that her Majesty's Government was guilty of any negligence, or did or permitted any act of which the United States has just cause of complaint;" and he reasserted with great deliberation and emphasis that "our firm and unalterable convictions are directly the reverse." The President therefore recommended that Congress should "authorize the appointment of a commission to take proof of the amounts and the ownership of these several claims, on notice to the representative of her Majesty at Washington, and that authority be given for the settlement of these claims by the United States, so that the Government shall have the ownership of the private claims, as well as the responsible control of all the demands against Great Britain."

Blaine, Alabama Claims and the Geneva Arbitration, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.163

President Grant was evidently resolved that the Government of the United States should not allow the pressing need of private claimants to operate in any degree upon public opinion in the United States, so as to create a demand for settlement with England on any basis below that which national dignity required. He felt assured that Congress would respond favorably to his recommendation, and that with the individual claimants satisfied our Government could afford to wait the course of events. This position convinced the British Government that the President intended to raise the question in all its phases above the grade of private claims, and to make it purely an international affair. No more effective step could have been taken; and the President and his adviser, Secretary Fish, are entitles to the highest credit for thus evaluating the character of the issue—an issue made all the more impressive from the quiet manner in which it was presented, and from the characteristic coolness and determination of the Chief Magistrate who stood behind it.

Blaine, Alabama Claims and the Geneva Arbitration, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.163

Meanwhile the sanguinary war between Germany and France had broken out, and was still flagrant when President Grant's recommendationfor paying the Alabama claims from the National Treasury was sent to Congress. Tho the foreign conflict terminated without involving other nations, it forcibly reminded England of the situation in which she might be placed if she should be drawn into a European war, the United States being a neutral power. It would certainly be an unjust imputation upon the magnanimity and upon the courage of the people of the United States to represent them as waiting for an opportunity to inflict harm upon England for her conduct toward this Government in the hour of its calamity and its distress. It was not by indirection, or by stealthy blows, or by secret connivance with enemies, or by violations of international justice, that the United States would every have sought to avenge herself on England for the wrongs she had received. If there had been a disposition among the American people impelling them to that course, it would assuredly have impelled them much farther.

Blaine, Alabama Claims and the Geneva Arbitration, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.164

But England was evidently aprehensive that if she should become involved in war, the United States would, as a neutral power, follow the precedent which the English Government had set in the war of the rebellion, and in this way inflict almost irreparable damage upon British shipping and British commerce. Piratical Alabamas might escape from the harbors and rivers of the United States, as easily as they had escaped from the harbors and rivers of England; and she might well fear that if a period of calamity should come to her, the people of the United States, with the neglect or connivance of their Government, would be as quick to add to her distress and embarrassment as the people of England, with the neglect or connivance of their Government, had added to the distress and embarrassment of the United States. Conscience does make cowards of us all; and Great Britain, foreseeing the possibility of being herself engaged in a European war, was in a position to dread lest her ill intentions and her misdeeds in the time of our civil struggle should return to plague her.

Blaine, Alabama Claims and the Geneva Arbitration, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.165

These facts and apprehensions seem to have wrought a great change in the disposition of the British Government, and led them to seek a reopening of the negotiation. In an apparently unofficial way Sir John Rose, a London banker (associated in business with Honorable L. P. Morton, a well-known banker and distinguished citizen of New York), came to this country on a secret mission early in January, 1871. President Grant's message had made a profound impression in London, the Franco-Prussian war had not yet ended, and her Majesty's ministers had reason to fear trouble with the Russian Government. Sir John's duty was to ascertain in an informal way the feeling of the American Government in regard to pending controversies between the two countries. He showed himself as clever in diplomacy as he was in finance, and important results followed in an incredibly short space of time. An understanding was reached, which on the surface exprest itself in a seemingly casual letter from Sir Edward Thornton to Secretary Fish of the 26th of January, 1871, communicating certain instructions from Lord Granville in regard to a better adjustment of the fishery question and all other matters affecting the relations of the United States to the British North American possessions. To settle this question Sir Edward was authorized by his government to propose the creation of a Joint High Commission, the members to be named by each government, which should meet in Washington and discuss the question of the fisheries and the relations of the United States to her Majesty's possessions in North America.

Blaine, Alabama Claims and the Geneva Arbitration, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.166

Mr. Fish replied in a tone which indicated that Sir Edward was really serious in his proposition to organize so imposing a tribunal to discuss the fishery question He informed Sir Edward that "in the opinion of the President the removal of differences which arose during the rebellion in the United States, and which have existed since then, growing out of the acts committed by several vessels, which have given rise to the claims generally known as the Alabama Claims, will also be essential to the restoration of cordial and amicable relations between the two governments." Sir Edward waited just long enough to hear from Lord Granville by cable, and on the day after the receipt of Mr. Fish's note assented in writing to his suggestion, adding a request that "all other claims of the citizens of either country, arising out of the acts committed during the recent Civil War in the United States, might be taken into consideration by the Commission." To this Mr. Fish readily assented in turn.

Blaine, Alabama Claims and the Geneva Arbitration, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.166

The question which for six years had been treated with easy indifference if not with contempt by the British Foreign Office had in a day become exigent and urgent, and the diplomatic detailswhich ordinarily would have required months to adjust were now settled by cable in an hour. The first proposal for a Joint High Commission was mad by Sir Edward Thornton on the 26th of January, 1871; and the course of events was so rapid that in twenty-seven days thereafter the British Commissioners landed in New York en route to Washington. They sailed without their commissions, which were signed by the Queen at the castle of Windsor on the sixteenth day of February and forwarded to them by special messenger. This was extraordinary and almost undignified haste, altho unusual with plenipotentiaries of Great Britain. It was laughingly said at the time that the Commissioners were dispatched from London "so hurriedly that they came with portmanteaus, leaving their servants behind to pack their trunks and follow." For this change of view in the British Cabinet and this courier-like speed among British diplomatists, there was a double cause—the warning of the Franco-Prussian war, and President Grant's proposition to pay the Alabama claims from the Treasury of the United States—and wait. Assuredly the President did not wait long!

Blaine, Alabama Claims and the Geneva Arbitration, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.167

The gentlemen constituting the Joint High Commission were well known in their respective countries, and enjoyed the fullest measure of public confidence, thus insuring in advance the acceptance of whatever settlement they might agree upon. The result of their deliberations was the Treaty of Washington, concluded on the 8th day of May, 1871. It took cognizance of the four questions at issue between the two countries, and provided for the settlement of each. The Alabama claims were to be adjusted by a commission to meet at Geneva, in Switzerland; all other claims for loss or damage of any kind, between 1861 and 1865, by subjects of Great Britain or citizens of the United States, were to be adjusted by a commission to meet in Washington; the San Juan question was to be referred for settlement to the Emperor of Germany, as umpire; and the dispute in regard to the fisheries was to be settled by a commission to meet at Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Blaine, Alabama Claims and the Geneva Arbitration, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.168

The basis for adjusting the Alabama claims was promptly agreed upon. This question stood in the forefront of the treaty, taking its proper rank as the principal dispute between the two countries. Her Britannic Majesty had authorized her high commissioners and plenipotentiaries "to express in a friendly spirit the regret felt by her Majesty's Government for the escape, under whatever circumstances, of the Alabama and other vessels from British ports, and for the depredations committed by those vessels." And with the expression of this regret her Britannic Majesty agreed, through her commissioners, that all the claims growing out of acts committed by the aforesaid vessels, and generally known as the Alabama claims, "shall be referred to a tribunal of arbitration, to be composed of five arbitrators—one to be named by the President of the United States, one by the Queen of England, one by the King of Italy, one by the president of the Swiss Confederation, and one by the Emperor of Brazil." This was a great step beyond the Johnson-Clarendon treaty, which did not in any way concede the responsibility of England to the Government of the United States. It was a still greater step beyond the flat refusal, first of Earl Russell and then of Lord Stanley, to refer the claims to the ruler of a friendly state.

Blaine, Alabama Claims and the Geneva Arbitration, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.169

But England was willing to go still farther. She agreed that "in deciding the matters submitted to the arbitrators, they shall be governed by three rules, which are agreed upon by the high contracting parties as rules to be taken as applicable to the case; and by such principles of international law, not inconsistent therewith, as the arbitrators shall determine to have been applicable to the case. Her Britannic Majesty had commanded her High Commissioners to declare that "Her Majesty's Government cannot assent to these rules as a statement of the principles of international law which were in force at the time when the claims arose; but that her Majesty's Government, in order to evince its desire of strengthening the friendly relations between the two countries, and of making satisfactory provision for the future, agrees that in deciding the questions between the countries arising out of those claims, the arbitrators shall assume that her Majesty's Government had undertaken to act upon the principles set forth in these rules."

"A neutral government is bound—

"First, to use due diligence to prevent the fitting out, arming, or equipping, within its jurisdiction, of any vessel which it has reasonable ground to believe is intended to cruise or to carry on war against a power with which it is at peace; and also to use like diligence to prevent the departure from its jurisdiction of any vessel intended to cruise or carry on war as above, such vessel having been specially adapted, in whole or in part, within such jurisdiction, to warlike use.

"Secondly, not to permit or suffer either belligerent to make use of its ports or waters as the base of naval operations against the other; or for the purpose of the renewal or augmentation of military supplies or arms, or the recruitment of men.

"Thirdly, to exercise due diligence in its own ports and waters, and, as to all persons within its jurisdiction, to prevent any violation of the foregoing obligations and duties."

Blaine, Alabama Claims and the Geneva Arbitration, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.170

Her Majesty's Government had needlessly lost six years in coming to a settlement which was entirely satisfactory to the Government and people of the United States. Indeed a settlement at the close of the war could have been made with even less concession on the part of Great Britain, and perhaps if it had been longer postponed the demands of the Government of the United States had never anticipated such a result as possible, and felt assured that in the end Great Britain would not refuse to make the reparation honorably due.

Blaine, Alabama Claims and the Geneva Arbitration, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.170

The arbitrators met in the ensuing December at Geneva, Switzerland, and after a hearing of ninemonths agreed upon an award, made public on the 14th of September, 1872. The judgment was that "the sum of $15,500,000 in gold be paid by Great Britain to the United States for the satisfaction of all the claims referred to the consideration of the tribunal." Sir Alexander Cockburn, the British Commissioner, dissented a somewhat ungracious manner from the judgment of his associates; but as the majority had been specially empowered to make an award, the refusal of England's representative to join in it did not in the least degree affect its validity….

Blaine, Alabama Claims and the Geneva Arbitration, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.171

Following the provision for arbitration of the Alabama claims, the Treaty of Washington provided for a commission to adjust "all claims on the part of corporations, companies or private individuals, citizens of the United States, upon the government of her Britannic Majesty; and on the part of corporations, companies or private individuals, subjects of her Britannic Majesty, upon the Government of the United States." These were the claims arising out of acts committed against the persons or property of citizens of either country by the other, during the period between the 13th of April, 1861, and the 9th of April, 1865, inclusive—being simply the damages inflicted during the war. The tribunal to which all such claims were referred was constituted of three commissioners; one to be named by the President of the United States, one by her Britannic Majesty, and the third by the two conjointly.

Blaine, Alabama Claims and the Geneva Arbitration, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.172

The commission was organized at Washington on the 26th of September, 1871, and made its final award at Newport, Rhode Island, on the 25th of September, 1873. The claims presented by American citizens before the commission were only nineteen in number, amounting in the aggregate to a little less than a million of dollars. These claims were all rejected by the commission—no responsibility of the British Government having been established. The subjects of her Majesty presented 478 claims which, with interest reckoned by the rule allowed by the commission, amounted to $96,000,000. Of this number 181 awards were made in favor of the claimants, amounting in the aggregate to $1,929,819, or only two per cent. of the amount claimed. The amount awarded was appropriated by Congress and paid by the United States to the British Government. All claims accruing between 1861 and 1865 for injuries resulting in any way from the war were thereafter barred.

The Fifteenth Amendment

Title: The Fifteenth Amendment

Author: Henry Wilson

Date: 1870

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.105-109

This amendment, adopted in 1870, gave the American negro his full civil rights, as a sequel to the thirteenth amendment, of 1865, which legally destroyed the institution of slavery. Accompanying the text of the amendment is the main part of a speech which Wilson, the "Natick Cobbler," delivered in the United States Senate at the time of its adoption.

Wilson had succeeded Edward Everett as Senator from Massachusetts in 1855, and retained his seat until 1873. Before the Civil War he was one of the most effective speakers against slavery, and was a Republican leader who believed in abolishing slavery through the machinery supplied by the Federal Constitution. In 1872 he was nominated for the Vice-Presidency on the ticket with Grant, and was elected. Not long afterward he was stricken with paralysis, and died in office. His nickname was an allusion to his early shoemaking days at Natick, Massachusetts.

Wilson, Fifteenth Amendment, America, Vol.9, p.105

SECTION I. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

Wilson, Fifteenth Amendment, America, Vol.9, p.105

Section II. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Wilson, Fifteenth Amendment, America, Vol.9, p.105–p.106

Sir, it is now past six O'clock in the morning—a continuous session of more than eighteen hours. For more than seventeen hours the ear of the Senate has been wearied and pained with anti-republican, inhuman, and unchristian utterances, with the oft-repeated warnings, prophecies and predictions, with petty technicalities and carping criticisms. The majority in this Chamber, in the House, and in the country, too, have been arraigned, assailed and denounced, their ideas, principles and policies misrepresented, and their motives questioned. Sir, will our assailants never forget anything nor learn anything? Will they never see themselves as others see them? Year after year they have continuously and vehemently, as grand historic questions touching the interests of the country and the rights of our countrymen have arisen to be grappled with and solved, blurted into our unwilling ears these same warnings, prophecies and predictions, their unreasoning prejudices and passionate declamations. Time and events, which test all things, have brought discomfiture to their cause and made their illogical and ambitious rhetoric seem to be but weak and impotent drivel.

Wilson, Fifteenth Amendment, America, Vol.9, p.106–p.107

In spite of the discomfitures of the past, the champions of slavery and of the ideas, principles and policies pertaining to it are again doing battle for their perishing cause. Again, sir, we are arraigned, again misrepresented, again denounced. Why are we again thus misrepresented, arraigned and denounced? we, the friends of human rights, simply propose to submit to our countrymen an amendment of the Constitution of our country to secure the priceless boon of suffrage to citizens of the United States to whom the right to vote and be voted for is denied by the constitutions and laws of some of the States. This effort to remove the disabilities of the emancipated victims of the perished slave systems, to clothe them with power to maintain the dignity of manhood and the honor and rights of citizenship, spring from our love of freedom, our sense of justice, our reverence for human nature, and our recognition of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. This effort, sanctified by patriotism, liberty, justice and humanity, is stigmatized in this Chamber as a mere partisan movement. Who make it a partisan movement? The men who are actuated by an imperative sense of duty, or the men who instinctively seize the occasion to arouse the unreasoning passions of race and caste and the prejudices of ignorance and hate? . . .

Wilson, Fifteenth Amendment, America, Vol.9, p.107

Because frivolity and fashion put their ban upon the black man, be his character ever so pure or his intelligence ever so great, statesmen in this Christian land of republican institutions must deny to him civil and political rights and privileges. Because social life has put and continues to put its brand of exclusion upon the black man, it is therefore the duty of statesmanship to maintain by class legislation the abhorrent doctrine of caste in this Christian Republic. This is the argument, the logic, the position of Senators….

Wilson, Fifteenth Amendment, America, Vol.9, p.107–p.108

Honorable Senators have grown weary in reminding us that it would be a breach of our plighted faith to submit to the State Legislatures this amendment to the Constitution to secure to American citizens the right to vote and to be voted for. They tell us we were pledged by our National Convention of 1868; that we were committed to the doctrine that the right to regulate the suffrage properly belonged to the loyal States. So the earlier Republican National Conventions proclaimed that slavery in the States was a local institution, for which the people of each State only were responsible. But that declaration did not stand in the way of the proclamation of emancipation, did not stand in the way of the thirteenth article of the amendments of the Constitution, did not stand in the way of that series of aggressive measures by which slavery was extirpated in the States. Slavery struck at the life of the nation, and the Republican party throttled its mortal foe. The Republican party in the National Convention of 1868 pronounced the guarantee by Congress of equal suffrage of all loyal men at the South as demanded by every consideration of public safety, gratitude, and of justice, and determined that it should be maintained. That declaration unreservedly committed the Republican party to the safety and justice of equal suffrage. The declaration that the suffrage in the loyal States properly belonged to the people of those States meant this, no more, no less: that under the Constitution it belonged to the people of each of the loyal States to regulate suffrage therein….

Wilson, Fifteenth Amendment, America, Vol.9, p.108–p.109

Senators accuse us of being actuated by partisanship, by the love of power, and the hope of retaining power; yet they never tire of reminding us that the people have in several States pronounced against equal suffrage and will do so again. I took occasion early in the debate to express the opinion that in the series of measures for the extirpation of slavery and the elevation and enfranchisement of the black race the Republican party had lost at least a quarter of a million of voters. In every great battle of the last eight years the timid, the weak faltered, fell back or slunk away into the ranks of the enemy. Yes, sir; while we have been struggling often against fearful odds, timid men, weak men and bad men, too, following the examples of timid men, weak men and bad men in all the great struggles for the rights of human nature, have broken from our advancing ranks and fallen back to the rear or gone over to the enemy, thus giving to the foe the strength they had pledged to us. But we have gone on prospering, and we shall go on prospering in spite of treacheries on the right hand and on the left. The timid may chide us, the weak reproach us, and the bad malign us, but we shall strive on, for in struggling to secure and protect the rights of others we assure our own.

The Ku-Klux Klan

Title: The Ku-Klux Klan

Author: Federal Grand Jury

Date: 1871

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.110-114

Southern opposition to the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution took the form of secret societies, whose members were sworn to curb the negroes in the use, or rather abuse, of their newly acquired citizenship, and also to put down both the "carpet-baggers" and their Southern supporters, the "scalawags." Chief among these societies was the Ku-Klux Klan, which originated in Tennessee but quickly extended its "invisible empire" over the South. Its activities in South Carolina, where the worst results of carpet-bag government were seen, caused President Grant, under the authority given him by the Ku-Klux Act of 1871 to enforce the fourteenth amendment, to suspend the habeas corpus privilege. Federal judges were authorized to exclude from juries those who were believed to be accomplices of persons engaged in committing Ku-Klux outrages.

The accompanying presentment was made in the Circuit Court at Columbia, South Carolina, after the privilege of the habeas corpus writ had been suspended.

The Ku-Klux Klan, America, Vol.9, p.110

To the Judges of the United States Circuit Court: In closing the labors of the present term, the grand jury beg leave to submit the following presentment: During the whole session we have been engaged in investigations of the most grave and extraordinary character—investigations of the crimes committed by the organization known as the Ku-Klux Klan. The evidence elicited has been voluminous, gathered from the victims themselves and their families, as well as those who belong to the Klan and participated in its crimes. The jury has been shocked beyond measure at the developments which have been made in their presence of the number and character of the atrocities committed, producing a state of terror and a sense of utter insecurity among a large portion of the people, especially the colored population. The evidence produced before us has established the following facts:

The Ku-Klux Klan, America, Vol.9, p.111

1. That there has existed since 1868, in many counties of the State, an organization known as the "Ku Klux Klan," or "Invisible Empire of the South," which embraces in its membership a large proportion of the white population of every profession and class.

The Ku-Klux Klan, America, Vol.9, p.111

2. That this Klan [is] bound together by an oath, administered to its members at the time of their initiation into the order, of which the following is a copy:

The Ku-Klux Klan, America, Vol.9, p.111

OBLIGATION

I, (name,) before the immaculate Judge of Heaven and Earth, and upon the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, do, of my own free will and accord, subscribe to the following sacredly binding obligation:

The Ku-Klux Klan, America, Vol.9, p.111

"1. We are on the side of justice, humanity, and constitutional liberty, as bequeathed to us in its purity by our forefathers.

The Ku-Klux Klan, America, Vol.9, p.111

"2. We oppose and reject the principles of the radical party.

The Ku-Klux Klan, America, Vol.9, p.111

"3. We pledge mutual aid to each other in sickness, distress, and pecuniary embarrassment.

The Ku-Klux Klan, America, Vol.9, p.111

"4. Female friends, widows, and their households, shall ever be special objects of our regard and protection.

The Ku-Klux Klan, America, Vol.9, p.112

"Any member divulging, or causing to be divulged, any of the foregoing obligations, shall meet the fearful penalty and traitor's doom, which is Death! Death! Death!"

The Ku-Klux Klan, America, Vol.9, p.112

That in addition to this oath the Klan has a constitution and by-laws, which provides, among other things, that each member shall furnish himself with a pistol, a Ku-Klux gown, and a signal instrument. That the operations of the Klan were executed in the night, and were invariably directed against members of the republican party by warnings to leave the country, by whippings, and by murder.

The Ku-Klux Klan, America, Vol.9, p.112

3. That in large portions of the counties of York, Union and Spartanburgh, to which our attention has been more particularly called in our investigations during part of the time for the last eighteen months, the civil law has been set at defiance, and ceased to afford any protection to the citizens.

The Ku-Klux Klan, America, Vol.9, p.112

4. That the Klan, in carrying out the purposes for which it was organized and armed, inflicted summary vengeance on the colored citizens of these counties, by breaking into their houses at the dead of night, dragging them from their beds, torturing them in the most inhuman manner, and in many instances murdering them; and this, mainly, on account of their political affiliations. Occasionally additional reasons operated, but in no instance was the political feature wanting.

The Ku-Klux Klan, America, Vol.9, p.112–p.113

5. That for this condition of things, for all these violations of law and order, and the sacred rights of citizens, many of the leading men of those counties were responsible. It was proven that large numbers of the most prominent citizens were members of the order. Many of this class attended meetings of the Grand Klan. At a meeting of the Grand Klan, held in Spartanburgh County, at which there were representatives from the various dens of Spartanburgh, York, Union and Chester Counties, in this State, besides a number from North Carolina, a resolution was adopted that no raids should be undertaken, or any one whipped or injured by members of the Klan, without orders from the Grand Klan. The penalty for violating this resolution was one hundred lashes on the bare back for the first offense, and for the second, death. This testimony establishes the nature of the discipline enforced in the order, and also the fact that many of the men who were openly and publicly speaking against the Klan, and pretending to deplore the work of this murderous conspiracy, were influential members of the order, and directing its operations even in detail.

The Ku-Klux Klan, America, Vol.9, p.113

The jury has been appalled as much at the number of outrages as at their character, it appearing that eleven murders and over six hundred whippings have been committed in York County alone. Our investigation in regard to the other counties named has been less full; but it is believed, from the testimony, that an equal or greater number has been committed in Union, and that the number is not greatly less in Spartanburgh and Laurens.

The Ku-Klux Klan, America, Vol.9, p.114

We are of the opinion that the most vigorous prosecution of the parties implicated in these crimes is imperatively demanded; that without this there is greater danger that these outrages will be continued, and that there will be no security to our fellow-citizens of African descent.

The Ku-Klux Klan, America, Vol.9, p.114

We would say further, that unless the strong arm of the Government is interposed to punish these crimes committed upon this class of citizens, there is every reason to believe that an organized and determined attempt at retaliation will be made, which can only result in a state of anarchy and bloodshed too horrible to contemplate.

The Great Chicago Fire

Title: The Great Chicago Fire

Author: Horace White

Date: 1871

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.126-142

White was editor-in-chief of the Chicago Tribune, in the office of which, October 14, 1871, he wrote this eye-witness account of the most destructive conflagration in American history. It was written as a letter to Murat Halstead, then editor of the Cincinnati Commercial. White had accompanied Abraham Lincoln, in 1858, in his campaign against Stephen A. Douglas, and his account of that celebrated contest appears in Herndon's "Life of Lincoln." Moving to New York six years after the great Chicago fire, White joined with Carl Schurz and Edwin L. Godkin in producing the New York Evening Post, of which he eventually succeeded Godkin as editor-in-chief.

Starting in a barn in De Hoven Street, the Chicago fire raged for two days and nights, sweeping over 2,100 acres, destroying 17,450 buildings, and causing 200 deaths, besides the greatest destitution and suffering. More than 70,000 were rendered homeless, out of a population of 324,000.

White, Great Chicago Fire, America, Vol.9, p.126

AS a slight acknowledgment of your thoughtful kindness in forwarding to us, without orders, a complete outfit of type and cases, when you heard that we had been burned out, I send you a hastily written sketch of what I saw at the great fire….

White, Great Chicago Fire, America, Vol.9, p.126–p.127

The history of the great fire in Chicago, which rises to the dignity of a national event, cannot be written until each witness, who makes any record whatever, shall have told what he saw. Nobody could see it all—no more than one man could see the whole of the Battle of Gettysburg. It was too vast, too swift, too full of smoke, too full of danger, for anybody to see it all. My experience derives its only public importance from the fact that what I did, substantially, a hundred thousand others did or attempted—that is, saved or sought to save their lives and enough of their wearing-apparel to face the sky in….

White, Great Chicago Fire, America, Vol.9, p.127

I had retired to rest, though not to sleep (Sunday, October 8) when the great bell struck the alarm, but fires had been so frequent of late, and had been so speedily extinguished, that I did not deem it worth while to get up and look at it, or even to count the strokes on the bell to learn where it was. The bell paused for fifteen minutes before giving the general alarm, which distinguishes a great fire from a small one. When it sounded the general alarm I rose and looked out. There was a great light to the southwest of my residence, but no greater than I had frequently seen in that quarter, where vast piles of pine lumber have been stored all the time I have lived in Chicago, some eighteen years. But it was not pine lumber that was burning this time. It was a row of wooden tenements in the South Division of the city, in which a few days ago were standing whole rows of the most costly buildings which it has entered into the hearts of architects to conceive. I watched the increasing light for a few moments. Red tongues of light began to shoot upward; my family were all aroused by this time, and I dressed myself for the purpose of going to the "Tribune" office to write something about the catastrophe. Once out upon the street, the magnitude of the fire was suddenly disclosed to me.

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The dogs of hell were upon the housetops of La Salle and Wells streets, just south of Adams, bounding from one to another. The fire was moving northward like ocean surf on a sand beach. It had already traveled an eighth of a mile and was far beyond control. A column of flame would shoot up from a burning building, catch the force of the wind, and strike the next one, which in turn would perform the same direful office for its neighbor. It was simply indescribable in its terrible grandeur. Vice and crime had got the first scorching. The district where the fire got its first firm foothold was the Alsatia of Chicago. Fleeing before it was a crowd of blear-eyed, drunken and diseased wretches, male and female, half-naked, ghastly, with painted cheeks, cursing and uttering ribald jests as they drifted along.

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I went to the "Tribune" office, ascended to the editorial rooms, took the only inflammable thing there, a kerosene lamp, and carried it to the basement, where I emptied the oil into the sewer. This was scarcely done when I perceived the flames breaking out of the roof of the court house, the old nucleus of which, in the center of the edifice, was not constructed of fireproof material, as the new wings had been. As the flames had leapt a vacant space of nearly two hundred feet to get at this roof, it was evident that most of the business portion of the city must go down, but I did not reflect that the city water works, with their four great pumping engines, were in a straight line with the fire and wind. Nor did I know then that this priceless machinery was covered by a wooden roof. The flames were driving thither with demon precision.

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Billows of fire were rolling over the business palaces of the city and swallowing up their contents. Walls were falling so fast that the quaking of the ground under our feet was scarcely noticed, so continuous was the reverberation. Sober men and women were hurrying through the streets from the burning quarter, some with bundles of clothes on their shoulders, others dragging trunks along the sidewalks by means of strings and ropes fastened to the handles, children trudging by their sides or borne in their arms. Now and then a sick man or woman would be observed, half concealed in a mattress doubled up and borne by two men. Droves of horses were in the streets, moving by some sort of guidance to a place of safety. Vehicles of all descriptions were hurrying to and fro, some laden with trunks and bundles, others seeking similar loads and immediately finding them, the drivers making more money in one hour than they were used to see in a week or a month. Everybody in this quarter was hurrying toward the lake shore. All the streets crossing that part of Michigan Avenue, which fronts on the lake (on which my own residence stood) were crowded with fugitives, hastening toward the blessed water.

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We saw the tall buildings on the opposite sides of the two streets melt down in a few moments without scorching ours. The heat broke the plate-glass windows in the lower stories, but not in the upper ones. After the fire in our neighborhood had spent its force, the editorial and composing rooms did not even smell of smoke. Several of our brave fellows who had been up all night had gone to sleep on the lounges, while others were at the sink washing their faces, supposing that all danger to us had passed. So I supposed, and in this belief went home to breakfast. The smoke to the northward was so dense that we could not see the North Division, where sixty thousand people were flying in mortal terror before the flames. The immense store of Field, Leiter & CO. I observed to be under a shower of water from their own fire-apparatus, and since the First National Bank, a fire-proof building, protected it on one corner, I concluded that the progress of the flames in that direction was stopped, as the "Tribune" building had stopped it where we were. Here, at least, I thought was a saving of twenty millions of property, including the great Central depot and the two grain-elevators adjoining, effected by two or three buildings which had been erected with a view to such an emergency. The postoffice and custom-house building (also fire-proof, according to public rumor) had stopped the flames a little farther to the southwest, although the interior of that structure was burning. A straight line drawn northeast from the post-office would nearly touch the "Tribune," First National Bank, Field, Leiter & CO.'s store, and the Illinois Central Railroad land department another fire-proof. Everything east of that line seemed perfectly safe. And with this feeling I went home to breakfast.

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There was still a mass of fire to the southwest, in the direction whence it originally came, but as the engines were all down there, and the buildings small and low, I felt sure that the firemen would manage it. As soon as I had swallowed a cup of coffee and communicated to my family the facts that I had gathered, I started out to see the end of the battle. Reaching State Street, I glanced down to Field, Leiter & CO.'s store, and to my surprise noticed that the streams of water which had before been showering it, as though it had been a great artificial fountain, had ceased to run. But I did not conjecture the awful reality, viz., that the great pumping engines had been disabled by a burning roof falling upon them. I thought perhaps the firemen on the store had discontinued their efforts because the danger was over. But why were men carrying out goods from the lower story?

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This query was soon answered by a gentleman who asked me if I had heard that the water had stopped! The awful truth was here! The pumping engines were disabled, and though we had at our feet a basin sixty miles wide by three hundred and sixty long, and seven hundred feet deep, all full of clear green water, we could not lift enough to quench a cooking-stove. Still the direction of the wind was such that I thought the remaining fire would not cross State Street, nor reach the residences on Wabash and Michigan avenues and the terrified people on the lake shore. I determined to go down to the black cloud of smoke which was rising away to the southwest, the course of which could not be discovered on account of the height of the intervening buildings, but thought it most prudent to go home again, and tell my wife to get the family wearing-apparel in readiness for moving. I found that she had already done so. I then hurried toward the black cloud, some ten squares distant, and there found the rows of wooden houses on Third and Fourth avenues falling like ripe wheat before the reaper. At a glance I perceived that all was lost in our part of the city, and I conjectured that the "Tribune" building was doomed too, for I had noticed with consternation that the fire-proof postoffice had been completely gutted, notwithstanding it was detached from other buildings. The "Tribune" was fitted into a niche, one side of which consisted of a wholesale stationery store, and the other of McVicker's Theater. But there was now no time to think of property. Life was in danger. The lives of those most dear to me depended upon their getting out of our house, out of our street, through an infernal gorge of horses, wagons, men, women, children, trunks and plunder.

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My brother was with me, and we seized the first empty wagon we could find, pinning the horse by the head. A hasty talk with the driver disclosed that we could have his establishment for one load for twenty dollars. I had not expected to get him for less than a hundred, unless we should take him by force, and this was a bad time for a fight. He proved himself a muscular as well as a faithful fellow, and I shall always be glad that I avoided a personal difficulty with him. One peculiarity of the situation was that nobody could get a team without ready money. I had not thought of this when I was revolving in my mind the offer of one hundred dollars, which was more greenbacks than our whole family could have put up if our lives had depended upon the issue. This driver had divined that, as all the banks were burned, a check on the Commercial National would not carry him very far, although it might carry me to a place of safety. All the drivers had divined the same. Every man who had anything to sell perceived the same. "Pay as you go" had become the watchword of the hour. Never was there a community so hastily and so completely emancipated from the evils of the credit system.

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With some little difficulty we reached our house, and in less time than we ever set out on a journey before, we dragged seven trunks, four bundles, four valises, two baskets, and one hamper of provisions into the street and piled them on the wagon. The fire was still more than a quarter of a mile distant, and the wind, which was increasing in violence, was driving it not exactly in our direction. The low wooden houses were nearly all gone, and after that the fire must make progress, if at all, against brick and stone. Several churches of massive architecture were be tween us and harm, and the great Palmer House had not been reached, and might not be if the firemen, who had now got their hose into the lake, could work efficiently in the ever-increasing jam of fugitives.

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My wife thought we should have time to take another load; my brother thought so; we all thought so. We had not given due credit either to the savage strength of the fire or the firm pack on Michigan Avenue. Leaving my brother to get the family safely out if I did not return in time, and to pile the most valuable portion of my library into the drawers of bureaus and tables ready for moving, I seized a bird-cage containing a talented green parrot, and mounted the seat with the driver. For one square southward from the corner of Monroe Street we made pretty fair progress. The dust was so thick that we could not see the distance of a whole square ahead. It came, not in clouds, but in a steady storm of sand, the particles impinging against our faces like needle-points. Pretty soon we came to a dead halt. We could move neither forward, nor backward, nor sidewise. The gorge had caught fast somewhere. Yet everybody was good-natured and polite. If I should say I didn't hear an oath all the way down Michigan Avenue, there are probably some mule-drivers in Cincinnati who would say it was a lie. But I did not. The only quarrelsome person I saw was a German laborer (a noted exception to his race), who was protesting that he bad lost everything, and that he would not get out of the middle of the road although he was on foot. He became obstreperous on this point, and commenced beating the head of my horse with his fist. My driver was preparing to knock him down with the butt-end of the whip, when two men seized the insolent Teuton and dragged him to the water's edge, where it is to be hoped he was ducked.

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Presently the jam began to move, and we got on perhaps twenty paces and stuck fast again. By accident we had edged over to the east side of the street, and nothing but a board fence separated us from the lake park, a strip of ground a little wider than the street itself. A benevolent laborer on the park side of the fence pulled a loose post from the ground, and with this for a catapult knocked off the boards and invited us to pass through. It was a hazardous undertaking, as we had to drive diagonally over a raised sidewalk, but we thought it was best to risk it. Our horse mounted and gave us a jerk which nearly threw us off the seat, and sent the provision basket and one bundle of clothing whirling into the dirt. The eatables were irrecoverable. The bundle was rescued, with two or three pounds of butter plastered upon it. We started again, and here our parrot broke out with great rapidity and sharpness of utterance, "Get up, get up, get up, hurry up, hurry up, it's eight O'clock," ending with a shrill whistle. These ejaculations frightened a pair of carriage-horses, close to us, on the other side of the fence, but the jam was so tight they couldn't run.

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By getting into the park we succeeded in advancing two squares without impediment, and we might have gone farther had we not come upon an excavation which the public authorities had recently made. This drove us back to the avenue, where another battering ram made a gap for us at the intersection of Van Buren Street, the north end of Michigan Terrace. Here the gorge seemed impassable. The difficulty proceeded from teams entering Michigan Avenue from cross-streets. Extempore policemen stationed themselves at these crossings and helped, as well as they could, but we were half an hour passing the terrace. From this imposing row of residences the millionaires were dragging their trunks and their bundles, and yet there was no panic, no frenzy, no boisterousness, but only the haste which the situation authorized. There was real danger to life all along this street, but nobody realized it, because the park was ample to hold all the people. None of us asked or thought what would become of those nearest the water if the smoke and cinders should drive the whole crowd down to the shore, or if the vast bazaar of luggage should itself take fire, as some of it afterward did. Fortunately for those in the street, there was a limit to the number of teams available in that quarter of the city. The contributions from the cross-streets grew less; and soon we began to move on a walk without interruption.

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At Eldridge Court, I turned into Wabash Avenue, where the crowd was thinner. Arriving at the house of a friend, who was on the windward side of the fire, I tumbled off my load and started back to get another. Half-way down Michigan Avenue, which was now perceptibly easier to move in, I perceived my family on the sidewalk with their arms full of light household effects. My wife told me that the house was already burned, that the flames burst out ready-made in the rear hall before she knew that the roof had been scorched, and that one of the servants, who had disobeyed orders in her eagerness to save some article, had got singed, though not burned, in coming out. My wife and my mother and all the rest were begrimed with dirt and smoke, like blackamoors; everybody was. The "bloated aristocrats" all along the streets, who supposed they had lost both home and fortune at one swoop, were a sorry but not despairing congregation. They had saved their lives at all events, and they knew that many of their fellow creatures must have lost theirs. I saw a great many kindly acts done as we moved along. The poor helped the rich, and the rich helped the poor (if anybody could be called rich at such a time), to get on with their loads. I heard of cartmen demanding one hundred and fifty dollars (in hand, of course) for carrying a single load. Very likely it was so, but those cases did not come under my own notice. It did come under my notice that some cartmen worked for whatever the sufferers felt able to pay, and one I knew worked with alacrity for nothing. It takes all sorts of people to make a great fire.

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Presently we heard loud detonations, and a rumor went around that buildings were being blown up with gunpowder. The depot of the Hazard Powder Company was situated at Brighton, seven or eight miles from the nearest point of the fire. At what time the effort was first made to reach this magazine, and bring powder into the service, I have not learned, but I know that Col. M. C. Stearns made heroic efforts with his great lime-wagons to haul the explosive material to the proper point.

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This is no time to blame anybody, but in truth there was no directing head on the ground. Everybody was asking everybody else to pull down buildings. There were no hooks, no ropes, no axes. I had met General Sheridan on the street in front of the post-office two hours before. He had been trying to save the army records, including his own invaluable papers relating to the war of the rebellion. He told me they were all lost, and then added that "the post-office didn't seem to make a good fire." This was when we supposed the row of fire-proof buildings, already spoken of, had stopped the flames in our quarter. Where was General Sheridan now? everybody asked. Why didn't he do something when everybody else had failed? Presently a rumor went around that Sheridan was handling the gunpowder; then everybody felt relieved. The reverberations of the powder, whoever was handling it, gave us all heart again. Think of a people feeling encouraged because somebody was blowing up houses in the midst of the city, and that a shower of bricks was very likely to come down on their heads!

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I had paid and discharged my driver after extorting his solemn promise to come back and move me again if the wind should shift to the north—in which event everybody knew that the whole South Division, for a distance of four miles, must perish. We soon arrived at the house of the kind friend on Wabash Avenue, where our trunks and bundles had been deposited. This was south of the line of fire, but this did not satisfy anybody, since we had all seen how resolutely the flames had gone transversely across the direction of the wind. Then came a story from down the street that Sheridan was going to blow up the Wabash Avenue Methodist Church on the corner of Harrison Street. We observed a general scattering away of people from that neighborhood. I was nearly four squares south of the locality, and thought that the missiles wouldn't come so far. We awaited the explosion, but it did not come. By and by we plucked up courage to go around two or three blocks and see whether the church had fallen down of its own accord.

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We perceived that two or three houses in the rear of the edifice had been leveled to the ground, that the church itself was standing, and that the fire was out, in that quarter at least; also, that the line of Harrison Street marked the southern limits of the devastation. The wind continued to blow fiercely from the southwest, and has not ceased to this hour (Saturday, October 14). But it was liable to change. If it chopped around to the north, the burning embers would be blown back upon the South Division. If it veered to the east, they would be blown into the West Division, though the river afforded rather better protection there. Then we should have nothing to do but to keep ahead of the flames and get down as fast as possible to the open prairie, and there spend the night houseless and supperless—and what of the morrow? A full hundred thousand of us. And if we were spared, and the West Division were driven out upon their prairie (a hundred and fifty thousand according to the Federal census), how would the multitude be fed? If there could be anything more awful than what we had already gone through, it would be what we would certainly go through if the wind should change; for with the embers of this great fire flying about, and no water to fight them, we knew that there was not gunpowder enough in Illinois to stop the inevitable conflagration. But this was not all.

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A well-authenticated rumor came up to the city that the prairie was on fire south of Hyde Park, the largest of the southern suburbs. The grass was as dry as tinder, and so were the leaves in Cottage Grove, a piece of timber several miles square, containing hundreds of residences of the better class, some of them of palatial dimensions. A fire on the prairie, communicating itself to the grove, might cut off the retreat of the one hundred thousand people in the South Division; might invade the South Division itself, and come up under the impulsion of that fierce wind, and where should we all be then? There were three or four bridges leading to the West Division, the only possible avenues of escape; but what were these among so many? And what if the "Commune" should go to work and start incendiary fires while all was yet in confusion? These fiends were improving the daylight by plundering along the street. Before dark the whole male population of the city was organized by spontaneous impulse into a night patrol, with pallid determination to put every incendiary to instant death.

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About five O'clock P. M. I applied to a friend on Wabash Avenue for the use of a team to convey my family and chattels to the southern suburbs, about four miles distant, where my brother happened to own a small cottage, which, up to the present time, nobody could be induced to occupy and pay rent for. My friend replied that his work-teams were engaged hauling water for people to drink. Here was another thing that I had not thought of—a great city with no water to drink. Plenty in the lake, to be sure, but none in the city mains or the connecting pipes. Fortunately the extreme western limits were provided with a number of artesian wells, bored for manufacturing establishments. Then there was the river—the horrible, black, stinking river of a few weeks ago, which has since become clear enough for fish to live in, by reason of the deepening of the canal, which draws to the Mississippi a perpetual flow of pure water from Lake Michigan. With the city pumping-works stopped, the sewers could no longer discharge themselves into the river. So this might be used; and it was. Twenty-four hours had not passed before tens of thousands of people were drinking the water of Chicago River, with no unpleasant taste or effects.

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The work-teams of my friend being engaged in hauling water for people who could not get any from the wells or the river or lake; he placed at my disposal his carriage, horses and coachman, whom he directed to take me and the ladies to any place we desired to reach. While we were talking he hailed another gentleman on the street, who owned a large stevedore wagon, and asked him to convey my trunks, etc., to Cottage Grove Avenue, near Forty-third Street, to which request an immediate and most gracious assent was given. And thus we started again, our hostess pressing a mattress upon us from her store. All the streets leading southward were yet filled with fugitives. Where they all found shelter that night I know not, but every house seemed to be opened to anybody who desired to enter. Arrived at our new home, about dusk, we found in it, as we expected, a cold reception, there being neither stove, nor grate, nor fireplace, nor fuel, nor light therein. But I will not dwell upon these things. We really did not mind them, for when we thought of the thousands of men, women, and tender babes huddled together in Lincoln Park, seven miles to the north of us, with no prospect of food, exposed to rain, if it should come, with no canopy but the driving smoke of their homes, we thought how little we had suffered.

The Overthrow of the Tweed Ring

Title: The Overthrow of the Tweed Ring

Author: E. Benjamin Andrews

Date: 1872

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.97-104

Dr. Andrews, from whose "History of the Last Quarter-Century of the United tates, 1870-1895," this account is taken, by permission of Charles Scribner's Sons, graduated from Brown Unrversity the year (1870) that the plundering operations of the notorious Tweed Ring in New York were exposed. Later he was president of that university, was superintendent of schools in Chicago and became chancellor of the University of Nebraska.

As Dr. Andrews relates, it was in 1872, following a vigorous investigation and prosecution conducted by a committee of seventy citizens of New York, headed by Samuel J. Tilden that "Boss" Tweed was indicted for forgery and grand larceny. He boasted of having amassed a fortune of $20,000,000. He was tried, convicted and imprisoned. Released on a technicality, he was rearrested, jailed, escaped to Spain, was brought back and again lodged in prison until April 12, 1878, when he died.

Andrews, Overthrow of the Tweed Ring, America, Vol.9, p.97

ON the summer of 1870 proof was published of vast frauds by leading [New York] city officials, prominent among them "Boss" William M. Tweed, who, in the language of Judge Noah Davis, "saw fit to pervert the powers with which he was clothed, in a manner more infamous, more outrageous, than any instance of a like character which the history of the civilized world afforded."

Andrews, Overthrow of the Tweed Ring, America, Vol.9, p.97–p.98

William Marcy Tweed was born in 1823, at 24 Cherry Street, New York City. A youth devoted to business made him a fair penman and an adept reckoner, but not a business man. He, indeed, once attempted business, but, as he gave his chief attention to speculation, gambling and ward politics, completely failed, so that he seems forever to have renounced legitimate money-making. As a volunteer fireman, known as "Big Six," a gross, licentious Falstaff of real life, albeit loyal and helpful to his friends, Tweed led the "Roughs," being opposed by his more decent fellows, the "Quills." The tide of "respectability," receding uptown, left Tweed's ward in the hands of poor immigrants or the sons of such, who became partly his willing accomplices, partly his unwitting tools, in his onslaughts upon taxpayers. He began these forays at twenty-seven, as Alderman, suspended them for a time in Congress, resumed them in 1857 as Public School Commissioner, continued and enlarged them as member and four times president of the Board of Supervisors, and brought them to a climax as a functionary of the Street Department. He thus became, in time, the central sun in the system of brilliant luminaries known as the "Tweed Ring."

Andrews, Overthrow of the Tweed Ring, America, Vol.9, p.98–p.99

The multitudinous officials of the city were the Ring's slaves. At one time eight hundred policemen stood guard to prevent a hostile majority in Tammany Hall itself from meeting. The thugs of the city, nicknamed "Tweed's lambs," rendered invaluable services at caucus and convention. Two days before election these venal cohorts would assemble in the 340 election districts, each man of them being listed and registered under several assumed names and addresses. From Tweed's house in 1868 six registered, from Justice Shandley's nine, from the Coroner's thirteen. A State Senator's house was put down as the home of thirty voters. One Alderman's residence nominally housed twenty, another's twenty-five, an Assemblyman's fifteen. And so it went. Bales of fictitious naturalization papers were secured. One year 105,000 blank applications and 69,000 certificates were ordered printed. In one case thirteen men, in another fifteen, were naturalized in five minutes. The new citizens "put in" election day following their leaders from polling-place to polling-place as needed.

Andrews, Overthrow of the Tweed Ring, America, Vol.9, p.99–p.100

When thieves could be kept in power by such means plunder was easy and brazen. Contractors on public works were systematically forced to pay handsome bonuses to the Ring. One of them testified "When I commenced building I asked Tweed how to make out the bills, and he said, 'Have fifteen percent over.' I asked what that was for, and he said, 'Give that to me and I will take care of your bills.' I handed him the percentage after that." Innumerable methods of fraud were successfully tried. During the year 1863 the expenditures of the Street Department were $650,000. Within four years Tweed quadrupled them. A species of asphalt paving, dubbed "Fisk's poultice," so bad that a grand jury actually declared it a public nuisance, was laid in great quantities at vast cost to the city. Official advertising was doled to twenty-six daily and fifty-four weekly sheets, of which twenty-seven vanished on its withdrawal. But all the other robber enterprises paled before the city Court House job. This structure, commenced in 1868, under stipulation that it should not cost more than $250,000, was in 1871 still unfinished after an outlay of $8,000,000, four times as much as was spent on Parliament House in London. Its ostensible cost, at least, was not less than $ 12,000,000. As by witchcraft the city's debt was in two years more than doubled. The Ring's operations cheated the city's taxpayers, first and last, out of no less than $ 160,000,000, "or four times the fine levied on Paris by the German army." Though wallowing in lucre, and prodigal withal, Tweed was yet insatiably greedy. "His hands were everywhere, and everywhere they were feeling for money." in 1871 he boasted of being worth $20,000,000, and vowed soon to be as rich as Vanderbilt.

Andrews, Overthrow of the Tweed Ring, America, Vol.9, p.100

With his coarse nature the Boss reveled in jibes made at the expense of his honor. He used gleefully to show his friends the safe where he kept money for bribing legislators, finding those of the "Tammany Republican" stripe easiest game. Of the contractor who was decorating his country place at Greenwich he inquired, pointing to a statue, "Who the hell is that?" "That is Mercury, the god of merchants and thieves," was the reply. "That's bully!" said Tweed. "Put him over the front door." His donation of $100 for an altar cloth in the Greenwich Methodist Church the trustees sent back, declaring that they wanted none of his stolen money. Other charitable gifts of his were better received.

Andrews, Overthrow of the Tweed Ring, America, Vol.9, p.100–p.101

The city papers, even those least corruptible, were for long either neutral or else favorable to the Ring, but its doings were by no means unknown. They were matters of general surmise and criticism, criticism that seemed hopeless, so hard was it to obtain exact evidence.

Andrews, Overthrow of the Tweed Ring, America, Vol.9, p.101

But pride goeth before a fall. Amid its greatest triumph the Ring sowed the wind whence rose the whirlwind which wrought its ruin. At a secret meeting held in the house of John Morrissey, pugilist member of Congress, certain of the unsatisfied, soon known as the "Young Democracy, planned a revolt. Endeavoring to prevent the grant by the New York Legislature of a new charter which the Ring sought, the insurgents met apparent defeat, which, however, ultimately proved victory, Tweed building for himself far worse than he knew. The new charter, abstractly good, in concentrating power concentrated responsibility also, showing the outraged people, when awakened, where to strike for liberty. In spite of white-washing by prominent citizens, of blandishments and bulldozing, of attempts to buy the stock of the "Times" and to boycott Harper's Weekly" where Nast's cartoons—his first work of the kind—gave the Ring international notoriety, the reform spirit proved irresistible. The bar had been servile or quiet, but the New York Bar Association was now formed, which at once became what it has ever since been, a most influential censor of the bench. The Young Democracy grew powerful. Public-spirited citizens organized a Council of Political Reform.

Andrews, Overthrow of the Tweed Ring, America, Vol.9, p.101–p.102

The occasion of conclusive exposure was trivial enough. Sheriff O'Brien was refused part of what he thought his share of the sheriff fees. An expert accountant in the Comptroller's office supplied him with damning evidence against the Ring. On July 18, 1871, Mr. O'Brien walked into the "Times" office and, handing the editor a bundle of documents, said, "There are all the figures; you can do with them just what you please." The figures were published on the 20th in an exhibit printed in English and German, causing excitement compared with which that arising from the Orange Riot of July 12th seemed trifling. The sensation did not end with talk. On September 4th a mass-meeting of citizens was held at Cooper Institute and a committee of seventy prominent men chosen to probe the frauds and to punish the perpetrators. For the work of prosecution the Attorney General appointed Charles O'Conor, who associated with himself the ablest counsel. Samuel J. Tilden was conspicuously active in the prosecution, thus laying the foundation for that popularity which made him the Governor of New York, 1875-'77, and in 1876 the Democratic candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

Andrews, Overthrow of the Tweed Ring, America, Vol.9, p.102–p.103

On October 28, 1871, Tweed was arrested and gave a million dollars' bail. In November, the same year, he was elected to the State Senate, but did not take his seat. On December 16th he was again arrested, and released on $5,000 bail. The jury disagreed on the first suit, but on the second he was convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of $12,500 and to suffer twelve years' imprisonment. This sentence was set aside by the Court of Appeals and Tweed's discharge ordered. In the meantime other suits had been brought, among them, one to recover $6,000,000. Failing to find bail for $3,000,000, he was sent to the Ludlow Street Jail. Being allowed to ride in the Park and occasionally to visit his residence, one day in December he escaped from his keepers. After hiding for several months he succeeded in reaching Cuba.

Andrews, Overthrow of the Tweed Ring, America, Vol.9, p.103–p.104

A fisherman found him, sunburnt and weary but not homesick, and led him to Santiago. Instead of taking him to a hotel, Tweed's guide handed him over to the police as probably some American filibuster come to free Cuba. The American consul procured his release (his passports had been given him under an assumed name), but later found him out. The discovery was too late, for he had again escaped and embarked for Spain, thinking there to be at rest, as we then had no extradition treaty with that country. Landing at Vigo, he found the governor of the place with police waiting for him, and was soon homeward bound on an American war-vessel. Caleb Cushing, our Minister at Madrid, had learned of his departure for that realm, and had put the authorities on their guard. To help them identify their man he furnished them a caricature by Nast, representing Tweed as a Tammany policeman gripping two boys by the hair. Thus it came about that "Twid antelme" was apprehended by our peninsular friends as a child-stealer. Though everything possible was done to render him comfortable in jail, Tweed sighed for liberty. Hepromised, if released, to turn State's evidence and to give up all his property and effects. Some papers suggested that the public pitied the man and would be glad to have him set free. NO compromise with him was made, however, and he continued in jail till his death in 1878.

The Greeley Campaign

Title: The Greeley Campaign

Author: James G. Blaine

Date: 1872

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.143-151

Blaine, from whose "Twenty Years of Congress" this account is taken by permission of the copyright-holders, was a member of Congress during the Grant-Greeley campaign of 1872. As Speaker of the House during three of his seven successive terms in Congress, he became a power and his conduct was uniformly marked by great readiness and ability.

Blaine, although a political opponent of Greeley in this campaign, does not conceal his admiration for the sterling character and journalistic ability of the famous editor of the New York Tribune. To Greeley the campaign was disastrous in more ways than one. Not only was he overwhelmingly defeated, but the contest overtaxed his strength and left him a mental and physical wreck. Near its close he lost his wife, and he himself died within a month after President Grant was re-elected.

Blaine, Greeley Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.143

WITH Grant and Greeley fairly in the field, the country entered upon a remarkable contest. At the beginning of the picturesque and emotional "log cabin canvass of 1840," Mr. Van Buren, with his keen insight into popular movements, had said, in somewhat mixed metaphor, that it would be "either a farce or a tornado." The present canvass gave promise on different grounds of similar alternatives. General Grant had been tried, and with him the country knew what to expect. Mr. Greeley had not been tried, and though the best known man in his own field of journalism, he was the least known and most doubted in the field of governmental administration. NO other candidate could have presented such an antithesis of strength and of weakness. He was the ablest polemic this country has ever produced. His command of strong, idiomatic, controversial English was unrivaled. His faculty of lucid statement and compact reasoning has never been surpassed. Without the graces of fancy or the arts of rhetoric, he was incomparable in direct, pungent, forceful discussion. A keen observer and an omnivorous reader, he had acquired an immense fund of varied knowledge, and he marshaled facts with singular skill and aptness.

Blaine, Greeley Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.144

In an era remarkable for strong editors in the New York press—embracing Raymond of the "Times," the elder Bennett of the "Herald," Watson Webb of the "Courier-Enquirer," William Cullen Bryant of the "Evening Post," with Thurlow Weed and Edwin Crosswell in the rival journals at Albany—Mr. Greeley easily surpassed them all. His mind was original, creative, incessantly active. His industry was as unwearying as his fertility was inexhaustible. Great as was his intellectual power, his chief strength came from the depth and earnestness of his moral convictions, In the long and arduous battle against the aggressions of slavery, he had been sleepless and untiring in rousing and quickening the public conscience. He was keenly alive to the distinctions of right and wrong, and his philanthropy responded to every call of humanity. His sympathies were equally touched by the sufferings of the famine-stricken Irish and by the wrongs of the plundered Indians.

Blaine, Greeley Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.145

Next to Henry Clay, whose ardent disciple he was, he had done more than any other man to educate his countrymen in the American system of protection to home industry. He had on all occasions zealously defended the rights of labor; he had waged unsparing war on the evils of intemperance; he had made himself an oracle with the American farmers; and his influence was even more potent in the remote prairie homes than within the shadow of Printing-House Square. With his dogmatic earnestness, his extraordinary mental qualities, his moral power, and his quick sympathy with the instincts and impulses of the masses, he was in a peculiar sense the Tribune of the people. In any reckoning of the personal forces of the century, Horace Greeley must be counted among the foremost—intellectually and morally.

Blaine, Greeley Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.145

When he left the fields of labor in which he had become illustrious, to pass the ordeal of a Presidential candidate, the opposite and weaker sides of his character and career were brought into view. He was headstrong, impulsive and opinionated. If he had the strength of a giant in battle, he lacked the wisdom of the sage in council. If he was irresistible in his own appropriate sphere of moral and economic discussion, he was uncertain and unstable when he ventured beyond its limits. He was a powerful agitator and a matchless leader of debate, rather than a master of government.

Blaine, Greeley Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.145–p.146

Those who most admired his honesty, courage and power in the realm of his true greatness, most distrusted his fitness to hold the reins of administration. He had in critical periods evinced a want both of firmness and of sagacity. When the Southern States were on the eve of secession and the temper of the country was on trial, he had, though with honest intentions, shown signs of irresolution and vacillation. When he was betrayed into the ill-advised and abortive peace negotiations with Southern commissioners at Niagara, he had displayed the lack of tact and penetration which made the people doubt the solidity and coolness of his judgment. His method of dealing with the most intricate problems of finance seemed experimental and rash. The sensitive interests of business shrank from his visionary theories and his dangerous empiricism. His earlier affiliation with novel and doubtful social schemes had laid him open to the reproach of being called a man of isms.

Blaine, Greeley Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.146–p.147

Mr. Greeley had moreover weakened himself by showing a singular thirst for public office. It is strange that one who held a commanding station, and who wielded an unequaled influence, should have been ambitious for the smaller honors of public life. But Mr. Greeley had craved even minor offices, from which he could have derived no distinction, and, in his own phrase, had dissolved the firm of Seward, Weed and Greeley because, as he conceived, his claims to official promotion was not fairly recognized. This known aspiration added to the reasons which discredited his unnatural alliance with the Democracy. His personal characteristics, always marked, were exaggerated and distorted in the portraitures drawn by his adversaries. All adverse considerations were brought to bear with irresistible effect as the canvass proceeded, and his splendid services and undeniable greatness could not weigh in the scale against the political elements and personal disqualifications with which his Presidential candidacy was identified.

Blaine, Greeley Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.147

The political agitation became general in the country as early as July. Senator Conkling inaugurated the Grant campaign in New York with an elaborate and comprehensive review of the personal and public issues on trial. Senator Sherman and other leading speakers took the field with equal promptness. On the opposite side, Senator Sumner, who had sought in May to challenge and prevent the renomination of General Grant by concentrating in one massive broadside all that could be suggested against him, now appeared in a public letter advising the colored people to vote for Greeley. Mr. Blaine replied in a letter pointing out that Mr. Greeley, in denying the power of the General Government to interpose, had committed himself to a policy which left the colored people without protection.

Blaine, Greeley Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.147–p.148

The September elections had ordinarily given the earliest indication in Presidential campaigns; but circumstances conspired this year to make the North Carolina election, which was held on the 1st of August, the preliminary test of popular feeling. The earliest returns from North Carolina, coming from the eastern part of the State, were favorable to the partisans of Mr. Greeley. They claimed a decided victory, and were highly elated. The returns from the western and mountain counties, which were not all received for several days, reversed the first reports, and established a Republican success.

Blaine, Greeley Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.148

This change produced a reaction, and set the tide in the opposite direction. From this hour the popular current was clearly with the Republicans. The September elections in Vermont and Maine resulted in more than the average Republican majorities, and demonstrated that Mr. Greeley's candidacy had not broken the lines of the party. Early in that month a body of Democrats, who declined to accept Mr. Greeley, and who called themselves "Straightouts," held a convention at Louisville, and nominated Charles O'Connor for President and John Quincy Adams for Vice-President. The ticket received a small number of votes in many States, but did not become an important factor in the national struggle.

Blaine, Greeley Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.148–p.149

In anticipation of the October elections Mr. Greeley made an extended tour through Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana, addressing great masses of people every day and many times a day during a period of two weeks. His speeches, while chiefly devoted to his view of the duty and policy of pacification, discussed many questions and many phases of the chief question. They were varied, forcible and well considered. They presented his case with an ability which could not be exceeded, and they added to the general estimate of his intellectual faculties and resources. He called out a larger proportion of those who intended to vote against him than any candidate had ever before succeeded in doing. His name had been honored for so many years in every Republican household that the desire to see and hear him was universal, and secured to him the majesty of numbers at every meeting. So great indeed was the general demonstration of interest that a degree of uneasiness was created at Republican headquarters as to the ultimate effect of his tour.

Blaine, Greeley Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.149–p.150

The State contests had been strongly organized on both sides at the decisive points. In New York the Democrats nominated Francis Kernan for Governor—a man of spotless character and great popularity. The Republicans selected General John A. Dix as the rival candidate, on the earnest suggestion of Thurlow Weed, whose sagacity in regard to the strength of political leaders was rarely at fault. General Dix was in his seventy-fifth year, but was fresh and vigorous both in body and mind. In Indiana the leading Democrat, Thomas A. Hendricks, accepted the gubernatorial nomination and the leadership of his party against General Thomas M. Browne, a popular Republican and a strong man on the stump. Pennsylvania was the scene of a peculiarly bitter and angry conflict. General Hartranft, the Republican candidate for Governor, had been Auditor-General of the State, and his administration of the office was bitterly assailed. The old factional differences in the State now entered into the antagonism, and he was strenuously fought by an element of his own party under the inspiration of Colonel Forney, who, while professedly supporting Grant, threw all the force of the Philadelphia "Press into the warfare against Hartranft.

Blaine, Greeley Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.150

This violent opposition encouraged the partisans of Mr. Greeley with the hope that they might secure the prestige of victory over the Republicans in Pennsylvania, whose October verdicts had always proved an unerring index to presidential elections. But they were doomed to disappointment. The people saw that the charges against General Hartranft were not only unfounded but malicious, and he was chosen Governor by more than 35,000 majority. Ohio gave a Republican majority on the same day of more than 14,000; and though Mr. Hendricks carried Indiana by 1,148, this narrow margin for the strongest Democrat in the State was accepted as confirming the sure indications in the other States.

Blaine, Greeley Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.150–p.151

The defeat of Mr. Greeley and the reelection of General Grant were now, in the popular belief, assured. The result was the most decisive, in the popular vote, of any Presidential election since the unopposed choice of Monroe in 1820; and on the electoral vote the only contests so one-sided were in the election of Pierce in 1852, and the second election of Lincoln in 1864, when the States in rebellion did not participate. The majorities were unprecedented. General Grant carried Pennsylvania by 137,548, New York by 53,455, Illinois by 57,006, Iowa by 60,370, Massachusetts by 74,212, Michigan by 60,100, Ohio by 37,501, and Indiana by 22,515. Several of the Southern States presented figures of similar proportion….

Blaine, Greeley Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.151

The political disaster to Mr. Greeley was followed by a startling and melancholy conclusion. He was called during the last days of the canvass to the bedside of his dying wife, whom he buried before the day of election. Despite this sorrow and despite the defeat, which, in separating him from his old associates, was more than an ordinary political reverse, he promptly returned with unshaken resolve and intrepid spirit to the editorship of the 'Tribune"—the true sphere of his influence, the field of his real conquests. But the strain through which he had passed, following years of incessant care and labor, had broken his vigorous constitution. His physical strength was completely undermined, his superb intellectual powers gave way. Before the expiration of the month which witnessed his crushing defeat he had gone to his rest. The controversies which had so recently divided the country were hushed in the presence of death; and all the people, remembering only his noble impulses, his great work for humanity, his broad impress upon the age, united in honoring and mourning one of the most remarkable men in American history.

The Geneva Award in the "Alabama" Claims

Title: The Geneva Award in the "Alabama" Claims

Author: The Arbitrators

Date: 1872

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.115-125

By the terms of the Treaty of Washington the claims of the United States against Great Britain, arising out of depredations committed during the Civil War on American commerce by the Alabama and other cruisers fitted out in England, were submitted to arbitration. There were five arbitrators, four of whom, headed by Charles Francis Adams, the American representative, signed the accompanying document of award, September 14, 1872, at Geneva. The other signers were Count Frederick Sclopis, of Italy; Jacob Stampfli, of Switzerland, and Vicomte d'Itajuba, of Brazil. The British arbitrator, Sir Alexander Cockburn, refused to sign it.

Of the several English-built-and-manned cruisers involved in the controversy, the Alabama alone is said to have captured and destroyed seventy American vessels. The court awarded $15,500,000 as a full indemnity of all claims against Britain.

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.115

THE United States of America and Her Britannic Majesty having agreed by Article I of the treaty concluded and signed at Washington the 8th of May, 1871, to refer all the claims "generally known as the Alabama claims" to a tribunal of arbitration….

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.115

And the five arbitrators…. having assembled at Geneva on the 15th of December, 1871….

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.115

The agents named by each of the high contracting parties '…. then delivered to each of the arbitrators the printed case prepared by each of the two parties, accompanied by the documents, the official correspondence, and other evidence on which each relied, in conformity with the terms of the third article of the said treaty….

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.116

The tribunal, in accordance with the vote of adjournment passed at their second session, held on the 16th of December, 1871, reassembled at Geneva on the 15th of June, 1872; and the agent of each of the parties duly delivered to each of the arbitrators, and to the agent of the other party, the printed argument referred to in Article V of the said treaty.

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.116

The tribunal having since fully taken into their consideration the treaty, and also the cases, counter-cases, documents, evidence and arguments, and likewise all other communications made to them by the two parties during the progress of their sittings, and having impartially and carefully examined the same.

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.116

Has arrived at the decision embodied in the present award:

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.116

Whereas, having regard to the 6th and 7th articles of the said treaty, the arbitrators are bound under the terms of the said 6th article, "in deciding the matters submitted to them, to be governed by the three rules therein specified and by such principles of international law, not inconsistent therewith, as the arbitrators shall determine to have been applicable to the case";

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.116

["Rules.—A neutral Government is bound—

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.116–p.117

"First, to use due diligence to prevent the fitting out, arming, or equipping, within its jurisdiction, of any vessel which it has reasonable ground to believe is intended to cruise or to carry on war against a Power with which it is at peace; and also to use like diligence to prevent the departure from its jurisdiction of any vessel intended to cruise or carry on war as above, such vessel having been specially adapted, in whole or in part, within such jurisdiction, to warlike use.

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.117

"Secondly, not to permit or suffer either belligerent to make use of its ports or waters as the base of naval operations against the other, or for the purpose of the renewal or augmentation of military supplies or arms, or the recruitment of men.

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.117

"Thirdly, to exercise due diligence in its own ports and waters, and, as to all persons within its jurisdiction, to prevent any violation of the foregoing obligations and duties."]

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.117

And whereas the "due diligence" referred to in the first and third of the said rules ought to be exercised by neutral governments in exact proportion to the risks to which either of the belligerents may be exposed, from a failure to fulfil the obligations of neutrality on their part;

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.117

And whereas the circumstances out of which the facts constituting the subject-matter of the present controversy arose were of a nature to call for the exercise on the part of Her Britannic Majesty's government of all possible solicitude for the observance of the rights and the duties involved in the proclamation of neutrality issued by Her Majesty on the 13th day of May, 1861;

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.117–p.118

And whereas the effects of a violation of neutrality committed by means of the construction, equipment, and armament of a vessel are not done away with by any commission which the government of the belligerent power, benefited by the violation of neutrality, may afterwards have granted to that vessel; and the ultimate step, by which the offense is completed, cannot be admissible as a ground for the absolution of the offender, nor can the consummation of his fraud become the means of establishing his innocence;

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.118

And whereas the privilege of exterritoriality accorded to vessels of war has been admitted into the law of nations, not as an absolute right, but solely as a proceeding founded on the principle of courtesy and mutual deference between different nations, and therefore can never be appealed to for the protection of acts done in violation of neutrality;

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.118

And whereas the absence of a previous notice cannot be regarded as a failure in any consideration required by the law of nations, in those cases in which a vessel carries with it its own condemnation;

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.118

And whereas, in order to impart to any supplies of coal a character inconsistent with the second rule, prohibiting the use of neutral ports or waters, as a base of naval operations for a belligerent, it is necessary that the said supplies should be connected with special circumstances of time, of persons, or of place, which may combine to give them such character;

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.118–p.119

And whereas, with respect to the vessel called the "Alabama," it clearly results from all the facts relative to the construction of the ship at first designated by the number "290" in the port of Liverpool, and its equipment and armament in the vicinity of Terceira through the agency of the vessels called the "Agrippina" and the "Bahama," dispatched from Great Britain to that end, that the British government failed to use due diligence in the performance of its neutral obligations; and especially that it omitted, notwithstanding the warnings and official representations made by the diplomatic agents of the United States during the construction of the said number "290," to take in due time any effective measures of prevention, and that those orders which it did give at last, for the detention of the vessel, were issued so late that their execution was not practicable;

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.119

And whereas, after the escape of that vessel, the measures taken for its pursuit and arrest were so imperfect as to lead to no result, and therefore cannot be considered sufficient to release Great Britain from the responsibility already incurred;

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.119

And whereas, in despite of the violations of the neutrality of Great Britain committed by the "290," this same vessel, later known as the Confederate cruiser Alabama," was on several occasions freely admitted into the ports of colonies of Great Britain, instead of being proceeded against as it ought to have been in any and every port within British jurisdiction in which it might have been found;

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.119

And whereas the government of Her Britannic Majesty cannot justify itself for a failure in due diligence on the plea of insufficiency of the legal means of action which it possessed:

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.120

Four of the arbitrators, for the reasons above assigned, and the fifth for reasons separately assigned by him,

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.120

Are of opinion—

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.120

That Great Britain has in this case failed, by omission, to fulfill the duties prescribed in the first and the third of the rules established by the 6th article of the Treaty of Washington.

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.120

And whereas, with respect to the vessel called the "Florida," it results from all the facts relative to the construction of the "Oreto" in the port of Liverpool, and to its issue therefrom, which facts failed to induce the authorities in Great Britain to resort to measures adequate to prevent the violation of the neutrality of that nation, notwithstanding the warnings and repeated representations of the agents of the United States, that Her Majesty's government has failed to use due diligence to fulfil the duties of neutrality;

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.120

And whereas it likewise results from all the facts relative to the stay of the "Oreto" at Nassau, to her issue from that port, to her enlistment of men, to her supplies, and to her armament, with the cooperation of the British vessel "Prince Alfred," at Green Cay, that there was negligence on the part of the British colonial authorities;

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.120

And whereas, notwithstanding the violation of the neutrality of Great Britain committed by the "Oreto," this same vessel, later known as the Confederate cruiser "Florida," was nevertheless on several occasions freely admitted into the ports of British colonies;

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.121

And whereas the judicial acquittal of the "Oreto" at Nassau cannot relieve Great Britain from the responsibility incurred by her under the principles of international law; nor can the fact of the entry of the "Florida" into the Confederate port of Mobile, and of its stay there during four months, extinguish the responsibility previously to that time incurred by Great Britain:

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.121

For these reasons,

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.121

The tribunal, by a majority of four voices to one, is of opinion—

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.121

That Great Britain has in this case failed, by omission, to fulfil the duties prescribed in the first, in the second, and in the third of the rules established by Article VI of the Treaty of Washington.

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.121

And whereas, with respect to the vessel called the "Shenandoah," it results from all the facts relative to the departure from London of the merchant-vessel the "Sea King," and to the transformation of that ship into a confederate cruiser under the name of the "Shenandoah," near the island of Madeira, that the government of Her Britannic Majesty is not chargeable with any failure, down to that date, in the use of due diligence to fulfil the duties of neutrality;

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.121–p.122

But whereas it results from all the facts connected with the stay of the "Shenandoah" at Melbourne, and especially with the augmentation which the British government itself admits to have been clandestinely effected of her force, by the enlistment of men within that port, that there was negligence on the part of the authorities at that place:

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.122

For these reasons,

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.122

The tribunal is unanimously of opinion—

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.122

That Great Britain has not failed, by any act or omission, "to fulfil any of the duties prescribed by the three rules of Article VI in the Treaty of Washington, or by the principles of international law not inconsistent therewith," in respect to the vessel called the "Shenandoah," during the period of time anterior to her entry into the port of Melbourne;

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.122

And, by a majority of three to two voices, the tribunal decides that Great Britain has failed, by omission, to fulfill the duties prescribed by the second and third of the rules aforesaid, in the case of this same vessel, from and after her entry into Hobson's Bay, and is therefore responsible for all acts committed by that vessel after her departure from Melbourne, on the 18th day of February, 1865.

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.122

And so far as relates to the vessels called—

The "Tuscaloosa," (tender to the "Alabama,")

The "Clarence,"

The "Tacony," and

The "Archer," (tenders to the "Florida,")

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.122

The tribunal is unanimously of opinion—

That such tenders or auxiliary vessels, being properly regarded as accessories, must necessarily follow the lot of their principals, and be submitted to the same decision which applies to them respectively.

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.123

And so far as relates to the vessel called "Retribution,"

The tribunal, by a majority of three to two voices, is of opinion—

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.123

That Great Britain has not failed by any act or omission to fulfil any of the duties prescribed by the three rules of Article VI in the treaty of Washington, or by the principles of international law not inconsistent therewith.

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.123

And so far as relates to the vessels called—

The "Georgia,"

The "Sumter,"

The "Nashville,"

The "Tallahassee," and

The "Chickamauga," respectively,

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.123

The tribunal is unanimously of opinion—

That Great Britain has not failed, by any act or omission, to fulfil any of the duties prescribed by the three rules of Article VI in the Treaty of Washington, or by the principles of international law not inconsistent therewith.

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.123

And so far as relates to the vessels called—

The "Sallie,"

The "Jefferson Davis,"

The "Music,"

The "Boston," and

The "V. H. Joy," respectively,

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.123

The tribunal is unanimously of opinion—

That they ought to be excluded from consideration for want of evidence.

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.124

And whereas, so far as relates to the particulars of the indemnity claimed by the United States, the costs of pursuit of the Confederate cruisers are not, in the judgment of the tribunal, properly distinguishable from the general expenses of the war carried on by the United States:

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.124

The tribunal is, therefore, of opinion, by a majority of three to two voices—

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.124

That there is no ground for awarding to the United States any sum by way of indemnity under this head.

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.124

And whereas prospective earnings cannot properly be made the subject of compensation, inasmuch as they depend in their nature upon future and uncertain contingencies:

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.124

The tribunal is unanimously of opinion—

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.124

That there is no ground for awarding to the United States any sum by way of indemnity under this head.

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.124

And whereas, in order to arrive at an equitable compensation for the damages which have been sustained, it is necessary to set aside all double claims for the same losses, and all claims for "gross freights," so far as they exceed "net freights";

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.124

And whereas it is just and reasonable to allow interest at a reasonable rate;

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.124

And whereas, in accordance with the spirit and letter of the Treaty of Washington, it is preferable to adopt the form of adjudication of a sum in gross, rather than to refer the subject of compensation for further discussion and deliberation to a board of assessors, as provided by Article X of the said treaty:

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.125

The tribunal, making use of the authority conferred upon it by Article VII of the said treaty, by a majority of four voices to one, awards to the United States a sum of $ 15,500,000 in gold, as the indemnity to be paid by Great Britain to the United States, for the satisfaction of all the claims referred to the consideration of the tribunal, conformably to the provisions contained in Article VII of the aforesaid treaty.

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.125

And, in accordance with the terms of Article Xl of the said treaty, the tribunal declares that "all the claims referred to in the treaty as submitted to the tribunal are hereby fully, perfectly, and finally settled."

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.125

Furthermore it declares, that "each and every one of the said claims, whether the same may or may not have been presented to the notice of, or made, preferred, or laid before the tribunal, shall henceforth be considered and treated as finally settled, barred, and inadmissible."….

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.125

Made and concluded at the Hotel de Ville of Geneva, in Switzerland, the 14th day of the month of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-two.

Geneva Award in the Alabama Claims, America, Vol.9, p.125

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

FREDERICK SCLOPIS.

STAMPFLI.

VICOMTE D'ITAJUBA.

Carpet-Bag Government

Title: Carpet-Bag Government

Author: James Shepherd Pike

Date: 1873

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.152-158

This is one of a series of articles Pike wrote after visiting South Carolina in 1873, and observing the evils of carpet-bag government. They were published by D. Appleton & Company as "The Prostrate State: South Carolina Under Negro Government." Before the Civil War the author was Washington correspondent of the New York Tribune. During the war he was American Minister to the Netherlands. In the Grant-Greeley campaign of 1873 he supported the Liberal Republican movement in opposing further coercive measures in the Southern States.

During this orgy of misgovernment in the South a wholesale system of plunder was inaugurated. In South Carolina alone the public debt was increased from $5,000,000 in 1868 to $18,000,000 in 1872, with little to show for it. The tax levy of $500,000 a year were raised to $2,000,800 although the value of taxable property was reduced one-half.

Pike, Carpet-Bag Government, America, Vol.9, p.152

IN the place of an old aristocratic society stands the rude form of the most ignorant democracy that mankind ever saw, invested with the functions of government. It is the dregs of the population habiliated in the robes of their intelligent predecessors, and asserting over them the rule of ignorance and corruption, through the inexorable machinery of a majority of numbers. It is barbarism overwhelming civilization by physical force. It is the slave rioting in the halls of his master, and putting that master under his feet. And, though it is done without malice and without vengeance, it is nevertheless none the less completely and absolutely done. Let us approach nearer and take a closer view.

Pike, Carpet-Bag Government, America, Vol.9, p.153

We will enter the House of Representatives. Here sit one hundred and twenty-four members. Of these, twenty-three are white men, representing the remains of the old civilization…. Deducting the twenty-three members referred to, who comprise the entire strength of the opposition, we find one hundred and one remaining. Of this one hundred and one, ninety-four are colored, and seven are their white allies. Thus the blacks outnumber the whole body of whites in the House more than three to one…. As things stand, the body is almost literally a Black Parliament, and it is the only one on the face of the earth which is the representative of a white constituency and the professed exponent of an advanced type of modern civilization. But the reader will find almost any portraiture inadequate to give a vivid idea of the body, and enable him to comprehend the complete metamorphosis of the South Carolina Legislature, without observing its details. The Speaker is black, the Clerk is black, the doorkeepers are black, the little pages are black, the chairman of the Ways and Means is black, and the chaplain is coal-black. At some of the desks sit colored men whose types it would be hard to find outside of Congo; whose costume, visages, attitudes and expression, only befit the forecastle of a buccaneer. It must be remembered, also, that these men, with not more than half a dozen exceptions, have been themselves slaves, and that their ancestors were slaves for generations….

Pike, Carpet-Bag Government, America, Vol.9, p.154

The corruption of the State government of South Carolina is a topic that has grown threadbare in the handling. The last administration stole right hand and left with a recklessness and audacity without parallel. The robbers under it embraced all grades of people. The thieves had to combine to aid one another. It took a combination of the principal authorities to get at the Treasury, and they had to share the plunder alike. All the smaller fry had their proportions, the legislators and lobbymen included. The principal men of the Scott administration are living in Columbia, and nobody undertakes to call them to account. They do not attempt even to conceal their plunder. If everybody was not implicated in the robberies of the Treasury, some way would be found to bring them to light. All that people know is that the State bonded debt had been increased from five to fifteen millions, and that, besides this, there are all sorts of current obligations to pay afloat, issued by State officers who had authority to bind the Treasury. They are all tinctured with fraud, and some of them are such scandalous swindles that the courts have been able temporarily to stop their payment.

Pike, Carpet-Bag Government, America, Vol.9, p.154–p.155

The whole of the late administration, which terminated its existence in November, 1872, was a morass of rottenness, and the present administration was born of the corruptions of that; but for the exhaustion of the State, there is no good reason to believe it would steal less than its predecessor. There seems to be no hope, therefore, that the villainies of the past will be speedily uncovered. The present Governor was Speaker of the last House, and he is credited with having issued during his term in office over $400,000 of pay "certificates" which are still unredeemed and for which there is no appropriation, but which must be saddled on the taxpayers sooner or later….

Pike, Carpet-Bag Government, America, Vol.9, p.155–p.156

…. Then it has been found that some of the most unscrupulous white and black robbers who have, as members or lobbyists, long plied their nefarious trade at the capital, still disfigure and disgrace the present Assembly. So tainted is the atmosphere with corruption, so universally implicated is everybody about the government, of such a character are the ornaments of society at the capital, that there is no such thing as an influential local opinion to be brought against the scamps. They plunder, and glory in it. They steal, and defy you to prove it. The legalization of fraudulent scrip is regarded simply as a smart operation. The purchase of a senatorship is considered only a profitable trade. Those who make the most out of the operation are the best fellows. "How did you get your money?" was asked of a prominent legislator and lobbyist. "I stole it," was the prompt reply. The same man pursues his trade today, openly and unabashed. A leading member of the last administration was told he had the credit of having robbed the State of his large fortune. "Let them prove it," was his only answer. Meanwhile both of them openly revel in their riches under the very shadow of the Iean and hungry Treasury whence their ill gotten gains were filched.

Pike, Carpet-Bag Government, America, Vol.9, p.156

As has been already said, it is believed that the lank impoverishment of the Treasury and the total abasement and destruction of the State credit alone prevent the continuance of robbery on the old scale. As it is, taxation is not in the least diminished, and nearly two millions per annum are raised for State expenses where $400,000 formerly sufficed. This affords succulent pasturage for a large crowd. For it must be remembered that not a dollar of it goes for interest on the State debt. The barter and sale of the offices in which the finances of the State are manipulated, which are divided among the numerous small counties under a system offering unusual facilities for the business, go on with as much activity as ever. The new Governor has the reputation of spending $30,000 or $40,000 a year on a salary of $3,500, but his financial operations are taken as a matter of course, and only referred to with a slight shrug of the shoulders.

Pike, Carpet-Bag Government, America, Vol.9, p.156–p.157

…. The narration I have given sufficiently shows how things have gone and are going in this State, but its effect would be much heightened if there were time and room for details. Here is one: The total amount of the stationery bill of the House for the twenty years preceding 1861 averaged $400 per annum. Last year it was $ 16,000…. The influence of a free press is well understood in South Carolina. It was understood and dreaded under the old regime, and was muzzled accordingly. Nearly all the newspapers in the State are now subsidized. The State government employs and pays them "ad libitum." One installment of $75,000 lately went to about twenty-five papers in sums ranging from $1,000 to $7,000 apiece, a list of which was published by order of a vote of the Legislature a short time ago. Down here these small weekly sheets can be pretty nearly kept going on these subsidies. Of course none of the deviltry of the State government is likely to be exposed through them. The whole amount of the printing bills of the State last year, it is computed (for every thing here has to be in part guesswork), aggregated the immense sum of $600,000….

Pike, Carpet-Bag Government, America, Vol.9, p.157

The black men who led the colored forces the other day against a railroad charter, because their votes had not been purchased, were models of hardihood in legislative immorality. They were not so wily nor so expert, perhaps, as the one white man who was their ally in debate, but who dodged the vote from fear of his constituency; but they exhibited on that, as they have on other occasions, an entire want of moral tone, and a brazen effrontery in pursuing their venal purposes that could not be surpassed by the most accomplished "striker" of Tweed's old gang. I have before alluded to the fact that on this occasion the blacks voted alone, not one white man going with them in opposing the measure they had conspired to defeat in order to extort money from the corporators.

Pike, Carpet-Bag Government, America, Vol.9, p.158

This mass of black representatives, however ignorant in other respects, were here seen to be well schooled in the arts of corruption. They knew precisely what they were about and just what they wanted, and they knew the same when they voted for Patterson for Senator.

Pike, Carpet-Bag Government, America, Vol.9, p.158

This is the kind of moral education the ignorant blacks of the State are getting by being made legislators. The first lessons were, to be sure, given by whites from abroad. But the success of the carpetbaggers has stimulated the growth of knavish native demagogues, who bid fair to surpass their instructors. The imitative powers of the blacks and their destitution of morale put them already in the front ranks of the men who are robbing and disgracing the State, and cheating the gallows of its due.

The Panic of 1873

Title: The Panic of 1873

Author: E. Benjamin Andrews

Date: 1873

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.159-166

Dr. Andrews, from whose "History of the Last Quarter-Century of the United States" this account is taken, by permission of Charles Scribner's Sons, occupied the chair of political economy and finance In Cornell Unrversity, 1888-9, and was president of Brown University from 1889 to 1898. He resigned because of criticism by the university trustees of his advocacy of free silver. In 1892 he was a United States commissioner to the Brussels monetary conference, and was a strong advocate of international bimetallism.

The crisis of 1873 is usually dated from the failure of Jay Cooke & Company. There had been premonitory symptoms of the approaching collapse. Rail-road-building reached its highest point in 1871, pig-iron its highest price in 1872. The crisis lasted a few months only, but was followed by a tenaciously long period of depression, the lowest point of which was touched in 1876.

Andrews, Panic of 1873, America, Vol.9, p.159

THE panic of 1873, so far as it resulted from contraction, had its main origin abroad, not in America, so that its subordinate causes were generally looked upon as its sole occasion; yet these bye causes were important. The shocking destruction of wealth by fires and by reckless speculation, of course, had a baneful effect. During 1872 the balance of trade was strongly against the United States. The circulation of depreciated paper money had brought to many an apparent prosperity which was not real, leading to the free creation of debts by individuals, corporations, towns, cities and States. An unprecedented mileage of railways had been constructed. Much supposed wealth consisted in the bonds of these railroads and of other new concerns, like mining and manufacturing corporations. Thus the entire business of the country was on a basis of inflation, and when contraction came disaster was inevitable.

Andrews, Panic of 1873, America, Vol.9, p.160

In the course of the summer solid values began to be hoarded and interest rates consequently to rise. In August there was a partial corner in gold, broken by a government sale of $6,000,000. In September panic came, with suspension of several large banking houses in New York. Jay Cooke & CO., who had invested heavily in the construction of the Northern Pacific Railway, suspended on September 18th. When authoritative news of this event was made known in the Stock Exchange a perfect stampede of the brokers ensued. They surged out of the Exchange, tumbling pell-mell over each other in the general confusion, hastening to notify their respective houses. Next day, September 19th, Fiske & Hatch, very conservative people, went down.

Andrews, Panic of 1873, America, Vol.9, p.160–p.161

September 19th was a second Black Friday. Never since the original Black Friday had the Street and the Stock Exchange been so frantic. The weather, dark and rainy, seemed to sympathize with the gloom which clouded the financial situation. Wall, Broad and Nassau Streets were thronged with people. From the corner of Wall Street and Broadway down to the corner of Hanover Street a solid mass of men filled both sidewalks. From the post-office along Nassau Street down Broad Street to Exchange Place another dense throng moved slowly, aimlessly, hither and thither. Sections of Broadway itself were packed. Weaving in and out like the shuttles in a loom were brokers and brokers' clerks making the best speed they could from point to point. All faces wore a bewildered and foreboding look. TO help them seem cool, moneyed men talked about the weather, but their incoherent words and nervous motions betrayed their anxiety. The part of Wall Street at the corner of Broad Street held a specially interested mass of men. They seemed like an assemblage anxiously awaiting the appearance of a great spectacle. High up on the stone balustrade of the Sub-Treasury were numerous spectators, umbrellas sheltering them from the pelting rain as they gazed with rapt attention on the scene below. All the brokers' offices were filled. In each, at the first click of the indicator, everybody present was breathless, showing an interest more and more intense as the figures telegraphed were read off.

Andrews, Panic of 1873, America, Vol.9, p.161–p.162

It was half-past ten in the morning when the Fiske & Hatch failure was announced in the Stock Exchange. For a moment there was silence; then a hoarse murmur broke out from bulls and bears alike, followed by yells and cries indescribable, clearly audible on the street. Even the heartless bear, in glee over the havoc he was making, paused to utter a growl of sorrow that gentlemen so honorable should become ursine prey. The news of the failure ran like a prairie fire, spreading dismay that showed itself on all faces. Annotators of values in the various offices made known in doleful ticks the depreciation of stocks and securities. Old habitues of the exchanges, each usually placid as a moonlit lake, were wrought up till they acted like wild men.

Andrews, Panic of 1873, America, Vol.9, p.162

At the corner of Broad Street and Exchange Place a delirious crowd of money-lenders and borrowers collected and tried to fix a rate for loans. The matter hung in the balance for some time until the extent of the panic became known. They bid until the price of money touched one-half of one per cent. a day and legal interest. One man, after lending $30,000 at three-eighths per cent., said that he had $20,000 left, but that he thought he would not lend it. As he said this he turned toward his office, but was immediately surrounded by about twenty borrowers who hung on to his arms till he had agreed to lend the $20,000.

Andrews, Panic of 1873, America, Vol.9, p.162–p.163

The Stock Exchange witnessed the chief tragedy and the chief farce of the day. Such tumult, push and bellowing had never been known there even in the wildest moments of the war. The interior of the Exchange was of noble altitude, with a vaulted top, brilliantly colored in Renaissance design that sprang upward with a strength and grace seldom so happily united. A cluster of gas-jets, hanging high, well illuminated the enclosure. On the capacious floor, unobstructed by pillars or by furniture, save one small table whereon a large basket of flowers rested, a mob of brokers and brokers' clerks surged back and forth, filling the immense space above with roars and screams. The floor was portioned off to some twenty different groups. Here was one tossing "New York Central" up and down; near by another playing ball with "Wabash"; "Northwestern" jumped and sank as if afflicted with St. Vitus's dance. In the middle of the floor "Rock Island" cut up similar capers. In a remote corner "Pacific Mail" was beaten with clubs, while "Harlem" rose like a balloon filled with pure hydrogen. The uninitiated expected every instant to see the mob fight. Jobbers squared off at each other and screamed and yelled violently, flinging their arms around and producing a scene which Bedlam itself could not equal.

Andrews, Panic of 1873, America, Vol.9, p.163

Behind the raised desk, in snowy shirt-front and necktie, stood the president of the Exchange, his strong tenor voice every now and then ringing out over the Babel of sounds beneath. The gallery opposite him contained an eager throng of spectators bending forward and craning their necks to view the pandemonium on the floor. The rush for this gallery was fearful, and apparently, but for the utmost effort of the police, must have proved fatal to some. Excitement in Wall Street not infrequently drew crowds to the main front of the Exchange; but hardly ever, if ever before, had the vicinity been so packed as now. Two large blackboards exhibited in chalk figures the incessantly fluctuating quotations. Telegraph wires connected the Exchange with a thousand indicators throughout the city, whence the quotations, big with meaning to many, were flashed over the land.

Andrews, Panic of 1873, America, Vol.9, p.164–p.165

The first Black Friday was a bull Friday; the second was a bear Friday. Early in the panic powerful brokers began to sell short, and they succeeded in hammering down from ten to forty percent many of the finest stocks like "New York Central," "Erie," "Wabash," "Northwestern," "Rock Island," and "Western Union." They then bought to cover their sales. Bull brokers, unable to pay their contracts, shrieked for margin money, which their principals would not or could not put up. They also sought relief from the banks, but in vain. It had long been the practice of certain banks, though contrary to law, early each day to certify checks to enormous amounts in favor of brokers who had not a cent on deposit to their credit, the understanding in each case being that before three O'clock the broker would hand in enough cash or securities to cancel his debt. The banks now refused this accommodation. In the Exchange, eighteen names were read off of brokers who could not fulfil their contracts. As fast as the failures were announced the news was carried out on the street. In spite of the rain hundreds of people gathered about the offices of fallen reputation, and gazed curiously through the windows, trying to make out how the broken brokers were behaving. Toward evening, as the clouds lifted over Trinity spire, showing a ruddy flush in the west, everybody, save some reluctant bears, said, "The worst is over," and breathed a sigh of relief. The crowd melted, one by one the tiny little Broadway coupes rattled off, one by one the newsboys ceased shrieking, and night closed over the wet street.

Andrews, Panic of 1873, America, Vol.9, p.165

In deference to a general wish that dealings in stocks should cease, the Exchange was shut on Saturday, September 20th, and not opened again till the 30th. Such closure had never occurred before. On Sunday morning President Grant and Secretary Richardson, of the Treasury, came to New York, spending the day in anxious consultation with Vanderbilt, Clews, and other prominent business men.

Andrews, Panic of 1873, America, Vol.9, p.165

Had the Secretary of the Treasury acted promptly and firmly he might have relieved the situation much; but he vacillated. Some $13,500,000 in five-twenty bonds were bought, and a few millions of the greenbacks which Secretary McCulloch had called in for cancellation were set free. But as Mr. Richardson announced no policy on which the public could depend, most of the cash let loose was instantly hoarded in vaults or used in the purchase of other bonds then temporarily depressed, so doing nothing whatever to allay the distress. On the 25th the Treasury ceased buying bonds. The person who, at the worst, sustained the market and kept it from breaking to a point where half of the street would have been inevitably ruined, was Jay Gould, mischief itself on the first Black Friday, but on this one a blessing. He bought during the low prices several hundred thousand shares of railroad stocks, principally of the Vanderbilt stripe, and in this way put a check on the ruinous decline.

Andrews, Panic of 1873, America, Vol.9, p.166

The national banks of New York weathered this cyclone by a novel device of the Clearing-house or associated banks. They pooled their cash and collaterals into a common fund, placed this in the hands of a trusty committee, and issued against it loan certificates that were receivable at the Clearing-house, just like cash, in payment of debit balances. Ten million dollars' worth of these certificates was issued at first, a sum subsequently doubled. This Clearing-house paper served its purpose admirably. By October 3rd confidence was so restored that $1,000,000 of it was called in and canceled, followed next day by $1,500,000 more. None of it was long outstanding. The Clearing-house febrifuge was successfully applied also in Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and other cities, but not in Chicago.

Andrews, Panic of 1873, America, Vol.9, p.166

The panic overspread the country. Credit in business was refused, debtors were pressed for payment, securities were rushed into the markets and fell greatly in price. Even United States bonds went down from five to ten per cent. There was a run upon savings banks, many of which succumbed. Manufactured goods were little salable, and the prices of agricultural products painfully sank. Factories began to run on short time, many closed entirely, many corporations failed. The peculiarity of this crisis was the slowness with which it abated, though fortunately its acute phase was of brief duration. NO date could be set as its term, its evil effects dragging on through years.

Cuban Intervention Proposed

Title: Cuban Intervention Proposed

Author: Hamilton Fish

Date: 1873

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.167-174

Hamilton Fish was Secretary of State in Grant's Cabinet when he sent this official communication to Calcob Cushing, United States Minister to Spain. That was in 1875 and his firm stand brought about a satisfactory settlement of the complications arising in the Virginians affair, and resulted in the postponement of a war with Spain until 1898.

Diplomatic negotiations with Spain over Cuba began soon after the United States had acknowledged the independence of the South and Central American countries that had thrown off the Spanish yoke. The Cuban insurrection had been in progress for seven years when this document was drafted.

On October 31, 1873, the Virginians, an American vessel carrying arms and men to the aid of the Cuban insurgents, had been captured by a Spanish warship, and her captain, with 36 of the crew and 6 passengers, were executed.

Fish, Cuban Intervention Proposed, America, Vol.9, p.167

AT the time of your departure for Madrid, apart from the general question of the unsatisfactory condition of affairs in Cuba and the failure to suppress the revolution, several prominent questions remained unadjusted, the settlement of which was deemed necessary before any satisfactory relations with Spain could be established or maintained. Upon all of these you were instructed.

Fish, Cuban Intervention Proposed, America, Vol.9, p.167–p.168

The most prominent among them were the questions arising from the embargo and confiscation of estates of American citizens in Cuba; those relating to the trial of American citizens in that island, in violation of treaty obligations, and the claims arising out of the capture of the including the trial and punishment of Ueneral flurriel.

Fish, Cuban Intervention Proposed, America, Vol.9, p.168

After the expiration of more than eighteen months, it seems advisable to examine what progress has been made and to consider our present relations with Spain….

Fish, Cuban Intervention Proposed, America, Vol.9, p.168

…. the promises made and repeated, the assurances given from time to time that something should be done, the admission of the justice of the demands of this country, at least to the extent of expressing regret for these wrongs and promising redress, followed as they have been by absolutely no performance and no practical steps whatever towards performance, need no extended comment.

Fish, Cuban Intervention Proposed, America, Vol.9, p.168

In the cases of embargo and confiscation, not only have wrongs been long since done, but continuing and repeated wrongs are daily inflicted. The authorities of Spain in Cuba, during all this time, have been and are using the revenues of the confiscated or embargoed estates, appropriating much of the property itself, and in some cases executing long leases, or actually making sales, either on the allegation that taxes were due, or without any excuse whatever.

Fish, Cuban Intervention Proposed, America, Vol.9, p.168

Turning to the questions which arose from the capture of the "Virginius," and the execution which followed, no extended reference is required.

Fish, Cuban Intervention Proposed, America, Vol.9, p.168–p.169

The particulars of the delivery of the vessel to this Government, and the payment to both Great Britain and the United States of considerable sums as compensation for the acts of the authorities in ordering the execution of fifty-three of the passengers and crew under circumstances of peculiar brutality, have passed into history.

Fish, Cuban Intervention Proposed, America, Vol.9, p.169

So far as a payment of money can atone for the execution of these unprotected prisoners, that has been accomplished.

Fish, Cuban Intervention Proposed, America, Vol.9, p.169

The higher and more imperative duty which the government of Spain assumed by the protocol of November 29, 1873, namely, to bring to justice General Burriel and the other principal offenders in this tragedy, has been evaded and entirely neglected….

Fish, Cuban Intervention Proposed, America, Vol.9, p.169

Having touched on these particular questions which have lately been prominent as disturbing causes with Spain, it is necessary to also refer to the general condition of affairs in Cuba as affecting our relations with the mother country.

Fish, Cuban Intervention Proposed, America, Vol.9, p.169

In my NO. 2, of February 6,1874, (the first instruction addressed to you on general matters pertaining to your mission,) I referred at length to the views entertained by the President and to the position of this Government.

Fish, Cuban Intervention Proposed, America, Vol.9, p.169

It was then more than five years since an organized insurrection had broken out which the government of Spain had been entirely unable to suppress….

Fish, Cuban Intervention Proposed, America, Vol.9, p.169

Almost two years have passed since those instructions were issued…. and it would appear that the situation has in no respect improved.

Fish, Cuban Intervention Proposed, America, Vol.9, p.169–p.170

The horrors of war have in no perceptible measure abated; the inconveniences and injuries which we then suffered have remained, and others have been added; the ravages of war have touched new parts of the island, and well-nigh ruined its financial and agricultural system and its relations to the commerce of the world. No effective steps have been taken to establish reforms or remedy abuses, and the effort to suppress the insurrection, by force alone, has been a complete failure….

Fish, Cuban Intervention Proposed, America, Vol.9, p.170

The United States purchases more largely than any other people of the productions of the island of Cuba, and therefore, more than any other for this reason, and still more by reason of its immediate neighborhood, is interested in the arrest of a system of wanton destruction which disgraces the age and affects every commercial people on the face of the globe.

Fish, Cuban Intervention Proposed, America, Vol.9, p.170

Under these circumstances, and in view of the fact that Spain has rejected all suggestions of reform or offers of mediation made by this Government, and has refused all measures looking to a reconciliation, except on terms which make reconciliation an impossibility, the difficulty of the situation becomes increased.

Fish, Cuban Intervention Proposed, America, Vol.9, p.170

When, however, in addition to these general causes of difficulty, we find the Spanish government neglectful also of the obligations of treaties and solemn compacts, and unwilling to afford any redress for long continued and well-founded wrongs suffered by our citizens, it becomes a serious question how long such a condition of things can or should be allowed to exist, and compels us to inquire whether the point has not been reached where longer endurance ceases to be possible.

Fish, Cuban Intervention Proposed, America, Vol.9, p.171

During all this time, and under these aggravated circumstances, this Government has not failed to perform her obligations to Spain as scrupulously as toward other nations. In fact, it might be said that we have not only been long suffering, because of the embarrassments surrounding the Spanish government, but particularly careful to give no occasion for complaint for the same reason.

Fish, Cuban Intervention Proposed, America, Vol.9, p.171

I regret to say that the authorities of Spain have not at all times appreciated our intentions or our purposes in these respects, and, while insisting that a state of war does not exit in Cuba, and that no rights as belligerents should be accorded to the insurrectionists, have at the same time demanded for themselves all the rights and privileges which flow from actual and acknowledged war.

Fish, Cuban Intervention Proposed, America, Vol.9, p.171

It will be apparent that such a state of things cannot continue. It is absolutely necessary to the maintenance of our relations with Spain, even on their present footing, that our just demands for the return to citizens of the United States of their estates in Cuba, unincumbered, and for securing to them a trial for offenses according to treaty provisions and all other rights guaranteed by treaty and by public law, should be complied with….

Fish, Cuban Intervention Proposed, America, Vol.9, p.171–p.172

Moreover, apart from these particular questions, in the opinion of the President, the time has arrived when the interests of this country, the preservation of its commerce, and the instincts of humanity alike demand that some speedy and satisfactory ending be made of the strife that is devastating Cuba….

Fish, Cuban Intervention Proposed, America, Vol.9, p.172

The contest and disorder in Cuba affect the United States directly and injuriously by the presence in this country of partisans of the revolt who have fled hither (in consequence of the proximity of territory) as to a political asylum, and who, by their plottings, are disturbers of the public peace.

Fish, Cuban Intervention Proposed, America, Vol.9, p.172

The United States has exerted itself to the utmost, for seven years, to repress unlawful acts on the part of these self-exiled subjects of Spain, relying on the promise of Spain to pacify the island. Seven years of strain on the powers of this Government to fulfill all that the most exacting demands of one government can make, under any doctrine or claim of international obligation, upon another, have not witnessed the much hoped-for pacification. The United States feels itself entitled to be relieved of this strain.

Fish, Cuban Intervention Proposed, America, Vol.9, p.172–p.173

The severe measures, injurious to the United States and often in conflict with public law, which the colonial officers have taken to subdue the insurrection; the indifference, and ofttimes the offensive assaults upon the just susceptibilities of the people of the United States and their Government, which have characterized that portion of the peninsular population of Havana which has sustained and upheld, if it has not controlled, successive governors-general, and which have led to the disregard of orders and decrees which the more enlarged wisdom and the more friendly councils of the home government had enacted; the cruelty and inhumanity which have characterized the contest, both on the part of the colonial government and of the revolt, for seven years, and the destruction of valuable properties and industries by arson and pillage, which Spain appears unable, however desirous, to prevent and stop, in an island three thousand miles distant from her shores, but lying within sight of our coast, with which trade and constant intercourse are unavoidable, are causes of annoyance and of injury to the United States, which a people cannot be expected to tolerate without the assured prospect of their termination.

Fish, Cuban Intervention Proposed, America, Vol.9, p.173

The United States has more than once been solicited by the insurgents to extend to them its aid, but has for years hitherto resisted such solicitation, and has endeavored by the tender of its good offices, in the way of mediation, advice, and remonstrance, to bring to an end a great evil, which has pressed sorely upon the interests both of the Government and of the people of the United States, as also upon the commercial interests of other nations….

Fish, Cuban Intervention Proposed, America, Vol.9, p.173

The President hopes that Spain may spontaneously adopt measures looking to a reconciliation, and to the speedy restoration of peace, and the organization of a stable and satisfactory system of government in the island of Cuba.

Fish, Cuban Intervention Proposed, America, Vol.9, p.173–p.174

In the absence of any prospect of a termination of the war, or of any change in the manner in which it has been conducted on either side, he feels that the time is at hand when it may be the duty of other governments to intervene, solely with the view of bringing to an end a disastrous and destructive conflict, and of restoring peace in the island of Cuba. NO government is more deeply interested in the order and peaceful administration of this island than is that of the United States, and none has suffered as has the United States from the condition which has obtained there during the past six or seven years. He will, therefore, feel it his duty at an early day to submit the subject in this light, and accompanied by an expression of the views above presented, for the consideration of Congress….

Fish, Cuban Intervention Proposed, America, Vol.9, p.174

It is believed to be a just and friendly act to frankly communicate this conclusion to the Spanish government.

Fish, Cuban Intervention Proposed, America, Vol.9, p.174

You will, therefore, take an early occasion thus to inform that government.

Why Reconstruction Failed

Title: Why Reconstruction Failed

Author: E. Benjamin Andrews, Salmon P. Chase, John Sherman

Date: 1865-1876

Source: Great Epochs in American History, Vol.9, pp.188-192

Why Reconstruction Failed, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.188

The method of reconstruction resorted to by Congress occasioned dreadful evils. It ignored the natural prejudices of the whites, many of whom were as loyal as any citizens in the land. To most people in that section, as well as to very many at the North, this dictation by Congress to acknowledged States in time of peace seemed high-handed usurpation. If Congress can do this, it was said, any State can be forced to change its constitution on account of any act which Congress dislikes. This did not necessarily follow, as reconstruction invariably presupposed an abnormal condition, viz., the State's emersion from a rebellion which had involved the State government, whose overthrow, with the rebellion, necessitated Congressional interference. Yet the inference was natural and widely drawn.

Why Reconstruction Failed, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.189

Salmon P. Chase in a letter to the Democratic National Committee, in 1873 said: "Congress was wrong in the exclusion from suffrage of certain classes of citizens, and of all unable to take a prescribed retrospective path, and wrong also in the establishment of arbitrary military governments for the States, and in authorizing military commissions for the trial of civilians in time of peace. There should have been as little military government as possible; no military commissions, no classes excluded from suffrage, and no oath except one of faithful obedience and support to the Constitution and laws, and sincere attachment to the constitutional government of the United States."

Why Reconstruction Failed, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.189

John Sherman in his "Recollections" says: "It is a question of grave doubt whether the Fifteenth Amendment, tho right in principle, was wise or expedient. The declared object was to secure impartial suffrage to the negro race. The practical result has been that the wise provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment have been modified by the Fifteenth Amendment. The latter amendment has been practicaly nullified by the action of most of the States where the great body of this race live and will probably always remain. This is done not by an express denial to them of the right of suffrage, on the alleged ground of ignorance, while permitting all the white race, however ignorant, to vote at all elections. No way is pointed out by which Congress can enforce this amendment.

Why Reconstruction Failed, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.190

"If the principle of the Fourteenth Amendment had remained in full force, Congress could have reduced the representation of any State, in the proportion which the number of the male inhabitants of such State, denied the right of suffrage, might bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age, in such State. This simple remedy, easily enforced by Congress, would have secured the right of all persons, without distinction of race or color, to vote at all elections. The reduction of the representation would have deterred every State from excluding the vote of any portion of the male population above twenty-one years of age. As the result of the Fifteenth Amendment, the political power of the States lately in rebellion has been increased, while the population conferring this increase is practically denied all political power. I see no remedy for this wrong, except the growing intelligence of the negro race."

Why Reconstruction Failed, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.190

If the South was to become again genuine part and parcel of this Union, it would not, nor would the North consent that it should, remain permanently under military government. Black legislatures abused their power, becoming instruments of carpet-bag leaders and rings in robbing white property-holders. Only doctrinaries or the stupid could have expected that the whites would long submit. So soon as Federal bayonets were gone, fair means or foul were certain to remove the scepter from colored hands. Precisely this happened. Without the slightest formal change of constitution or of statute the Southern States oneby one passed into the control of their white inhabitants.

Why Reconstruction Failed, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.191

Where white men's aims could not be realized by persuasion or other mild means, resort was had to intimidation and force. The chief instrumentality at first used for keeping colored voters from the polls was the Ku-Klux Klan, a secret society organized in Tennessee in 1866. It sprung from the old night patrol of slavery times. Then, every Southern gentleman used to serve on this patrol, whose duty it was to whip severely every negro found absent from home without a pass from his master. Its first post bellum work was not ill-meant, and its severities came on gradually. Its greatest activity was in Tennessee, Arkansas, and Mississippi, where its awful mysteries and gruesome rites spread utter panic among the superstitious blacks. Men visited negroes' huts and "mummicked" about, at first with sham magic, not with arms at all. One would carry a flesh bag in the shape of a heart and go around "hollering for fired nigger meat." Another would put on an Indian-rubber stomach to startle the negroes by swallowing pailfuls of water. Another represented that he had been killed at Manassas, since which time "some one had built a turnpike over his grave and he had to scratch like h—l to get up through the gravel." The lodges were "dens," the members "ghouls," "giants," "goblins," "titans," "furies," "dragons," and "hydras" were names of different classes among the officers.

Why Reconstruction Failed, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.191

Usually the mere existence of a "den" anywhere was sufficient to render docile every negro in the vicinity. If more was required, a half-dozen "ghouls" making their nocturnal rounds in their hideous masks and long white gowns, frightened all but the most hardy. Any who showed fight were whipt, maimed, or killed, treatment which was extended on occasion to their "carpet-bag" and "scalawag" friends—these titles denoting respectively Northern and Southern men who took the negroes' sides. The very violence of the order, which it at last turned against the old Southrons themselves, brought it into disrepute with its original instigators, who were not sorry when Federal marshals, put up to it by President Grant, hunted den after den of the law-breakers to the death.

Why Reconstruction Failed, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.192

In 1870 and 1871, by the so-called Force Bills, Federal judges were given cognizance of suits, privileges, or immunities under the Constitution. Fine and imprisonment were made the penalties for "conspiracy" against the United States or the execution of its laws, as by forcibly or through intimidation preventing men from voting. The army and navy were placed at the service of the President to enforce the act, and Federal judges might exclude suspected persons from sitting on juries. By this drastic measure and its rigorous execution in nine counties of South Carolina the organization was by 1873 driven out of existence. But some of its methods survived. In 1875 several States adopted and successfully worked the "Mississippi plan," which was, by whatever necessary means, to nullify black votes until white majorities were assured. Less violent than the Ku-Klux way, this new one was equally thorough.

Phases of Reconstruction in South Carolina

Title: Phases of Reconstruction in South Carolina

Author: Daniel H. Chamberlain

Date: 1875

Source: Great Epochs in American History, Vol.9, pp.193-195

Chamberlain, Phases of Reconstruction in South Carolina, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.193

Let us look at our State when the reconstruction acts first took effect in 1868. A social revolution had been accomplished—an entire reversal of the political relations of most of our people had ensued. The class which formerly held all the political power of our State were stript of all.

Chamberlain, Phases of Reconstruction in South Carolina, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.193

The class which had formerly been less than citizens, with no political power or social position, were made the sole depositaries of the political power of the State. I refer now to practical results, not to theories. The numerical relations of the two races here were such that one race, under the new laws, held absolute political control of the State.

Chamberlain, Phases of Reconstruction in South Carolina, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.193

The attitude and action of both races under these new conditions, while not unnatural, was, as I must think, unwise and unfortunate. One race stood aloof and haughtily refused to seek the confidence of the race which was just entering on its new powers; while the other race quickly grasped all the political which the new order of things had placed within their reach.

Chamberlain, Phases of Reconstruction in South Carolina, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.194

From the nature of the case, the one race were devoid of political experience, of all or nearly all education, and depended mainly for all these qualities upon those who, for the most part, chanced to have drifted here from other States, or who, in very rare instances, being former residents of the State, now allied themselves with the other race. No man of common prudence, or who was even slightly familiar with the working of social forces, could have then failed to see that the elements which went to compose the now dominant party were not of the kind which produce public virtue and honor, or which could long secure even public order and peace.

Chamberlain, Phases of Reconstruction in South Carolina, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.194

I make all just allowance for exceptional cases of individual character, but I say that the result to be expected, from the very nature of the situation in 1868, was that a scramble for office would ensue among the members of the party in power, which, again, from the nature of the case, must result in filling the offices of the State, local and general, with men of no capacity and little honesty or desire to really serve the public.

Chamberlain, Phases of Reconstruction in South Carolina, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.194

The nation had approved the reconstruction measures, not because they seemed to be free of danger, nor because they were blind to the very grave possibilities of future evils, but in the hope that the one race, wearing its new laurels and using its new powers with modesty and forbearance, would gradually remove the prejudices and enlist the sympathies and cooperation of the other race, until a fair degree of political homogeneity should be reached, and race lines should cease to mark the limits of political parties.

Chamberlain, Phases of Reconstruction in South Carolina, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.195

Three years have passed and the result is—what? Incompetency, dishonesty, corruption in all its forms, have "advanced their miscreated fronts," have put to flight the small remnant that opposed them, and now rules the party which rules the State.

Chamberlain, Phases of Reconstruction in South Carolina, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.195

You may imagine the chagrin with which I make this statement. Truth alone compels it. My eyes see it-all my senses testify to the startling and sad fact. I can never be indifferent to anything which touches the fair fame of that great national party to which all my deepest convictions attach me, and I repel the libel which the party bearing that name in this State is daily pouring upon us. I am a Republican by habit, by conviction, by association, but my republicanism is not, I trust, composed solely of equal parts of ignorance and rapacity.

Chamberlain, Phases of Reconstruction in South Carolina, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.195

Such is the plain statement of the present condition of the dominant party of our State. What is the remedy? That a change will come, and come speedily, let no man doubt. Corruption breeds its own kind. Ignorance rushes to its downfall. Close behind any political party which tolerates such qualities in its public representatives stalks the headsman. If the result is merely political disruption let us be profoundly thankful. Let us make haste to prevent it from being social disruption—the sundering of all the bonds which make society and government possible.

The Coming of the Telephone

Title: The Coming of the Telephone

Author: Thomas A. Watson

Date: 1875

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.207-220

Watson was an expert machinist and pioneer electrician who greatly assisted Alexander Graham Bell in the discovery and early construction of the telephone. This address, delivered at Chicago in 1913, before the Third Annual Convention of the Telephone Pioneers of America, is reprinted from The Telephone Review. It recounts the memorable June 2, 1875, when a sound was first electrically transmitted and "the speaking telephone was born," at 109 Court Street, Boston. Directed by Bell Watson "made the first telephone, put up the first telephone wire and heard the first words ever uttered through a telephone." They were, "Mr. Watson, please come here, I want you.

On February 14, 1876, Bell received a patent for his speaking telephone. Though his claims were disputed by other inventors, his rights were sustained by the United States Supreme Court, and he is given credit for being the first to perfect and construct a working instrument.

Watson, Coming of the Telephone, America, Vol.9, p.207

I AM to speak to you of the birth and babyhood of the telephone, and something of the events which preceded that important occasion. These are matters that must seem to you ancient history; in fact, they seem so to me, although the events all happened less than 40 years ago, in the years 1874 to 1880….

Watson, Coming of the Telephone, America, Vol.9, p.207–p.208

I realize now what a lucky boy I was, when at 13 years of age I had to leave school and go to work for my living, although I didn't think so at that time…. There's a "tide in the affairs of men," you know, and that was the beginning of its flood in my life, for after trying several vocations—clerking, bookkeeping, carpentering, etc.—and finding them all unattractive, I had at last found just the job that suited me in the electrical workshop of Charles Williams, at 109 Court Street, Boston—one of the best men I have ever known. Better luck couldn't befall a boy than to be brought so early in life under the influence of such a high-minded gentleman as Charles Williams….

Watson, Coming of the Telephone, America, Vol.9, p.208

Besides the regular work at Williams', there was a constant stream of wild-eyed inventors, with big ideas in their heads and little money in their pockets, coming to the shop to have their ideas tried out in brass and iron….

Watson, Coming of the Telephone, America, Vol.9, p.208–p.209

…. Among them was dear old Moses G. Farmer, perhaps the leading practical electrician of that day. He was full of good ideas, which he was constantly bringing to Williams to have worked out. I did much of his work and learned from him more about electricity than ever before or since. He was electrician at that time for the United States Torpedo Station at Newport, Rhode Island, and in the early winter of 1874, I was making for him some experimental torpedo exploding apparatus. That apparatus will always be connected in my mind with the telephone, for one day when I was hard at work on it, a tall, slender, quick-motioned man with pale face, black side-whiskers, and drooping mustache, big nose and high sloping forehead crowned with bushy, jet black hair, came rushing out of the office and over to my work bench. It was Alexander Graham Bell, whom I saw then for the first time. He was bringing to me a piece of mechanism which I had made for him under instructions from the office. It had not been made as he had directed and he had broken down the rudimentary discipline of the shop in coming directly to me to get it altered. It was a receiver and a transmitter of his "Harmonic Telegraph, an invention of his with which he was then endeavoring to win fame and fortune. It was a simple affair by means of which, utilizing the law of sympathetic vibration, he expected to send six or eight Morse messages on a single wire at the same time, without interference.

Watson, Coming of the Telephone, America, Vol.9, p.209

Although most of you are probably familiar with the device, I must, to make my story clear, give you a brief description of the instruments, for though Bell never succeeded in perfecting his telegraph, his experimenting on it led to a discovery of the highest importance.

Watson, Coming of the Telephone, America, Vol.9, p.209–p.210

The essential parts of both transmitter and receiver were an electro-magnet and a flattened piece of steel clock spring. The spring was clamped by one end to one pole of the magnet, and had its other end free to vibrate over the other pole. The transmitter had, besides this, make-and-break points like an ordinary vibrating bell which, when the current was on, kept the spring vibrating in a sort of nasal whine, of a pitch corresponding to the pitch of the spring. When the signaling key was closed, an electrical copy of that whine passed through the wire and the distant receiver. There were, say, six transmitters with their springs tuned to six different pitches and six receivers with their springs tuned to correspond. Now, theoretically, when a transmitter sent its electrical whine into the line wire, its own faithful receiver spring at the distant station would wriggle sympathetically but all the others on the same line would remain coldly quiescent. Even when all the transmitters were whining at once through their entire gamut, making a row as if all the miseries this world of trouble ever produced were concentrated there, each receiver spring along the line would select its own from that sea of troubles and ignore all the others. Just see what a simple, sure-to-work invention this was; for just break up those various whines into the dots and dashes of Morse messages and one wire would do the work of six, and the "Duplex" telegraph that had just been invented would be beaten to a frazzle. Bell's reward would be immediate and rich, for the "Duplex" had been bought by the Atlantic and Pacific Telegraph Company, giving them a great advantage over their only competitor, the Western Union Company, and the latter would, of course, buy Bell's invention and his financial problems would be solved.

Watson, Coming of the Telephone, America, Vol.9, p.210–p.211

All this was, as I have said, theoretical, and it was mighty lucky for Graham Bell that it was, for had his harmonic telegraph been a well behaved apparatus that always did what its parent wanted it to do, the speaking telephone might never have emerged from a certain marvelous conception, that had even then been surging back of Bell's high forehead for two or three years. What that conception was, I soon learned, for he couldn't help speaking about it, although his friends tried to hush it up. They didn't like to have him get the reputation of being visionary, or—something worse.

Watson, Coming of the Telephone, America, Vol.9, p.211

TO go on with my story; after Mr. Farmer's peacemaking machines were finished, I made half a dozen pairs of the harmonic instruments for Bell. He was surprised, when he tried them to find that they didn't work as well as he expected. The cynical Watson wasn't at all surprised, for he had never seen anything electrical yet that worked at first the way the inventor thought it would. Bell wasn't discouraged in the least and a long course of experiments followed which gave me a steady job that winter and brought me into close contact with a wonderful personality that did more to mold my life rightly than anything else that ever came into it.

Watson, Coming of the Telephone, America, Vol.9, p.211

I became mightily tired of those "whiners" that winter. I call them by that name, perhaps, as an inadequate expression of my disgust with their persistent perversity, the struggle with which soon began to take all the joy out of my young life, not being endowed with the power of Macbeth's weird sisters to

"Look into the seeds of time,

And say which grain will grow and which will not."

Watson, Coming of the Telephone, America, Vol.9, p.211–p.212

Let me say here, that I have always had a feeling of respect for Elisha Gray, who, a few years later, made that harmonic telegraph work, and vibrate well behaved messages, that would go where they were sent, without fooling with every receiver on the line….

Watson, Coming of the Telephone, America, Vol.9, p.212

Mr. Bell was very apt to do his experimenting at night, for he was busy during the day at the Boston University, where he was Professor of Vocal Physiology, especially teaching his father's system of visible speech, by which a deaf mute might learn to talk—quite significant of what Bell was soon to do in making mute metal talk. For this reason I would often remain at the shop during the evening to help him test some improvement he had had me make on the instruments.

Watson, Coming of the Telephone, America, Vol.9, p.212–p.213

One evening when we were resting from our struggles with the apparatus, Bell said to me: "Watson, I want to tell you of another idea I have, which I think will surprise you." I listened, I suspect, somewhat languidly, for I must have been working that day about sixteen hours, with only a short nutritive interval, and Bell had already given me, during the weeks we had worked together, more new ideas on a great variety of subjects, including visible speech, elocution and flying machines, than my brain could assimilate, but when he went on to say that he had an idea by which he believed it would be possible to talk by telegraph, my nervous system got such a shock that the tired feeling vanished. I have never forgotten his exact words; they have run in my mind ever since like a mathematical formula. "If," he said, "I could make a current of electricity vary in intensity, precisely as the air varies in density during the production of a sound, I should be able to transmit speech telegraphically." He then sketched for me an instrument that he thought would do this, and we discussed the possibility of constructing one. I did not make it; it was altogether too costly, and the chances of its working too uncertain to impress his financial backers—Mr. Gardiner G. Hubbard and Mr. Thomas Sanders—who were insisting that the wisest thing for Bell to do was to perfect the harmonic telegraph; then he would have money and leisure enough to build air castles like the telephone….

Watson, Coming of the Telephone, America, Vol.9, p.213–p.214

If the exact time could be fixed, the date when the conception of the undulatory or speech-transmitting current took its perfect form in Bell's mind would be the greatest day in the history of the telephone, but certainly June 2, 1875, must always rank next; for on that day the mocking fiend inhabiting that demonic telegraph apparatus, just as a now-you-see-it-and-now-you-don't sort of a satanic joke, opened the curtain that hides from man great Nature's secrets and gave us a glimpse as quick as if it were through the shutter of a snap-shot camera, into that treasury of things not yet discovered. That imp didn't do this in any kindly, helpful spirit—any inventor knows he isn't that kind of a being—he just meant to tantalize and prove that a man is too stupid to grasp a secret, even if it is revealed to him. But he hadn't properly estimated Bell, though he had probably sized me up all right. That glimpse was enough to let Bell see and seize the very thing he had been dreaming about and drag it out into the world of human affairs.

Watson, Coming of the Telephone, America, Vol.9, p.214

Coming back to earth, I'll try and tell you what happened that day. In the experiments on the harmonic telegraph, Bell had found that the reason why the messages got mixed up was inaccuracy in the adjustment of the pitches of the receiver springs to those of the transmitter. Bell always had to do this tuning himself, as my sense of pitch and knowledge of music were quite lacking—a faculty (or lackulty) which you will hear later became quite useful. Mr. Bell was in the habit of observing the pitch of a spring by pressing it against his ear while the corresponding transmitter in a distant room was sending its intermittent current through the magnet of that receiver. He would then manipulate the tuning screw until that spring was tuned to accord with the pitch of the whine coming from the transmitter. All this experimenting was carried on in the upper story of the Williams building, where we had a wire connecting two rooms perhaps sixty feet apart looking out on Court Street.

Watson, Coming of the Telephone, America, Vol.9, p.214–p.215–p.216

On the afternoon of June 2, 1875, we were hard at work on the same old job, testing some modification of the instruments. Things were badly out of tune that afternoon in that hot garret, not only the instruments, but, I fancy, my enthusiasm and my temper, though Bell was as energetic as ever. I had charge of the transmitters as usual, setting them squealing one after the other, while Bell was retuning the receiver springs one by one, pressing them against his ear as I have described. One of the transmitter springs I was attending to stopped vibrating and I plucked it to start it again. It didn't start and I kept on plucking it, when suddenly I heard a shout from Bell in the next room, and then out he came with a rush, demanding, "What did you do then? Don't change anything. Let me see!" I showed him. It was very simple. The make-and-break points of the transmitter spring I was trying to start had become welded together, so that when I snapped the spring the circuit had remained unbroken while that strip of magnetized steel by its vibration over the pole of its magnet, was generating that marvelous conception of Bell's—a current of electricity that varied in intensity precisely as the air was varying in density within hearing distance of that spring. That undulatory current had passed through the connecting wire to the distant receiver which, fortunately, was a mechanism that could transform that current back into an extremely faint echo of the sound of the vibrating spring that had generated it, but what was still more fortunate, the right man had that mechanism at his ear during that fleeting moment, and instantly recognized the transcendent Importance of that faint sound thus electrically transmitted. The shout I heard and his excited rush into my room were the result of that recognition. The speaking telephone was born at that moment. Bell knew perfectly well that the mechanism that could transmit all the complex vibrations of one sound could do the same for any sound, even that of speech. That experiment showed him that the complex apparatus he had thought would be needed to accomplish that long dreamed result was not at all necessary, for here was an extremely simple mechanism operating in a perfectly obvious way, that could do it perfectly. All the experimenting that followed that discovery, up to the time the telephone was put into practical use was largely a matter of working out the details. We spent a few hours verifying the discovery, repeating it with all the differently tuned springs we had, and before we parted that night Bell gave me directions for making the first electric speaking telephone. I was to mount a small drum-head of gold beater's skin over one of the receivers, join the center of the drumhead to the free end of the receiver spring and arrange a mouthpiece over the drumhead to talk into. His idea was to force the steel spring to follow the vocal vibrations and generate a current of electricity that would vary in intensity as the air varies in density during the utterance of speech sounds. I followed these directions and had the instrument ready for its trial the very next day. I rushed it, for Bell's excitement and enthusiasm over the discovery had aroused mine again, which had been sadly dampened during those last few weeks by the meager results of the harmonic experiments. I made every part of that first telephone myself, but I didn't realize while I was working on it what a tremendously important piece of work I was doing.

Watson, Coming of the Telephone, America, Vol.9, p.217

The two rooms in the attic were too near together for the test, as our voices would be heard through the air, so I ran a wire especially for the trial from one of the rooms in the attic down two flights to the third floor where Williams' main shop was, ending it near my work bench at the back of the building. That was the first telephone line. You can well imagine that both our hearts were beating above the normal rate, while we were getting ready for the trial of the new instrument that evening. I got more satisfaction from the experiment than Mr. Bell did, for shout my best I could not make him hear me, but I could hear his voice and almost catch the words. I rushed upstairs and told him what I had heard. It was enough to show him that he was on the right track, and before he left that night he gave me directions for several improvements in the telephones I was to have ready for the next trial.

Watson, Coming of the Telephone, America, Vol.9, p.217–p.218

I hope my pride in the fact that I made the first telephone, put up the first telephone wire and heard the first words ever uttered through a telephone, has never been too ostentatious and offensive to my friends, but I am sure that you will grant that a reasonable amount of that human weakness is excusable in me. My pride has been tempered to quite a bearable degree by my realization that the reason why I heard Bell in that first trial of the telephone and he did not hear me, was the vast superiority of his strong vibratory tones over any sound my undeveloped voice was then able to utter. My sense of hearing, however, has always been unusually acute, and that might have helped to determine this result.

Watson, Coming of the Telephone, America, Vol.9, p.218

The building where these first telephone experiments were made is still in existence. It is now used as a theater. The lower stories have been much altered, but that attic is still quite unchanged and a few weeks ago I stood on the very spot where I snapped those springs and helped test the first telephone thirty-seven years and seven months before.

Watson, Coming of the Telephone, America, Vol.9, p.218

Of course, in our struggle to expel the imps from the invention, an immense amount of experimenting had to be done, but it wasn't many days before we could talk back and forth and hear each other's voice. It is, however, hard for me to realize now that it was not until the following March that I heard a complete and intelligible sentence. It made such an impression upon me that I wrote that first sentence in a book I have always preserved. The occasion had not been arranged and rehearsed as I suspect the sending of the first message over the Morse telegraph had been years before, for instead of that noble first telegraphic message—"What hath God wrought?" the first message of the telephone was: "Mr. Watson, please come here, I want you." Perhaps, if Mr. Bell had realized that he was about to make a bit of history, he would have been prepared with a more sounding and interesting sentence.

Watson, Coming of the Telephone, America, Vol.9, p.218–p.219

Soon after the first telephones were made, Bell hired two rooms on the top floor of an inexpensive boarding house at NO. 5 Exeter Place, Boston, since demolished to make room for mercantile buildings. He slept in one room; the other he fitted up as a laboratory. I ran a wire for him between the two rooms and after that time practically all his experimenting was done there. It was here one evening when I had gone there to help him test some improvement and to spend the night with him, that I heard the first complete sentence I have just told you about. Matters began to move more rapidly and during the summer of 1876, the telephone was talking so well that one didn't have to ask the other man to say it over again more than three or four times before one could understand quite well, if the sentences were simple.

Watson, Coming of the Telephone, America, Vol.9, p.219–p.220

This was the year of the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, and Bell decided to make an exhibit there. I was still working for Williams, and one of the jobs I did for Bell was to construct a telephone of each form that had been devised up to that time. These were the first nicely finished instruments that had been made. There had been no money nor time to waste on polish or non-essentials. But these Centennial telephones were done up in the highest style of the art. You could see your face in them. These aristocratic telephones worked finely, in spite of their glitter, when Sir William Thompson tried them at Philadelphia that summer. I was proud as Bell himself, when I read Sir William's report, wherein he said after giving an account of the tests: I need hardly say I was astonished and delighted, so were the other who witnessed the experiment and verified with their own ears the electric transmission of speech. This, perhaps, the greatest marvel hitherto achieved by electric telegraph, has been obtained by appliances of quite a homespun and rudimentary character." I have never forgiven Sir William for that last line. Homespun!

The Invention of the Telephone—The Share in it of Bell and Edison

Title: The Invention of the Telephone—The Share in it of Bell and Edison

Author: Encyclopedia Brittanica

Date: 1877

Source: Great Epochs in American History, Vol.10, pp.3-9

The Invention of the Telephone, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.3

In 1831 Wheatstone, by his "magic lyre" experiment showed that, when the sounding-boards of two musical instruments are connected together by a rod of pine wood, a tune played on one will be faithfully reproduced by the other. This only answers, however, for telephoning musical sounds to short distances. Another and somewhat similar example is furnished by what has been variously designated as the "string," "toy," "lovers'," and "mechanical" telephone. Two disks of thin metal, or two stretched membranes, each furnished with a mouthpiece, are connected together by a thin string or wire attached at each end to the centers of the membranes. A good example may be made with two cylindrical tin cups; the bottoms form the membranes and the cups the mouthpieces….

The Invention of the Telephone, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.3

In July, 1837, Dr. C. G. Page, of Salem, Massachusetts, drew attention to the sound given out by an electromagnet at the instant when the electric circuit is closed or broken, and in October of the same year he discust, in a short article entitled "Galvanic Music," the musical note produced by rapidly revolving the armature of an electromagnet in front of the poles. Experiments bearing on this subject were subsequently made by a great number of investigators. Page's discovery is of considerable importance in connection with the theory of action of various forms of telephone, and was a very important feature in the early attempts by Reis to transmit music and speech.

The Invention of the Telephone, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.4

On August 26, 1854, there appeared in L'Illustration (Paris) an interesting article by Charles Bourseul on the electric transmission of speech. The writer recommended the use of a flexible plate at the source of sound, which would vibrate in response to the varying pressure of the air, and thus open and close an electric circuit, and of a similar plate at the receiving station, which would be acted on electromagnetically and thus give out as many pulsations as there are breaks in the current. These suggestions were to some extent an anticipation of the work of Reis; but the conditions to be fulfilled before the sounds given out at the receiving station can be similar in pitch, quality, and relative intensity to those produced at the transmitting station are not stated, and do not seem to have been appreciated.

The Invention of the Telephone, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.4

In Reis's lecture an apparatus was described which has given rise to much discussion as to priority in the invention of the telephone. The instrument was described in over fifty publications in various countries, and was well known to physicists previous to Bell's introduction of the electric telephone as a competitor with the electric telegraph. Reis caused a membrane toopen and close an electric circuit at each vibration, thus transmitting as many electric pulses through the circuit as there were vibrations in the sound. These electric pulses were made to act on an electromagnet at the receiving station, which, in accordance with page's discovery, gave out a sound of a pitch corresponding to the number of times it was magnetized or demagnetized per second….

The Invention of the Telephone, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.5

The next worker at the telephone, and the one to whom the present great commercial importance of the instrument is due, was Bell. His aim was the production, by means of the undulations of pressure on a membrane caused by sound, of an electric current the strength of which should at every instant vary directly as the pressure varied. His first idea seems to have been to employ the vibrations of the current in an electric circuit, produced by moving the armature of an electromagnet included in the circuit nearer to or farther from the poles of the magnet. He proposed to make the armature partake of the vibrations by a stretched membrane of parchment. In the early trials the armature had the form of a hinged lever of iron carrying a stud at one end, which prest against the center of a stretched membrane.

The Invention of the Telephone, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.5

The experiments with this form were not successful, and, with the view of making the moving parts as light as possible, he substituted for the comparatively heavy lever armature a small piece of clock-spring, about the size of a six-pence, glued to the center of the diaphragm. The magnet was mounted with its end carrying the coil opposite, and very close to, the center of the piece of clock-spring. This answered sufficiently well to prove the feasibility of the plan, and subsequent experiments were directed to the discovery of the best form and arrangement of the parts. An increase in the size of the iron disk attached to the membrane augmented both the loudness and the distinctness of the sounds, and this finally led to the adoption of the thin iron disk now in use, which is supported around its edge, and acts as both membrane and armature. Again, the form of the opening or mouthpiece in front of the membrane exercised considerable influence on the efficiency of the instrument, and it was ultimately ascertained that a small central opening, with a thin air space extending across the face of the membrane, was best.

The Invention of the Telephone, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.6

It was also found that comparatively small magnets were sufficient, and that there was no particular virtue in the closed circuit and electromagnet, but that a small permanent magnet having one pole in contact with the end of the core of a short electromagnet, the coil of which was in circuit with the line, but which had no permanent current flowing through it, answered the purpose quite as well. In fact, the effect of keeping a permanent current flowing through the line, and the coils of the electromagnet was tokeep the core of the electromagnet magnetized. This seems to have been almost simultaneously pointed out by Bell and others who were working in conjunction with him, and by Professor Dolbear. Many experiments were made for ascertaining the best length of wire to use in the coil of the transmitting and the receiving instrument; but this is clearly a question dependent to a large extent on the nature of the line and the system of working adopted.

The Invention of the Telephone, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.7

After Bell's success a large number of experimenters entered the field, and an almost endless variety of modifications have been described. But few possess any real merit, and almost none have any essentially new principles.

The Invention of the Telephone, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.7

A telephone transmitter and a receiver on a novel plan were patented in July, 1877, by Edison, shortly after the introduction of Bell's instruments. The receiver was based on the change of friction produced by the passage of an electric current through the point of contact of certain substances in relative motion. In one form a drum, mounted on an axis and covered by a band of paper soaked in a solution of caustic potash, is turned under a spring, the end of which is in contact through a platinum point with the paper. The spring is attached to the center of a diaphragm in such a way that, when the drum is turned the friction between the point of the spring and the paper deflects the diaphragm. The current from the line is made to pass through the spring and paper to the cylinder.

The Invention of the Telephone, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.8

Now it had been previously shown by Edison that, when a current is made to pass through an arrangement like that just described, the friction between the paper and the spring in greatly diminished. Hence, when the undulating telephonic currents are made to pass through the apparatus, the constant variation of the friction of the spring causes the deflections of the diaphragm to vary in unison with the variation of the electric currents, and sounds are given out corresponding in pitch, and also to some extent in quality, with the sounds produced at the transmitting station. A cylinder of chalk was used in some of Edison's later experiments.

The Invention of the Telephone, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.8

Experiments very similar to those of Edison were made by Elisha Gray, of Chicago, Illinois, and described by him in paper communicated to the American Electrical Society in 1875 and 1878. In these experiments the electric current passed through the fingers of the operator's hand, which thus took the place of the spring in Edison's apparatus. The diaphragm was itself used as the rubbing surface, and it was either mounted and rotated, or the fingers were moved over it. When the current passed, the friction was felt to increase, and the effect of sending a rapidly undulating current through the arrangement was to produce a sound. The application of this apparatus to the transmission of music is described by Gray…. .

The Invention of the Telephone, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.8

On April 4, 1877, Mr. Emile Berliner filed a caveat in the United States patent office, in which he stated that, on the principle of the variation with pressure of the resistance at the contact of two conductors, he had made an instrument which could be used as a telephone transmitter, and, that, in consequence of the mutual forces between the two parts of the current on the two sides of the point of contact, the instrument was capable of acting as a receiver. The caveat was illustrated by a sketch showing a diaphragm with a metal patch in the center, against which a metal knob was slightly prest by an adjusting screw. This seems to have been the first transmitter in which it was proposed to use the resistance at the contact of two conductors.

The Invention of the Telephone, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.9

Almost simultaneously with Berliner, Edison conceived the idea of using a variable resistance transmitter. He proposed to introduce into the circuit a cell containing carbon powder, the pressure on which could be varied by the vibrations of a diaphragm. He sometimes held the carbon powder against the diaphragm in a small shallow cell (from a quarter to half an inch deep), and sometimes he used what he describes as a fluff, that is, a little brush of silk fiber with plumbago rubbed into it. In another form the plumbago powder was worked into a button cemented together with syrup and other substances.

The Celebration of the First Centenary

Title: The Celebration of the First Centenary

Author: E. Benjamin Andrews

Date: 1876

Source: Great Epochs in American History, Vol.9, pp.196-200

Andrews, Celebration of the First Centenary, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.196

Philadelphia was naturally chosen as the seat of the Exposition. Here the nation was born, a fact of which much remained to testify. Among the ancient buildings were the "Old Swedes'" Church, built in 1700, Christ Church, begun only twenty-seven years later, still in perfect preservation, St. Peter's, built in 1758-1761, and the sequestered Friends' Meeting-house, built in 1808. The Penn Treaty Monument, unimpressive in appearance, marked the site of the elm under which Penn made his famous treaty with the Indians. Carpenters' Hall, still owned by the Carpenters' Company which built it, had been made to resume the appearance it bore when, in 1774, the first Continental Congress assembled under its roof. In the center of a line of antique edifices known as State-house Row, stood Independence hall, erected 1732-1735. The name specifically applied to the large first-floor east room, in which the second Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence. In 1824 Lafayette held a great reception here, and six years later it was consecrated to the past. Revolutionary portraits and relics were placed in it, and the building restored

to its original conditions. In 1854 the old Liberty Bell was taken down from the tower into the hall, and the walls enriched by a large number of portraits from the Peale Gallery. A keeper was then appointed and the hall opened to visitors.

Andrews, Celebration of the First Centenary, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.197

In Fairmount Park, beyond the Schuylkill, a level plat of over 200 acres was enclosed, and appropriate buildings erected. Five enormous structures, the Main Buildings, with Machinery, Agricultural, Horticultural, and Memorial Halls, towered above all the rest. Several foreign governments built structures of their own. Twenty-six States did the same. Thirty or more buildings were put up by private enterprise in order the better to present industrial processes and products. In all more than two hundred edifices stood within the enclosure.

Andrews, Celebration of the First Centenary, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.197

The Exposition opened on May 10th, with public exercises, a hundred thousand people being present. Wagner had composed a march for the occasion. Whittier's Centennial Hymn, a noble piece, was sung by a chorus of one thousand voices.

Our Father's God! from out whose hand

The centuries fall like grains of sand,

We meet to-day, united, free,

And loyal to our land and Thee,

To thank Thee for the era done,

And trust Thee for the opening one.

Here, where of old, by Thy design,

The fathers spake that word of Thine,

Whose echo is the glad refrain

Of rended bolt and fallen chain,

To grace our festal time, from all

The zones of earth our guests we call.

Andrews, Celebration of the First Centenary, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.198

The restored South chanted the praises of the Union in the words of Sidney Lanier, the Georgia poet. President Grant then declared the Exposition open. Further simple but impressive ceremonies were held on July 4th, in the public square at the rear of Independence Hall. On temporary platforms sat 5,000 distinguished guests, and a chorus of 1,000 singers. The square and the neighboring streets were filled with a dense throng. Richard Henry Lee, grandson of the mover of the Declaration of Independence, came to the front with the original document in his hands. At sight of that yellow and wrinkled paper the vast throng burst into prolonged cheering. Mr. Lee read the declaration, Bayard Taylor recited an ode, and Hon. William M. Evarts delivered an oration.

Andrews, Celebration of the First Centenary, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.198

In the Main Building, erected in a year, at a cost of $1,700,000, manufactures were exhibited, also products of the mine, along with innumerable other evidences of scientific and educational progress. More than a third of the space was reserved for the United States, the rest being divided among foreign countries. The products of all climates, tribes, and times were here. Great Britain, France, and Germany exhibited the work of their myriad roaring looms side by side with the wares of the Hawaiian Islands and the little Orange Free State. Here were the furs of Russia, with other articles from the frozen North; there the flashing diamonds of Brazil, and the rich shawls and waving plumes of India. At a step one passed from old Egypt to the latest born South American republic. Chinese conservatism and Yankee enterprize confronted each other across the aisle.

Andrews, Celebration of the First Centenary, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.198

From the novelty of the foreign display the American visitor turned proudly to the handiwork of his own hand. Textiles, arms, tools, musical instruments, watches, carriages, cutlery books, furniture—a bewildering display of all things useful and ornamental, made him realize as never before the wealth, intelligence, and enterprise of his native country, and the proud station to which she had risen among the nations of the earth. Three-fourths of the space in Machinery Hall was taken up with American machinery.

Andrews, Celebration of the First Centenary, Great Epochs, Vol.9, p.199

Memorial Hall, a beautiful permanent building of granite, erected by Pennsylvania and Philadelphia at a cost of $1,500,000, was given up to art. This was the poorest feature of the Exposition, tho the collection was the largest and most notable ever till then seen this side the Atlantic. America had few art works of the first order to show, while foreign nations, with the exception of England, which contributed a noble lot of paintings, including works by Gainsborough and Reynolds, feared to send their choicest products across the sea. All through the summer and early autumn, spite of the unusual heat that year, thousands of pilgrims from all parts of the country and the word filled the fair grounds and the city. Amid the crowds of visitors Philadelphians became strangers in their own streets. On September 28, Pennsylvania day, 275,000 persons passed the gates. During October the visitors numbered over two and a half millions. From May 10th to November 19th, the closing day, the total admissions were 9,900,000. The aggregate attendance was larger than at any previous international exhibition, except that of Paris in 1867. The admissions there reached 10,200,000, but the gates were open fifty-one days longer.

Centennial of the Republic

Title: Centennial of the Republic

Author: Unknown

Date: 1876

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.175-184

No event of the reconstruction period following the Civil War compared in importance with the Centennial Exposition held in Philadelphia from May 10 to November 10, 1876. Being the first exhibition of the kind in the United States, it paved the way for subsequent undertakings such as the World's Fair at Chicago and the Louisiana Exposition at St. Louis.

Despite the panic of 1873 and the three years of depression that followed, the success of the project was unprecedented. To the outside world it was a revelation of the economic power and progress of the hundred-year-old Republic. It was significant that of the forty-nine foreign governments represented among the exhibitors, the magnitude of the British exhibit was only exceeded by our own. At this exposition articles of Japanese manufacture first became well known in the United States.

Centennial of the Republic, America, Vol.9, p.175–p.176

AN exposition of the industry all nations, to be held in the United States, was suggested by similar fairs which have been held within the last twenty years—in London, Paris and Vienna. The holding of it in 1876 was suggested by the fact that during this year the Republic completes its hundredth year of existence. It therefore seemed fitting that, while each community might celebrate by itself the Fourth of July of this year with special eclat, and where there had been battles or Revolutionary events might celebrate them also with pomp and circumstance, the nation as a whole should this year make one grand jubilee, and out of its unparalleled prosperity exhibit its advance, and invite the whole world to be present. Several parties under took to inaugurate it, and several places were suggested as its seat—Washington, New York and Philadelphia. The latter place was finally selected on account of its central location, its facilities of access, its ability to provide for a multitude, and to carry them about the city, and its ample and convenient space in Fairmount Park for the purposes contemplated, and also on account of its numerous and marked Revolutionary memories.

Centennial of the Republic, America, Vol.9, p.176–p.177

The General Government was petitioned to aid the enterprise pecuniarily, and by an exhibit, and by its countenance make it an international affair, becoming the medium of invitation to foreign countries to participate. The Government complied. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, several other States, and numerous individuals in New York City and elsewhere subscribed liberally to the project. The Park Commissioners set apart 450 acres on which to locate the fair, 236 of which have been enclosed and applied. July the fourth, 1874, ground was first broken for the enterprise. May the tenth, 1876, though not quite completed, but being sufficiently so, it was opened by the President of the United States, accompanied by suitable ceremonies, military and civic, of music and of speech, and in the presence of numerous dignitaries, home and foreign, and of the people. As many as 250,000 people, it was estimated, were on the grounds that day. The Exhibition is to be kept open until November the tenth. On opening day, the President of the United States and the Emperor of Brazil started the Corliss engine, which runs the machinery in Machinery Hall. Of this act Bayard Taylor observes, "North and South America started the machinery of the world."….

Centennial of the Republic, America, Vol.9, p.177

There are nearly two hundred buildings on the grounds, all of them erected within two years. Some of them are to remain. But most of them are to be taken down at the close of the Fair. Some of these buildings are very large. Others are splendid, substantial, costly. All of them are an ornament, useful, creditable and a study. From sixty to seventy acres are under roof. These buildings are arranged chiefly on fine Avenues—the Avenue of the Republic, Belmont, Fountain, Agriculture and State avenues.

Centennial of the Republic, America, Vol.9, p.177–p.178

The Main Exhibition Building is 1,880 feet long, 464 feet wide, and 70 feet high. It has corner towers 75 feet, and central towers 120 feet high. It is built of iron and glass, and cost over $1,500,000. Over 5,000,000 pounds of iron have been used in constructing the roof, trusses and girders. It covers 21 acres, and is the largest building in the world. There are four entrances, one on each side and end. Within are twelve miles of show. Over thirty countries, including nearly all the civilized nations of the globe, here exhibit themselves and their industries. The United States exhibit covers about seven acres, or nearly one-third. Great Britain and her dependencies come next, occupying about one-fifth of the space. Here is to be seen almost every thing that the globe, through the industry and skill of its men, produces, except what is peculiar to the other buildings. Here are things rare, ancient, costly and curious, and in endless variety. A pair of vases valued at $3,000 are here. Though the building is so spacious, it has been found necessary to attach three annexes. Gilmore's band of sixty-five performers, gives two concerts daily, free, in this edifice.

Centennial of the Republic, America, Vol.9, p.178

Machinery Hall covers 13 acres. A Corliss Engine of 1,400 horse power, runs the machinery through over two miles of shafting. There are 1,500 sections, and several thousand machines in this building. Here is a waterfall 36 feet wide, 33 feet deep, and four inches thick, carrying 30,000 gallons per minute. On the outside of the main front of this building is a clock; and in the towers a chime of bells, for which Professor Widdows, the Director, has arranged a great many popular airs. Connected with this building, are as many as eleven annexes.

Centennial of the Republic, America, Vol.9, p.178–p.179

Agricultural Hall covers 10 acres. There are five annexes to this building. One of these is the Pomological, where will be displayed fruits and vegetables in their season. It covers two acres. A stock yard is also connected, which is near the Belmont station of the Pennsylvania Railroad; where is an Ox of 4,000 pound weight, and a Heifer of 3,300. In the main building is an Aquaria, and Professor Ward of Rochester, has a rare exhibit in Paleontology. Brazil displays one thousand varieties of wood. There are three hundred plows here; one, it is said, cost $1,000. Many wonderful labor-saving inventions are here exhibited, in which it is probable the United States takes the lead.

Centennial of the Republic, America, Vol.9, p.179

Memorial Hall or the Fine Arts Building is one of the most costly on the grounds. Its cost is set down as $ 1,125,000. It is built of granite, iron and glass. It is 365 feet long, 210 feet wide, and 59 feet high, surmounted by a dome 150 feet high, with a figure of Columbia on the top, and at the base colossal figures typifying the four quarters of the globe. Here are exhibited paintings and statuary. It affords 75,000 feet of wall space for the former, and 20,000 feet of floor space for the latter. It is intended to remain after the Exhibition is over, and will probably be the seat of a museum, &c., similar somewhat to the Kensington Gardens, London. There are two annexes to this building.

Centennial of the Republic, America, Vol.9, p.179

Horticultural Hall is the last to be mentioned of the main buildings which have been erected by the Commission. Here are exhibited tropical and other plants. Orange and lemon trees, banana, sago and like trees, are here to be seen. Also a century plant ready to bloom. Around are thirty-five acres of garden. This building also is intended to be permanent.

Centennial of the Republic, America, Vol.9, p.179–p.180

Another great building is the one erected by the United States Government. With the grounds attached it covers seven acres. Congress appropriated over $500,000 for the erection of the building and its exhibit. Here the various departments of the Government are illustrated—the War, the Navy, the Patent, the Treasury, the Interior, the Post Office, and the Smithsonian Institution, &c. The Patent Office Department exhibits the original Declaration of Independence, and some relics of Washington. The Campbell Press, elsewhere on the grounds, prints facsimiles of the Declaration. Then there is the Women's Pavilion, covering an acre of ground, and costing $30,000, exhibiting the invention, skill, art and industry of the women of the world. Here is a $2,000 bonnet, made and presented by the ladies of New York. The principal of the other buildings are the Shoe and Leather, where one firm exhibits over 500 varieties of shoes, and another all the styles from 1776 down to this present time, and where all the shoe men lift up as their mottoes, There is nothing like leather," "Keep pegging away," "Stick to your last." Various other industries are represented by separate buildings, either by the trade in general, or by individuals, as the Singer Sewing Machine, the Campbell Printing Press, &c., &c. Then there are the edifices erected by the various States and by Foreign Governments; some for the exhibition of goods, but mostly for the accommodation of its officers, and visiting citizens, and exhibitors. There are three English houses on the grounds especially worthy of observation….

Centennial of the Republic, America, Vol.9, p.180–p.181

Statues and fountains adorn the grounds. There is the statue of Columbus, and one erected to Religious Liberty. There is a fountain erected by the Catholic Total Abstinence Union, costing $50,000, built of marble, with central rock work, surmounted by a statue of Moses, and having four fountains jutting out, each surmounted with a statue of some prominent temperance man of the communion—Father Matthew, Charles Carroll, Archbishop Carroll, and Commodore Barry. Another fountain is that of Bartholdi, a French artist, in bronze, typifying light and water as twin goddesses of cities. This stands at the main entrance, between the main building and Machinery Hall. Immediately north of the latter building is a lake of five acres.

Centennial of the Republic, America, Vol.9, p.181

The West End Passenger Railway Company have three and a half miles of track on the grounds. Over this, giving a fair view of all the buildings, they run their cars at the rate of eight miles an hour, for five cents a trip each passenger. They have thirty-six cars, each holding eighty passengers. There are three or four stations. It affords a pleasing and cheap trip, and is a great convenience. Another convenience is the rolling chairs, manipulated by a company. There are one hundred of them. They may be hired, with a driver, for sixty cents per hour, or $4.50 a day, or without a driver for $1.00 for three hours. Another convenience, which people may carry with them, is a cane and chair combined. It costs $2.00 and weighs only twenty ounces. Catalogues of the contents of the several buildings are sold singly or combined on the grounds, and will often be found a great convenience.

Centennial of the Republic, America, Vol.9, p.181–p.182

There is a jury of awards, consisting of some 250 men half of whom are foreigners. Their duty is to examine and compare articles exhibited, and give a diploma or medal and a written report to those who show the most meritoriously. For this service the foreign jurors are to receive $ 1,000 each, and the home jurors $600. A large and fine pavilion has been erected for their accommodation.

Centennial of the Republic, America, Vol.9, p.182–p.183

The articles on which the jury is to pass judgment have been arranged into twenty-eight groups: 1. Minerals, mining and metallurgy. 2. Pottery, glass, artificial stone, &c. 3. Chemistry and pharmacy, including the apparatus. 4. Animal and vegetable products, and the machinery for their preparation. 5. Fish and fish products, and apparatus of fishing, &c. 6. Timber, worked lumber, parts of buildings, forestry. 7. Furniture, upholstery, woodenware, baskets, &c. 8. Cotton, linen and other fabrics, including materials and machinery. 9. Wool and silk fabrics, including materials, and machinery. 10. Clothing, furs, India rubber goods, ornaments and fancy articles. 11. Jewelry, watches, silverware, bronzes, &c. 12. Leather and manufactures of leather. 13. Paper industry, stationery, printing and book making. 14. Apparatus of heating, lighting, ventilation, water supply and draining. 15. Builders' hardware, edge tools, cutlery, &c. 16. Military and sporting arms, weapons, apparatus of hunting, explosives, &c. 17. Carriages, vehicles and accessories. 18. Railway plans, rolling stock and apparatus, road engines, &c. 19. Vessels and apparatus of transportation. 20. Motors, hydraulic and pneumatic apparatus, &c. 21. Machine tools—wood, metal and stone. 22. Machines, apparatus and implements used in sewing and making clothing, lace, ornamental goods, pins, &c. 23. Agricultural, horticultural and gardening implements. 24. Instruments and apparatus of hygiene, surgery, medicine, prosthesis, &c. 25. Implements of precision, research, experiment and illustration, including topography and music. 26. Architecture and engineering. 27. Plastic and graphic art, sculpture. 28. Education and science. A simpler general division of objects to be illustrated by the Exposition was Agriculture, Art, Education, Horticulture, Machinery, Manufactures, Mining and Science—seven in all.

Centennial of the Republic, America, Vol.9, p.183

During the Exhibition there will be special days on the grounds, in the park and in the city, such as parades, society meetings, unveiling of statues, &c., regattas, the Fourth of July, &c.

Centennial of the Republic, America, Vol.9, p.183–p.184

Admission to the grounds has started at fifty cents, either in the form of one note or a silver half dollar. Nothing else is taken. A bank is on the grounds, and exchange offices at the several gates. There are thirteen general places of entrance, each of which has several sub-entrances, which can only be passed through in single file, a stile turning and registering, by electricity, the entrance. The grounds are open every day, except Sundays, from nine A. M. until six P. M. A change in all these points has been agitated, and will continue to be unless made. But this is the order, June 15th. Fifty cents gives admission to all the buildings, and all the sights and sounds….

Centennial of the Republic, America, Vol.9, p.184

Around the grounds are numerous outside shows—as Operti's Garden, the Coliseum, Sawyer's Observatory, &c.

Centennial of the Republic, America, Vol.9, p.184

From the foundation of the world probably there has been no such exhibition, one on so extended a scale, and so full. And never, perhaps, has the rounding up of a century been celebrated so elaborately, and by so numerous a people, and through so great a length of time. The events which have called forth so grand a presentment are great, and worthy the study of mankind. The contrast which it creates between the Philadelphia of to-day and that of a hundred years ago is marvelous in its greatness and suddenness. The like will probably not be witnessed again by this generation.

The Hayes-Tilden Presidential Contest

Title: The Hayes-Tilden Presidential Contest

Author: Edward Stanwood

Date: 1876

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.185-194

The election of Hayes, Ohio Republican, over Samuel J. Tilden, New York Democrat, in the Presidential campaign of 1876, was the most closely contested in the political history of the country. The electoral vote, as decided by a commission consisting of five Senators, five Representatives and five Supreme Court Justices, was 185 for Hayes and 184 for Tilden. This account of the long and bitter contest is from Stanwood's "History of Presidential Elections," published by Houghton Mifflin Company.

Hayes had a brilliant Civil War record, being brevetted major-general, but was unfortunate in running counter to the political leaders of his party during his Presidency. He stalwartly supported measures for the public welfare that were nullified by Congress, and opposed measures that were passed over his veto. His liberality in dealing with the South sowed the seeds of a prosperity such as it had not enjoyed since the War.

Stanwood, Hayes-Tilden Presidential Contest, America, Vol.9, p.185

THE nomination of Rutherford B. Hayes was made unanimous on the seventh ballot. He was the only candidate who had made a gain on every vote; and as he was, if not very well known, entirely unobjectionable to the friends of all other candidates, it was less difficult to concentrate votes upon him than upon any other person in the list. Blaine, who was informed by telegraph at his house in Washington of the progress of the voting, wrote a dispatch congratulating Hayes immediately on receiving the result of the fifth vote.

Stanwood, Hayes-Tilden Presidential Contest, America, Vol.9, p.185–p.186

The Democrats met at St. Louis two weeks later. The Convention was deprived of much of its interest by the fact that Tilden's lead for the nomination was so very great. He was known to have more than four hundred delegates out of the whole convention of 744, and while his candidacy was opposed, the opposition came from States which nevertheless chose unanimous delegations in his favor. The delegates chosen in the interest of other candidates were for the latter, but not against Tilden. His nomination was therefore universally expected, except by the more sanguine friends of other candidates….

Stanwood, Hayes-Tilden Presidential Contest, America, Vol.9, p.186

The polls had hardly closed on the day of election, the 7th of November, when the Democrats began to claim the Presidency. The returns came in so unfavorably for the Republicans that there was hardly a newspaper organ of the party which did not, on the following morning, concede the election of Tilden. He was believed to have carried every Southern State, as well as New York, Indiana, New Jersey and Connecticut. The whole number of electoral votes was 369. If the above estimate was correct, the Democratic candidates would have 203 votes, and the Republican candidates 166 votes. But word was sent out on the same day from Republican headquarters at Washington that Hayes and Wheeler were elected by one majority; that the States of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana had chosen Republican electors.

Stanwood, Hayes-Tilden Presidential Contest, America, Vol.9, p.186–p.187

Then began the most extraordinary contest that ever took place in the country. The only hope of the Republicans was in the perfect defense of their position. The loss of a single vote would be fatal. An adequate history of the four months between the popular election and the inauguration of Hayes would fill volumes. Space can be given here for only a bare reference to sorne of the most important events. Neither party was overscrupulous, and no doubt the acts of some members of each party were grossly illegal and corrupt. Certain transactions preceding the meetings of electors were not known until long afterward, when the key to the famous "cipher dispatches" was accidentally revealed.

Stanwood, Hayes-Tilden Presidential Contest, America, Vol.9, p.187–p.188

In four States, South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana and Oregon, there were double returns. In South Carolina there were loud complaints that detachments of the army, stationed near the polls, had prevented a fair and free election. Although the Board of State Canvassers certified to the choice of the Hayes electors, who were chosen on the face of the returns, the Democratic candidates for electors met on the day fixed for the meeting of electors and cast ballots for Tilden and Hendricks. In Florida there were allegations of fraud on both sides. The canvassing board and the governor certified to the election of the Hayes electors, but, fortified by a court decision in their favor, the Democratic electors also met and voted. In Louisiana there was anarchy. There were two governors, two returning boards, two sets of returns showing different results, and two electoral colleges. In Oregon the Democratic governor adjudged one of the Republican electors ineligible, and gave a certificate to the highest candidate on the Democratic list. The Republican electors, having no certificate from the governor, met and voted for Hayes and Wheeler. The Democratic elector, whose appointment was certified by the governor, appointed two others to fill the vacancies, when the two Republican electors would not meet with him, and the three voted for Tilden and Hendricks. All of these cases were very complicated in their incidents, and a brief account which should convey an intelligible idea of what occurred is impossible.

Stanwood, Hayes-Tilden Presidential Contest, America, Vol.9, p.188–p.189

As soon as the electoral votes were cast it became a question of the very first importance how they were to be counted. It was evident that the Senate would refuse to be governed by the twenty-second joint rule—in fact, the Senate voted to rescind the rule—and it was further evident that if the count were to take place in accordance with that rule it would result in throwing out electoral votes on both sides on the most frivolous pretexts. It was asserted by the Republicans that, under the Constitution, the President of the Senate alone had the right to count, in spite of the fact that the joint rule, the work of their party, had assumed the power for the two Houses of Congress. On the other hand, the Democrats, who had always denounced that rule as unconstitutional, now maintained that the right to count was conferred upon Congress. A compromise became necessary, and the moderate men on both sides determined to effect the establishment of a tribunal, as evenly divided politically as might be, which should decide all disputed questions so far as the Constitution gave authority to Congress to decide them. The outcome of their efforts was the Electoral Commission law of 1877, which was passed as originally reported….

Stanwood, Hayes-Tilden Presidential Contest, America, Vol.9, p.189–p.190

At the time the count began, on the 1st of February, 1877, each party was confident of victory. The Democrats relied upon a great variety of objections which had been prepared, the sustaining of any one of which would be sufficient to give the election to Tilden. The Republican hope was in a refusal of the commission to "go behind the returns." Senator Thomas W. Ferry, of Michigan, President "pro tempore of the Senate, was the presiding officer. The count proceeded, under the law, in the alphabetical order of the States. When the vote of Florida was reached, the certificates of the Hayes and also of the Tilden electors were read. Objections were made to each. The Democrats asserted that the Hayes electors were not duly chosen; that the certificate of the governor to their election was the result of a conspiracy; that its validity, if any, had been annulled by a subsequent certificate by the governor, to the effect that the Tilden electors were chosen; that a court decision made certain the election of the Democratic electors; and that one of the Republican electors was a shipping commissioner under appointment from the Government of the United States at the time of his election, and was therefore disqualified. The Republican objection to the Tilden votes was that the returns were not only authenticated by any person holding at the time an office under the State of Florida. It was only on the 7th of February that the commission, after very long arguments by eminent counsel selected to appear for the two parties, decided the case of Florida.

Stanwood, Hayes-Tilden Presidential Contest, America, Vol.9, p.190–p.191

The decision was that it was not competent for the commission "to go into evidence 'aliunde' the papers opened by the President of the Senate, to prove that other persons than those regularly certified to by the governor" were appointed. With reference to the case of the elector alleged to have been disqualified, it was decided that the evidence did not show that he held office on the day of his appointment. The several votes were passed by eight to seven—all the Republicans being on one side, and all the Democrats on the other. The formal decision, which was submitted to the two Houses, was that the four Hayes electors, naming them, were duly appointed electors, and that their votes were the constitutional votes. The Houses met on February 10, and received this decision. Formal objection was then made to the decision of the Electoral Commission, and the Houses separated to consider it. The Senate, by a strict party vote, decided that the votes should be counted. The House of Representatives, by a vote which was on party lines, except that one Democrat voted with the Republicans, voted that the electoral votes given by the Tilden electors should be counted. The two Houses not having agreed in rejecting the decision of the commission, it stood, and the joint session was resumed. The votes of Florida having been recorded, the count proceeded until Louisiana was reached.

Stanwood, Hayes-Tilden Presidential Contest, America, Vol.9, p.191–p.192

The Republican objections to the Tilden votes from Louisiana were, like those to the votes of Florida, brief and formal. The government, of which W. P. Kelloge was the head, had been recognized by every department of the Government of the United States as the true government of Louisiana, and the certificates of the Hayes electors certified by him were in due form. The Democrats made a great variety of objections to the Hayes votes. They asserted that John McEnery was the lawful Governor of the State; that the certificates asserting the appointment of the Hayes electors were false; and that the canvass of votes by the returning board was without jurisdiction and void. Special objection was made to three of the electors; to two of them as being disqualified, under the Constitution; and to the third, Governor Kelloge, because he certified to his own election. Several days were consumed in argument before the commission. On the 16th of February the commission voted, once more by eight to seven, that the evidence offered to prove that the Tilden electors were chosen be not received, and that the certificates of the Hayes electors were the true votes of Louisiana. The decision having been communicated to the two Houses, the count was resumed on the 19th. Objection was made to the decision of the commission, and the two Houses separated again to act upon them. The Senate voted, by 41 to 28, that the decision of the commission should stand. The House voted that the electoral votes cast by the Hayes electors for Louisiana ought not to be counted—173 to 99. In each case this was a party vote, except that two Republicans in the House voted with the Democrats….

Stanwood, Hayes-Tilden Presidential Contest, America, Vol.9, p.192

TO the Hayes votes in South Carolina the Democrats next objected that there was no legal election in the State, that there was not, in South Carolina, during the year 1876, a Republican form of government, and that the army and the United States deputy marshals stationed at and near the polls prevented the free exercise of the right of suffrage. The Republicans asserted that the Tilden board was not duly appointed, and that the certificates were wholly defective in form and lacking the necessary official certification. The papers having been referred to the Electoral Commission, that body met again on the 26th. Senator Thurman was obliged to retire from service upon the commission, on account of illness, and Senator Francis Kernan was substituted for him. After a day devoted to arguments, the commission voted unanimously that the Tilden electors were not the true electors of South Carolina, and, by the old majority of eight to seven, that the Hayes electors were the constitutional electors duly appointed. The two Houses separated upon renewed objections to the decision of the commission, and as before the Senate sustained the finding, while the House voted to reject it….

Stanwood, Hayes-Tilden Presidential Contest, America, Vol.9, p.193

Question after question was decided uniformly in favor of the Republicans. It became evident to the Democrats that their case was lost. They charged gross partisanship upon the Republican members of the Electoral Commission, in determining every point involved in the dual returns for their own party, though as a matter of fact there does not seem to have been much room for choice between the two parties on the score of partisanship. Each member of the commission favored by his vote that view which would result in adding to the electoral vote of his own party. But as the result of the count became more and more certainly a Republican triumph, the anger of the Democrats rose. Some of them were for discontinuing the count; and the symptoms of a disposition to filibuster so that there should be no declaration of the result gave reason for public disquietude. But the conservative members of the party were too patriotic to allow the failure of a law which they had been instrumental in passing to lead to anarchy or revolution, and they sternly discountenanced all attempts to defeat the conclusion of the count. The summing up of the votes was read by Mr. Allison on the 2nd of March, amid great excitement….

Stanwood, Hayes-Tilden Presidential Contest, America, Vol.9, p.193–p.194

Mr. Ferry thereupon declared Rutherford B. Hayes elected President, and William A. Wheeler Vice President, of the United States. The decision was acquiesced in peaceably by the whole country, and by men of every party. But the Democrats have never ceased to denounce the whole affair as a fraud, and some newspapers have steadily refused to speak of Hayes as having ever been rightfully in possession of the Presidential office. Their anger at the time was very great, since they believed that Tilden was fairly elected.

Custer's Last Stand

Title: Custer's Last Stand

Author: Judson Elliott Walker

Date: 1876

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.195-206

That Lieutenant-Colonel George A. Custer, who had been brevetted major-general for distinguished services in Grant's last campaign of the Civil War, should have gone to his death in 1876 bearing President Grant's animosity, is a regretful matter of record. In his "Campaign of General Custer in the North-West," from which this account is taken, Walker, the historian, relates that Custer was to have commanded one of the three army divisions operating against the Indians under Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse in the Black Hills country. Unfortunately he was called to Washington, and angered Grant by giving distasteful testimony before the Congressional Committee engaged in investigating charges against Secretary Belknap, reflecting upon Grant's brother, Orville, a frontier post trader. Displaced as head of the division, Custer secured a modification of the Presidential order, and on June 25, 1876, led his Seventh Cavalry to death by massacre, not a man surviving.

Walker, Custer's Last Stand, America, Vol.9, p.195

IN the spring of 1876 it was determined by the Government to attempt the subjugation of Sitting Bull and the lawless tribes under him, who had refused to accede to the provisions of the treaty of 1868, and had since led a wandering life. Their numbers augmented each spring by frequent accessions of warriors, and supplies of war from the Missouri River Agencies. From their stronghold at the headwaters of the Yellowstone, war parties were continually sent out to annoy the white settlements.

Walker, Custer's Last Stand, America, Vol.9, p.195–p.196

Their camp formed a convenient retreat for disaffected Agency Indians. Criminals and unruly spirits, supported by the Government through the winter, were ready in the summer to join the hostiles, conveying to them arms, ammunition, ponies and supplies. Thus the problem of dealing with the professedly peaceful Indians was greatly complicated.

Walker, Custer's Last Stand, America, Vol.9, p.196

The only way to end the constantly-recurring troubles, and prevent a general uprising of the whole body of Indians—many of them already on the war-path, resentful at the violation of the treaty of 1868—was to strike a decisive blow directly at the headquarters of the savage tribes, and by breaking up their rendezvous in the Yellowstone region, compel them to return and surrender at the various Agencies on the Missouri River.

Walker, Custer's Last Stand, America, Vol.9, p.196

With this object in view, the expedition of 1876 was planned. It was arranged that three expeditions should start simultaneously for the headwaters of the Yellowstone—one from the north, one from the south, and one from the east—the three to join forces and cooperate in the region constituting the objective point of their converging marches.

Walker, Custer's Last Stand, America, Vol.9, p.196–p.197

The column from the south, under General Crook, started from Fort Fetterman, Wyoming Territory, May 29th, 1876, and marched due north for the Powder River country. It was composed of 1,300 men, and arrived at old Fort Reno June 3rd. It succeeded in reaching the indicated ground, viz., the valley of the Yellowstone, drained by its tributaries, the Big Horn, Rosebud, Tongue and Powder Rivers, together with their branches, and at one time was within one hundred miles of the northern column; but the Indians were between them, and after several heavy skirmishes, in which the troops were defeated, it fell back to the head of Tongue River, and from there returned ingloriously to its starting place.

Walker, Custer's Last Stand, America, Vol.9, p.197

The force from the north, under Colonel Gibbon, left Fort Ellis, Montana, with a strength of four hundred men, and wagon train, marched due east, and joined the force from the east under General Terry, June 1st.

Walker, Custer's Last Stand, America, Vol.9, p.197

The departure of the column from the east, which, in the original plan of the campaign, was to have been led by Lieutenant-Colonel Custer, had been delayed, in consequence of Custer having been called to Washington to give evidence before the Congressional Committee then engaged in investigating charges against Secretary of War Belknap. Like all army officers stationed on the frontier, Custer was conversant with the terrible corruption of the Interior Department, displayed in the management of the Indian Agencies and trading posts. As an honest man, he did what many others, better informed than himself, but more devoted to self-interest, had not dared to do—spoke aloud his convictions. Custer's testimony—and the fact that he had presumed to hold opinions on the subject—was distasteful to Belknap's friend, U. S. Grant, President of the United States, and brother of Orville Grant, a post-trader of precious memory on the Missouri River….

Walker, Custer's Last Stand, America, Vol.9, p.197–p.198

Custer was displaced from the command of the eastern column, then in process of organization, at Fort Lincoln, and forbidden, by order of the President, to accompany the troops on the march. General Terry was placed in command of the expedition, but afterward, in response to the earnest entreaties of Custer to be spared the humiliation of seeing the troops march without him, the President's order was so far modified as to permit him to go with' the expedition, in command of the 7th Cavalry. Thus reorganized, the column left Fort Lincoln with 12 companies of the 7th Cavalry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Custer, 3 companies of the 6th and 17th Infantry, 4 Gatling guns, and a detachment of 45 Indian scouts, under the Arickiree chief, Bloody Knife…. These three columns started from the circumference of a circle with a radius of three hundred miles, under orders to concentrate and join their converging lines somewhere in the region enclosed by the Big Horn and Powder Rivers—where the enemy was supposed to be in force—there to enclose and crush out the desperate remnants of savage outlaws, their number being variously estimated at from 1,000 to 3,000. Later events proved the fallacy of this belief; that between 3,000 and 5,000 Indians were massed in the fatal valley of the Yellowstone, awaiting in savage ferocity the coming of the troops, all of whom they could easily have annihilated with their superior arms and steeds, had the remainder of them come within their lines.

Walker, Custer's Last Stand, America, Vol.9, p.198–p.199–p.200

Who that lived in Bismarck in the year 1876, during the time that the "Lincoln column" of the great expedition was being fitted out across the river, will forget that it was matter of public notoriety that the savage hordes were gathering their clans from north and from south, to dispute the passage of the soldiers; that even while their godly agents were crying aloud, "Allis well," the Red Cloud, Standing Rock and Spotted Tail agencies were being depopulated of their fighting material. Supply trains, with men, arms, ponies, provisions, ammunition and warriors, were rushing to that wild rendezvous on the Yellowstone, where the restless Sitting Bull awaited the tardy coming of the royal sacrifice. Each new accession to their ranks was hailed with acclamations of delight and in the weird gyrations of the war-dance the bloodstained wretches recounted their gory deeds, and sought to stimulate each other to horrid acts of brutality and bloodshed. Who that heard them can forget those significant inquiries heard in the streets of Bismarck, by emissaries fresh from Sitting Bull's camp, during the sad days of Custer's humiliation under Presidential displeasure, when the men waited in arms for the order to march, and their brave, outspoken commander chafed in bitterness of spirit under the undeserved disgrace of being ordered to stay behind. "What are the dog-soldiers waiting for?" "Are they tired before they start?" "What is the matter with Custer?" "Is the long-haired chief sick?" All these and more, coupled with direful threats and sickening messages of expectant revenge, from Rain-in-the-Face and his no less bloody followers, were repeated from mouth to mouth, and excited in many hearts sad feelings of foreboding relative to the fate of the gallant Custer, who in going forth to give battle to the merciless chieftain of the Sioux, left behind him, in the person of U. S. Grant, the chief executive of the land, a foe no less relentless….

Walker, Custer's Last Stand, America, Vol.9, p.200

…. Lieutenant-Colonel Custer was not hampered by positive orders, being simply advised to follow the Indian trail until its general direction was definitely ascertained. Then, if, as was expected, it should be found to turn toward the Little Big Horn, he was directed to proceed southward as far as the headwaters of the Tongue, and then to turn toward the Little Big Horn, guarding constantly against the possibility of the Indians escaping around his left flank to the south and rear, General Terry distinctly stating that "such was his confidence in the zeal, energy and ability of Lieutenant-Colonel Custer, that he would not impose upon him precise orders, which might hamper his action when nearly in contact with the enemy.

Walker, Custer's Last Stand, America, Vol.9, p.200–p.201

Thus, with his future course of action left to his own discretionary judgment, Lieutenant-Colonel Custer, with his regiment, left camp on the Yellowstone, June 22nd, and proceeded up the Rosebud River during the 23rd and 24th, making sixty-one miles, the trail and Indian signs freshening with every mile, when they encamped and waited for information from the scouts, whose detachment had accompanied the regiment. It was ascertained, beyond doubt, that the Indian village was in the valley of the Little Big Horn, and, in order to reach it without discovering their approach to the Indians, a night march was decided on, the troops moving at 11 P. M., the line of march turning from the Rosebud to the right, up one of its branches. At 2 P. M. of the morning of the 25th, it was ascertained that the divide between the Rosebud and the Little Big Horn Rivers could not be crossed before daylight. The command then rested for three hours and made coffee, many of the brave fellows then partaking of their last meal on earth. The march was then resumed and the divide crossed, and about 8 A. M. the command was in the valley of one of the branches of the Little Big Horn. Indians being then plainly seen, and as it was thus evident that the troops could not take them by surprise, it was decided to attack them at once.

Walker, Custer's Last Stand, America, Vol.9, p.201

On the march,. Custer had divided the regiment into three separate commands, assigning to Major M. A. Reno, Companies M, A and G, and to Captain Benteen, H, D and K, retaining himself the command of Companies C, E, F, I and L; Captain McDougal being assigned with Company B to the care of the pack train in the rear.

Walker, Custer's Last Stand, America, Vol.9, p.201–p.202

Custer's plan of attack in Indian warfare, in which he had been hitherto preeminently successful, was that of simultaneous assault from several points, an attack in front and flank at all events. In this instance, when arrived near the battlefield, and as he prepared himself to lead the charge, about 12.30 P. M., he ordered the remaining two divisions to move up quickly and support him.

Walker, Custer's Last Stand, America, Vol.9, p.202

The battalion under Benteen with the pack train did not come up in time to participate in the charge and opening fight.

Walker, Custer's Last Stand, America, Vol.9, p.202

The detachment under Major Reno, numbering 145 men, hurried forward as ordered, and crossed the river, where they soon became engaged with overwhelming numbers of the enemy. TO save themselves from utter annihilation at the hands of the countless droves of Indians, who suddenly sprang into view, they retreated to a high hill in the vicinity, where they entrenched themselves, being soon after joined by the troops under Benteen.

Walker, Custer's Last Stand, America, Vol.9, p.202

Soon afterward they were furiously attacked and besieged by numberless foes; the siege being next day renewed, when the troops were relieved by the arrival of the soldiers under General Terry, the Indians filing away across the hills at his approach.

Walker, Custer's Last Stand, America, Vol.9, p.202

Up to this date nothing was known of the fate of Custer and his command, the soldiers in the entrenchment on the hill, who never before had known him to fail them in danger, wondering audibly why he did not come to their relief….

Walker, Custer's Last Stand, America, Vol.9, p.202–p.203

Upon the arrival of General Terry, the first intimation was obtained of the fate of Custer and his men. An Upsaroka scout, named Curley, had almost miraculously escaped during the progress of the fight with Custer, and made his way back to General Terry, then on the steamer "Far West," at the mouth of the Big Horn River, and reported the total loss of Custer and his soldiers.

Walker, Custer's Last Stand, America, Vol.9, p.203

This report was disbelieved, or, at least, thought to be greatly exaggerated—it being deemed impossible that such a calamity could befall the most successful Indian fighter of his day. Yet, from the extreme agitation of the forlorn scout, it was evident that a misfortune of some kind had occurred; and General Terry, with the residue of the troops under him, at once pressed forward, under the leadership of Curley, arriving in time to save the lives of the wearied survivors under Reno; who, though making a gallant defense against overpowering numbers of the enemy, had lost all hope of rescue, since Custer had apparently failed them, and greeted the unexpected arrival of their comrades as a happy reprieve from expected death.

Walker, Custer's Last Stand, America, Vol.9, p.203–p.204–p.205

Immediately upon the arrival of General Terry—the Indians then having left—a detachment was sent out to search for traces of the missing commander and his men. Not far away their battlefield was found, and though no living thing was there to tell how grandly they had fought, and nobly they had died, yet no tongue was needed to show that they had all gone down, company by company, contending to the last for life, as heroes ever do. Their dead and mutilated bodies, disposed in the orderly array of systematic battle; the compact companies, with officers in place behind them; the unbroken skirmish line of ghastly corpses, testified more eloquently than spoken words could do to the sublimity of courage that had animated each soul of that heroic band. An examination of the battleground disclosed the fact that when Custer left his comrades of the other two divisions, with orders for them to hasten forward and join in the attack, he dashed down the stream some distance, seeking a convenient ford where he could cross the river and attack the village from below; but failing to do so, went much further down the river than intended in his arrangements with Reno, whom he expected to support in the charge he had ordered Reno to make before leaving him. When, at length, a suitable ford was discovered, his further progress was violently opposed by numberless Indians, who poured in a heavy fire from across the narrow river. Custer dismounted, to fight on foot, but his skirmishers were unable to cross the stream under the galling fire that assailed them and the cavalry were speedily driven back to the high ground in the rear; but not until swarms of Indians, mounted and on foot, had poured over the shallow river, and seized the ravines on either side, effectually cutting off their retreat in the direction in which they came. Custer was soon effectually surrounded, and receiving a terrible fire from all sides. The dead bodies of men and horses were found at the ford, and at a distance of about three-quarters of a mile from the river, as though thrown across the line of retreat to check the advance of the enemy. The entire company of Captain James Calhoun, brother-in-law of Lieutenant-Colonel Custer, lay dead in an irregular line, with Captain Calhoun and his Lieutenant, John J. Crittenden, in their proper places in the rear. A mile beyond this, on a ridge parallel to the river, the whole of Captain Myles W. Keogh's company were slaughtered in position—their right resting on the hill where Custer fell. Still further back on the ridge were found the dead bodies of thirty-two men of Captain George W. Yates' company, and here, too, had fallen the brave and ill-fated Custer, with his brother, Captain T. W. Custer, his Adjutant, Captain W. W. Cook, Lieutenant William Van W. Reily, and Captain Yates, together with the young nephew and brother of Custer-Armstrong Reed and Boston Custer, forage-master of the 7th Cavalry.

Walker, Custer's Last Stand, America, Vol.9, p.205

In a ravine near the river were found the dead bodies of the men and horses of Captain Thomas W. Custer's company, together with those of Captain Algernon E. Smith, and twenty-three men of his company….

Walker, Custer's Last Stand, America, Vol.9, p.205–p.206

The probable fate of thirty-five missing men and their three officers is too horrible to contemplate without a shudder. It is claimed by Indians who were in the fight and afterwards returned to their agencies, that the horses of a portion of the cavalry were captured by the Indians early in the engagement, while the situation of those surrounding the group of men and officers, with whom Custer made his last stand, would seem to indicate that they had been killed by the soldiers to form a barricade, behind which to defend themselves, until the relief which they doubtless then expected from Reno and Benteen should arrive.

Edison's Electric-Light Inventions

Title: Edison's Electric-Light Inventions

Author: Appleton's Annual Encyclopedia

Date: 1879

Source: Great Epochs in American History, Vol.10, pp.10-18

Edison's Electric-Light Inventions, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.10

When it was known that Edison, whose genius had already enriched the world with many important applications of electricity—with duplex, quadruplex, and quite recently sextuplex telegraphy; with the electric pen; with some of the best forms of the telephone and its various modifications, as the microphone, the microtasimeter, the megaphone, the aerophone, the phonometer; with the phonograph—when it was reported in 1878 and 1879 that this indefatigable experimenter and versatile inventor had turned his attention to the problem of electric illumination, the public expected that his fertile and practical mind would succeed if it were possible in overcoming the minor but stubborn difficulties which yet stood in the way of electrical illumination. The confidence which was felt in his ability was shown by the fact that during the months in which he was engaged in studying this subject, newspaper rumors of the success or nonsuccess of his laboratory studies made the prices of gas stock rise or fall on the Paris and London Exchanges. He commenced his experiments in September, 1878, and, after fifteen months of research, in the latter part of December, 1879, he published the record of his investigations to the world, and gave a public trial of the elaborated result.

Edison's Electric-Light Inventions, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.11

Divining that the practical electric light of moderate illuminating power could not be produced by the voltaic arc, to which recent experiments had been chiefly confined, and with which Jablochkoff, Serrin, Werdermann, and others had obtained remarkable results, but by the incandescence of some resistant material, he confined his attention to the substances of low conducting powers from which the incandescent light can be obtained. These are platinum, iridium, and like metals and alloys, which only fuse at an exceedingly high temperature, and the forms of carbon which possess a high degree of purity and homogeneity. His earlier experiments were expended upon metallic material.

Edison's Electric-Light Inventions, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.11

Among the several circuit-closing regulators which he devised was one by which the heated air prest a diaphragm outward, closing and breaking the circuit so rapidly that no variation in the intensity of the light was observable. Another was a device by which the expansion of the luminous conductor itself was made to draw a rod upward, which actuated a circuit-closer through an arrangement of levers. Edison developed in the earlier stages of his investigations a novel kind of lamp, from which he obtained a very brilliant light by the incandescence of a piece of zircon to which the heat-rays of the incandescent platinum spiral were transmitted by reflection. The spiral of platinum and iridium was placed in the focus of an elliptic reflector of copper coatedwith gold, and the heat-rays were focalized upon a thin piece of zircon, which attained a degree of luminosity greatly exceeding that of the incandescent platinum.

Edison's Electric-Light Inventions, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.12

Edison's experiments were necessarily directed mainly to the material to be rendered incandescent, and the form in which it would afford the best results. The brilliancy of the light depends upon the resistance which the incandescent conductor offers to the passage of the electric current. Expecting the best results from platinum, he found that the light was intensified by incorporating fine particles of this conducting agent in a nonconducting, incombustible, and nonfusible material, which was itself rendered luminous by the heat. By imbedding finely divided platinum in a nonconducting substance, he obtained a light from currents too weak to render the spiral luminous. A large spiral of platinum whose coils were coated and separated by magnesia produced a good light; it was with this form of lamp that he employed the regulator in which a metallic cup at the top of the coil pulled a rod upward, actuating a circuit-closing apparatus. Among the other materials upon which he experimented were the oxides of different metals. He obtained a fine light from iridosmine, a natural alloy of osmium and iridium, which he enclosed in a powdered state in a tube of zircon. He tried also a combination of platinum and carbon, the latter becoming highly incandescent as the current passed to it from the platinum rod, encountering a greater resistance.

Edison's Electric-Light Inventions, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.12

Still considering platinum the most promising material, he was startled after a couple of months of experimentation by the discovery that the platinum degenerated, and that its incandescence was seriously affected through the action of the atmosphere. Plates and wires of platinum, and also of iridium and other metallic conductors whose point of fusion is at a very high temperature, he found, when heated while exposed to the atmosphere to a temperature near their melting point, by a current of electricity passing through them for a number of hours together, crack and break in innumerable places. These fissures are found under the microscope all over the surface of the metal, running in every direction, and sometimes penetrating to the center of the rod or wire. Holding platinum and alloys of platinum and iridium in the heat of a candle, he observed a loss of weight; and even when they are exposed to heated air there is a diminution of weight. The consumption is sufficient to cause a hydrogen jet to take on a greenish hue. The metal after a while becomes so fractured that it falls to pieces.

Edison's Electric-Light Inventions, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.13

He thus perceived that the ordinary platinum or platinum and iridium, as sold in the market, is useless for his purpose, and also that the metal can not be employed for illumination by incandescence, as the cracks cause it gradually to deteriorate and eventually destroy it, while they greatly lessen the degree of incandescence of which its surface is capable. The knowledge of the cause if the disintegration of platinum suggested the remedy. Lodyguine, the Russian physicist, invented a carbon lamp in 1873, in which the cracking and wasting away of the carbon under incandescence, by the action of theoxygen of the atmosphere, was obviated by enclosing the burner in a glass globe from which the air was exhausted. It was necessary to purify the platinum and enclose it in a vacuum to prevent its deterioration when heated to incandescence. Edison devised a method of producing a more perfect vacuum, and at the same time cleansing the platinum burner of all the air and other gases which it contains. A glass globe is connected by an aperture with a mercury air-pump, and the air exhausted. The wires connecting the spiral or other form of burner with the battery pass through holes in the glass which are fused together and hermetically sealed. After the air is exhausted from the glass the current is turned on, heating the platinum to a temperature of about 150 degrees Fahrenheit, at which point it is kept for from ten to fifteen minutes. The gases which issue from the platinum are carried away by the air-pump. The current is then increased until the temperature rises to 300 degrees, at which point it is kept again ten or fifteen minutes. It is thus raised by successive stages until the platinum attains a brilliant incandescence, and the glass about the aperture connecting with the mercury-pump melts with the heat and fuses together, hermetically sealing the vacuum.

Edison's Electric-Light Inventions, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.14

The wires purified by this process are found to have a gloss and brightness greater than that of silver. Their light-giving power is increased in a remarkable ratio. The same burner which will give when new a light of only three candles, emits in the vacuum a light of twenty-five. Testing spirals which had been prepared and scaledin a glass vacuum in this manner by subjecting them to sudden currents of electricity which raised them to incandescence a great number of times, no cracks or breaks were discoverable, nor the slightest loss of weight. Wires of chemically pure iron and nickel were found to give a light in the vacuum equal to that of platinum exposed to the atmosphere; and carbon sticks, freed from air and inclosed in a vacuum in the same manner, may be heated until they become soft and plastic, and then regain their former consistency when cool again. Edison next tried the combination of platinum and iridium alloy with magnesia in the vacuum. He found that the oxide will unite with the metal, hardening it and rendering it more refractory to such a degree that a spiral so fine that it would melt without the coating of magnesia could be raised to a dazzling incandescence and remain quite elastic. Such a spiral, with a surface of only three-sixteenths of an inch, will give a light of forty candles. He next turned his attention to securing the greatest possible amount of resistance in the conductor. Instead of using lamps of only one or two ohms of resistance, he reached the conclusion that the light could be more economically produced from conductors having two hundred ohms of resistance or more.

Edison's Electric-Light Inventions, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.15

The perfected form of the platinum lamp consists of a long coil of wire coated with magnesia, supported in a glass vacuum tube by a rod of platinum, the tube resting upon a metallic frame containing a regulating apparatus in a chamber within. The conducting wires pass through the bottom of the globe and into this chamber, wherethe circuit can be instantaneously broken and closed again by the regulator. Around the vacuum tube is a glass globe resting upon the frame, with openings into an aneroid chamber below, whose bottom is a diaphragm which distends sufficiently when the air within the globe is heated to a certain degree to press a pin in its center downward against a straight spring, which rests with an upward pressure upon a metallic block, through which the current is transmitted through the spring to the wire which leads it to the incandescent spiral. When the contact between the spring and the block is broken, the flow of electricity is interrupted, to be restored again by the immediate cooling and contraction of the air in the globe and aneroid chamber, which is so instantaneous that no variation in the intensity of the light is perceptible. While bringing the platinum lamp to this high state of perfection, Edison set on foot inquiries regarding a larger supply of platinum; and the miners of the gold regions, incited by his advertisements, discovered such frequent indications of its presence that this exceedingly valuable metal may be expected to be produced in much larger quantities than the present supplies. The vacuum which Edison's method produced was much nearer perfect than had been before attained. One of the reasons for the want of success of lamps in which the light was produced by the incandescence of carbon in a vacuum was the impossibility of sufficiently exhausting the air in the glass chamber. by the present process it could be reduced to but little over one-millionth of an atmosphere.

Edison's Electric-Light Inventions, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.16

The inventor thought that he had elaborateda lamp which embodied the best principles, and which was sure to prove a commercial success. He had introduced improvements in the electric machine by which the equivalent of about 90 per cent. of the power expended was returned in electricity. When he was nearly ready to give the lamp in this form to the world, he began, led partly by accident, to experiment with carbon, with results which induced him to alter his whole system and adopt a carbon instead of a metallic burner. A prominent cause for the failure of carbon burners had been the impossibility of obtaining a form of carbon sufficiently pure in substance and homogeneous and even in texture. Edison was encouraged to try new forms from obtaining a remarkably brilliant light in the vacuum by the incandescence of a piece of calcined cotton thread. He placed in the glass a thread of ordinary sewing-cotton, which had been placed in a groove between two blocks of iron and charred by long exposure in a furnace, exhausted the air, and sealed the tube. He then turned on the electrical current, and increased it until the most intense incandescence was obtained before the slight filament broke. Examining then the fragments under the microscope, he found that the fragile substance had hardened under the excessive heat, and that its surface had become smooth and glossy.

Edison's Electric-Light Inventions, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.17

This led him into a long series of experiments with carbon. After carbonizing and testing a great variety of fibrous substances, he found that paper yielded the most satisfactory results. The burner on which he finally settled was made from Bristol cardboard in the form of a tiny horseshoe. Strips about two inches long and an eight of an inch wide, curved in the shape of an elongated horseshoe, are struck from a sheet of cardboard, and a number of them laid one upon another, with pieces of tissue paper between, in an iron mold; this is tightly closed and placed in an oven, which is gradually raised to a temperature of 600 degrees; the mold is next placed in a furnace and allowed to come to a white heat, and then removed and left to cool. The carbonized paper horseshoe is then taken out with the utmost care, mounted in a diminutive glass globe, and connected with the wires. The air is then pumped out and the glass hermetically closed. The form of the lamp is a small bulb-shaped glass vacuum, globular above, with an elongated end resting upon a standard, through which the wires leading to and from the generator pass, connecting with thin platinum wires, which penetrate the thick end of the glass; to these the carbon burner is attached by clasps made from the same metal. No regulating apparatus is attached to the lamp, as the current can be regulated at the central station where the electricity is generated.

Edison's Electric-Light Inventions, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.18

The inventor has developed a method by which the currents can be cut off from any of the lamps and the lights extinguished, without affecting the supply of electricity to those which are left burning. He proposes to supply the electricity in cities for lighting the houses and public places from stations in which a number of electric machines adequate for supplying an area of about a third of a square mile are driven by one or two powerful steam-engines. Each generator is capable of supplying about fifty burners.

The Resumption of Specie Payments

Title: The Resumption of Specie Payments

Author: Appleton's Annual Encyclopedia

Date: 1879

Source: Great Epochs in American History, Vol.10, pp.19-26

Resumption of Specie Payments, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.19

The balance in the Treasury on December 39, 1860, subject to the warrant of the Secretary, was $2,078,257. During the calendar year 1861, the net receipts of the treasury from all sources were $218,224,077.64, as against $59,217,030.19 for the previous year; but the expenditures had increased in a still greater ratio, and in January, 1862, the Treasury was unable to answer the requisition upon it for disbursements. Additional resources to carry on the Government became imperative, but no coin was left in the country for which to sell a loan. Of the depreciated bank currency there was believed to be then in existence only about $150,000,000, and this with the $60,000,000 of Treasury notes made the entire circulation of the country only $210,000,000; and to collect these notes together for public disbursement, scattered as they were throughout the country, would be almost as hopeless a task as to issue a loan for coin and bring back to the country the metallic currency which had gone abroad to pay foreign indebtedness.

Resumption of Specie Payments, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.20

To meet this emergency, and with a view of utilizing all the resources of the country, Congress, by act approved February 25, 1862, authorized the issue of $150,000,000 of notes, not bearing interest, payable at the Treasury of the United States, and of such denominations as the Secretary of the Treasury might deem expedient, not less than five dollars each. Of this amount $60,000,000 were for the redemption of the notes of July 17 and August 5, 1861….

Resumption of Specie Payments, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.20

Later in the same session, by act approved March 17, 1862, Congress declared the outstanding notes of July 17 and February 12, 1862, to be a legal tender in like manner, for the same purposes and to the same extent, as the notes authorized by the act of February 25, 1862. Still later, by act of July 11, 1862, Congress authorized an additional issue of $150,000,000 of notes of similar character, and, like those already issued, exchangeable for bonds; and also provided that the Secretary might receive and cancel any note heretofore issued, and in lieu thereof issue an equal amount of notes authorized by this act. The act also provided that not less than $50,000,000 of these notes should be reserved for the payment of certain deposits, to be used only when, in the judgment of the Secretary of the Treasury, the same or any part thereof might be needed for that purpose. By act of July 17th following Congress authorized the issue of postage and revenue stamps for use as fractional currency, preferring this expedient to metallic coins or tokens reduced in value below the existing standard, making them receivable in payment of all dues to the United States under five dollars, andexchangeable for United States notes when presented in sums of not less than five dollars.

Resumption of Specie Payments, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.21

Under these several acts a total circulation of $250,000,000 could be issued, and in an improbable contingency $50,000,000 more; also a supply of fractional currency. These issues, together with the issues of bonds, relieved the Treasury from its embarrassment, and on the 1st of July, 1862, not a requisition upon the Treasury from any department remained unhonored.

Resumption of Specie Payments, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.21

The military reverses of June, July, and August of that year, however, injuriously affected the financial condition of the country, and Congress, by act of March 3, 1863, authorized, among other measures, an additional issue of $150,000,000 of notes having substantially the same qualities and restrictions as those theretofore issued, and provided that in lieu of any other United State notes returned to the Treasury and destroyed there might be issued an equal amount of notes authorized by this act. It also provided that holders of United States notes, issued under and by virtue of the several acts heretofore cited, must present them for the purpose of exchanging them for bonds on or before the 1st day of July, 1863, and that thereafter the right to thus exchange them should cease and determine. The same act also provided that in lieu of the postage and revenue stamps authorized for use as fractional currency, commonly called postal currency, there might be issued fractional notes of like amounts and in such form as might be deemed expedient; the whole amount of fractional currency issued, including postage and revenue stamps, not to exceed $50,000,000. Under theseseveral acts there could be issued of legal-tender notes $450,000,000, and of fractional currency $50,000,000. No additional issue of notes was thereafter authorized.

Resumption of Specie Payments, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.22

The issue of Treasury notes by the Government as no new departure, but the notes issued under the several acts above stated bore certain qualities not given to any issued prior to 1861. They were declared by law to be lawful money and a legal tender for all debts, public and private, except for duties on imports and interest on the public debt, and they were convertible into interest-bearing bonds. Their convertible property, however, ceased to exist on the 1st of July, 1863, and since that date the Government has had for the first time in its history a national currency of its own notes—notes not convertible into other obligations and not redeemable at any specified time or place. These notes were both a loan to the Government and a national currency. The only justification attempted for their issue was that it was a war measure, one of necessity, not choice; and the notes were not expected to survive the exigencies which caused their issue. It proved, however, a most important measure. For, right or wrong, the employment of these notes as a legal-tender currency has exerted a most powerful and decisive influence over the property and material interests of every individual in the United States, and has become a tremendous factor in every problem, political, social, or economical.

Resumption of Specie Payments, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.22

The notes were first issued April 1, 1862, and their issue gradually increased in amount until January 30, 1864, on which day there were out-standing $449,338,902, the highest point reached. By act approved June 30, 1864, Congress directed that the total amount of United States notes issued or to be issued should never exceed $400,000,000, and such additional sum, not exceeding $50,000,000, as might be temporarily required for the redemption of temporary loans. Despite this restriction as to the amount of the notes which could be issued, and the extraordinary properties with which they were endowed, their value depreciated until on July 11, 1864, they were worth but 35 cents on a dollar, and their value fluctuated from day to day, unsettling prices of commodities, stimulating speculation, and creating distrust and apprehension in all business circles. A retirement of the amount in excess of four hundred millions was gradually made, in conformity with the law and a generally approved policy of retiring the notes as rapidly as practicable.

Resumption of Specie Payments, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.23

Secretary McCulloch, in his annual report for 1865, exprest his opinion that the legal-tender acts were war measures passed in a great emergency; that they should be regarded only as temporary; that they ought not to remain in force a day longer than was necessary to enable the people to prepare for a return to the gold standard; and that the work of retiring the notes which had been issued should be commenced without delay, and carefully and persistently continued until all were retired….

Resumption of Specie Payments, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.23

There was a general feeling throughout the country that specie resumption should be kept in view, and on March 18, 1869, an act of Congress "to strengthen the public credit" was approved. In this act the faith of the United States was solemnly pledged to make provision at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of the notes in coin. No further change was made in the amount of outstanding notes, nor any further legislation had in regard to them, until January 14, 1875.

Resumption of Specie Payments, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.24

An act then provided—first, for the manufacture and issue of subsidiary silver coins in redemption of the outstanding fractional paper notes; second, for an unlimited issue of national banknotes, with a provision for the retirement of legal-tender notes to the extent of 80 per cent. of such issue, until the amount of legal-tender notes outstanding should be reduced to three hundred millions; and, third, for the redemption hundred millions; and, third, for the redemption in coin of the legal-tender notes, on presentation in sums of fifty dollars and upward at the Sub-Treasury in New York on and after January 1, 1879. To carry out the purposes of this act, ample authority was given the Secretary of the Treasury to apply all surplus revenues of the Government, and also to issue at par in coin an unlimited amount of bonds of the description authorized by the refunding act….

Resumption of Specie Payments, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.24

Under the clause of the act authorizing the redemption of legal-tender notes in the amount of 80 over cent. of national bank-notes thereafter issued, the Treasury began to redeem notes in March, 1875, and continued to do so until May 31, 1878, on which date an act was approved forbidding their further redemption. There was thus redeemed of these notes an amount of $35,318,984, leaving outstanding to be redeemed in coin under other provisions of the resumption act$346,681,016. The cash in the Treasury was, of course, lessened in the amount of this redemption, and the loss was made up by the surplus revenues, which would otherwise have been applicable to the redemption of some other kind of indebtedness….

Resumption of Specie Payments, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.25

The preparations were so complete that on January 1, 1879, the date when resumption took effect, the treasurer held of gold coin and bullion $135,382,639.42; of standard silver dollars coined under the act of February 28, 1878, $16,704,829; and of fractional silver coin, including silver bullion, $15,471,265.27. The amount of coin held by the Treasury as available for resumption purposes on that day, after deducting all matured coin liabilities, was about $135,000,000, or about 40 per cent. of the amount of notes to be redeemed. The thoroughness of preparation for resumption had quieted all apprehensions as to the success of the policy, and on the first day of resumption only straggling demands for coin were made, the amount aggregating less than the amount of notes preferred by the holders of coin obligations. And during the entire year there were redeemed of the legal-tender notes only the amount of $11,456,536; while for the same period there were paid out of such notes on account of coin obligations more than $250,000,000. There were also received of such notes in payment of customs dues in the year ending December 31, 1879, $109,467,456.

Resumption of Specie Payments, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.25

Thus, after much labor and sacrifice, the country was lifted out of the financial bog of depreciated paper currency, and with the resumption thus happily secured came a revival of business, an extraordinary demand for labor of all kinds, and a confirmation of that confidence which was so necessary for all business enterprises, and which had grown step by step with every movement made toward a specie basis.

Resumption of Specie Payments, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.26

The following table shows the market price, in coin, of $100 of the legal-tender note of the United States for January and July of each year from 1862 to 1879 inclusive—mean of highest and lowest in each month specified:

YEARS January July

1862 97.6 86.6

1863 68.9 76.6

1864 64.3 38.7

1865 46.3 70.4

1866 71.4 66.0

1867 74.3 71.7

1868 72.2 70.1

1869 73.7 73.5

1870 82.4 85.6

1871 90.3 89.0

1872 91.7 87.5

1873 88.7 86.4

1874 89.7 91.0

1875 88.9 87.2

1876 88.6 89.4

1877 94.0 94.9

1878 97.9 99.5

1879 100.0 100.0

Resumption of Specie Payments, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.26

During the year 1879 coin flowed into the Treasury, while but little demand was made for its payment therefrom; so little, indeed, that the Treasury became drained of its notes, and in December it was obliged to require its creditors to receive in part payment of their dues 20 per cent. in coin—one-half in gold coin, the other half in the new silver dollars.

Uncle Sam Resumes Specie Payments

Title: Uncle Sam Resumes Specie Payments

Author: John Sherman

Date: 1879

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.221-225

Government specie payments had been suspended since 1861, and a law providing for their resumption was passed by Congress in 1875. It was to take effect January 1, 1879. During the interval it was the object of repeated attack, but all efforts to repeal it failed.

The Resumption Act authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to amass an adequate supply of gold wherewith to resume specie payments. John Sherman was Secretary when the act became operative. This article is from his "Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate and Cabinet" (Superior Printing Company). By the sale of bonds at favorable opportunities, Sherman had on hand $140,000,000 in gold on the resumption date, which passed off without the dreaded shock materializing. Sherman was a younger brother of the General who led the famous "march to the sea.

Sherman, Uncle Sam Resumes Specie Payments, America, Vol.9, p.221

ON the 1st of January, 1879, when the resumption act went into effect, the aggregate amount of gold coin and bullion in the Treasury exceeded $140,000,000. United States notes, when presented, were redeemed with gold coin, but instead of the notes being presented for redemption, gold coin in exchange for them was deposited, thus increasing the gold in the Treasury.

Sherman, Uncle Sam Resumes Specie Payments, America, Vol.9, p.221–p.222

The resumption of specie payments was generally accepted as a fortunate event by the great body of the people of the United States, but there was a great diversity of opinion as to what was meant by resumption. The commercial and banking classes generally treated resumption as if it involved the payment and cancellation of United States notes and all forms of government money except coin and bank notes. Another class was opposed to resumption, and favored a large issue of paper money without any promise or expectation of redemption in coin. The body of the people, I believe, agreed with me in opinion that resumption meant, not the cancellation and withdrawal of greenbacks, but the bringing them up to par and maintaining them as the equivalent of coin by the payment of them in coin on demand by the holder. This was my definition of resumption. I do not believe that any commercial nation can conduct modern operations of business upon the basis of coin alone. Prior to our Civil War the United States undertook to collect its taxes in specie and to pay specie for its obligations; this was the bullion theory. This narrow view of money compelled the States to supply paper currency, and this led to a great diversity of money, depending upon the credit, the habits and the wants of the people of the different States. The United States notes, commonly called greenbacks, were the creature of necessity, but proved a great blessing, and only needed one attribute to make them the best substitute for coin money that has ever been devised. That quality was supplied by their redemption in coin, when demanded by the holder.

Sherman, Uncle Sam Resumes Specie Payments, America, Vol.9, p.222

The feeling in the Treasury Department on the day of resumption is thus described by J. K. Upton, Assistant Secretary, in an article written at the close of 1892:

Sherman, Uncle Sam Resumes Specie Payments, America, Vol.9, p.223

"The year, however, closed with no unpleasant excitement, but with unpleasant forebodings. The 1st day of January was Sunday and no business was transacted. On Monday anxiety reigned in the office of the Secretary. Hour after hour passed; no news came from New York. Inquiry by wire showed all was quiet. At the close of business came this message: '$135,000 of notes presented for coin—$400,000 of gold for notes.' That was all. Resumption was accomplished with no disturbance. By five O'clock the news was all over the land, and the New York bankers were sipping their tea in absolute safety.

Sherman, Uncle Sam Resumes Specie Payments, America, Vol.9, p.223

"Thirteen years have since passed, and the redemption fund still remains intact in the sub-treasury vaults. The prediction of the Secretary has become history. When gold could with certainty be obtained for notes, nobody wanted it. The experiment of maintaining a limited amount of United States notes in circulation, based upon a reasonable reserve in the Treasury pledged for that purpose, and supported also by the credit of the government, has proved generally satisfactory, and the exclusive use of these notes for circulation may become, in time, ,!he fixed financial policy of the government.

Sherman, Uncle Sam Resumes Specie Payments, America, Vol.9, p.223

The immediate effect of resumption of specie payments was to advance the public credit, which made it possible to rapidly fund all the bonds of the United States then redeemable into bonds bearing four percent interest….

Sherman, Uncle Sam Resumes Specie Payments, America, Vol.9, p.224

…. Letters written about this date will show my view better than anything I can say now….

Sherman, Uncle Sam Resumes Specie Payments, America, Vol.9, p.224

Washington, D. C., January 8, 1879.

Sherman, Uncle Sam Resumes Specie Payments, America, Vol.9, p.224

R.C. Stone, Esq., Secretary Bullion Club,

New York….

Sherman, Uncle Sam Resumes Specie Payments, America, Vol.9, p.224

I regret that my official duties will not permit me, in person, to respond to the toast you send me, and I cannot do so, by letter, in words more expressive than the toast itself, "To Resumption—may it be forever."

Sherman, Uncle Sam Resumes Specie Payments, America, Vol.9, p.224–p.225

Irredeemable money is always the result of war, pestilence, or some great misfortune. A nation would not, except in dire necessity, issue its promises to pay money when it is unable to redeem those promises. I know that when the legal tenders were first issued, in February, 1862, we were under a dire necessity. The doubt that prevented several influential Senators, like Fessenden and Collamer, from voting for the legal tender clause, was that they were not convinced that our necessities were so extreme as to demand the issue of irredeemable paper money. Most of those who voted for it justified their vote upon the ground that the very existence of the country depended upon its ability to coin into money its promises to pay. That was the position taken by me. We were assured by Secretary Chase that nearly one hundred millions of unpaid requisitions were lying upon his table, for money due to soldiers in the presence of the enemy, and for food and clothing to maintain them at the front. We then provided for the issue of legal tender United States notes, as an extreme remedy in the nation's peril. It has always seemed strange that so large and respectable a body of our fellow-citizens should regard the continuance of irredeemable money as the permanent policy of a nation so strong and rich as ours, able to pay every dollar of its debts on demand, after the causes of its issue had disappeared. To resume is to recover from illness, to escape danger, to stand sound and healthy in the financial world, with our currency based upon the intrinsic value of solid coin.

Sherman, Uncle Sam Resumes Specie Payments, America, Vol.9, p.225

Therefore I say, may resumption be perpetual. To wish otherwise is to hope for war, danger and national peril, calamities to which our nation, like others, may be subject, but against which the earnest aspiration of every patriot will be uttered.

Edison's Electric Light Invention

Title: Edison's Electric Light Invention

Author: Frank L. Dyar and Thomas C. Martin

Date: 1879

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.226-230

October 21, 1879, was a red-letter day in the history of electrical invention and development. On that day the incandescent lamp was brought into existence by Thomas A. Edison, and he signalized the laboratory event by shouting, "We've got it, boys!" In their collaboration of "Edison: His Life and Inventions," from which this account is taken, by permission of Harper & Brothers, Frank L. Dyar and Thomas C. Martin tell the fascinating story of this invention.

It is the glory of Edison to have eclipsed all other inventors in discovering and applying scientific truths to a practical end. The incandescent light is undoubtedly the most used of all his inventions, and the one that required the most careful research and experimenting to perfect. Its practicability having been demonstrated in 1879, it was first publicly exhibited in 1880 and the new illumination soon achieved a remarkable success even in a most remarkable industrial age.

Edison's Electric Light Invention, America, Vol.9, p.226

EDISON was familiar with the numerous but impracticable and commercially unsuccessful efforts that had been previously made by other inventors and investigators to produce electric light by incandescence, and at the time he began his experiments, in 1877, almost the whole scientific world had pronounced such an idea as impossible of fulfilment. The leading electricians, physicists, and experts of the period had been studying the subject for more than a quarter of a century, and with but one known exception had proven mathematically and by close reasoning that the "Sub-division of the Electric Light," as it was then termed, was practically beyond attainment. Opinions of this nature have ever been but a stimulus to Edison when he has given deep thought to a subject, and has become impressed with strong convictions of possibility, and in this particular case he was satisfied that the subdivision of the electric light—or, more correctly, the subdivision of the electric current—was not only possible but entirely practicable….

Edison's Electric Light Invention, America, Vol.9, p.227

After having devoted several months to experimental trials of carbon, at the end of 1878…. he turned his attention to the platinum group of metals and began a series of experiments in which he used chiefly platinum wire and iridium wire, and alloys of refractory metals in the form of wire burners for incandescent lamps. These metals have very high fusing points, and were found to last longer than the carbon strips previously used when heated up to incandescence by the electric current, although under such conditions as were then possible they were melted by excess of current after they had been lighted a comparatively short time, either in the open air or in such a vacuum as could be obtained by means of the ordinary air-pump.

Edison's Electric Light Invention, America, Vol.9, p.227–p.228

Nevertheless, Edison continued along this line of experiment with unremitting vigor, making improvement after improvement, until, about April, 1879, he devised a means whereby platinum wire of a given length, which would melt in the open air when giving a light equal to four candles, would emit a light of twenty-five candle-power without fusion. This was accomplished by introducing the platinum wire into an all-glass globe, completely sealed and highly exhausted of air, and passing a current through the platinum wire while the vacuum was being made. In this, which was a new and radical invention, we see the first step toward the modern incandescent lamp….

Edison's Electric Light Invention, America, Vol.9, p.228

Continuing these experiments with most fervent zeal, taking no account of the passage of time, with an utter disregard for meals, and but scanty hours of sleep snatched reluctantly at odd periods of the day or night, Edison kept his laboratory going without cessation. A great variety of lamps was made of the platinum-iridium type, mostly with thermal devices to regulate the temperature of the burner and prevent its being melted by an excess of current. The study of the apparatus for obtaining more perfect "vacua" was unceasingly carried on, for Edison realized that in this there lay a potent factor of ultimate success. About August he had obtained a pump that would produce a vacuum up to about the one-hundred-thousandth part of an atmosphere. It must be remembered that the condition necessary for maintaining this high vacuum were only made possible by his invention of the one-piece-all-glass globe, in which all the joints were hermetically sealed during its manufacture into a lamp, whereby a high vacuum could be retained continuously for any length of time.

Edison's Electric Light Invention, America, Vol.9, p.229

In obtaining this perfection of vacuum apparatus, Edison realized that he was approaching much nearer to a solution of the problem. In his experiments with the platinum-iridium lamps, he had been working all the time toward the proposition of high resistance and small radiating surface, until he had made a lamp having thirty feet of fine platinum wire wound upon a small bobbin of infusible material; but the desired economy, simplicity and durability were not obtained in this manner, although at all times the burner was maintained at a critically high temperature. After attaining a high degree of perfection with these lamps, he recognized their impracticable character and his mind reverted to the opinion he had formed in his early experiments two years before—viz., that carbon had the requisite resistance to permit a very simple conductor to accomplish the object if it could be used in the form of a hair-like "filament," provided the filament itself could be made sufficiently homogeneous. As we have already seen, he could not use carbon successfully in his earlier experiments, for the strips of carbon he then employed, although they were much larger than "filaments," would not stand, but were consumed in a few minutes under the imperfect conditions then at his command.

Edison's Electric Light Invention, America, Vol.9, p.229–p.230

Now, however, that he had found means for obtaining and maintaining high "vacua," Edison immediately went back to carbon, which from the first he had conceived of as the ideal substance for a burner. His next step proved conclusively the correctness of his old deductions. On October 21, 1879, after many patient trials, he carbonized a piece of cotton sewing-thread bent into a loop or horseshoe form, and had it sealed into a glass globe from which he exhausted the air until a vacuum up to one-millionth of an atmosphere was produced. This lamp, when put on the circuit, lighted up brightly to incandescence and maintained its integrity for over forty hours, and lo! the practical incandescent lamp was born….

Edison's Electric Light Invention, America, Vol.9, p.230

The slender, fragile, tenuous thread of brittle carbon, glowing steadily and continuously with a soft light agreeable to the eyes, was the tiny key that opened the door to a world revolutionized in its interior illumination. It was a triumphant vindication of Edison's reasoning powers, his clear perceptions, his insight into possibilities, and his inventive faculty, all of which had already been productive of so many startling, practical and epoch-making inventions. And now he had stepped over the threshold of a new art which has since become so world-wide in its application as to be an integral part of modern human experience….

Reasons for Being a Republican, Ulysses S. Grant, 1880

Reasons for Being a Republican

Title: Reasons for Being a Republican

Author: Ulysses S. Grant

Date: 1880

Source: The World's Famous Orations, Vol.10, pp.107-110

One of the few speeches made by General Grant after he retired from public life. It was delivered at Warren, Ohio, on September 28, 1880. He was then presiding at a Republican mass-meeting, and made this speech before introducing the orator of the day, Roscoe Conkling, who, on June 5 of the same year, had made the speech nominating him (Grant) for a third term.

Born in 1822, died in 1885; graduated from West Point in 1843; served in the Mexican War in 1846-48; a Colonel in the Civil War in June, 1861; a Brigadier-General in August, 1861; a Major-General of Volunteers in 1862; Commander of the Army of West Tennessee in 1862; made Lieutenant-General on March 2, 1864; Commander of all the Union armies, March 12, 1864; received Lee's surrender at Appomattox on April 9, 1865; made General, July 25, 1866; Secretary of War in 1867; elected President in 1868 and reelected in 1872; an unsuccessful candidate for renomination in 1880.

Grant, Reasons for Being a Republican, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.107

IN VIEW of the known character of the speaker who is to address you to-day, and his long public career, and association with the leading statesmen of this country for the past twenty years, it would not be becoming in me to detain you with many remarks of my own. But it may be proper for me to account to you on the first occasion of my presiding at political meetings for the faith that is in me.

Grant, Reasons for Being a Republican, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.107

I am a Republican, as the two great political parties are now divided, because the Republican party is a national party seeking the greatest good for the greatest number of citizens. There is not a precinct in this vast nation where a Democrat can not cast his ballot and have it counted as cast. No matter what the prominence of the opposite party, he can proclaim his political opinions, even if he is only one among a thousand, without fear and without proscription on account of his opinions. There are fourteen States, and localities in some other States, where Republicans have not this privilege. This is one reason why I am a Republican.

Grant, Reasons for Being a Republican, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.108

But I am a Republican for many other reasons. The Republican party assures protection to life and property, the public credit, and the payment of the debts of the government, State, county, or municipality, so far as it can control. The Democratic party does no promise this; if it does, it has broken its promises to the extent of hundreds of millions, as many Northern Democrats can testify to their sorrow. I am a Republican, as between the existing parties, because it fosters the production of the field and farm, and of manufactories, and it encourages the general education of the poor as well as the rich.

Grant, Reasons for Being a Republican, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.108

The Democratic party discourages all these when in absolute power. The Republican party is a party of progress, and of liberty toward its opponents. It encourages the poor to strive to better their children, to enable them to compete successfully with their more fortunate associates, and, in fine, it secures an entire equality before the law of every citizen, no matter what his race, nationality, or previous condition. It tolerates no privileged class. Every one has the opportunity to make himself all he is capable of.

Grant, Reasons for Being a Republican, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.109

Ladies and gentlemen, do you believe this can be truthfully said in the greater part of fourteen of the States of this Union to-day which the Democratic party control absolutely? The Republican party is a party of principles; the same principles prevailing wherever it has a foothold.

Grant, Reasons for Being a Republican, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.109

The Democratic party is united in but one thing, and that is in getting control of the government in all its branches. It is for internal improvement at the expense of the government in one section and against this in another. It favors repudiation of solemn obligations in one section and honest payment of its debts in another, where public opinion will not tolerate any other view. It favors fiat money in one place and good money in another. Finally, it favors the pooling of all issues not favored by the Republicans, to the end that it may secure the one principle upon which the party is a most harmonious unit—namely, getting control of the government in all its branches.

Grant, Reasons for Being a Republican, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.109

I have been in some part of every State lately in rebellion within the last year. I was most hospitably received at every place where I stopped. My receptions were not by the Union class alone, but by all classes, without distinction. I had a free talk with many who were against me in war, and who have been against the Republican party ever since. They were, in all instances, reasonable men, judging by what they said. I believed then, and believe now, that they sincerely want a break-up in this "Solid South" political condition. They see that it is to their pecuniary interest, as well as to their happiness, that there should be harmony and confidence between all sections. They want to break away from the slavery which binds them to a party name. They want a pretext that enough of them can unite upon to make it respectable. Once started, the Solid South will go as Kukluxism did before, as is so admirably told by Judge Tourgee in his "Fool's Errand." When the break comes, those who start it will be astonished to find how many of their friends have been in favor of it for a long time, and have only been waiting to see some one take the lead. This desirable solution can only be attained by the defeat, and continued defeat, of the Democratic party as now constituted.

The Assassination of Garfield

Title: The Assassination of Garfield

Author: Appleton's Annual Encyclopedia

Date: 1881

Source: Great Epochs in American History, Vol.10, pp.27-35

Assassination of Garfield, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.27

On the morning of July 2d, the President set out from the Executive Mansion with Secretary Blaine for the Baltimore and Potomac Railroad station, where he was to join several members of the Cabinet for a trip to New York and New England, including visits to Williams College and the White Mountains. The two entered the station arm in arm, and while they were passing through the ladies' waiting-room two pistol-shots were heard in quick succession, one of which took effect in the President's back. He sank to the floor, bleeding profusely, and for a moment was unconscious, and then was affected with vomiting. To get him out of the confusion he was carried to the offices of the company, on the second floor. Several physicians were summoned, and, after a superficial examination of the wound, the President was taken back to the Executive Mansion. The result of their first careful examination was the opinion that the bullet had penetrated or grazed the liver, and had lodged in the front wall of the abdomen. They believed that the injury was not necessarily fatal, but concluded that it was not advisable to attempt the removal of the bullet….

Assassination of Garfield, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.28

The person who had fired the pistol at the railroad station had been promptly seized and taken into custody. He proved to be Charles J. Guiteau, who had been a persistent but had been a persistent but unsuccessful applicant for an appointment, first as minister to Austria, and then as consul-general to Paris. He describes himself as a lawyer, a politician, and a theologian, and is reported to have said, on being taken into custody: "All right, I did it, and will go to jail for it. I am a Stalwart, and Arthur will be President." A letter was found on his person in which the death of the President was spoken of as a "sad necessity" that would "unite the Republican party and save the Republic." Guiteau was lodged in the District of Columbia jail, to await the result of the President's wound.

Assassination of Garfield, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.28

The news of the attempted assassination created intense excitement throughout the country, and it was considered in some quarters as an indirect result of the political system that encouraged unregulated office-seeking and occasioned many disappointments, and to the quarrel between the so-called "Stalwarts" and Administration Republicans, which had originated in the controversy over appointments in the State of New York. There was an almost universal outbreak of sorrow and indignation at the crime, and sympathy for the sufferer and his family, and this found expression in the action of numerous public bodies and political assemblies, of both parties, and in all sections of the country. It extended to foreign lands, and brought forth many official and unofficial expressions of sympathy.

Assassination of Garfield, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.29

After the first shock had passed, the announcement that the wound was not necessarily fatal, and that there was a chance of recovery, gave rise to a hopeful feeling, which increased with daily report of favorable progress. As early as the 10th of July Governor Foster, of Ohio, suggested to the Governors of all the States the appointment of a general day of thanksgiving for the President's escape from death, and the prospect of his speedy recovery. In several States this suggestion was acted on. The favorable reports continued for some days, and the President's recovery was confidently predicted by the surgeons in attendance. They concluded that no important organ had been injured, and that the bullet was likely to become encysted and harmless, or might possibly declared its presence in a way that would admit of its successful removal.

Assassination of Garfield, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.29

The first check in the favorable symptoms was on the 18th of July, and was followed by an apparent resumption of progress. The first serious relapse occurred on the 23d of July, being attended with chills and more or less of fever. The bullet had entered between the eleventh and twelfth ribs, about four inches to the right of the spinal column, the assassin standing about six feet behind and a little to the right of his victim, and the bones had been somewhat splintered. The diagnosis assumed that there had been a deflection which sent the bullet downward and to the right. The probing and treatment of the wound had followed this supposed course, where there was by this tie a channel several inches in depth. The unfavorable symptoms were caused by obstruction in the flow of pus, and onthe morning of the 24th an incision was made to give a freer passage from the supposed track of the wound. This was followed by relief and a resumption of hopeful reports. On the 28th there was a slight recurrence of fever, and day by day thereafter there was more or less of febrile rise in the temperature and pulse, attended with abnormal respiration.

Assassination of Garfield, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.30

The heat of the season aggravated the difficulty of dealing with the case, and artificial means of cooling the atmosphere of the Executive Mansion were resorted to. Large quantities of ice were placed in the cellar, over which air was passed and then admitted to the sick-room by means of an apparatus specially devised for the purpose. The case was also believed to be more or less complicated by malarial influences prevailing in and about the White House.

Assassination of Garfield, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.30

Favorable reports continued during the first days of August, and plans were discust for removing the patient to the Soldier's Home. On the 6th unfavorable symptoms were reported as the effect of the heat, and on the following day they were declared to be more serious, and attributed to further obstruction of pus in the wound. A new incision was made, this time below the rib, giving another and freer outlet from the assumed track of the wound. Relief and renewed progress were announced as the result, but there seemed to be no satisfactory evidence of healing. On the 10th the President, for the first time since the shooting, signed an official document, presented for the purpose by the Secretary of State, being one of the papers in an extradition case pending with Canada. About this time there was considerable discussion as to the correctness of the medical treatment, and also as to the propriety of leaving the Executive Department of the Government without an active head, some maintaining that the exigency existed under which the Constitution provided for the devolving of the powers and duties of the presidential office on the Vice-President on account of "inability."

Assassination of Garfield, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.31

After the 10th of August the reports from the sufferer were less hopeful, and unfavorable symptoms declared themselves on the 13th. On the 15th the patient was admitted to be in a precarious condition. His pulse went to 130, and he was affected with "rigors" and vomiting. Thereafter the stomach was continually troublesome, and much of the time nutriment and stimulants were administered by injection. There was an apparent recovery from the relapse of the 15th, and hope was still cherished. On the 18th inflammation of the right parotid gland was announced, which increased until an incision was made in it on the 24th. The condition of the patient was fluctuating during these days, and he began to express a strong desire to be removed from Washington. On the 25th his condition became critical, and on the day following fears of a fatal ending of all hope were entertained throughout the country. There were, however, slight indications of improvement on the 27th, which increased until by the 30th there was a renewal of hopeful announcements. On the 1st of September the question of removal was taken up again, and the gastric disturbance returning on the 4th, it was decided to take the patient to Long Branch, in accordance with his own earnest desire. The journey to Long Branch was made on the 6th of September. The rate of speed was at times as high as sixty miles an hour; few stops were made, and Long Branch was reached at 1 o'clock—3,500 feet of railroad track having been laid specially to convey the train from the regular station to the immediate vicinity of the Francklyn Cottage, at Elberon….

Assassination of Garfield, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.32

The President showed signs of gratification at the change, but there was no immediate evidence of improvement. For two or three days the reports were hopeful, but bronchial trouble was developing, and threatening the lungs. From the 11th to the 15th the reports were fluctuating and rather dispiriting. The patient was placed for a few hours each day in a reclining-chair where he could gave from the window of the cottage upon the sea. On the 16th there was a serious relapse, with marked symptoms of blood-poisoning, including severe chills, fever, and inability to retain anything in the stomach. The last day (September 19th), is thus described by Dr. Bliss:

Assassination of Garfield, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.32

"At 10:10 P. M. I was summoned hastily to the bedside, and found the President in an unconscious and dying condition, pulseless at the wrist, with extreme pallor, the eyes opened and turning upward, and respiration 8 per minute, and gasping. Placing my finger upon the carotid, I could not recognize pulsation; applying my ear over the heart, I detected an indistinct flutter, which continued until 10:35, when he expired. The brave and heroic sufferer, the nation's patient, for whom all had labored so cheerfully and unceasingly, had passed away."

Assassination of Garfield, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.33

Death was preceded by a severe pain at the heart, and the President's last words were, "O, Swaim!" The announcement of his demise evoked expressions of universal grief, not only throughout this country but from the principal cities of the Old World. Messages of condolence came from representatives of authority abroad as well as at home, and from many private and unofficial sources. An autopsy of the body was made on the afternoon of September 20th, Dr. D. S. Lamb, of the Medical Museum at Washington, handling the knife, and all the physicians who had taken part in the case, as well as Dr. Andrew H. Smith, of Elberon, being present. The result showed that the diagnosis of the wound, so far as it concerned the course of the bullet, had been mistaken from the start. The following is from the official announcement of the result of the autopsy:

Assassination of Garfield, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.33

"It was found that the ball, after fracturing the right eleventh rib, had passed through the spinal column in front of the spinal canal, fracturing the body of the first lumbar vertebra, driving a number of small fragments of bone into the adjacent soft parts, and lodging below the pancreas, about two inches and a half to the left of the spine, and behind the peritoneum, where it had become completely encysted. The immediate cause of death was secondary hemorrhage from one of the mesenteric arteries adjoining the track of the ball, the blood rupturing the peritoneum, and nearly a pint escaping into the abdominal cavity. This hemorrhage is believed to have been the cause of the severe pain in the lower part of the chest complained ofjust before death. An abscess cavity, six inches by four in dimensions, was found in the vicinity of the gall-bladder, between the liver and the transverse colon, which were strongly adherent. It did not involve the substance of the liver, and no communication was found between it and the wound. A long, suppurating channel extended from the external wound between the loin-muscles and the right kidney almost to the right groin. This channel, now known to be due to the burrowing of pus from the wound, was supposed during life to have been the track of the ball. On an examination of the organs of the chest evidences of severe bronchitis were found on both sides, with bronchopneumonia of the lower portions of the right lung, and, tho to a much less extent, of the left. The lungs contained no abscesses and the heart no clots. The liver was enlarged and fatty, but free from abscesses. Nor were any found on any other organ, except the left kidney, which contained near its surface a small abscess about one-third of an inch in diameter."

Assassination of Garfield, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.34

There was considerable lay and professional discussion of the medical treatment, the general conclusion being that, aside from the mistaken diagnosis, the wound was necessarily mortal, and it is doubtful if anything more could have been done to mitigate the sufferings of the patient.

Assassination of Garfield, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.34

After brief religious ceremonies at 10 o'clock on the 21st, the body was borne by special train from Long Branch, and, passing silent and reverent crowds at every station, reached Washington at about 4:30, where it was received by an imposing funeral escort and taken to the Capitol. It was laid in state under the great dome, previous to being taken to Cleveland, Ohio, for burial. It was exposed to view during the 22d, and crowds of people passed through the rotunda to look upon the face of the deceased. Meantime, preparations were made in Cleveland for receiving the remains, and there the principal obsequies were to take place. On the afternoon of the 23d, after impressive ceremonies in the rotunda of the Capitol, the coffin was borne to the station of the Baltimore and Potomac Railroad, and the funeral train started a little after 5 o'clock. Official representatives of the various departments of the Government, of most of the States, and many municipal corporations, accompanied or followed the remains. The train, heavily draped with mourning emblems, entered Cleveland at 1:20 o'clock P. M., on the 24th, and the body was placed in state on a catafalque beneath a pavilion erected for the purpose in the center of Monumental Park. The procession included a military and civic pageant of unusual proportions.

Assassination of Garfield, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.35

The day of the funeral, September 26th, was observed throughout the country as an occasion of general mourning, in response to a proclamation of President Arthur, which had been supplemented in many of the States by the recommendations of their Governors. There was a general suspension of business, a draping of public and private buildings, and religious services in many churches. The day was also extensively observed in Europe, and for the first time mourning was ordered in court circles in behalf of an official of a republic.

The Assassination of Garfield (Smith)

Title: The Assassination of Garfield

Author: Theodore Clarke Smith

Date: 1882

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.242-250

This account of Garfield's assassination, shortly after he succeeded Hayes in the Presidency, is taken from Smith's "Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield," published by the Yale University Press. The author is at this writing professor of American history at Williams College, of which President Garfield was a graduate and to which he was on his way to attend his class reunion when he was shot, July 2. 1881.

The assassin. Charles J. Guiteau, was an office-seeker whose vanity had been wounded by the refusal of a government post, and whose unbalanced brain had been excited by contemporary dissensions in the Republican party. The crime excited the honor and sympathy of all parties alike; and foreign nations joined in mourning. Garfield had been removed from Washington to Elberon, New Jersey, and died there September 19. 1881. Guiteau was hanged in the jail at Washington, June 30, 1882.]

Smith, Assassination of Garfield, America, Vol.9, p.242–p.243

ON July 2, at twenty minutes past nine O'clock, as President Garfield, accompanied by Blaine, entered the Pennsylvania Railroad station in Washington, to begin his journey to Williamstown for his class reunion, a man stepped forward and fired two pistol shots at him, each of which took effect, one grazing the arm, the other striking him in the back near the spine. The President fell under the shock, momentarily unconscious, but after an instant of stunned amazement some of the bystanders carried him to an office room in the building while others seized the assassin. The members of the Cabinet, Hunt, Windom, James and their families, who had already entered the train were hastily recalled and, with Harry and James Garfield, who had entered the station shortly after the shots were fired, assumed charge of the situation.

Smith, Assassination of Garfield, America, Vol.9, p.243

The first impression was that the wound was a fatal one. The injured man, not bleeding profusely but "presenting the appearance of perfect collapse," was removed from the station to the White House, where various doctors, hastily summoned by different persons, gathered in consultation. From the symptoms it was generally agreed that Garfield was undergoing internal hemorrhage and could not survive the night. It later appeared that the signs of collapse were due to the fact that the bullet had struck the spinal column, torn through part of it, although without actually touching the spinal cord, and had inflicted a violent shock upon the whole nervous system. Under the circumstances the members of the Cabinet promptly notified the Vice-President, Arthur, that he ought to be ready to take the oath of office at any minute and on the following day, the third, he arrived in Washington to wait until the outcome should be known. During the rest of the day the group of physicians did little more than watch the symptoms, after a rather superficial examination of the wound, and give stimulants under the impression that any operation to extract the ball would certainly be fatal, merely accelerating what appeared to be the rapidly approaching end.

Smith, Assassination of Garfield, America, Vol.9, p.243–p.244

During these hours Garfield himself was for the most part conscious and, as the bulletins said, was "mentally clear, conversing intelligently when permitted to do so." From persons who were with the crowd around him at the station or who followed to the White House have come reports showing that at this crisis his steadiness of soul stood perfectly unshaken. Garfield was always a man of marked physical courage and not even the shock of an apparently fatal bullet wound and the idea of approaching death could unnerve him. As he lay at the station before the doctors arrived he said, "I don't think this is serious," and later remarked, "I will live." Whatever his physical suffering he immediately assumed and maintained an attitude of unshaken hopefulness. At the same time he did not hesitate to face facts. One of the doctors told him plainly that he probably had internal hemorrhage "The President," said the doctor, "replied, 'I am very glad to know my condition. I can bear it.' These words were spoken as calmly and peacefully as anything I ever heard in my life." ….

Smith, Assassination of Garfield, America, Vol.9, p.244–p.245

During the night which followed, the expected collapse did not occur and by morning, to the surprise of the surgeons and the joy of the whole country, the patient was visibly rallying. Hope now returned and the situation was taken in hand with new determination. "The President," in the language of the official bulletin, "was cheerful, gave evidence of having rested and made definite inquiries regarding his condition and prescribe. Less formally, one of the doctors described what happened. "At this time he inquired of me what his chances of recovery were, saying, in his bright and cheerful way, that he desired a frank and full statement,—that he was prepared to die, and feared not to learn the worst. He added that personally he was willing to lay down the heavy burden thrust upon him. I replied, 'Mr. President, your injury is formidable. In my judgment you have a chance for recovery.' He placed his hand upon my arm and, turning his face more fully toward me, said with a cheerful smile: 'Well, Doctor, we will take that chance.'" Before night these words were telegraphed all over the United States, evoking tears of sympathy and pride at the indomitable courage and steadiness that lay behind them.

Smith, Assassination of Garfield, America, Vol.9, p.245–p.246

Garfield now selected Dr. D. W. Bliss, an old boyhood neighbor on the Western Reserve, considered the leading authority in Washington, to assume charge of the case and choose his associates. Dr. Bliss, who had been acting hitherto on the invitation of the Secretary of War, joined with him two army surgeons, Surgeon-General J. K. Barnes and Dr. J. J. Woodward, U.S.A., and Dr. Robert Reyburn, a local surgeon. He also sent for the two leading surgeons of Philadelphia and New York, respectively, Drs. D. H. Agnew and F. H. Hamilton. This group then made as close a study of the situation as the wound would allow and came to the conclusion that the bullet, hitting first the vertebral column and then two ribs and being deflected in an unknown direction, was not to be located; but that this was comparatively unimportant, since none of the symptoms indicated that any important internal organ had been penetrated or even badly bruised. It was agreed not to attempt an operation, in default of precise knowledge of the location of the bullet, but to adopt a waiting policy, hoping to maintain the patient's strength and to meet any indications of infection as they arose. Hence from July 3 the situation became one of careful nursing and feeding, with surgical intervention only in case of grave necessity.

Smith, Assassination of Garfield, America, Vol.9, p.246

Then the battle began and the White House was made into a hospital. The wives of the members of the Cabinet—Mrs. Blaine, Mrs. Windom, Mrs. Hunt, Mrs. James and Mrs. McVeagh—had acted as volunteer nurses during the first day and night, but their places were now taken by Dr. Susan Edson, a woman of middle age who had been an army nurse and was well acquainted with the Garfield family, and by Steward Crump of the White House staff, who proved surprisingly efficient and sympathetic. Room 17 was used for a while, but later room 18, a corner room, was selected as the sickroom and every possible effort made to secure coolness and quiet. The former was finally attained through a refrigerating device which furnished cool and dry air….

Smith, Assassination of Garfield, America, Vol.9, p.246–p.247

Meanwhile the progress of the case showed clearly that infection was at work, although for weeks it seemed to make no headway. Bulletins grew more and more hopeful, until by July 13, the surgeons announced, "His gradual progress toward complete recovery is manifest and thus far without serious complications." On July 23, however, a sharp rise in temperature and a chill showed that appearances had been too favorable. An operation became necessary to open up a pus cavity which, as the report said, "must have come from a deep-seated source." This gave relief and again the daily bulletins became hopeful. After a few weeks the hope that the opening of this cavity would serve to furnish an escape for all infection was suddenly upset when on August 14 there was an attack of vomiting, rise of temperature and subsequent collapse. Just as this seemed to be passing off, there appeared a swelling in the neck, in the parotid gland, August 18; a grave symptom since it showed that infection was burrowing around in the patient's system. Ultimately the diseased gland discharged through the mouth and then the ear. The question was now raised whether the constant rise and fall of fever might not be due to malaria, rather than infection. This the surgeons were obliged to deny.

Smith, Assassination of Garfield, America, Vol.9, p.247–p.248

During the last part of August the situation was recognized to be grave, in large part because Garfield's digestion, always his weak point, seemed unable to surmount the difficulties in its way and failed constantly to furnish the necessary nourishment. Additional incisions had to be made in the parotid swelling. Clearly pus was forming in various places. On August 26 and 27 the doctors felt that the situation was practically hopeless. Members of the Cabinet were told that death was not far off and Arthur was again notified. Newspapers printed Washington reports under the heading, "The end expected." But the patient, with astonishing vitality, rallied from this depressed state and during the first part of September there was again hope. On the sixth, to satisfy Garfield's deep desire to escape from Washington, he was moved from his sickroom to a cottage on the New Jersey coast at Elberon. The transfer was carried out successfully, by moving his cot to a large express wagon, then placing it in a special car and having a train carry it at high speed across Maryland, Delaware, part of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Once installed in his new room he seemed to improve, after recovering from the exhaustion and excitement of the journey, and by September 13 he was sitting up for short periods and watching the ocean with delight. "Thank God, it is good to be here," was his heartfelt remark, on smelling the salt air….

Smith, Assassination of Garfield, America, Vol.9, p.248

At Elberon, the sea air and the coolness made Garfield fancy that he was gaining ground and on September 8, at his desire, three of the six surgeons retired from the case, leaving Drs. Bliss, Hamilton and Agnew….

Smith, Assassination of Garfield, America, Vol.9, p.248–p.249

…. On the seventeenth of September a visible change for the worse occurred with "a sharp rigor" and the next two days passed with increased fever, fluttering pulse and partial loss of consciousness. While there did not seem to be any symptoms more serious in themselves than those which had appeared a month before, the terribly emaciated and wasted condition of the patient's body made the situation almost hopeless.

Smith, Assassination of Garfield, America, Vol.9, p.249

All knew that the end could not be far off. On September 18 Garfield asked Rockwell, "Old boy, do you think my name will have a place in history?" The colonel answered: "Yes, a grand one, but a grander one in human hearts. Old fellow, you mustn't talk in that way. You have a great work yet to perform." After a moment's silence, he said sadly and solemnly, "NO, my work is done." Yet when husband and wife met, each for the other's sake was calm and smiling. Of Mrs. Garfield, a Philadelphia paper said, "The very brightest spot in all that household has been the courage, fortitude and hope of this very remarkable woman."

Smith, Assassination of Garfield, America, Vol.9, p.249–p.250

On the night of September 19, the anniversary of the Battle of Chickamauga, at the hour when, eighteen years before, Garfield had been writing for Rosecrans the dispatches summoning the corps commanders to their last council before the fateful second day's fighting, the blow fell. Only the attendant and Colonel Swaim were with him when he woke and under the hand of death, for the first and only time cried out, "How it hurts here!" pressing his hand upon his heart. Swaim sprang forward, offering a drink of water, which he drained, but he immediately cried again, "Swaim, can't you stop this? O Swaim!" and became unconscious. Dr. Bliss came promptly and was followed by Mrs. Garfield, who instantly saw that the end had come, the sight extorting from her the single complaint which passed her lips, "O why am I made to suffer this cruel wrong?" Thereafter she held his hand in silence. Dr. Bliss's record of the case, breaking for the first and only time from its conventional professional wording ended thus, "Applying my ear over the heart, I detected an indistinct fluttering which continued until 10:35 when he expired. The brave and heroic sufferer, the nation's patient, for whom all had labored so cheerfully and unceasingly, had passed away."

Civil Service Reform Demanded

Title: Civil Service Reform Demanded

Author: George William Curtis

Date: 1881

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.231-236

Curtis gave the best years of his useful life as an editor and publicist to bringing about civil service reform in this country. In 1871 President Grant appointed the first Civil Service Commission, with Curtis as chairman. From that time until 1883, when "a constitutional, practical and effective measure for the remedy of the abuse known as the spoils system" was adopted by Congress, Curtis fought valiantly for the "merit system."

Personally he never sought political office, though many attractive posts were offered him. He was long the chief editor of Harper's Weekly, and enhanced his reputation by establishing and conducting a department in Harper's Magazine called The Editor's Easy Chair.

This address, delivered before the American Social Science Association, in 1881, is taken from his "Orations and Addresses, by permission of Harper & Brothers.

Curtis, Civil Service Reform Demanded, America, Vol.9, p.231–p.232

A VITAL and enduring reform in administrative methods, although it be but a return to the constitutional intention, can be accomplished only by the commanding impulse of public opinion. Permanence is secured by law, not by individual pleasure. But in this country law is only formulated public opinion. Reform of the Civil Service does not contemplate an invasion of the constitutional prerogative of the President and the Senate, nor does it propose to change the Constitution by statute. The whole system of the Civil Service proceeds, as I said, from the President, and the object of the reform movement is to enable him to fulfil the intention of the Constitution by revealing to him the desire of the country through the action of its authorized representatives. When the ground-swell of public opinion lifts Congress from the rocks, the President will gladly float with it into the deep water of wise and patriotic action….

Curtis, Civil Service Reform Demanded, America, Vol.9, p.232–p.233

Now, it is easy to kill weeds if we can destroy their roots, and it is not difficult to determine what the principle of reform legislation should be if we can agree upon the source of the abuses to be reformed. May they not have a common origin? In fact, are they not all bound together as parts of one system? The Representative in Congress, for instance, does not ask whether the interests of the public service require this removal or that appointment, but whether, directly or indirectly, either will best serve his own interests. The Senator acts from the same motives. The President, in turn, balances between the personal interests of leading politicians—President, Senators, and Representatives all wishing to pay for personal service and to conciliate personal influence. So also the party labor required of the place holder, the task of carrying caucuses, of defeating one man and electing another, as may be ordered, the payment of the assessment levied upon his salary—all these are the prices of the place. They are taxes paid by him as conditions of receiving a personal favor. Thus the abuses have a common source, whatever may be the plea for the system from which they spring. Whether it be urged that the system is essential to party organization, or that the desire for place is a laudable political ambition, or that the spoils system is a logical development of our political philosophy, or that new brooms sweep clean, or that any other system is un-American—whatever the form of the plea for the abuse, the conclusion is always the same, that the minor places in the Civil Service are not public trusts, but rewards and prizes for personal and political favorites.

Curtis, Civil Service Reform Demanded, America, Vol.9, p.233

The root of the complex evil then is personal favoritism. This produces congressional dictation, senatorial usurpation, arbitrary removals, interference in elections, political assessments, and all the consequent corruption, degradation, and danger that experience has disclosed. The method of reform, therefore, must be a plan of selection for appointment which makes favoritism impossible. The general feeling undoubtedly is that this can be accomplished by a fixed limited term. But the terms of most of the offices to which the President and the Senate appoint, and upon which the myriad minor places in the service depend, have been fixed and limited for sixty years, yet it is during that very period that the chief evils of personal patronage have appeared….

Curtis, Civil Service Reform Demanded, America, Vol.9, p.233–p.234

If, then, legitimate cause for removal ought to be determined in public as in private business by the responsible appointing power, it is of the highest public necessity that the exercise of that power should be made as absolutely honest and independent as possible. But how can it be made honest and independent if it is not protected so far as practicable from the constant bribery of selfish interest and the illicit solicitation of personal influence? The experience of our large public patronage offices proves conclusively that the cause of the larger number of removals is not dishonesty or incompetency; it is the desire to make vacancies to fill. This is the actual cause, whatever cause may be assigned. The removals would not be made except for the pressure of politicians. But those politicians would not press for removals if they could not secure the appointment of their favorites. Make it impossible for them to secure appointment, and the pressure would instantly disappear and arbitrary removal cease.

Curtis, Civil Service Reform Demanded, America, Vol.9, p.234

So long, therefore, as we permit minor appointments to be made by mere personal influence and favor, a fixed limited term and removal during that term for cause only would not remedy the evil, because the incumbents would still be seeking influence to secure reappointment, and the aspirants doing the same to replace them. Removal under plea of good cause would be as wanton and arbitrary as it is now, unless the power to remove were intrusted to some other discretion than that of the superior officer, and in that case the struggle for reappointment and the knowledge that removal for the term was practically impossible would totally demoralize the service. To make sure, then, that removals shall be made for legitimate cause only, we must provide that appointment shall be made only for legitimate cause….

Curtis, Civil Service Reform Demanded, America, Vol.9, p.235–p.236

Mr. President, in the old Arabian story, from the little box upon the seashore, carelessly opened by the fisherman, arose the towering and haughty demon, ever more monstrous and more threatening, who would not crouch again. So from the small patronage of the earlier day, from a Civil Service dealing with a national revenue of only $2,000,000, and regulated upon sound business principles, has sprung the un-American, un-Democratic, un-Republican system which destroys political independence, honor and morality, and corrodes the national character itself. In the solemn anxiety of this hour the warning words of the austere Calhoun, uttered nearly half a century ago, echo in the startled recollection like words of doom: "If you do not put this thing down it will put you down." Happily it is the historic faith of the race from which we are chiefly sprung, that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. It is that faith which has made our mother England the great parent of free States. The same faith has made America the political hope of the world. Fortunately, removed by our position from the entanglements of European politics, and more united and peaceful at home than at any time within the memory of living men, the moment is most auspicious for remedying that abuse in our political system whose nature, proportions and perils the whole country begins clearly to discern. The will and the power to apply the remedy will be a test of the sagacity and the energy of the people. The reform of which I have spoken is essentially the people's reform. With the instinct of robbers who run with the crowd and lustily cry "Stop thief!" those who would make the public service the monopoly of a few favorites denounce the determination to open that service to the whole people as a plan to establish an aristocracy. The huge ogre of patronage, gnawing at the character, the honor and the life of the country, grimly sneers that the people cannot help themselves and that nothing can be done. But much greater things have been done. Slavery was the Giant Despair of many good men of the last generation, but slavery was overthrown. If the spoils system, a monster only less threatening than slavery, be unconquerable, it is because the country has lost its convictions, its courage and its common sense. I expect," said the Yankee as he surveyed a stout antagonist, "I expect that you're pretty ugly, but I cal'late I'm a darned sight uglier." I know that patronage is strong, but I believe that the American people are very much stronger.

North American Relations to South America

Title: North American Relations to South America

Author: James G. Blaine

Date: 1881

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.237-241

Blaine having been instrumental in bringing about the nomination, followed by the election, of James A. Garfield for the Presidency in 1880 became Secretary of State in the Garfield Cabinet. While occupying that office, his foreign policy was censured, especially because of its tendency to dictate to the Latin-American governments. His policy of intervention in the Chilian Peruvian War was reversed by Garfield's successor, President Arthur.

Blaine wrote this letter, which is preserved among the House Executive Documents of the Forty-seventh Congress, in 1881 to H. J. Kilpatrick. United States Minister to Chili. Chili was at war with Peru and Bolivia over possession of the Atacama Desert, rich in nitrate deposits, and the Chilian army occupied Lima and Callao. Desultory fighting continued until 1883 when a treaty between Peru and Chili was signed.

Blaine, North America Relations to South America, America, Vol.9, p.237–p.238

THE unfortunate condition of the relations between Chili and Peru makes the mission upon the duties of which you are now entering one of grave responsibility and great delicacy. Difficult as would be any intervention of the United States under ordinary circumstances, our position is further embarrassed by the failure of the conference at Africa, undertaken at our suggestion. It is evident from the protocols of that conference that Chili was prepared to dictate and not to discuss terms of peace, and that the arbitration of the United States upon any questions of difference with the allied powers of Peru and Bolivia was not acceptable and would not be accepted by the Chilian Government. Since that time the war has closed in the complete success of Chili, and in what can scarcely be considered less than the conquest of Peru and Bolivia.

Blaine, North America Relations to South America, America, Vol.9, p.238

This government cannot therefore anticipate that the offer of friendly intervention in the settlement of the very serious questions now pending would be agreeable to the Government of Chili. It would scarcely comport with self-respect that such an offer should be refused, and it would be of no benefit to Peru and Bolivia that it should be offered and declined. But I am sure the Chilian Government will appreciate the natural and deep interest which the United States feels in the termination of a condition so calamitous in its consequences to the best interests of all the South American Republics. It should also know that if at any time the interposition of the good offices of this government can contribute to the restoration of friendly relations between the belligerent powers, they will, upon proper intimation, be promptly offered.

Blaine, North America Relations to South America, America, Vol.9, p.238

While, therefore, no instructions are given you to tender officially any advice to the Government of Chili which is unsought, you will, on such opportunity as may occur, govern your conduct and representations by the considerations to which I shall now call your attention.

Blaine, North America Relations to South America, America, Vol.9, p.238–p.239

Without entering upon any discussion as to the causes of the late war between Chili on the one side and Peru and Bolivia on the other, this government recognizes the right which the successful conduct of that war has conferred upon Chili; and, in doing so, I will not undertake to estimate the extent to which the Chilian Government has the right to carry its calculations of the indemnities to which it is entitled, nor the security for the future, which its interests may seem to require. But if the Chilian Government, as its representatives have declared, seeks only a guarantee of future peace, it would seem natural that Peru and Bolivia should be allowed to offer such indemnity and guarantee before the annexation of territory, which is the right of conquest, is insisted upon. If these powers fail to offer what is a reasonably sufficient indemnity and guarantee, then it becomes a fair subject of consideration whether such territory may not be exacted as the necessary price of peace.

Blaine, North America Relations to South America, America, Vol.9, p.239

But at the conclusion of a war avowedly not of conquest, but for the solution of differences which diplomacy had failed to settle, to make the acquisition of territory a "sine qua non" of peace is calculated to cast suspicions on the professions with which war was originally declared…. At this day, when the right of the people to govern themselves, the fundamental basis of republican institutions, is so widely recognized, there is nothing more difficult or more dangerous than the forced transfer of territory, carrying with it an indignant and hostile population; and nothing but a necessity proven before the world can justify it. It is not a case in which the power desiring the territory can be accepted as a safe or impartial judge.

Blaine, North America Relations to South America, America, Vol.9, p.240

While the United, States Government does not pretend to express an opinion whether or not such an annexation of territory is a necessary consequence of this war, it believes that it would be more honorable to the Chilian Government, more conducive to the security of a permanent peace, and more in consonance with those principles which are professed by all the Republics of America, that such territorial changes should be avoided as far as possible; that they should never be the result of mere force, but, if necessary, should be decided and tempered by full and equal discussion between all the powers whose people and whose national interests are involved.

Blaine, North America Relations to South America, America, Vol.9, p.240

At the present moment, the completeness of the victory of Chili seems to render such a diplomatic discussion impossible. The result of the conflict has been not only the defeat of the allied armies, but the dissolution of all responsible government in Peru….

Blaine, North America Relations to South America, America, Vol.9, p.240–p.241

An effort, and apparently a very earnest and honest one, has been made to create a provisional government, which shall gradually restore order and the reign of law. But it is obvious that for such a government to succeed in obtaining the confidence either of its own people or foreign powers, it must be allowed a freedom and force of action which cannot be exercised while Chili holds absolute possession and governs by military authority. This government, therefore, has been glad to learn from its Minister in Chili, whom you succeed, that the Chilian authorities have decided to give their support to the efforts of Senor Calderon to establish on a steady footing a provisional government in Peru.

Blaine, North America Relations to South America, America, Vol.9, p.241

You will, as far as you can do so with propriety and without officious intrusion, approve and encourage this disposition on the part of the Chilian Government, and this Department will be exceedingly gratified if your influence as the representative of the United States shall be instrumental in inducing the Government of Chili to give its aid and support to the restoration of regular, constitutional government in Peru, and to postpone the final settlement of all questions of territorial annexation to the diplomatic negotiations which can then be resumed with the certainty of a just, friendly and satisfactory conclusion.

Blaine, North America Relations to South America, America, Vol.9, p.241

In any representation which you make, you will say that the hope of the United States is that the negotiations for peace shall be conducted and the final settlement between the two countries determined, without either side invoking the aid or intervention of any European power.

Blaine, North America Relations to South America, America, Vol.9, p.241

The Government of the United States seeks only to perform the part of a friend to all the parties in this unhappy conflict between South American Republics, and it will regret to be compelled to consider how far that feeling might be affected, and a more active interposition forced upon it, by any attempted complication of this question with European politics.

On the Death of Garfield, James G. Blaine, 1882

On the Death of Garfield

Title: On the Death of Garfield

Author: James G. Blaine

Date: 1882

Source: The World's Famous Orations, Vol.10, pp.111-129

Delivered in the House of Representatives, February 27, 1882. Abridged.

Born in 1830, died in 1893; elected to Congress in 1863, serving until 1876; Speaker of the House from 1869 to 1875; Senator from Maine in 1876-81; Secretary of State in 1881 and again in 1889; unsuccessful candidate for President in 1884.

Blaine, On the Death of Garfield, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.111

FOR the second time in this generation the great departments of the government of the United States are assembled in the Hall of Representatives, to do honor to the memory of a murdered president. Lincoln fell at the close of a mighty struggle, in which the passions of men had been deeply stirred. The tragical termination of his great life added but another to the lengthened succession of horrors which had marked so many lintels with the blood of the firstborn. Garfield was slain in a day of peace, when brother had been reconciled to brother, and when anger and hate had been banished from the land.

Blaine, On the Death of Garfield, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.111

From the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth till the uprising against Charles I., about twenty thousand emigrants came from old England to New England. As they came in pursuit of intellectual freedom and ecclesiastical independence, rather than from worldly honor and profit, the emigration naturally ceased when the contest for religious liberty began in earnest at home. The man who struck his most effective blow for freedom of conscience, by sailing for the Colonies in 1620, would have been accounted a deserter to leave after 1640. The opportunity had then come on the soil of England for that great contest which established the authority of Parliament, gave religious freedom to the people, sent Charles to the block, and committed to the hands of Oliver Cromwell the supreme executive authority of England. The English emigration was never renewed, and from these twenty thousand men, with a small emigration from Scotland and from France, are descended the vast numbers who have New England blood in their veins.

Blaine, On the Death of Garfield, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.112

In 1685 the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV., scattered to other countries four hundred thousand Protestants, who were among the most intelligent and enterprising of French subjects—merchants of capital, skilled manufacturers, and handicraftsmen superior at the time to all other in Europe. A considerable number of these Huguenot French came to America; a fe landed in New England and became honorably prominent in its history. Their names have in large part become Anglicized, or have disappeared, but their blood is traceable in many of the most reputable families and their fame is perpetuated in honorable memorials and useful institutions.

Blaine, On the Death of Garfield, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.113

From these two sources, the English-Puritan and the French-Huguenot, came the late president—his father, Abram Garfield, descended from the one, and his mother, Eliza Ballou, from the other.

Blaine, On the Death of Garfield, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.113

It was good stock on both sides—none better, none braver, none truer. There was in it an inheritance of courage, of manliness, of imperishable love of liberty, of undying adherence to principle. Garfield was proud of his blood; and, with as much satisfaction as if he were a British nobleman reading his stately ancestral record in Burke's "Peerage," he spoke of himself as ninth in descent from those who would not endure the oppression of the Stuarts, and seventh in descent from the brave French Protestants who refused to submit to tyranny even from the Grand Monarch.

Blaine, On the Death of Garfield, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.113

General Garfield delighted to dwell on these traits, and during his only visit to England he busied himself in discovering every trace of his forefathers in parish registers and on ancient army rolls. Sitting with a friend in the gallery of the House of Commons one night after a long days' labor in this field of research, he said with evident elation that in every war in which for three centuries patriots of English blood had struck sturdy blows for constitutional government and human liberty, his family had been represented. They were at Marston Moor, at Naseby, and at Preston; they were at Bunker Hill, at Saratoga, and at Monmouth; and in his own person had battled for the same great cause in the war which preserved the Union of the States.

Blaine, On the Death of Garfield, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.114

The poverty of the frontier, where all are engaged in a common struggle, and where a common sympathy and hearty cooperation lighten the burdens of each, is a very different poverty—different in kind, different in influence and effect—from that conscious and humiliating indigence which is every day forced to contrast itself with neighboring wealth on which it feels a sense of grinding dependence. The poverty of the frontier is, indeed, no poverty. It is but the beginning of wealth, and has the boundless possibilities of the future always opening before it. No man ever grew up in the agricultural regions of the West, where a house-raising, or even a corn-husking is a matter of common interest and helpfulness, with any other feeling than that of broad-minded, generous independence. This honorable independence marked the youth of Garfield as it marks the youth of millions of the best blood and brain now training for the future citizenship and future government of the Republic. Garfield was born heir to land, to the title of freeholder which has been the patent and passport of self-respect with the Anglo-Saxon race ever since Hengist and Horsa landed on the shores of England. His adventure on the canal—an alternative between that and the deck of a Lake Erie schooner-was a farmer boy's device for earning money, just as the New England lad begins a possibly great career by sailing before the mast on a coasting vessel or on a merchantman bound to the Farther India or to the China Seas.

Blaine, On the Death of Garfield, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.115

No manly man feels anything of shame in looking back to early struggles with adverse circumstances, and no man feels a worthier pride than when he has conquered the obstacles to his progress. But no one of noble mold desires to be looked upon as having occupied a menial position, as having been repressed by a feeling of inferiority, or as having suffered the evils of poverty until relief was found at the hand of charity. General Garfield's youth presented no hardships which family love and family energy did not overcome, subjected him to no privations which he did not cheerfully accept, and left no memories save those which were recalled with delight, and transmitted with profit and with pride.

Blaine, On the Death of Garfield, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.115

With possibly a single exception, Garfield was the youngest member in the House when he entered, and was but seven years from his college graduation. But he had not been in his seat sixty days before his ability was recognized and his place conceded. He stepped to the front with the confidence of one who belonged there. The House was crowded with strong men of both parties; nineteen of them have since been transferred to the Senate, and many of them have served with distinction in the gubernatorial chairs of their respective State and on foreign missions of great consequence; but among them all none grew so rapidly, none so firmly, as Garfield. As is said by Trevelyan of his parliamentary hero, Garfield succeeded "because all the world in concert could not have kept him in the background, and because when once in the front he played his part with a prompt intrepidity and a commanding ease that were but the outward symptoms of the immense reserves of energy on which it was in his power to draw." Indeed, the apparently reserved force which Garfield possessed was one of his great characteristics. He never did so well but that it seemed he could easily have done better. He never expended so much strength but that he seemed to be holding additional power to call. This is one of the happiest and rarest distinctions of an effective debater, and often counts for as much in persuading an assembly as the eloquent and elaborate argument.

Blaine, On the Death of Garfield, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.116

The great measure of Garfield's fame was filled by his service in the House of Representatives. His military life, illustrated by honorable performance, and rich in promise, was, as he himself felt, prematurely terminated and necessarily incomplete. Speculation as to what he might have done in the field, where the great prizes are so few, can not be profitable. it is sufficient to say that as a soldier he did his duty bravely; he did it intelligently; he won an enviable fame, and he retired from the service without blot or breath against him. As a lawyer, tho admirably equipped for the profession, he can scarcely be said to have entered on its practise. The few efforts that he made at the bar were distinguished by the same high order of talent which he exhibited on every field where he was put to test, and if a man may be accepted as a competent judge of his own capacities and adaptation, the law was the profession to which Garfield should have devoted himself. But fate ordained it otherwise, and his reputation in history will rest largely upon his services in the House of Representatives. That service was exceptionally long. He was nine times consecutively chosen to the House, an honor enjoyed by not more than six other representatives of the more than five thousand who have been elected from the organization of the government to this hour.

Blaine, On the Death of Garfield, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.117

As a parliamentary orator, as a debater on an issue squarely joined, where the position had been chosen and the ground laid out, Garfield must be assigned a very high rank. More, perhaps, than any man with whom he was associated in public life he gave careful and systematic study to public questions, and he came to every discussion in which he took part with elaborate and complete preparation. He was a steady and indefatigable worker. Those who imagine that talent or genius can supply the place or achieve the results of labor will find no encouragement in Garfield's life. In preliminary work he was apt, rapid, and skilful. He possessed in a high degree the power of readily absorbing ideas and fact, and, like Doctor Johnson, had the art of getting from a book all that was of value in it by a reading apparently so quick and cursory that it seemed like a mere glance at a table of contents. He was a preeminently fair and candid man in debate, took no petty advantage, stooped to no unworthy methods, avoided personal allusions, rarely appealed to prejudice, did not seek to inflame passion. He had a quicker eye for the strong point of his adversary than for his weak point, and on his own side he so marshaled his weighty arguments as to make his hearers forget any possible lack in the complete strength of his position. He had a habit of stating his opponent's side with such amplitude of fairness and such liberality of concession that his followers often complained that he was giving his case away. But never in his prolonged participation in the proceedings of the House did he give his case away, or fail in the judgment of competent and impartial listeners to gain the mastery.

Blaine, On the Death of Garfield, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.118

These characteristics, which marked Garfield as a great debater, did not, however, make him a great parliamentary leader. A parliamentary leader, as that term is understood wherever free representative government exists, is necessarily and very strictly the organ of his party. An ardent Americana defined the instinctive warmth of patriotism when he offered the toast, "Our country always right; but, right or wrong, our country." The parliamentary leader who has a body of followers that will do and dare and die for the cause is one who believes his party always right, but, right or wrong, is for his party. No more important or exacting duty devolves upon him than the selection of the field and the time of the contest. He must know not merely how to strike, but where to strike and when to strike. He often skilfully avoids the strength of his opponent's position and scatters confusion in his ranks by attacking an exposed point, when really the righteousness of the cause and the strength of logical intrenchment are against him. He conquers often both against the right and the heavy battalions; as when young Charles Fox, in the days of his Toryism, carried the House of Commons against justice, against immemorial rights, against his own convictions—if, indeed, at that period, Fox had convictions—and in the interest of a corrupt administration, in obedience to a tyrannical sovereign, drove Wilkes from the seat to which the electors of Middlesex had chosen him and installed Luttrell, in defiance, not merely of law, but of public decency. For an achievement of that kind Garfield was disqualified—disqualified by the texture of his mind, by the honesty of his heart, by his conscience, and by every instinct and aspiration of his nature.

Blaine, On the Death of Garfield, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.119

The three most distinguished parliamentary leaders hitherto developed in this country are Mr. Clay, Mr. Douglas, and Mr. Thaddeus Stevens. Each was a man of consummate ability, of great earnestness, of intense personality differing widely each from the others, and yet with a signal trait in common—the power to command. In the "give and take" of daily discussion; in the art of controlling and consolidating reluctant and refractory followers; in the skill to overcome all forms of opposition, and to meet with competency and courage the varying phases of unlooked-for assault or unsuspected defection, it would be difficult to rank with these a fourth name in all our Congressional history. But of these Mr. Clay was the greatest.

Blaine, On the Death of Garfield, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.120

It would, perhaps, be impossible to find in the parliamentary annals of the world a parallel to Mr. Clay, in 1841, when at sixty-four years of age he took the control of the Whig party from the president who had received their suffrages, against the power of Webster in the Cabinet, against the eloquence of Choate in the Senate, against the herculean efforts of Caleb Cushing and Henry A. Wise in the House. In unshared leadership, in the pride and plentitude of power he hurled against John Tyler with deepest scorn the mass of that conquering column which had swept over the land in 1840, and drove his administration to seek shelter behind the lines of his political foes. Mr. Douglas achieved a victory scarcely less wonderful when, in 1854, against the secret desires of a strong administration, against the wise counsel of the older chiefs, against the conservative instincts and even the moral sense of the country, he forced a reluctant Congress into a repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, in his contests from 1865 to 1868, actually advanced his parliamentary leadership until Congress tied the hands of the president and governed the country by its own will, leaving only perfunctory duties to be discharged by the executive. With two hundred millions of patronage in his hands at the opening of the contest, aided by the active force of Seward in the cabinet, and the moral power of Chase on the bench, Andrew Johnson could not command the support of one-third in either House against the parliamentary uprising of which Thaddeus Stevens was the animating spirit and the unquestioned leader.

Blaine, On the Death of Garfield, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.121

From these three great men Garfield differed radically; differed in the quality of his mind, in temperament, in the form and phase of ambition. He could not do what they did, but he could do what they could not, and in the breadth of his Congressional work he left that which will longer exert a potential influence among men, and which, measured by the severe test of posthumous criticism, will secure a more enduring and more enviable fame.

Blaine, On the Death of Garfield, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.121

Those unfamiliar with Garfield's industry, and ignorant of the details of his work, may in some degree measure them by the annals of Congress. No one of the generation of public men to which he belonged has contributed so much that will be valuable for future reference. His speeches are numerous, many of them brilliant, all of them well studied, carefully phrased, and exhaustive of the subject under consideration. Collected from the scattered page of ninety royal octavo volumes of the Congressional Record, they would present an invaluable compendium of the political history of the most important era through which the national government has ever passed.

Blaine, On the Death of Garfield, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.122

Differing, as Garfield does, from the brilliant parliamentary leaders, it is not easy to find his counterpart anywhere in the record of American public life. He perhaps more nearly resembles Mr. Seward in his supreme faith in the all-conquering power of a principle. He had the love of learning and the patient industry of investigation to which John Quincy Adams owes his prominence and his presidency. He had some of those ponderous elements of mind which distinguished Mr. Webster, and which indeed, in all our public life, have left the great Massachusetts senator without an intellectual peer.

Blaine, On the Death of Garfield, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.122

In English parliamentary history, as in our own, the leaders in the House of Commons present points of essential difference from Garfield. But some of his methods recall the best features in the strong, independent course of Sir Robert Peel, and striking resemblances are discernible in that most promising of modern Conservatives, who died too early for his country and his fame, Lord George Bentinck. He had all of Burke's love for the sublime and the beautiful, with, possibly, something of his superabundance, and in his faith and his magnanimity, in his power of statement, in his subtle analysis, in his faultless logic, in his love of literature, in his wealth and world of illustration, one is reminded of that great English statesman of to-day, who, confronted with obstacles that would daunt any but the dauntless, reviled by those whom he would relieve as bitterly as by those whose supposed rights he is forced to invade, still labors with serene courage for the amelioration of Ireland and for the honor of the English name.

Blaine, On the Death of Garfield, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.123

Garfield's nomination to the presidency, while not predicted or anticipated, was not a surprise to the country. His prominence in Congress, his solid qualities, his wide reputation, strengthened by his then recent election as senator from Ohio, kept him in the public eye as a man occupying the very highest rank among those entitled to be called statesman. It was not mere chance that brought him this high honor. "We must," says mr. Emerson, "reckon success a constitutional trait. If Eric is in robust health, and has slept well and is at the top of his condition, and thirty years old at his departure from Greenland, he will steer west and his ships will reach Newfoundland. But take Eric out and put in a stronger and bolder man and the ships will sail six hundred, one thousand, fifteen hundred miles farther and reach Labrador and New England. There is no chance in results."

Blaine, On the Death of Garfield, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.123

In the beginning of his presidential life Garfield's experience did not yield him pleasure or satisfaction. The duties that engross so large a portion of the president's time were distasteful to him, and were unfavorably contrasted with his legislative work. "I have been dealing all these years with ideas," he impatiently exclaimed one day, "and here I am dealing only with persons. I have been heretofore treating of the fundamental principles of government, and here I am considering all day whether A or B shall be appointed to this or that office." He was earnestly seeking some practical way of correcting the evils arising from the distribution of overgrown and unwieldy patronage—evils always appreciated and often discussed by him, but whose magnitude had been more deeply impressed upon his mind since his accession to the presidency. had he lived, a comprehensive improvement in the mode of appointment and in the tenure of office would have been proposed by him, and, with the aid of Congress, no doubt perfected.

Blaine, On the Death of Garfield, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.124

But, while many of the executive duties were not grateful to him, he was assiduous and conscientious in their discharge. From the very outset he exhibited administrative talent of a high order. He grasped the helm of office with the hand of a master. In this respect, indeed, he constantly surprised many who were most intimately associated with him in the government, and especially those who had feared that he might be lacking in the executive faculty. His disposition of business was orderly and rapid. His power of analysis and his skill in classification enabled him to despatch a vast mass of detail with singular promptness and ease. His cabinet meetings were admirably conducted. His clear presentation of official subjects, his well-considered suggestion of topics on which discussion was invited, his quick decision when all had been heard, combined to show a thoroughness of mental training as rare as his natural ability and his facile adaptation to a new and enlarged field of labor.

Blaine, On the Death of Garfield, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.125

Garfield's ambition for the success of his administration was high. With strong caution and conservatism in his nature, he was in no danger of attempting rash experiments or of resorting to the empiricism of statesmanship. But he believed that renewed and closer attention should be given to questions affecting the material interests and commercial prospects of fifty millions of people. He believed that our continental relations, extensive and undeveloped as they are, involved responsibility and could be cultivated into profitable friendship or be abandoned to harmful indifference or lasting enmity. He believed with equal confidence that an essential forerunner to a new era of national progress must be a feeling of contentment in every section of the Union and a generous belief that the benefits and burdens of government would be common to all.

Blaine, On the Death of Garfield, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.125

The political events which disturbed the president's serenity for many weeks before that fatal day in July, form an important chapter in his career, and, in his own judgment, involved questions of principle and right which are vitally essential to the constitutional administration of the federal government. It would be out of place here and now to speak the language of controversy, but the events referred to, however they may continue to be a source of contention with others, have become, as far as Garfield is concerned, as much a matter of history as his heroism at Chickamauga or his illustrious service in the House. Detail is not needful, and personal antagonism shall not be rekindled by any word uttered to-day. The motives of those opposing him are not to be here adversely interpreted nor their course harshly characterized. But of the dead president this is to be said, and said because his own speech is for ever silenced and he can be no more heard except through the fidelity and the love of surviving friends: From the beginning to the end of the controversy he so much deplored, the president was never for one moment actuated by any motive of gain to himself or of loss to others. Least of all men did he harbor revenge, rarely did he even show resentment, and malice was not in his nature. He was congenially employed only in the exchange of good offices and the doing of kindly deeds.

Blaine, On the Death of Garfield, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.126

There was not an hour, from the beginning of the trouble till the fatal shot entered his body, when the president would not gladly, for the sake of restoring harmony, having retracted any step he had taken if such retracting had merely involved consequences personal to himself. The pride of consistency, or any supposed sense of humiliation that might result from surrendering his position, had not a feather's weight with him. No man was ever less subject to such influences from within or from without. But after the most anxious deliberation and the coolest survey of all the circumstances, he solemnly believed that the true prerogative of the executive were involved in the issue which had been raised and that he would be unfaithful to his supreme obligation if he failed to maintain, in all their vigor, the constitutional rights and dignities of his great office. He believed this in all the convictions of conscience when in sound and vigorous health, and he believed it in his suffering and prostration in the last conscious thought which his wearied mind bestowed on the transitory struggles of life.

Blaine, On the Death of Garfield, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.127

More than this need not be said. Less than this could not be said. Justice to the dead, the highest obligation that devolves upon the living, demands the declaration that in all the bearings of the subject, actual or possible, the president was content in his mind, justified in his conscience, immovable in his conclusions.

Blaine, On the Death of Garfield, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.127

Great in life, he was surpassingly great in death. For no cause, in the very frenzy of wantonness and wickedness, by the red hand of murder, he was thrust from the full tide of this world's interest, from its hopes, its aspirations, its victories, into the visible presence of death—and he did not quail. Not alone for one short moment in which, stunned and dazed, he could give up life, hardly aware of its relinquishment, but through days of deadly languor, through weeks of agony, that was not less agony because silently borne, with clear sight and calm courage he looked into his open grave. What blight and ruin met his anguished eyes, whose lips may tell—what brilliant, broken plans, what baffled, high ambitions, what sundering of strong, warm, manhood's friendship, what bitter rending of sweet household ties! Behind him a proud, expectant nation, a great host of sustaining friends, a cherished and happy mother, wearing the full, rich honors of her early toil and tears; the wife of his youth, whose whole life lay in his; the little boys not yet emerged from childhood's day of frolic; the fair young daughter; the sturdy sons just springing into closest companionship, claiming every day and every day rewarding a father's love and care; and in his heart the eager, rejoicing power to meet all demands. And his soul was not shaken. His countrymen were thrilled with instant, profound, and universal sympathy. Masterful in his mortal weakness, he became the center of a nation's love, enshrined in the prayers of a world. But all the love and all the sympathy could not share with him his suffering. He trod the wine-press alone. With unfaltering front he faced death. With unfailing tenderness he took leave of life. Above the demoniac hiss of the assassin's bullet he heard the voice of God. With simple resignation he bowed to the Divine decree.

Blaine, On the Death of Garfield, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.129

As the end drew near his early craving for the sea returned. The stately mansion of power had been to him the wearisome hospital of pain, and he begged to be taken from his prison walls, from its oppressive, stifling air, from its homelessness and its hopelessness. Gently, silently, the love of a great people bore the pale sufferer to the longed-for healing of the sea, to live or to die, as God should will, within sight of the heaving billows, within sound of its manifold voices. With a wan, fevered face, tenderly lifted to the cooling breeze, he looked out wistfully upon the ocean's changing wonders; on its far sails; on its restless waves, rolling shoreward to break and die beneath the noonday sun; on the red clouds of evening, arching low to the horizon; on the serene and shining pathway of the star. Let us think that his dying eyes read a mystic meaning which only the rapt and parting soul may know. Let us believe that in the silence of the receding world he heard the great waves breaking on a further shore and felt already upon his wasted brow the breath of the eternal morning.

The Blaine-Cleveland Campaign

Title: The Blaine-Cleveland Campaign

Author: Harry Thurston Peck

Date: 1884

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.251-265

Professor Peck, from whose "Twenty Years of the Republic" (1885-1905) this account of the memorable Blaine-Cleveland Presidential campaign of 1884 is taken, by permission of Dodd, Mead & Company, was long a member of the faculty of Columbia University and was editor of the New International Encyclopedia, as well as of a popular "Dictionary of Literature and Antiquities."

As here set forth, the defeat of Blaine, the Republican, by Cleveland, the Democratic candidate, was largely attributable to the impolitic speech of the Rev. Samuel D. Burchard in which the Democratic party was styled "the party of Rum, Romanism and Rebellion." In an unusually bitter campaign the combined Democratic and "mugwump" vote elected Cleveland, who received 219 electoral votes to 182 cast for Blaine, and was inaugurated March 4, 1885, the first Democratic President since the Civil War.

Peck, Blaine-Cleveland Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.251

THE nomination of G. Blaine produced an indescribable sensation throughout the length and breadth of the United States. NO American statesman had ever had more ardent and intensely loyal friends than he, as none had ever had more virulent and bitter enemies. The former hailed his candidacy with intense enthusiasm; the latter began at once moving heaven and earth to compass his defeat.

Peck, Blaine-Cleveland Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.251–p.252

Mr. Blaine had already enjoyed a remarkable career. Born in Pennsylvania of Scotch-Irish parentage, he had been by turns a teacher and an editor, having taken up in 1854 his residence in Maine. In 1858 he had entered the State Legislature, where for two years he served as Speaker. In 1862 he was sent to Congress, and at once made his mark by his readiness in debate, his quick grasp upon political principles, and his exceptional fertility in resource. He had the impetuosity of the Celt and the clear reasoning brain of the Anglo-Saxon, besides that indescribable quality which, for want of a better name, is known as magnetism. His personal charm was indeed remarkable, and it was to this as much as to his other gifts that he owed the extraordinary devotion of his followers and friends. Early in his political life he had been compared to Henry Clay, to whose career his own was to exhibit a striking parallel. At first he was better known to his associates in Congress than to the country as a whole; but when, in 1869, he was elected Speaker of the House, he rose at once to the rank of a great party leader….

Peck, Blaine-Cleveland Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.252

But the fierce white light which beats upon a throne is no more fierce than that which beats upon a Presidential aspirant. It was turned at once upon Mr. Blaine's whole past career. Every incident and every act of his were now subjected to minute investigation by his enemies and rivals. A dozen stories grew until they filled the minds of every one about him. It was said that Mr. Blaine had pledged a number of worthless railroad bonds to the Union Pacific Railway Company in return for a loan of $64,000 which had never been repaid. It was also charged that without consideration he had received bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad….

Peck, Blaine-Cleveland Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.253

These reports obtained so widespread a currency that Mr. Blaine was forced to rise in his place and bring the matter to the attention of the House. He read a letter from the treasurer of the Union Pacific and from Colonel Thomas A. Scott, the president of that railway, denying the story of the worthless bonds. He read another letter from Morton, Bliss & Company, who were alleged to have cashed the draft for $64,000, mentioned in the story, but who now declared that no such draft had been presented to them. Mr. Blaine went on to say that he had never owned the Little Rock and Fort Smith bonds which he was said to have received without any consideration. Apparently his name was cleared.

Peck, Blaine-Cleveland Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.253

The time for the National Republican Convention was drawing near. Many States had already instructed their delegates to support his candidacy. That he should be the subject of an investigation for corrupt transactions while his name was before the Convention would be fatal to his chances; and he desired above all things to stave it off. Nevertheless, the House, which was strongly Democratic, ordered its Judiciary Committee to make such an investigation, though in the resolution ordering it, Mr. Blaine was not specifically named. This was on May 2nd; and at the first sessions of the committee the evidence was corroborative of Mr. Blaine's assertions.

Peck, Blaine-Cleveland Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.253–p.254

On May 31st there was brought before the committee a man named James Mulligan. Mulligan had at one time been a clerk for Mr. Jacob Stanwood (the brother of Mrs. Blaine), and later a bookkeeper for Warren Fisher, Jr., a business man of Boston, who had had close relations with the management of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad. While Mr. Mulligan was testifying, he chanced to mention very quietly that he had in his possession certain letters written by Mr. Blaine to Warren Fisher, Jr. Mr. Blaine asked a friend on the committee to move an immediate adjournment. The committee rose, to meet again the following morning. When it so met it listened to a most extraordinary story.

Peck, Blaine-Cleveland Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.254

During the brief respite given by the adjournment of the committee, Mr. Blaine had flashed his mind over all the possibilities of the situation. He knew that Mulligan had letters, which, if made public by Mulligan himself, would be interpreted by every one in a sense extremely unfavorable to Mr. Blaine. He knew that these letters would surely be asked for by the committee so soon as it should reconvene in the morning. To prevent this and to gain time he must act at once. He therefore went to the Riggs House, where Mulligan was staying, and met Mulligan, Fisher and one Atkins. There he first asked to see the letters which Mulligan had with him….

Peck, Blaine-Cleveland Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.254–p.255

On June 5th, Mr. Blaine rose in the House of Representatives and claimed the floor on a question of privilege…. Throughout this animated and even fiery justification of his right, the crowded House had listened in breathless silence, and with a tension of feeling which could almost be felt. There was abundant sympathy with Mr. Blaine. Even his adversaries were sorry for him. He seemed like a man driven into a corner and fighting for his very life. After a brief pause, Mr. Blaine dealt a master-stroke which he had planned with consummate art, and which he now delivered with a dramatic power that was thrilling. Raising his voice and holding up a packet, he went on:

Peck, Blaine-Cleveland Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.255

"I am not afraid to show the letters. Thank God Almighty, I am not afraid to show them! There they are. There is the very original package. And, with some sense of humiliation, with a mortification that I do not pretend to conceal, with a sense of outrage which I think any man in my position would feel, I invite the confidence of forty-four millions of my countrymen while I read those letters from this desk."

Peck, Blaine-Cleveland Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.255–p.256

The tension was broken. The whole assembly burst out into frantic and prolonged applause. Then Mr. Blaine read the letters, one by one, with comments and explanations of his own. Having done so, he faced one of the Democratic members of the committee, Mr. Proctor Knott, and in the course of a rapid dialogue brought out the fact that Mr. Knott had received a cablegram from a Mr. Caldwell, whose knowledge of the whole affair was very intimate, and that Mr. Knott had apparently suppressed it. The scene at the end of this exciting parliamentary duel baffled all description. The House went mad; and for fifteen minutes there reigned a pandemonium amid which the Speaker was helpless in his efforts to restore even a semblance of order. Mr. Blaine, for the moment, had won a brilliant triumph. He had restored and strengthened the faith of all his followers and had turned apparently inevitable disaster into victory….

Peck, Blaine-Cleveland Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.256

The famous Mulligan letters sufficed to prevent Mr. Blaine's nomination for the Presidency in 1876 and 1880, and now, in 1884, from the outset of his candidacy, were printed and scattered broadcast over the country by his political opponents….

Peck, Blaine-Cleveland Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.256

The Democratic candidate against whom Mr. Blaine had now to make his fight was a man of a wholly antithetical type. Mr. Cleveland was in no respect a brilliant man. The son of a clergyman, and early left to make his own way in the world, he had, like his rival, been a teacher, and had later taken up the practice of the law in Buffalo, There he had held some minor public offices. In 1863 he was Assistant District Attorney for the county, and from 1870 to 1873 he had served as Sheriff. He first attracted attention outside of his own city when, in 1881, he was elected Mayor of Buffalo by a combination of Democrats and Independents. In this office he instituted reforms and defeated various corrupt combinations, while his liberal use of the veto power maintained a wise economy. In 1882 he had received the Democratic nomination for the governorship of New York, and had been elected by the remarkable plurality of 192,000 votes.

Peck, Blaine-Cleveland Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.257

Mr. Cleveland was a type of man such as had not before come to the front as a Presidential possibility. He represented the practical, everyday, usual citizen of moderate means, and no very marked ambitions—a combination of the business man and the unimportant professional person, blunt, hardheaded, brusque, and unimaginative, and with a readiness to take a hand in whatever might be going on. His education was of the simplest, his general information presumably not very large; and his interest in life was almost wholly bounded by the limits of his own locality. As a practicing lawyer he was well thought of; yet his reputation had not gone much beyond the local circuit. A bachelor, he had no need of a large income. His spare time was spent with companions of his own tastes. His ideal of recreation was satisfied by a quiet game of pinochle in the back room of a respectable beer-garden; and perhaps this circumstance in itself is sufficient to give a fair notion of his general environment. He was, indeed, emphatically a man's man—"homo inter homines"—careless of mere forms, blunt of speech, and somewhat primitive in his tastes.

Peck, Blaine-Cleveland Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.257–p.258

But he had all the virile attributes of a Puritan ancestry. His will was inflexible. His force of character was extraordinary. He hated shams, believed that a thing was either right or wrong, and when he had made up his mind to any course of action, he carried it through without so much as a moment's wavering. So great was the confidence which his character inspired, that when a committee of the independent voters of Buffalo called upon him for the purpose of urging him to stand for the mayoralty, they asked him for no written pledges, but accepted his simple statement as an adequate guarantee. "Cleveland says that if elected he will do so-and-so," they told the people. And the people elected him, because they knew his word to be inviolable.

Peck, Blaine-Cleveland Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.258

As Governor, Mr. Cleveland entered upon a wider field and one that must have seemed at first a place of limitless exactions. But his lack of imagination stood him in good stead. He bent his back to the burden and did each day's work as it came. A stranger to large responsibilities, and retaining much of the narrowness of the provincial business man, he viewed all questions as equally important, attending personally to all his correspondence, looking for himself into every item and detail of executive business, and giving hours of time each day to minute which the merest clerk could have cared for with quite as much efficiency. This, however, was only one manifestation of the conscientiousness that showed itself far more commendably in higher matters. The rough, blunt independence of the man made him indifferent to the insidious influences that rise like a malarial mist about the possessor of high political office.

Peck, Blaine-Cleveland Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.258–p.259

Subtleties of suggestion were lost on this brusque novice, and anything more pointed than suggestion roused in him a cross-grained spirit that brooked no guidance or control. He forged ahead in his own way with a sort of bull-necked stubbornness, but with a power and energy which smoother politicians were compelled to recognize as very real. He cared nothing for popularity. He vetoed a bill requiring the street railways to reduce their fares, thereby offending thousands. He followed it up by a veto of another bill which granted public money to sectarian schools; and in consequence he estranged great masses of his Catholic supporters. He defied the Tammany leaders in the Legislature, and made still more powerful enemies…. In the end, his record as Governor of New York secured for him the nomination for the Presidency. Against the brilliant, subtle, and magnetic Blaine was pitted the plodding, incorruptible, courageous Cleveland.

Peck, Blaine-Cleveland Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.259–p.260

The campaign opened immediately after the two candidates had been nominated. Those Republicans who were opposed to Mr. Blaine formed an organization at a conference held in New York on July 22nd, and prepared an address which was issued on the 30th by the so-called National Committee of Republicans and Independents, of which George William Curtis was the chairman, and George Walton Green the secretary. At once the movement assumed formidable proportions, and it was seen that thousands of Republicans were rallying to Cleveland, not because they had given up their party, but because they could not tolerate their party's candidate. Among them were men who had been identified with the Republican party from its earliest years—Henry Ward Beecher, William Everett, George Ticknor Curtis, Carl Schurz and James Freeman Clarke. These Independents received the popular name of "Mugwumps," a word which, having been first employed in a semi-political sense by the Indianapolis "Sentinel" in 1872, gained its popular currency through the New York "Sun," which began using it on March 23, 1884. These "Mugwumps," or political purists, had been described by Mr. Blaine four years earlier in a letter to General Garfield, in which he said: "They are noisy but not numerous; pharisaical but not practical; ambitious but not wise; pretentious but not powerful." This sentence was extremely characteristic of the man who wrote it….

Peck, Blaine-Cleveland Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.260

As the campaign proceeded, its tone became almost frantic. Those who clung loyally to Mr. Blaine did so with a passionate intensity that made them quite incapable of reasoning. The attacks on Mr. Cleveland had filled his followers with bitterest resentment….

Peck, Blaine-Cleveland Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.260

Political discussion, indeed, rapidly degenerated into personal abuse. Even the cartoonists of the different parties showed none of the humor which is usually to be found in the pictorial history of a campaign. Some of the caricatures were frightful in their malignity….

Peck, Blaine-Cleveland Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.260–p.261

Late in October it became evident that the vote of New York would decide the result of the election; and both parties concentrated upon that State their intense energies. Mr. Cleveland as Governor had, as already described, offended the labor vote, the Roman Catholics, and Tammany Hall—three immensely powerful elements. Mr. Blaine, on the other hand, because of his Irish descent, his Catholic mother, and his professed sympathies with the cause of Ireland and the so-called Irish patriots," was strong precisely where Cleveland was known to be most vulnerable. Yet in New York Mr. Blaine had made one venomous and implacable enemy. This was Roscoe Conkling, with whom, so far back as 1866, there had been established something like a personal feud. The two men had always been temperamentally antipathetic. Conkling was overbearing, proud of his personal appearance, and bore himself with a swagger which impressed the galleries of the House, but which was offensive even to many of his own party associates….

Peck, Blaine-Cleveland Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.261

It was Conkling who aided in preventing Blaine's nomination in 1876 and in 1880. It was Blaine, who, as Garfield's Secretary of State, urged the President to defy the New York Senator and indirectly to secure his retirement into private life. Now it was Conkling's turn again, and he meant to feed his resentment to the full. His power in New York was great, and the Republican managers could do nothing with him….

Peck, Blaine-Cleveland Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.261–p.262

Blaine, therefore, took the stump himself and went about speaking to great crowds, and endeavoring to win them by that eloquence and charm of manner which had made him famous. He was, however, no longer the indomitable political gladiator of past years. The strain of the conflict had told on him severely. Though he let it be known to few, he was acutely sensitive to the attacks that were made upon him so unscrupulously and often so brutally. He suffered even when he seemed externally serene. Moreover, his fellow candidate, General Logan, was not at all the associate whom Mr. Blaine would personally have chosen. Logan represented the opposing or "stalwart" faction of the Republican party, and was in sympathy with Conkling and his friends….

Peck, Blaine-Cleveland Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.262

Mr. Blaine had also well-nigh reached the point of physical exhaustion. His health was already undermined. His vitality was failing. As he was dragged about from place to place, stared at by mobs, having always to appear affable and interested while haunted by a premonition of disaster, he almost experienced physical collapse. The acuteness of his mind must likewise have been somewhat dulled; for when, on October 29th, a few days before the election, he received at the Fifth Avenue Hotel in New York City a number of clergymen, he failed to notice a remark of one of them who made a brief address. This clergyman was the Rev. Dr. Samuel D. Burchard, who closed his speech with the following sentence: "We are Republicans, and we do not propose to leave our party and identify ourselves with the party of Rum, Romanism and Rebellion!"

Peck, Blaine-Cleveland Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.262–p.263

These last words, so blazingly indiscreet when publicly addressed to a candidate who hoped to carry the voters, were heard by Mr. Blaine, but their significance was not instantly appreciated. As he afterward told his friends in private conversation, he was at the moment preoccupied in thinking over the answer which he was to make. He therefore took no notice of Dr. Burchard's peroration, though it must have been personally offensive to him as the son of a Catholic mother. He had, besides, himself just returned from visiting his sister, who was the Mother Superior of a convent in Indiana.

Peck, Blaine-Cleveland Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.263

Yet it was only after the delegation had withdrawn that he fully realized the serious blunder that he had made. He took immediate steps to suppress the word "Romanism" in the reports that were to appear in friendly newspapers. But it was too late. The Horatian maxim "Volat irrevocabile verbum," was to find a striking illustration of its truth. In less than twenty-four hours every Democratic paper in the country had spread before its readers the Burchard alliteration. Every Catholic voter in the State had read it upon handbills, and had been told that Mr. Blaine had allowed a slur upon his own mother's faith to pass unrebuked….

Peck, Blaine-Cleveland Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.263–p.264

Still, the result seemed doubtful. Tammany Hall had not yet been won over. Its leader was John Kelly, a rough and ready politician, but an honest man, according to his lights. He had opposed Mr. Cleveland's nomination, pronouncing him no Democrat, and declaring that if elected he would prove a traitor to the party. Kelly held in his control the vote of Tammany Hall; and, as a last resort, Mr. Hendricks was summoned from Indiana to exert his influence, He made the journey of a thousand miles and conferred with Kelly until at a late hour of the night. Hendricks was a party man of the straightest type, an old-time Democrat of the Middle West. He carried his point, and Kelly promised that for Hendricks's sake the Tammany vote should be cast for the party ticket.

Peck, Blaine-Cleveland Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.264

Then came the day of the election on November 4th. Early on the following morning it was known that Cleveland had carried all the Southern States, besides New Jersey, Connecticut and Indiana. New York was still in doubt, but it seemed to have gone Democratic, The New York "Sun," which had supported the farcical Greenback candidacy of General B. F. Butler, and which was bitterly opposed to Cleveland, conceded his election. The "Tribune," on the other hand, kept its flag still flying, and declared that Blaine had won. It was evident that the result depended upon a few hundred votes in the outlying counties of New York. A very ugly feeling was manifested among the Democrats. They suspected that a plot was on foot to cheat them of their rights and to repeat the discreditable history of 1876….

Peck, Blaine-Cleveland Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.264–p.265

Mobs filled the streets in the vicinity of the newspaper offices, watching intently every bulletin that was posted, and from time to time breaking out into savage cheers or groans. Violence was attempted in several cities, and bodies of men marched up and down as they had done at the outbreak of the Civil War. The excitement was most intense in the city of New York, where it was believed that Jay Gould, who controlled the Western Union Telegraph Company, was leagued with the more unscrupulous of the Republican managers to tamper with the delayed returns. An angry mob marched to the Western Union Building with shouts of "Hang Jay Gould!" Gould besought police protection; and then dispatched a telegram of congratulations to Cleveland.

Peck, Blaine-Cleveland Campaign, America, Vol.9, p.265

On the evening of the 18th of November, the official count was ended; and then the country knew that a plurality of 1,149 votes in the State of New York had given the Presidency to Cleveland, whose election marked an epoch in our national history, the importance of which can only now be fully understood. It meant that, with the exception of the negro question, the issues springing from the Civil War had been definitely settled. It meant the beginning of a true reunion of all States and sections. It meant that the nation had turned its back upon the past, and was about to move forward with confidence and courage to a future of material prosperity, and to a greatness of which no one at that time could form an adequate conception. And it meant, although none then surmised it, that, as a result of new conditions, there was ultimately to be effected a momentous change in the whole social and political structure of the American Republic.

The Death and Funeral of General Grant

Title: The Death and Funeral of General Grant

Author: James Grant Wilson

Date: 1885

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.266-273

In his "Life of General Grant," published by D. Appleton & Company, General Wilson thus recounts the death and funeral of the great Civil War commander and eighteenth President of the United States. Grant died at Mount McGregor, near Saratoga, New York, July 23, 1885, and his body rests in a magnificent tomb overlooking the Hudson River from Riverside Drive, New York City.

Wilson served under Grant in the Civil War and was brevetted brigadier-general. After the war he lived in New York and was president of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society. He was a prolific author and editor of history and biography. In the summer of 1884 General Grant entered upon a long period of suffering from a cancerous affection of the throat. Until a few days before his death he was diligently engaged in writing his memoirs, in order to make provision for his family.

Wilson, Death and Funeral of General Grant, America, Vol.9, p.266–p.267

EARLY in the summer of 1884 the General began to feel as light pain in his mouth and throat, which increased and developed into cancer of the tongue—a painful and incurable disease, As he gradually grew weaker, the whole nation watched with solicitude the progress of his malady, and prayers were offered in many pulpits in the land for his recovery; day after day expressions of sympathy came not only from all quarters of our own country, but from distant lands. Old strifes and enmities were all forgotten in the presence of approaching death, and the Blue and the Gray alike uttered the warmest expressions of sympathy for the dying soldier. Early in the month of April there was a marked improvement in General Grant's condition, and, among some of his more sanguine friends, hopes were entertained and expressed of his ultimate recovery. Through the length and breadth of the land the morning and evening journals contained daily bulletins of one or more columns concerning the condition of the illustrious patient, and many of the leading papers of Great Britain and other lands published daily telegrams….

Wilson, Death and Funeral of General Grant, America, Vol.9, p.267–p.268

Fortunately his prayer was answered that he might be permitted to live to complete his Military Memoirs, which were substantially finished. It may be doubted if any book has been written under similar conditions since the world began. It far surpasses Sir Walter Scott's gallant efforts to maintain the integrity of his character, that he might bequeath an untarnished name and a fantastic mansion to a long line of Scotts of Abbotsford. Seeing the last enemy approach, the dying but undaunted soldier, suffering almost constant, and at times the severest agony, determined to "fight it out" bravely as he did when he faced General Lee in the Wilderness struggle. This Grant did, to the general astonishment of publishers, physicians, family and friends, the fruit of this great effort being a fortune for his family. It was probably the most successful expensive book ever issued—more than a quarter of a million copies having been ordered in advance of publication, and nearly half a million of dollars having been received as copyright. In clearness and accuracy of statement, in literary style and finish, it compares favorably with the models of English literature.

Wilson, Death and Funeral of General Grant, America, Vol.9, p.268

The General, contrary to the expectations of his physicians and friends, survived to see the twentieth anniversary of the surrender of Lee's army, and to exchange greetings with his family on the return of the anniversary which may be said to have substantially broken the Confederacy and closed the four years' civil conflict. He survived to see the sun rise on the twenty-fourth anniversary of the surrender of Fort Sumter and the commencement of the war, living also to see the anniversary of the death of President Lincoln, which General Grant deemed the darkest day of his life. After more than a month's confinement to his house, he recovered sufficiently to drive out in the park again on Monday, April 20th, and on the following day he was seen walking in Sixty-sixth Street with one of his sons. About this time he was able to resume his literary work by dictating to a secretary.

Wilson, Death and Funeral of General Grant, America, Vol.9, p.268–p.269

He survived to complete substantially his military autobiography, by far the most valuable contributions yet made to the literature of the war. Owing to his increasing weakness and the warm weather, the date of his departure was anticipated by a week, and on June 16th, accompanied by his family, his physician, and attendants, he proceeded in a private car to Mount McGregor, near Saratoga, where a comfortable cottage was placed at the General's disposal for the summer by his friend, Joseph W. Drexel, of New York, by whom it was presented after Grant's death to the Grand Army of the Republic of New York.

Wilson, Death and Funeral of General Grant, America, Vol.9, p.269

From his mountain home on a spur of the Adirondacks General Grant could see at a glance the great theater of the many brilliant movements of Burgoyne's campaign—his marches, his defeats, and his surrender—and the stately monument which commemorates the historic field of the grounded arms.

Wilson, Death and Funeral of General Grant, America, Vol.9, p.269–p.270

A few days before his departure from the city, when in a cheerful mood, the General said to a friend: "It is a great consolation to me in my sickness to know that the people, both North and South, are seemingly equally kind in their expressions of sympathy. Scores of letters come to me daily, without reference to politics or locality, containing kind words. Many communications are also received from public bodies. But nothing has touched me more deeply than the daily spectacle of the crowds of people gathering about my door for months, and eagerly seeking information as to my condition. Yes, I can certainly say that I tried to do my duty to my country, and I hope I have always treated those who were not on the same side with me, both in the field and in politics, with justice. The men of the South I always looked upon as citizens of our common country, and when it was in my power I always treated them as such. I can say with truth that I never, even in the midst of duty, had any other feeling than that which one citizen should feel toward another." The General also referred with much feeling to the many kind schemes projected in his behalf by friends in California and in other portions of the country.

Wilson, Death and Funeral of General Grant, America, Vol.9, p.270

The ex-President's prayer that the end would come soon was granted, but not before the wish nearest to his heart was gratified—that he should live to finish his book. After many temporary rallies and improvements and much physical suffering, borne in the spirit of Paul's grand text—"Endure hardness as a soldier"—surrounded by all those who were near and dear to him, the illustrious commander passed away peacefully at eight minutes past eight on Thursday morning, July 23, 1885.

Wilson, Death and Funeral of General Grant, America, Vol.9, p.270

More than royal honors may be said to have been paid to his memory by the messages of condolence which came to Mrs. Grant from crowned heads and from distinguished personages of various countries and climes. It was the absorbing topic with the press and people of the United States during the period that elapsed between the time of the illustrious soldier's death and burial. Both at home and abroad he was universally recognized as the First Soldier and the First Citizen of the New World. Against this compact consensus of opinion there was no discordant voice, even among the people against whom he wielded his mighty sword. The men of the South had only words of praise for their generous conqueror….

Wilson, Death and Funeral of General Grant, America, Vol.9, p.270–p.271

Before his death General Grant expressed in writing a wish that he should be buried in one of three places—at West Point, where he received his education, in Illinois, where he resided for several years, or in New York, "because the people of that city befriended me in my need." New York, through its Mayor, having proffered to Mrs. Grant a burial place in any of the city parks, a spot was selected and accepted in Riverside Park with the single condition that, in accordance with the General's desire, his wife should hereafter be laid by his side. His preference would have been for West Point had he not been under the mistaken impression that Mrs. Grant could not be buried there.

Wilson, Death and Funeral of General Grant, America, Vol.9, p.271

A few days after the hero's death a large and influential committee, with ex-President Arthur as chairman, was appointed by the Mayor of New York to receive and collect funds for the erection of a national monument over General Grant's grave. Within a week of the inauguration of the movement, and before his burial, a sum of thirty thousand dollars was received by voluntary contributions. It was afterward increased to six hundred thousand dollars. Movements for other monuments throughout the country were inaugurated, and several cities of the North already possess statues of the great soldier.

Wilson, Death and Funeral of General Grant, America, Vol.9, p.271–p.272

On Tuesday, August 4, a memorial service was held at Mount McGregor in the cottage where Grant died, and a funeral address was delivered. On the same day, and almost at the same hour, a similar service was held in Westminster Abbey, London. The exercises were very impressive, and the vast audience which crowded the ancient abbey gave evidence of sincere sorrow and reverence for the dead soldier. The Dean of Canterbury delivered an eloquent discourse, classing General Grant with Lincoln as a statesman, and with Washington and Wellington as a strategist. Among those present were representatives of the Queen and the Prince of Wales, the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, Mr, Gladstone, and hundreds of the most eminent statesmen and soldiers of England.

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The remains of the ex-President arrived in Albany in the afternoon of the same day, and were received by the Governor. They were placed in the State Capitol, where they were seen by large numbers of citizens and people who came from the surrounding country to take their farewell view of his well-known face. On Wednesday afternoon, the 5th, the body of the great soldier arrived in New York, and was escorted by an imposing body of troops to the City Hall. For three days it lay in state, and was viewed by nearly a quarter of a million of persons, including a large number of old soldiers who had served under him.

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Saturday, August 8th, was the day appointed for his public funeral, the arrangements having been made by General Winfield S. Hancock. A more magnificent demonstration was never witnessed in the New World, attesting the nation's admiration and respect for the memory of the American soldier. It is supposed that at least a million and a half persons saw the procession. The streets of the city echoed to the tramp of thirty thousand soldiers and veterans who marched with measured tread to the solemn music of a hundred military bands. There were to be seen heroes of scores of battles, and the torn and tattered flags that waved over Shiloh, Vicksburg, the Wilderness, and other well-contested fields. Never but once before and once since in the history of New York have so large a number of armed men marched through its streets….

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It was nearly six hours after the funeral cortege left the City Hall that the catafalque, drawn by twenty-four horses, reached the grave on the banks of the historic Hudson, and was placed in the temporary tomb with appropriate ceremonies, in the presence of his family, the President of the United States, his Cabinet, ex-Presidents Hayes and Arthur, his pall-bearers, Generals Sherman and Sheridan of the Union armies, and Generals Johnston and Buckner of the Confederate service, with many of the most eminent men of the country. So, on that bright and sunny August afternoon, he was laid to rest….

The Chicago Haymarket Riot

Title: The Chicago Haymarket Riot

Author: Harry Thurston Peck

Date: 1886

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.274-281

Peck, in his "Twenty Years of the Republic," published by Dodd, Mead & Company, gives this well-written, impartial account of the Haymarket Square tragedy of 1886, in which 8 Chicago policemen were killed and scores wounded by a bomb thrown by an anarchist, supposed to have been one Schnaubelt. As Dr. Peck states, the tragedy was the culmination of labor disturbances throughout the country, largely instigated by "preachers of violence" bent on a general seizure of property and the murder of its owners.

In Chicago a great eight-hour strike had left some 50,000 workers idle and in an ugly temper. In Haymarket Square, May 4, the bomb-throwing occurred while a mob was being harangued by such radicals as Spies, Fischer, Engel and Parsons, who were later convicted and hanged as accomplices; Fielde and Schwab, who were sentenced to life imprisonment, and Neebe, to fifteen years. Another, Lingg, committed suicide.

Peck, Chicago Haymarket Riot, America, Vol.9, p.274–p.275

THE year 1886 was arked by serious disturbances arising from strikes and other labor movements, which recalled the events of 1877, when the industries of the country were paralyzed, and when, at the great centers of traffic in twelve States, conditions existed that seemed to threaten civil war. In 1886, there was less violence, yet the social unrest was so widespread as to be at once significant and ominous. From the shipyards in Maine to the railways in Texas and the Far West, there was continual disorder in nearly every branch of industry. In New York City, the employees of the street-car lines began a strike on February 3rd, which was ended on the 18th by a victory for the strikers. The disturbances, however, broke out again on March 2nd and continued intermittently until September 1st, when the managers of the roads once more gave way. On one day every line in New York and Brooklyn was "tied up" completely. In June, the elevated railways had a similar, though much more brief, experience. The mania for striking seemed to be in the very air; and on April 20th, in Boston, even the children in two of the public schools struck for a continuous session, and adopted all the approved methods of the conventional strike, stationing pockets, attacking such children as refused to join them, and causing a small riot which had to be put down by the police.

Peck, Chicago Haymarket Riot, America, Vol.9, p.275–p.276

The storm centers of labor agitation were in St. Louis and Chicago. In St. Louis a demand was made by the employees of the Texas Pacific Railway for the reinstatement of a foreman who had been discharged. The receiver refused the demand, and a strike took place which very soon extended to the Missouri Pacific, and, in fact, to all the roads constituting the Gould system. Traffic throughout the whole Southwest was practically suspended, and before long the strike took on the form of riot and incendiarism. United States troops were sent to maintain order, but their numbers were insufficient, and the rioters cared nothing for the special deputies who had been sworn in to keep the peace. A squad of these deputies fired upon a crowd, killing or wounding a number of persons (April 7th). This act inflamed the mob, which armed itself, and for a time was master of the city. The torch was applied to railroad property, factories were closed, and great losses were inflicted, not only upon the railways, but upon the entire population.

Peck, Chicago Haymarket Riot, America, Vol.9, p.276

The leader in these depredations was a Scotchman named Martin Irons, a typical specimen of the ignorant fanatic, exactly the sort of man who comes to the front whenever the populace is inflamed by passion and bent on violence. Sly, ignorant, and half an animal, he nevertheless was able to play upon the prejudices of his fellows, and to stimulate their class-hatred so artfully as to make them deaf to the counsels of their saner leaders. For a time he had his way; yet in the end this strike collapsed after those who shared in it had forfeited hundreds of thousands of dollars in wages, and after the railroads had incurred an even heavier loss.

Peck, Chicago Haymarket Riot, America, Vol.9, p.276–p.277

In Chicago, the men in the Pullman works began a strike in May; and before long nearly fifty thousand laborers were out. In a conflict with the police a number of workingmen were shot. Chicago had for some time been the headquarters of a small but very active group of anarchists, nearly all of whom were foreigners. The strikers had no sympathy with anarchists, nor any affiliation with them. Nevertheless, the anarchists believed that the proper moment had now come for them to strike a blow, and they hoped thereby to win to their support new followers from the ranks of the discontented. There were published in Chicago two newspapers, one in English (the "Alarm"), conducted by a man named Parsons, and the other in German (the 'Arbeiter Zeitung"), conducted by one August Spies, both of them devoted to the anarchistic propaganda. About the time when the strike began, there appeared in the "Alarm" a most inflammatory article, of which the following is a part:

Peck, Chicago Haymarket Riot, America, Vol.9, p.277

"DYNAMITE! Of all the good stuff this is the stuff. Stuff several pounds of this sublime stuff into an inch pipe, plug up both ends, insert a cap with a fuse attached, place this in the immediate neighborhood of a lot of rich loafers who live by the sweat of other people's brows, and light the fuse. The dear stuff can be carried around in the pocket without danger; while it is a formidable weapon against any force of militia, police or detectives that may want to stifle the cry for justice that goes forth from the, plundered slaves."

Peck, Chicago Haymarket Riot, America, Vol.9, p.277–p.278

On May 4th, a mass-meeting of workingmen was held in the Haymarket Square to protest against the acts of the police. Late at night, after some rather tame addresses had been delivered, an anarchist leader, an Englishman named Samuel Fielde, broke forth into a violent harangue. He denounced all government in the most savage terms, yelling out, "The law is your enemy! We are rebels against it!" Word had been sent to police headquarters; and while Fielde was in the midst of his wild talk, a battalion of nearly two hundred policemen marched into the Square. Their captain commanded the gathering to disperse. Fielde replied, "We are peaceable." He was, however, arrested. A moment later, a pistol was fired, apparently as a signal, and at once a bomb was hurled into the ranks of the police. It exploded with terrible effect.

Peck, Chicago Haymarket Riot, America, Vol.9, p.278

Nearly fifty policemen were thrown to the ground, and seven of them were so badly wounded that they died soon after. With splendid discipline, the ranks were at once closed up and a charge was made upon the mob, which scattered hastily in flight. Of the anarchists arrested for this outrage, seven were sentenced to death by Judge Gary. Of these seven, four—Engel, Spies, Parsons and Fischer—were hanged; one—Lingg—committed suicide, and two—Schwab and Fielde—had their sentences commuted to imprisonment for life. Eight years afterward, a Governor of Illinois, John P. Altgeld, moved partly by the appeals of sentimentalists, and partly by his own instinctive sympathy with lawlessness, gave a free pardon to such anarchists as had been imprisoned.

Peck, Chicago Haymarket Riot, America, Vol.9, p.278

In June, 1886, in New York, the disturbed conditions were reflected in political agitation, though here, also, the anarchists showed their heads. They were, however, dealt with before they could do mischief. One of their leaders, named Johann Most, and three of his companions, were imprisoned on the charges of inciting a riot….

Peck, Chicago Haymarket Riot, America, Vol.9, p.278–p.279

Wherever throughout the country the labor element had shown its discontent, the name of the Knights of Labor was, in one way or another, pretty certain to be heard. This organization was one whose origin and evolution are of great significance in the social and economic history of the United States. Prior to 1866, such organizations of workingmen as existed were either societies for general purposes, not necessarily connected with labor questions, or else they were trade-unions in the narrowest sense, confining their membership to men and women engaged in particular and special industries. In 1866, however, there was formed the National Labor Union, of which the purpose was to promote the solidarity, not only of skilled workmen, but of the masses in general, with a view to the amelioration of their condition. This body, unfortunately, almost from the first, fell into the hands of politicians, and in 1870 it died a natural death. Its aims, however, were adopted by a number of garment-cutters in Philadelphia, in 1869, who at first formed a secret order—secrecy being adopted because of the hostility of employers to labor organizations.

Peck, Chicago Haymarket Riot, America, Vol.9, p.279–p.280

This was the origin of the Knights of Labor, who admitted to membership in their body all persons above the age of sixteen, except saloon-keepers, gamblers, bankers and lawyers. In 1882, it ceased to be a secret order; and thereafter it rapidly increased in membership until, in 1886, it was said to number more than seven hundred thousand persons. The principles which the order officially professed were distinctly socialistic. It advocated equal rights for women, the common ownership of land, and the acquisition by the Government of public utilities, such as railroads, telegraphs and telephones. It is here that we first find in the United States a large and influential body of men pledged to the support of what was in reality a system of State Socialism.

Peck, Chicago Haymarket Riot, America, Vol.9, p.280

In order to understand the significance of this movement, and to explain the rapid propagation of socialistic principles, it is necessary to recall a few important facts relating to American economic history of the preceding thirty years. One effect of the Civil War had been the rapid acquisition of great fortunes by individuals, and the growth of powerful corporations. Conspicuous among the latter were the railway companies. The period succeeding the war had been a peridd of railway building. Between 1860 and 1880 more than sixty thousand miles of railway had been constructed and put into operation. They represented an enormous amount of capital, and this capital represented an enormous amount of influence, both political and social. How much the nation owed to its railway system was very obvious. The easy distribution of its products brought prosperity to every section. Great cities sprang up in the prairies at the magic touch of the railway.

Peck, Chicago Haymarket Riot, America, Vol.9, p.280–p.281

Moreover, in one sense, the unity of the Republic itself was the work of the railway, which proved to be a great assimilator, annihilating distance, bringing one section into easy communication with another, and thereby creating not only common interests, but a common understanding. On the other hand, a moment's thought will make it clear that railways were essentially monopolies, and that their growth lodged in the hands of their owners the right to tax at will the people from whom they had received their charters, and whose interests they were supposed to serve.

Peck, Chicago Haymarket Riot, America, Vol.9, p.281

Even if the individuals to whom this irresponsible power was entrusted had been always wise, unselfish and public-spirited, the unregulated right of taxation would have been an anomaly in a free State. But as they were very human, serving their own interests, and naturally seeking their own enrichment, abuses, and very gross ones, were inevitable. Still, no hostile sentiment would have been aroused against them had they levied their transportation tax equitably upon all and without discrimination. That they did not do so, and that in consequence they began, about 1870, to create and foster other still more gigantic combinations inimical to the public welfare, are facts which serve to explain the prevalence throughout the country of great social discontent, beginning in 1870 and growing deeper and more intense with each succeeding year.

The Old South and the New, Grady, 1886

The Old South and the New

Title: The Old South and the New

Author: Grady

Date: 1886

Source: The World's Famous Orations, Vol.10, pp.141-154

Delivered before the New England Society at its annual dinner in New York City, December 12, 1886—a speech which made him at the time a national figure. Grady afterward said: "When I found myself on my feet, every nerve in my body was strung as tight as a fiddle-string and all tingling. I knew then that I had a message for that assemblage. As soon as I opened my mouth it came rushing out." Abridged.

Born in 1851, died in 1889; for many years Editor of the Atlanta Constitution.

Grady, The Old South and the New, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.141

THERE was a South of slavery and secession—that South is dead. There is a South of union and freedom—that South, thank God, is living, breathing, growing every hour.

Grady, The Old South and the New, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.141

These words, delivered from the immortal lips of Benjamin H. Hill, at Tammany Hall in 1866, true then and truer now, I shall make my text to-night.

Grady, The Old South and the New, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.141

Mr. President and Gentlemen, let me express to you my appreciation of the kindness by which I am permitted to address you. I make this abrupt acknowledgment advisedly, for I feel that if, when I raise my provincial voice in this ancient and august presence, I could find courage for no more than the opening sentence, it would be well if in that sentence I had met in a rough sense my obligation as a guest, and had perished, so to speak, with courtesy on my lips and grace in my heart. Permitted, through your kindness, to catch my second wind, let me say that I appreciate the significance of being the first Southerner to speak at this board, which bears the substance, if it surpasses the semblance, of original New England hospitality, and honors the sentiment that in turn honors you, but in which my personality is lost and the compliment to my people made plain.

Grady, The Old South and the New, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.142

Pardon me one word, Mr. President, spoken for the sole purpose of getting into the volumes that go out annually, freighted with the rich eloquence of your speakers, the fact that the Cavalier as well as the Puritan was on the continent in its early days, and that he was "up and able to be about." I have read your books carefully and I find no mention of that fact, which seems an important one to me for preserving a sort of historical equilibrium, if for nothing else.

Grady, The Old South and the New, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.142

Let me remind you that the Virginia Cavalier first challenged France on the continent; that Cavalier John Smith gave New England its very name, and was so pleased with the job that he has been handing his own name around ever since; and that while Miles Standish was cutting off men's ears for courting a girl without her parents' consent, and forbade men to kiss their wive on Sunday, the Cavalier was courting everything in sight, and that the Almighty had vouchsafed great increase to the Cavalier Colonies, the huts in the wilderness being as full as the nests in the woods.

Grady, The Old South and the New, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.143

But having incorporated the Cavalier as a fact in your charming little books, I shall let him work out his own salvation, as he has always done, with engaging gallantry, and we will hold no controversy as to his merits. Why should we? Neither Puritan nor Cavalier long survived as such. The virtues and good traditions of both happily still live for the inspiration of their sons and the saving of the old fashion. But both Puritan and Cavalier were lost in the storm of the first Revolution, and the American citizen, supplanting both and stronger than either, took possession of the Republic bought by their common blood and fashioned to wisdom, and charged himself with teaching men government and establishing the voice of the people as the voice of God.

Grady, The Old South and the New, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.143

My friends, Doctor Talmage has told you that the typical American has yet to come. Let me tell you that he has already come. Great types, like valuable plants, are slow to flower and fruit. But from the union of these Colonies, Puritans and Cavaliers, from the straightening of their purposes and the crossing of their blood, slow perfecting through a century, came he who stands as the first typical American, the first who comprehended within himself all the strength and gentleness, all the majesty and grace of this Republic—Abraham Lincoln.

Grady, The Old South and the New, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.143

He was the sum of Puritan and Cavalier, for in his ardent nature were fused the virtues of both, and in the depths of his great soul the faults of both were lost. He was greater than Puritan, greater than Cavalier, in that he was American, and that in his honest form were first gathered the vast and thrilling forces of his ideal government—charging it with such tremendous meaning and elevating it above human suffering that martyrdom, tho infamously aimed, came as a fitting crown to a life consecrated from the cradle to human liberty. Let us, each cherishing the traditions and honoring his fathers, build with reverend hands to the type of this simple but sublime life, in which all types are honored, and in our common glory as Americans there will be plenty and to spare for your forefathers and for mine.

Grady, The Old South and the New, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.144

Doctor Talmage has drawn for you, with a master's hand, the picture of your returning armies. He has told you how, in the pomp and circumstance of war, they came back to you, marching with proud and victorious tread, reading their glory in a nation's eyes!—Will you bear with me while I tell you of another army that sought its home at the close of the late war—an army that marched home in defeat and not in victory—in pathos and not in splendor, but in glory that equaled yours, and to hearts as loving as ever welcomed heroes home! Let me picture to you the foot-sore Confederate soldier, as, buttoning up in his faded gray jacket the parole which was to bear testimony to his children of his fidelity and faith, he turned his face southward from Appomattox in April, 1865.

Grady, The Old South and the New, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.145

Think of him as ragged, half-starved, heavy-hearted, enfeebled by want and wounds, having fought to exhaustion, he surrenders his gun, wrings the hands of his comrades in silence, and lifting his tear-stained and pallid face for the last time to the graves that dot old Virginia hills, pulls his gray cap over his brow and begins the slow and faithful journey. What does he find—let me ask you who went to your homes eager to find, in the welcome you had justly earned, full payment for four years' sacrifice—what does he find when, having followed the battle-stained cross against overwhelming odds, dreading death not half so much as surrender, he reaches the home he left so prosperous and beautiful?

Grady, The Old South and the New, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.145

He fins his house in ruins, his farm devastated, his slaves free, his stock killed, his barns empty, his trade destroyed, his money worthless, his social system, feudal in its magnificence, swept away; his people without law or legal status, his comrades slain, and the burdens of others heavy on his shoulders. Crushed by defeat, his very traditions are gone. Without money, credit, employment, material, or training, and, besides all this, confronted with the gravest problem that ever met human intelligence,—the establishing of a status for the vast body of his liberated slaves.

Grady, The Old South and the New, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.145

What does he do—this hero in gray with a heart of gold? Does he sit down in sullenness and despair? Not for a day. Surely God, who had stripped him of his prosperity, inspired him in his adversity. As ruin was never before so overwhelming, never was restoration swifter. The soldier stepped from the trenches into the furrow; horses that had charged Federal guns marched before the plow, and fields that ran red with human blood in April were green with the harvest in June; women reared in luxury cut up their dresses and made breeches for their husbands, and, with a patience and heroism that fit women always as a garment, gave their hands to work. There was little bitterness in all this. Cheerfulness and frankness prevailed.

Grady, The Old South and the New, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.146

I want to say to General Sherman, who is considered an able man in our parts, tho some people think he is a kind of careless man about fire, that from the ashes he left us in 1864 we have raised a brave and beautiful city; that somehow or other we have caught the sunshine in the bricks and mortar of our homes, and have builded therein not one ignoble prejudice or memory.

Grady, The Old South and the New, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.146

But what is the sum of our work? We have found out that in the summing up the free negro counts more than he did as a slave. We have planted the schoolhouse on the hilltop and made it free to white and black. We have sowed towns and cities in the place of theories, and put business above politics. We have challenged your spinners in Massachusetts and your iron-makers in Pennsylvania. We have learned that the $400,000,000 annually received from our cotton crop will make us rich when the supplies that make it are home-raised. We have reduced the commercial rate of interest from twenty-four to six per cent, and are floating four per cent. bonds.

Grady, The Old South and the New, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.147

We have learned that one Northern immigrant is worth fifty foreigners; and have smoothed the path to southward, wiped out the place where Mason and Dixon's line used to be, and hung out our latch-string to you and yours. We have reached the point that marks perfect harmony in every household, when the husband confesses that the pies which his wife cooks are as good as those his mother used to bake; and we admit that the sun shines as brightly and the moon as softly as it did before the war. We have established thrift in city and country. We have fallen in love with our work. We have restored comfort to homes from which culture and elegance never departed. We have let economy take root and spread among us as rank as the crabgrass which sprung from Sherman's cavalry camps, until we are ready to lay odds on the Georgia Yankee as he manufacture relics of the battlefield in a one-story shanty and squeezes pure olive-oil out of his cottonseed, against any Down-Easter that ever swapped wooden nutmegs for flannel sausage in the valleys of Vermont. Above all, we know that we have achieved in these "piping times of peace" a fuller independence for the South than that which our fathers sought to win in the forum by their eloquence or compel in the field by their swords.

Grady, The Old South and the New, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.148

It is a rare privilege, sir, to have had part, however humble, in this work. Never was nobler duty confided to human hands than the uplifting and upbuilding of the prostrate and bleeding South—misguided, perhaps, but beautiful in her suffering, and honest, brave, and generous always. In the record of her social, industrial, and political illustration we await with confidence the verdict of the world.

Grady, The Old South and the New, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.148

But what of the negro? Have we solved the problem he presents or progressed in honor and equity toward solution? Let the record speak to the point. No section shows a more prosperous laboring population than the negroes of the South; none in fuller sympathy with the employing and land-owning class. He shares our school fund, has the fullest protection of our laws and the friendship of our people. Self-interest as well as honor demand that he should have this. Our future, our very existence, depended upon working out this problem in full and exact justice.

Grady, The Old South and the New, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.148

We understand that when Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, your victory was assured, for he then committed you to the cause of human liberty, against which the arms of men can not prevail—while those of our statesmen who trusted to make slavery the cornerstone of the Confederacy doomed us to defeat as far as he could, committing us to a cause that reason could not defend or the sword maintain in sight of advancing civilization.

Grady, The Old South and the New, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.149

Had Mr. Toombs said, which he did not say, "that he would call the roll of his slaves at the foot of Bunker Hill," he would have been foolish, for he might have known that whenever slavery became entangled in war it must perish, and that the chattel in human flesh ended for ever in New England when your fathers—not to be blamed for parting with what did not pay—sold their slaves to our fathers—not to be praised for knowing a paying thing when they saw it.

Grady, The Old South and the New, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.149

The relations of the Southern people with the negro are close and cordial. We remember with what fidelity for four years he guarded our defenseless women and children, whose husbands and fathers were fighting against his freedom. To his eternal credit be it said that whenever he struck a blow for his own liberty he fought in open battle, and when at last he raised his black and humble hands that the shackles might be struck off, those hands were innocent of wrong against his helpless charges, and worthy to be taken in living grasp by every man who honors loyalty and devotion.

Grady, The Old South and the New, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.149

Ruffians have maltreated him, rascals have misled him, philanthropists established a bank for him, but the South, with the North, protests against injustice to this simple and sincere people. To liberty and enfranchisement is as far as law can carry the negro. The rest must be left to conscience and common sense. It must be left to those among whom his lot is cast, with whom he is indissolubly connected, and whose prosperity depends upon their possessing his intelligent sympathy and confidence. Faith has been kept with him, in spite of calumnious assertions to the contrary by those who assume to speak for us or by frank opponents. Faith will be kept with him in the future, if the South holds her reason and integrity.

Grady, The Old South and the New, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.150

But have we kept faith with you? In the fullest sense, yes. When Lee surrendered—I do not say when Johnston surrendered, because I understand he still alludes to the time when he met General Sherman last as the time when he determined to abandon any further prosecution of the struggle—when Lee surrendered, I say, and Johnston quit, the South became, and has since been, loyal to this Union.

Grady, The Old South and the New, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.150

We fought hard enough to know that we were whipped and in perfect frankness accept as final the arbitrament of the sword to which we had appealed. The South found her jewel in the toad's head of defeat. The shackles that had held her in narrow limitations fell for ever when the shackles of the negro slave were broken. Under the old regime the negroes were slaves to the South; the South was a slave to the system. The old plantation, with its simple police regulations and feudal habit, was the only type possible under slavery. Thus was gathered in the hands of a splendid and chivalric oligarchy the substance that should have been diffused among the people, as the rich blood, under certain artificial conditions, is gathered at the heart, filling that with affluent rapture, but leaving the body chill and colorless.

Grady, The Old South and the New, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.151

The old South rested everything on slavery and agriculture, unconscious that these could neither give nor maintain healthy growth. The new South presents a perfect democracy, the oligarchs leading in the popular movement—a social system compact and closely knitted, less splendid on the surface, but stronger at the core—a hundred farms for every plantation, fifty homes for every palace—and a diversified industry that meets the complex need of this complex age.

Grady, The Old South and the New, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.151

The new South is enamored of her new work. Her soul is stirred with the breath of a new life. The light of a grander day is falling fair on her face. She is thrilling with the consciousness of growing power and prosperity. As she stands upright, full statured and equal among the people of the earth, breathing the keen air and looking out upon the expanded horizon, she understands that her emancipation came because through the inscrutable wisdom of God her honest purpose was crossed, and her brave armies were beaten.

Grady, The Old South and the New, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.151

This is said in no spirit of time-serving or apology. The South has nothing for which to apologize. She believes that the late struggle between the States was war and not rebellion, revolution and not conspiracy, and that her convictions were as honest as yours. I should be unjust to the dauntless spirit of the South and to my own convictions if I did not make his plain in this presence. The South has nothing to take back. In my native town of Athens is a monument that crowns its central hill—a plain, white shaft. Deep cut into its shining side is a name dear to me above the names of men—that of a brave and simple man who died in a brave and simple faith.

Grady, The Old South and the New, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.152

Not for all the glories of New England, from Plymouth Rock all the way, would I exchange the heritage he left me in his soldier's death. To the foot of that I shall send my children's children to reverence him who ennobled their name with his heroic blood. But, sir, speaking from the shadow of that memory which I honor as I do nothing else on earth, I say that the cause in which he suffered and for which he gave his life was adjudged by higher and fuller wisdom than his or mine, and I am glad that the omniscient God held the balance of battle in His Almighty hand and that human slavery was swept for ever from American soil, and the American Union was saved from the wreck of war.

Grady, The Old South and the New, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.152

This message, Mr. President, comes to you from consecrated ground. Every foot of soil about the city in which I live is as sacred as a battle-ground of the Republic. Every hill that invests it is hallowed to you by the blood of your brothers who died for your victory, and doubly hallowed to us by the blood of those who died hopeless, but undaunted in defeat—sacred soil to all of us—rich with memories that make us purer and stronger and better—silent but stanch witnesses, in its red desolation, of the matchless valor of American hearts and the deathless glory of American arms—speaking an eloquent witness in its white peace and prosperity to the indissoluble union of American States and the imperishable brotherhood of the American people.

Grady, The Old South and the New, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.153

Now, what answer has New England to this message? Will she permit the prejudice of war to remain in the hearts of the conquerors when it has died in the hearts of the conquered? Will she transmit this prejudice to the next generation, that in their hearts which never felt the generous ardor of conflict it may perpetuate itself? Will she withhold, save in strained courtesy, the hand which, straight from his soldier's heart, Grant offered to Lee at Appomattox? Will she make the vision of a restored and happy people, which gathered above the couch of your dying captain, filling his heart with grace, touching his lips with praise, and glorifying his path to the grave—will she make this vision on which the last sigh of his expiring soul breathed a benediction, a cheat and delusion? If she does, the South, never abject in asking for comradeship, must accept with dignity its refusal; but if she does not refuse to accept in frankness and sincerity this message of good will and friendship, then will the prophecy of Webster, delivered in this very Society forty years ago amid tremendous applause, become true, be verified in its fullest sense, when he said: "Standing hand to hand and clasping hands, we should remain united as we have been for sixty years, citizens of the same country, members of the same government, united, all united now and united for ever." There have been difficulties, contentions, and controversies, but I tell you that in my judgment—

 —"those opened eyes,

Which, like the meteors of a troubled heaven,

All of one nature, of one substance bred,

Did lately meet in th' intestine shock,

Shall now, in mutual well-beseeming ranks,

March all one way."

The Interstate Commerce Commission

Title: The Interstate Commerce Commission

Author: Aldace Freeman Walker

Date: 1887

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.282-286

When the Interstate Commerce Commission was organized in 1887, President Cleveland appointed Walker, the author of this article which was printed in The Forum of July, 1891, a member of the body. He served on the Commission two years, subsequently holding important positions in railway traffic associations until 1894, when he became a receiver of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad, and, later, chairman of the board of directors of the reorganized company.

The operation of the Interstate Commerce Act has not been all that was hoped for. The most satisfactory result of the law has been the publicity which it has given to railroad affairs. The clause of the act designed to prohibit pooling has accomplished the desired end, but has helped rather than hindered the unified management of railroads which it was designed to prevent.

Walker, Interstate Commerce Commission, America, Vol.9, p.282

ON April 5, 1887, an act of Congress became effective, bearing the comprehensive title of "An Act to Regulate Commerce." It was an entirely new departure in Federal legislation. Its authority rests upon a constitutional provision which confers upon Congress power "to regulate commerce…. among the several States," the extent and limitations of which have never been judicially determined.

Walker, Interstate Commerce Commission, America, Vol.9, p.282–p.283

The railroads of the United States are creatures of State legislation. There has been no governmental supervision of railway construction. New lines have everywhere been authorized with the utmost freedom by the various States and Territories, and leases, purchases and consolidations have been easily arranged in which State lines have been altogether disregarded. The railroad system has been almost potent agency for the practical unification of our country by quietly obliterating territorial divisions, while threading the land with a network of iron rails along which interstate commerce moves without rest.

Walker, Interstate Commerce Commission, America, Vol.9, p.283

The course pursued in establishing the modern transportation facility has been so hasty and inconsiderate that the fundamental relation of the Nation to the several railroad corporations is to this day unsettled…. Competing lines have been multiplied and expanded, until their very number is now the source of the most serious practical difficulties connected with our domestic commerce.

Walker, Interstate Commerce Commission, America, Vol.9, p.283

This universal reliance upon competition as the safeguard of the public has had two noticeable results: first, it has tended to entrench railroad managers in the belief that the public was protected sufficiently thereby, and that carriers by rail, like carriers by sea, were entitled to fix rates at will, subject only to the control of competitive conditions….

Walker, Interstate Commerce Commission, America, Vol.9, p.283

In the second place, in its practical working, competition bred discrimination. The evils of unjust discrimination in railway methods cannot be too vividly portrayed. As time went on they became more and more pronounced, until they were too great to be endured. Legislative investigations were demanded….

Walker, Interstate Commerce Commission, America, Vol.9, p.283–p.284

The remedy proposed was the forbidding of unjust discrimination under pains and penalties. That was the essence of the Interstate Commerce law. In other words, the result was prohibited while the cause was left in full operation. It was thought that free and unrestricted competition must be maintained as an essential principle of the American railway system….

Walker, Interstate Commerce Commission, America, Vol.9, p.284

…. Of course discriminations in railway rates are necessary; for example, the rate upon silk and upon sand should not be the same, and the question is often a doubtful one whether a particular discrimination is or is not unjust. The determination of this question, arising in innumerable forms, is the matter which has chiefly occupied the attention of the Commission since the passage of the law….

Walker, Interstate Commerce Commission, America, Vol.9, p.284–p.285

…. When the law first went into operation it was felt that a new era had arrived. The statute demanded the undeviating and inflexible maintenance of the published tariff rates…. This was just what conservative and influential railway managers desired. It was not only just, but it protected their revenues. The new rule was cheerfully accepted and imperative orders were issued for its obedience. But toward the close of 1887 it began to be perceived that there were difficulties, which became much more serious in 1888. On even rates the traffic naturally flowed to the direct lines, which could give the best service and make the best time. Roads less direct or of less capacity, roads with higher grades or less advantageous terminals and roads otherwise at a disadvantage, found that business was leaving them. It was discovered that the law in this its most essential feature, as well as in other respects, was practically a direct interference by the government in favor of the strong roads and against the weak. Dissatisfaction arose among officials of roads whose earnings were reduced and which were often near the edge of insolvency. It had been customary for them to obtain business by rebates and other like devices, and they knew no other method. It presently became to some of them a case of desperation. There was nothing in the law specifically forbidding the payment of "commissions," and it was found that the routing of business might be secured to a given line by a slight expenditure of that nature to a shipper's friend. Other kindred devices were suggested, some new, some old; the payment of rent, clerk hire, dock charges, elevator fees, drayage, the allowance of exaggerated claims, free transportation within some single State—a hundred ingenious forms of evading the plain requirements of the law—were said to be in use. The demoralization was not by any means confined to the minor roads; shippers were ready to give information to other lines concerning concessions which were offered them, and to state the sum required to control their patronage. A freight agent thus appealed to at first perhaps might let the business go, but when the matter became more serious and he saw one large shipper after another seeking a less desirable route, he was very apt to throw up his hands and fall in with the procession.

Walker, Interstate Commerce Commission, America, Vol.9, p.286

Meanwhile nothing was done in the way of the enforcement of the law. It was found that the sixth or administrative section had been so framed as to require the exact maintenance of the tariffs of each carrier, but that this important provision had been omitted respecting "joint tariffs," in which two or more carriers participate….

Walker, Interstate Commerce Commission, America, Vol.9, p.286

Toward the end of the second year came a reaching out for a remedy. In the closing days of the Fiftieth Congress amendments to the law were adopted by which shippers as well as carriers were made subject to its penalties, and the punishment of imprisonment was added to the fine in cases of unjust discrimination; joint tariffs were also distinctly brought within the jurisdiction of the Commission and the courts.

Walker, Interstate Commerce Commission, America, Vol.9, p.286

These amendments became effective March 2, 1889, and their influence was immediately felt…. The third year therefore exhibited an almost entire cessation of the use of illegitimate methods for securing business, and until near its close little complaint was heard. The fourth year, 1890, witnessed a renewed relaxation of the spirit of obedience. The conditions that had prevailed in 1888 again became pressing, and evasions secretly inaugurated were not efficiently dealt with; for a considerable time the prosecutions were commenced; customers began to renew their appeals for favors, or as they term it, for relief; and it was presently a common statement among shippers and traffic agents that the law was a dead letter, and that its penalties need not be feared.

The Presidential Campaign of 1888

Title: The Presidential Campaign of 1888

Author: Edward Stanwood

Date: 1888

Source: America, Vol.9, p.287

Although Benjamin Harrison, twenty-third President of the United States, was a great-grandson of a signer of the Declaration of Independence and a grandson of William Henry (Tippecanoe) Harrison, ninth President, he was not regarded so highly as was Blaine as a Presidential possibility, on the eve of the Republican National Convention of 1888. In fact, the Republican nomination would have gone to Blaine had he not positively declared his unwillingness to accept it. Consequently the Convention, held in Chicago, nominated Harrison on the eighth ballot, and he defeated Grover Cleveland in a vigorous campaign.

His administration was characterized by a firm defense of American interests in foreign affairs and a general promotion of industry and of governmental effectiveness.

This account is taken from Stanwood's authoritative "History of Presidential by permission of the publishers, Houghton, Mifflin & Company.

Stanwood, Presidential Campaign of 1888, America, Vol.9, p.287

SIX months before the meeting of the nominating conventions it seemed to be certain that the Presidential contest of 1888 would be between the same candidates who had been pitted against each other in 1884—Cleveland and Blaine. The President made no public manifestation of his wish to be nominated for reelection, but it was not necessary that he should do so. It appeared to be the well nigh universal wish of his party that he should be again the leader of their forces, and he was understood to be entirely willing to accept the position.

Stanwood, Presidential Campaign of 1888, America, Vol.9, p.287–p.288–p.289

On the other hand, the desire of the Republicans that Blaine should head the ticket once more found overwhelming expression among them. The unanimity of the sentiment was surprising. It is probably safe to say that had the delegates to the Convention been elected in December, 1887, there would not have been chosen a dozen in all the country who would have preferred any other candidate to Blaine. Great, therefore, was the confusion into which the party was thrown by the withdrawal of Blaine from the contest. On January 25, 1888, he addressed, from Florence, Italy, a letter to the chairman of the Republican National Committee, in which, on account of "considerations entirely personal to myself," he announced that his name would not be presented to the National Convention. At the same time he congratulated the party upon its cheering prospects, foretold that the tariff was to be the great issue of the canvass, and expressed confidence that the result could not be in doubt. Republicans were dismayed by this letter, for while they all agreed that it was a genuine and sincere refusal to accept the nomination, yet many of his friends, in the earnestness of their wish that he should be again the candidate, persuaded themselves that he would accept the mandate of the party if it were to be expressed with great unanimity. But while these excessively zealous champions persisted in their purpose to choose and send to the Convention delegates who were for Blaine, "first, last, and all the time," the acceptance of his withdrawal as a finality by the party at large resulted in the coming forward of many candidates. The unwillingness of Blaine's most ardent friends to give up the hope of nominating him placed that gentleman in a position of embarrassment from which he extricated himself by a second letter, dated at Paris, May 17, in which he reiterated that he "could not accept the nomination without leaving in the minds of thousands (friends of other candidates) the impression that I had not been free from indirection, and therefore I cannot accept it at all."

Stanwood, Presidential Campaign of 1888, America, Vol.9, p.289

Two conventions were held simultaneously in Cincinnati beginning on the 15th of May. These conventions were held by two factions of the Labor party, known respectively as the "Union Labor" and the "United Labor" parties….

Stanwood, Presidential Campaign of 1888, America, Vol.9, p.289

The National Prohibition party began its convention at Indianapolis on May 20. The gathering was a large one. It was estimated that there were at least four thousand members of the party in attendance on the convention, besides the delegates. Nearly all the States were represented and the committees on credentials reported that there were one thousand and twenty-nine delegates present….

Stanwood, Presidential Campaign of 1888, America, Vol.9, p.289

The Democrats assembled in National Convention at St. Louis on the 5th of June. Notwithstanding the certainty of Cleveland's nomination there was an enormous gathering of prominent members of the party from North and South….

Stanwood, Presidential Campaign of 1888, America, Vol.9, p.289–p.290

For the first time since 1840, when Martin Van Buren was nominated for reelection by resolution, and not by the individual votes of delegates, there was no voting for a candidate for President. A motion was made and carried with great enthusiasm to place Grover Cleveland in nomination for a second term. The death of Vice-President Hendricks in the first year of his term had left the second place on the ticket open to a contest. Several candidates had appeared, but before the convention met the sentiment of the delegates was setting strongly in favor of Allan G. Thurman, of Ohio….

Stanwood, Presidential Campaign of 1888, America, Vol.9, p.290

The Republican Convention was held at Chicago June 19. John M. Thurston, of Nebraska, was the temporary chairman, and M. M. Estes, of California, was the permanent president….

Stanwood, Presidential Campaign of 1888, America, Vol.9, p.290–p.291

The withdrawal of Blaine, as had been explained, had left the field open for all contestants, and not only was there an unusually large number of "favorite sons,' but several prominent gentlemen, who were not brought forward as candidates by the delegates representing the respective States of their residence, were mentioned as possible candidates in case the contest should be long and the difficulty of agreeing upon a nominee great. Pervading the Convention at all times, up to the moment that a nomination was effected, was a feeling that the name of Blaine might be presented in such a way, at a critical period, that the Convention would be carried away by an outburst of irrepressible enthusiasm, and that he would be summoned to lead the party again by a call so vociferous that he could not decline. Blaine gave no countenance or help to this movement. At the very opening of the Convention, having learned that some of his indiscreet friends were making unauthorized use of his name, and were assuming what he would do in certain contingencies, Blaine requested the London correspondent of the "New York Tribune" to say that all rumors 'pretending to give letters or dispatches, from him or any of his party, touching political topics of any kind may be promptly discredited unless signed by Mr. Blaine himself," and, further, that he had written nothing concerning the Presidential nominations except the two published letters from Florence and Paris, and that he had held no correspondence of any kind with any one on political subjects. Even this did not prevent many men from thinking that the nomination of Blaine was the most probable outcome of the contest. Some of the delegates persisted in voting for him from first to last; and the Blaine stampede was the event which the whole country expected. But the fitting moment for it never came, and the judgment of the cooler members of the Convention was against it at all times, chiefly because they saw, what Blaine had said so clearly, that he could not honorably accept the nomination, even if it were to be thrust upon him….

Stanwood, Presidential Campaign of 1888, America, Vol.9, p.291

…. The votes were divided among thirteen candidates, and even on the fourth trial the number had been reduced only to ten….

Stanwood, Presidential Campaign of 1888, America, Vol.9, p.291–p.292

The session of the Convention was one of the longest in the history of the country. It began on June 19. The platform was adopted on the 21st. Two votes for Presidential candidate were taken on the 22nd, three on the 23rd, and three on the 25th (the 24th was Sunday). The history of former Conventions was repeated; the leading candidate did not greatly increase his vote, and a concentration took place gradually upon one who had at the beginning a small but a compact and aggressive body of followers, General Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, was nominated upon the eighth vote…. Levi P. Morton, of New York, was nominated for Vice-President on the first vote.

Stanwood, Presidential Campaign of 1888, America, Vol.9, p.292

The joint committee for counting the votes was held in the hall of the House of Representatives February 13, 1889. The proceedings were devoid of striking incident…. When the vote for Indiana was reported, the vote of the President-elect's own State, there was applause, which was quickly suppressed. Mr, Manderson, the first of the Senate tellers, reported the state of the vote in detail, and in a summary; the presiding officer repeated the summary, and added a formula, drawn from the law, that this announcement of the state of the vote "is, by law, a sufficient declaration" that Benjamin Harrison, of the State of Indiana, had been elected President, and Levi P. Morton, of the State of New York, Vice President, for the ensuing term.

The Johnstown Flood

Title: The Johnstown Flood

Author: E. Benjamin Andrews

Date: 1889

Source: Great Epochs in American History, Vol.10, pp.64-67

Andrews, The Johnstown Flood, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.64

On May 31, 1889, western Pennsylvania was visited by one of the most awful catastrophes ever chronicled. A flood from a burst reservoir annihilated the city of Johnstown with its numerous suburbs, destroying thousands of lives, and $10,000,000 worth of property. The reservoir was two and a half miles in length, one and a half broad at places, one hundred feet deep in places, and situated two hundred and seventy-five feet above the level of Johnstown. Heavy rains had fallen, and the dam was known to be weak; yet the people below, who were repeatedly warned during the day, took no alarm.

Andrews, The Johnstown Flood, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.64

When, starting just before the break, about 3 P. M., Engineer Park galloped down the valley shouting to all to run for their lives, it was too late.

Andrews, The Johnstown Flood, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.64

The Johnstown, Pa., flood followed heavy rainfalls. A dam across the South Fork of the Conemaugh river, twelve miles east of Johnstown, broke away and released Conemaugh Lake, thus submerging the valley with extraordinary rapidity and carrying buildings and men and women from Johnstown and several villages along its course. The lives lost have since been carefully estimated as 2,235, and the property as $10,000,000. The contributions in aid of the sufferers from all parts of the country amounted to about $3,000,000. Hard behind him came thundering along at a speed of two and a half miles a minute, a mountain of water fifty feet high, thirty feet wide at first, and widening to half a mile bearing upon its angry crest, whole or in fragments, houses, factories, bridges, and at length villages, and growing wilder, higher, swifter, deadlier, and more powerful as it moved. Trees, brush, furniture, boulders, pig and railway iron, corpses, machinery, miles and miles of barbed wire, and an indescribable mass of miscellaneous wreckage, all inextricably mixed, also freighted the torrent. Immense mills were knocked from their foundations, and whirled down stream like children's block-work. Pig-iron by the hundred tons was borne away, the bars subsequently strewn for miles down the valley. Engines weighing twenty tons were tossed up as if the law of gravity had been repealed. One locomotive was carried a mile. At Johnstown, where the shape of the valley generated an enormous whirlpool, the roar of the waters and the grinding together of the wreckage rent the air like lost spirits groaning in chorus.

Andrews, The Johnstown Flood, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.65

Hundreds who had clambered to the roofs of houses floated about on that boiling sea all the afternoon and night, shot hither and thither by the crazy flood. Most who met death were, we may hope, instantly drowned, but many clung to fragments, falling into the waters only when their strength gave way, their limbs were broken or their brains dashed out. A telegraph operator at Sanghollow saw one hundred and nineteen bodies, living or dead, float by in an hour. Early next morning two corpses had reached Pittsburgh, seventy-eight miles distant. A little boy was res-cued who, with his parents, a brother and two sisters, had sailed down from Johnstown in a small house. This went to pieces in going over the bridge, and all were drowned but he.

Andrews, The Johnstown Flood, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.66

A raft formed from part of a floor held a young man and two women, probably his wife and mother. As they neared Bolivar bridge, a rope was lowered to rescue them, and the man was observed to be instructing the women how to catch and hold it. Himself succeeded in clutching it, but they failed, whereupon he purposely let go and regained the raft as it lurched under the bridge. Later it struck a tree, into which with preternatural skill and strength he helped his proteges to climb; but a great wreck soon struck the tree, instantly overwhelming the trio in the seething tide. Fate reached the scene of its malignity next day, June 1st, after the flood had begun to subside. The immense boom of debris gathered at the railway bridge just below Johnstown—an eighth of a mile wide and long, from thirty to fifty feet deep, and rammed so solid that dynamite was at last required to rend it—took fire. The flames raged for twelve hours. No effort was spared to recover the living imprisoned in the pile. Fifty or more were taken out, but it is feared that no few than five hundred perished.

Andrews, The Johnstown Flood, Great Epochs, Vol.10, p.66

Relief work began at once, commendably systematic and thorough, and on a scale commensurate with the disaster. In less than twenty-four hours, in spite of washed-out tracks and ruptured telegraph-wires, Pittsburgh had train-loads of provisions in Johnstown, and a body of nearly three hundred active men, who comforted, fed, clothed and housed the distrest people until re-lieved by the Flood Relief Commission on June 12th. Pittsburgh contributed $252,000 in money, $64,000 of it being subscribed in an hour. Philadelphia contributed half a million dollars to the relief fund; New York the same. Nearly every city in the Union aided. President Harrison was chairman of a meeting in Washington where 30,000 was pledged. Several sums were telegraphed from abroad, among them one of $1,000 from Baroness Burdett-Coutts. The total of contributions reached $3,000,000. Train loads of supplies rolled in. The Red Cross Society, with physicians, nurses, tents, disinfectants, medicines, food and clothing was promptly on the ground. Rigid sanitary provisions were enforced, made specially necessary by the length of time inevitably elapsing before all the dead could be interred.

Disputing the Samoan Islands with Germany

Title: Disputing the Samoan Islands with Germany

Author: Harry Thurston Peck

Date: 1889

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.293-303

Dr. Peck gives this stirring account of the threatened conflict between the United States and Germany over the Samoan Islands, in his "Twenty Years of the Republic," published by Dodd, Mead & Company. In 1888 interests hostile to the Germans brought about the election of Mataafa as opposition King to Tamasese, and civil war broke out. While a general insurrection was in progress, with several German, British and American warships anchored in Apia roadstead, on March 16, 1889, a tidal wave and typhoon destroyed the American and German fleets. The British cruiser, Calliope, alone escaped.

Of the American vessels, the Trenton and the Vantcalia were sunk, and the Nipsic cast on shore, fifty-two officers and men being lost. Eventually the "incident" was closed by a complete American diplomatic victory, in the Act of Berlin, June 14, 1889.

Peck, Disputing the Samoan Islands, America, Vol.9, p.293

THE Samoan Islands are twelve in number, lying in the track of vessels which ply between the American seaports on the Pacific Coast and Australia. They have, therefore, a certain commercial importance, and to a naval power a definite strategic value. Upon the principal island, Upolu, where the chief town, Apia, is situated, a number of Germans, Americans and English had settled. A Hamburg trading firm was established there, besides a thriving American business house and a company of Scotch merchants. In 1878, a treaty was made by which the Samoan chief or "king" of that time gave to the United States the use of the harbor of Pago-Pago for a naval station.

Peck, Disputing the Samoan Islands, America, Vol.9, p.294–p.295

As was natural, the small foreign community in Upolu, isolated from the greater world outside and thus thrown in upon itself, was rent by the small jealousies, intrigues and bickerings which arise when petty interests clash in a petty sphere. Race prejudice intensified the feeling, until Apia fairly seethed with pent-up enmities. Gradually, however, two distinct factions were formed, when the Americans and English made common cause against the Germans, who were the more numerous and who were also unpleasantly aggressive. By the year 1884, it had become clear that Germany intended by hook or by crook to get control of the Islands, and in doing so to ignore the rights of the English and American residents. The German consul, one Herr Stubel, began to manifest extreme activity. He had all the "morgue" and frigid insolence of the true Prussian official, and moreover he had at his beck several German ships of war, which always appeared most opportunely whenever Stubel was carrying things with a particularly high hand. The German residents assumed a most offensive bearing toward the other foreigners as well as toward the natives. In April 1886, Stubel raised the German flag over Apia and in a proclamation declared that only the Government of Germany should thereafter rule over that portion of the islands. The British consul hesitated to act without instructions; but the American representative hoisted the colors of the United States and proclaimed an American protectorate. This conflict of authority was serious, and led Secretary Bayard to energetic action. A conference at Washington between the representatives of Germany, Great Britain and the United States, agreed that the action of both consuls should be disavowed and that the "status quo ante" should be preserved in Samoa pending further negotiations.

Peck, Disputing the Samoan Islands, America, Vol.9, p.295–p.296

Bismarck, however, had no intention of abandoning his ultimate purpose, or even of abiding by his agreement. A new consul, Herr Becker, was sent out from Berlin and proved to be as obnoxious as his predecessor. He planned a stroke that was delivered with prompt efficiency. The native king, Malietoa, was favorable to the English and Americans. Becker, seizing upon the pretext afforded by a drunken brawl between the German sailors and a few Samoans, declared war upon Malietoa, "by order of His Majesty, the German Kaiser." Martial law was proclaimed in Apia; German marines were landed; Malietoa was seized and was deported in a German ship; while a native named Tamasese, a creature of the Germans, was set up in his place. From that moment events tended rapidly toward a crisis. The American consul, Mr. Harold M. Sewall of Maine, wrote vigorous despatches to Washington and sent emphatic protests to Herr Becker, who answered him with sneering incivility. The Samoans refused to acknowledge the German puppet king and took to the bush, where the English and Americans furnished them with arms. But in Apia, a German judge was set over the local courts, the captain of a German cruiser was made Prime Minister, and the German Rag again flew over the soil which Germany had pledged itself to regard as neutral territory. A writer of genius, Mr. Robert Louis Stevenson, who was a resident of Samoa throughout these troublous times, has left a minute account of the intolerable bearing of the Germans and of the indignities to which other foreigners were subjected by them. Mr. Sewall, single-handed, resisted their aggressions. The British consul sympathized with him; but the spell of Germany's predominance in Europe seemed to paralyze his will. At last, to punish those Samoans who were in arms against Tamasese, the German corvette Adler" was ordered to shell the native villages, and thus to inspire the people with a wholesome dread of German power.

Peck, Disputing the Samoan Islands, America, Vol.9, p.296–p.297

Just prior to this time, there had arrived in Samoan waters the United States gunboat "Adams," under the orders of Commander Richard Leary. Commander Leary was to his very finger-tips a first-class fighting man. His name, as Stevenson remarked, was diagnostic. It told significantly of a strain of Celtic blood in the man who bore it. Leary had, indeed, a true Irishman's nimbleness of wit, an Irishman's love of trouble for its own sake, and even more than an Irishman's pugnacity. When he had learned just how things stood in Apia, and when he had noted the bullying demeanor of the Germans, his blood grew hot. Until now the notes of protest addressed to Becker had been couched in formal phrases. From the moment when Leary took a hand in the correspondence these notes became suddenly pungent with a malicious and most ingenious wit which made the sacrosanct emissaries of His Imperial and Royal German Majesty fairly gasp with indignation. The diabolical cleverness with which Leary followed up their every move was utterly infuriating, and no less so was his supreme indifference to what they thought or wanted. When the German warship fired rocket signals at night, Leary used to sit on his after-deck and send up showers of miscellaneous rockets, which made the German signaling quite unintelligible. He refused to recognize their appointed king, and in a score of ways he covered them with a ridicule which seemed likely to make them ludicrous even in the natives' eyes. Meanwhile, a German night attack upon the Samoan "rebels" had been repulsed and several Germans had been killed. Very eagerly, then, did Herr Becker urge the captain of the "Adler" to bombard the "rebel" position at Apia. Surely the sound of the "Kanonendonner" would bring the natives, and also the insolent Yankees, to their senses. Captain Fritze of the "Adler" therefore ordered up his ammunition and prepared for the bombardment.

Peck, Disputing the Samoan Islands, America, Vol.9, p.297–p.298

Leary's ship, the "Adams," was a wooden vessel whose heavy armament consisted of smooth-bores, only a few of which had been converted into rifled guns. The German corvette was also wooden, but her guns were of the latest pattern turned out by Krupp. Nevertheless, at short range, this superiority would count for little; and the "Adams" was commanded by a sailor who would rather fight than eat. At the appointed hour, the "Adler" steamed out with the German ensign flying at her peak. The "Adams" followed close upon her heels, as if for purposes of observation; but it was noticed that her deck was cleared for action. Soon the "Adler" slowed down and swung into position, so as to bring her broadside guns to bear upon the helpless village. Instantly volumes of black smoke poured from the funnel of the "Adams," the long roll of her drums was heard as they beat to quarters, and the American ship dashed in between the "Adler" and the shore, where she, too, swung about, her guns at port and trained directly on the Germans. Presently, Commander Leary in full uniform and accompanied by his staff boarded the "Adler." His colloquy with the German captain was short and sharp: "If you fire," said he, "you must fire through the ship which I have the honor to command. I shall not be answerable for the consequence!" So saying, he took his leave and returned to his own vessel.

Peck, Disputing the Samoan Islands, America, Vol.9, p.298–p.299

Captain Fritze could scarcely believe his ears. Such audacity had never yet confronted him. He could not fire on the village unless he fired through the "Adams." He knew that his first shot would be answered by an American broadside, and that this would be the signal for a war between his country and the American Republic. He faltered, shrinking from so terrible a responsibility; and then, his heart swelling with humiliation, he turned tail and steamed sullenly away. That night there was joy in Apia; and the Germans, lately boastful, went about with shamefaced looks.

Peck, Disputing the Samoan Islands, America, Vol.9, p.299

Soon afterwards, Leary set sail for Honolulu, whence he might send despatches to his Government. In his absence, the Germans tried to accomplish on land what they had failed to do on water. It was known that the Samoans had gathered in large numbers in the interior of the island, and that they were in arms against the king whom Germany had tried to force upon them. A dare-devil American named Klein, a correspondent of the New York "World," was with them, and acted as a sort of military leader. The Germans laid a plan to surprise them and to seize their chiefs. On December 18, 1888, long before daylight, a battalion of marines was disembarked from the German cruiser and marched stealthily through the forest. An hour later, the Samoans fell upon them and whirled them back to the seashore with a loss of fifty men and several officers. The fury of the Germans was unrestrained. Vice-Consul Blacklock telegraphed to Washington soon after:

Peck, Disputing the Samoan Islands, America, Vol.9, p.299

"Germans swear vengeance. Shelling and burning indiscriminately, regardless of American property. Protest unheeded. Natives exasperated. Foreigners' lives and property in greatest danger. 'Germans respect no neutral territory. Americans in boats, fleeing. American flag seized in Apia harbor by armed German boats, but released. Admiral with squadron necessary immediately."

Peck, Disputing the Samoan Islands, America, Vol.9, p.300

Up to this time, the situation in Samoa had aroused but little interest in the United States. Samoa was very far away. Most Americans had never even heard of it. But this stirring cablegram, followed as it was by detailed accounts of German aggression and of insults to the American flag, roused the people to a warlike mood. To this mood President Cleveland's Government responded. The warships "Nipsic" and "Vandalia" were hurried off to Apia, followed shortly by the "Trenton," the flagship of Admiral Kimberly, a fine old sea-dog of the fighting type. The British Government at last took heart of grace and ordered the cruiser "Calliope" to Samoa. The Germans were no less active; and early in March there were anchored off Apia, besides the vessel< just enumerated, a German squadron consisting of the "Adler," the "Eber," and the "Olga," all with their decks cleared and their crews ready for immediate battle. A single rash act might provoke a mighty war.

Peck, Disputing the Samoan Islands, America, Vol.9, p.300–p.301–p.302

Such was the situation when President Harrison took office on March 4th. Four days later it was rumored in Germany that the "Nipsic" had fired on the "Olga." On March 10th, a despatch from Kiel, which was supposed to have come by way of Australia, reiterated the report, and added that the American vessel had been sunk by a torpedo from the "Olga." A wave of excitement swept over the whole country. In San Francisco, great crowds filled the streets and massed themselves about the newspaper offices to await the posting of further bulletins. The tone of the press was one of intense hostility to Germany. The Government at Washington began preparing for any emergency that might arise. All the vessels of the Pacific Squadron were notified to be in readiness. The new steel cruiser, "Philadelphia," was hastily equipped for service. But the news, when it came, was very different from that for which men waited. It told of a fearful battle, not with human forces, but with the elements. A fierce typhoon had struck the Samoan Islands on March 16th, and within a few hours, six of the warships that had been anchored in the harbor of Apia were driven from their moorings. The "Eber" was dashed against a coral reef and sunk. The "Adler was capsized. The "Olga" and the "Nipsic" were hurled upon the sand; while the "Trenton" and the "Vandalia," shattered and dismantled, settled to their gun-decks in the tremendous waves. The British ship, "Calliope," alone escaped. Her captain with high courage staked the safety of his vessel upon the chance of reaching the open sea. Crowding on every pound of steam until her boilers were almost bursting, and with her machinery red hot, the British cruiser fought her way out inch by inch against the hurricane. As she passed the American flagship, Admiral Kimberly led his sailors in three hearty cheers, which were answered by the British seamen amid the shrieking of the storm. When the typhoon subsided, it was found that few lives had been lost; and Admiral Kimberly, parading the band of the "Trenton," took temporary possession of Apia to the strains of the national anthem.

Peck, Disputing the Samoan Islands, America, Vol.9, p.302

The news of this disaster dispelled all thoughts of war in Germany and in the United States. Prince Bismarck proposed a conference at Berlin to deal with the Samoan situation. He was confident that he could win by his strenuous diplomacy what he had failed to gain by bluster and a show of force. He felt perhaps that his personal presence and the greatness of his fame would overawe the untrained American commissioners, as it had invariably overawed the skilled diplomatists of Europe. He had dealt with Americans before. In 1883, a Minister of the United States at Berlin, Mr. A. S. Sargent, had displeased him by one of his despatches. Bismarck therefore ordered the officials at the Foreign Office to speak only German to Mr. Sargent whenever he called. As Mr. Sargent spoke nothing but English, he was placed in a very humiliating position, and for a whole year was obliged to transact all his official business through a secretary of legation….

Peck, Disputing the Samoan Islands, America, Vol.9, p.302–p.303

The conference began on April 29, 1889. The United States was represented by Mr. J. A. Kasson, Mr. William Walter Phelps and Mr. G. H. Bates, Mr. Bates having already visited Samoa and made himself familiar with the conditions there. Prince Bismarck's object was to make a treaty which should recognize the political predominance of Germany in Samoa. After he had set forth his views, the American commissioners opposed them absolutely. They insisted that the United States, Great Britain and Germany should share alike, and that the rights of each should be recognized as equal. Bismarck was a great actor. He could assume at will a tremendous indignation, and work himself into a rage which his huge bulk of body made really awe-inspiring. He now resorted to this device, and frowned portentously as he growled out sentences that seemed full of menace. The Americans were thoroughly impressed by his manner, and they cabled to Secretary Blaine, informing him that the Chancellor was very irritable. Mr. Blaine at once flashed back the terse reply: "The extent of the Chancellor's irritability is not the measure of American rights."

Peck, Disputing the Samoan Islands, America, Vol.9, p.303

This message so stiffened the backbone of the American commissioners that they held to their point with unyielding pertinacity. Their British colleagues, heartened by their example, united in supporting the American position. Bismarck found that he could accomplish nothing, either by threatenings or by cajolery; and at last the man of blood and iron backed down squarely, and conceded every point. Malietoa, whom the Germans had seized and exiled, was restored as King of Samoa. A general act was signed under which the three powers established a condominium in the islands. This was the first diplomatic reverse which Bismarck had encountered in all his great career, and he had met it at the hands of the United States….

The McKinley Tariff Bill

Title: The McKinley Tariff Bill

Author: Charles Sumner Olcott

Date: 1889

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.304-308

As Charles S. Olcott reminds us in his "Life of William McKinley," from which this account is taken, by permission of Houghton Mifflin Company, the famous McKinley Bill of 1889-90 "was the most thorough and consistent revision of the tariff, from the protective point of view, that had ever been attempted." An important feature of it was the reciprocity section, the authorship of which is attributed to James G. Blaine, then Secretary of State. The Bill provided that whenever the President should be satisfied that the government of any country was imposing unequal or excessive duties on American products introduced into that country, the United States government should have the power to retaliate in kind.

The celebrity given him by this Act of Congress paved McKinley's way to the White House, although he was not elected President until 1896, when he defeated William Jennings Bryan.

Olcott, McKinley Tariff Bill, America, Vol.9, p.304

ON the 17th of December (1889) Representative McKinley presented from the Committee on Ways and Means an act "to simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue." This bill was a long step in the direction of making revenue laws efficient….

Olcott, McKinley Tariff Bill, America, Vol.9, p.304–p.305

The new proposition established a Board of General Appraisers, to whom were to be referred all questions regarding the proper classification and appraisal of importations. It was designed to relieve the courts of the duty of deciding intricate cases, many of which hinged upon technical terms of trade and involved complicated questions of classification. Such a measure should not have aroused serious opposition yet it was not passed without a struggle and then by a strict party vote. It proved to be a wise and successful measure, and was allowed to remain on the statute books by the Congress that repealed the McKinley Tariff….

Olcott, McKinley Tariff Bill, America, Vol.9, p.305

…. The purpose of the bill was clearly stated:

Olcott, McKinley Tariff Bill, America, Vol.9, p.305

"It is framed in the interest of the people of the United States. It is for the better defense of American homes and American industries. While securing the needed revenue, its provisions look to the occupations of our own people, their comfort and their welfare; to the successful prosecution of industrial enterprises already started, and to the opening of new lines of production where our conditions and resources will admit. Ample revenues for the wants of the Government are provided by this bill, and every reasonable encouragement is given to productive enterprises and to the labor employed therein. The aim has been to impose duties upon such foreign products as compete with our own, whether of the soil or the shop, and to enlarge the free list wherever this can be done without injury to any American industry, or wherever an existing home industry can be helped without detriment to another industry which is equally worthy of the protecting care of the Government.

Olcott, McKinley Tariff Bill, America, Vol.9, p.305–p.306

"The committee believe that, inasmuch as nearly $300,000,000 are annually required to meet the expenses of the Government, it is wiser to tax those foreign products which seek a market here in competition with our own than to tax our domestic products or the non-competing foreign products. The committee, responding as it believes to the sentiment of the country and the recommendations of the President, submit what they consider to be 'a just and equitable revision of the Tariff, which, while preserving that measure of protection which is required for our industrial independence, will secure a reduction of the revenue both from customs and internal revenue sources. We have not looked alone to a reduction of the revenue, but have kept steadily in view the interest of our producing classes, and have been ever mindful of that which is due to our political conditions, our labor and the character of our citizenship. We have realized that a reduction of duties below the difference between the cost of labor and production in competing countries and our own would result either in the abandonment of much of our manufacturing here or in the depression of our labor. Either result would bring disaster, the extent of which no one can measure. We have recommended no duty above the point of difference between the normal cost of production here, including labor, and the cost of like production in the countries which seek our markets, nor have we hesitated to give this measure of duty even though it involved an increase over present rates and showed an advance of percentages and 'ad-valorem' equivalents…. We have sought to look at the conditions of each industry at home and its relations to foreign competition, and provide for that duty which would be adequate in each case,"

Olcott, McKinley Tariff Bill, America, Vol.9, p.307

The committee estimated that its recommendations, if adopted, would reduce the revenue from imports at least $60,936,536, and from internal revenue $10,327,878, an aggregate of $71,264,414. By far the greatest part of this reduction was to be obtained by remitting the duties on sugar and molasses, which in 1889 yielded $55,975,610. It was stated as a reason for this radical change that the duty on sugar was really a tax, because so large a portion of the amount consumed was necessarily imported. In this respect it differed materially from duties laid on articles produced or manufactured in the United States in sufficient quantity to meet the needs of our people. But protection was not to be denied the producers of sugar in this country and therefore a bounty of two cents a pound was to be paid on all sugars produced in the United States for fifteen years. The estimated cost of this bounty was $7,000,000….

Olcott, McKinley Tariff Bill, America, Vol.9, p.307

…. The Republican Party in its platforms of 1884 and of 1888 had specifically demanded protection for the wool-growing industry. McKinley proposed a small increase of one cent a pound in the duties of wool of the first class, nothing on the second class, and an advance from five to eight cents per pound on the third class. This encouragement and defensive legislation would, in his judgment, enable the United States to produce all the wool it consumed,—about 600,000,000 pounds….

Olcott, McKinley Tariff Bill, America, Vol.9, p.307–p.308

There is no doubt that the section of the McKinley Bill which attracted the greatest amount of attention was the proposition to increase the duty on tin plate….

Olcott, McKinley Tariff Bill, America, Vol.9, p.308

It had been taken for granted for many years that tin plate could not be made in the United States, In 1873-75 attempts were made to manufacture it, but before the effort could be fairly started the foreign makers crushed the threatened competition by reducing the price from $12 a box to $4.50. When the American mills were put out of existence the price was advanced to $9 and $ 10 a box. From that time until 1890 the Welsh manufacturers enjoyed a monopoly and fixed their own prices….

Olcott, McKinley Tariff Bill, America, Vol.9, p.308

In the Committee of the Whole the duty was fixed at 2.2 cents a pound instead of one cent as provided by the Act of 1883.

Olcott, McKinley Tariff Bill, America, Vol.9, p.308

…. Thus, by the operation of a wise piece of legislation, a great industry was transferred from Wales to this country….

Olcott, McKinley Tariff Bill, America, Vol.9, p.308

The McKinley Bill was the most thorough and consistent revision of the Tariff, from the protective point of view, that had ever been attempted. It was, as the author declared, "protective in every paragraph and American in every line and word."

Behring Sea Troubles with Great Britain

Title: Behring Sea Troubles with Great Britain

Author: Blaine, Pauncefote and Salisbury

Date: 1890

Source: America, Vol.9, pp.309-317

War between Great Britain and the United States over Behring Sea sealing rights was narrowly averted by the diplomatic negotiations of 1890 here recorded, which resulted in the modus vivendi between Britain and the States signed June 15, 1891. Canada was at the bottom of the trouble, Canadian sealers doing such wholesale poaching that in 1889 several Canadian vessels were seized. Thereupon Great Britain made a threat of war against the United States if such seizures continued.

Arbitration was resorted to, and what is known as the Blaine Pauncefote Treaty provided for a tribunal which met at Paris in 1893 and framed regulations to prohibit all pelagic sealing within 60 miles of the Pribylov rookeries. The restrictions were never strictly observed, and by 1900 the Canadian sealing fleet numbered 33 vessels, with a catch of over 35,000 seals a year. In 1911 an international agreement was entered into to save the seals from extinction.

Behring Sea Troubles with Great Britian, America, Vol.9, p.309–p.310

IN the opinion of the resident, the Canadian vessels arrested and detained in the Behring Sea were engaged in a pursuit that was in itself "contra bonos mores, a pursuit which of necessity involves a serious and permanent injury to the rights of the Government and the people of the United States. To establish this ground it is not necessary to argue the question of the extent and nature of the sovereignty of this Government over the waters of the Behring Sea; it is not necessary to explain, certainly not to define, the powers and privileges ceded by His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia in the treaty by which the Alaskan territory was transferred to the United States. The weighty considerations growing out of the acquisition of that territory, with all rights on land and sea inseparably connected therewith, may be safely left out of view, while the grounds are set forth upon which this government rests its justification for the action complained of by Her Majesty's Government.

Behring Sea Troubles with Great Britian, America, Vol.9, p.310

It cannot be unknown to Her Majesty's Government that one of the most valuable sources of revenue from the Alaskan possessions is the fur-seal fisheries of the Behring Sea. Those fisheries had been exclusively controlled by the Government of Russia, without interference or without question, from their original discovery until the cession of Alaska to the United States in 1867. From 1867 to 1886 the possession in which Russia had been undisturbed was enjoyed by this Government also. There was no interruption and no intrusion from any source. Vessels from other nations passing from time to time through Behring Sea to the Arctic Ocean in pursuit of whales had always abstained from taking part in the capture of seals.

Behring Sea Troubles with Great Britian, America, Vol.9, p.310–p.311

This uniform avoidance of all attempts to take furseal in those waters had been a constant recognition of the right held and exercised first by Russia and subsequently by this Government. It has also been the recognition of a fact now held beyond denial or doubt that the taking of seals in the open sea rapidly leads to their extinction. This is not only the well-known opinion of experts, both British and American, based upon prolonged observation and investigation, but the fact has also been demonstrated in a wide sense by the well-nigh total destruction of all seal fisheries except the one in the Behring Sea, which the Government of the United States is now striving to preserve, not altogether for the use of the American people, but for the use of the world at large….

Behring Sea Troubles with Great Britian, America, Vol.9, p.311

Whence did the ships of Canada derive the right to do in 1886 that which they had refrained from doing for more than ninety years? Upon what grounds did Her Majesty's Government defend in the year 1886 a course of conduct in the Behring Sea which she had carefully avoided ever since the discovery of that sea? By what reasoning did Her Majesty's Government conclude that an act may be committed with impunity against the rights of the United States which had never been attempted against the same rights when held by the Russian Empire?….

Behring Sea Troubles with Great Britian, America, Vol.9, p.311–p.312

The ground upon which Her Majesty's Government justifies, or at least defends, the course of the Canadian vessels, rests upon the fact that they are committing their acts of destruction on the high seas, viz., more than three marine miles from the shore line. It is doubtful whether Her Majesty's Government would abide by this rule if the attempt were made to interfere with the pearl fisheries of Ceylon, which extend more than twenty miles from the shore line and have been enjoyed by England without molestation ever since their acquisition. So well recognized is the British ownership of those fisheries, regardless of the limit of the three-mile line that His Majesty's Government feels authorized to sell the pearl-fishing right from year to year to the highest bidder. Nor is it credible that modes of fishing on the Grand Banks, altogether practicable but highly destructive, would be justified or even permitted by Great Britain on the plea that the vicious acts were committed more than three miles from shore.

Behring Sea Troubles with Great Britian, America, Vol.9, p.312

There are, according to scientific authority, "great colonies of fish" on the "Newfoundland banks." These colonies resemble the seats of great population on land. They remain stationary, having a limited range of water in which to live and die. In these great "colonies" it is, according to expert judgment, comparatively easy to explode dynamite or giant powder in such a way as to kill vast quantities of fish, and at the same time destroy countless numbers of eggs. Stringent laws have been necessary to prevent the taking of fish by the use of dynamite in many of the rivers and lakes of the United States. The same mode of fishing could readily be adopted with effect on the more shallow parts of the banks, but the destruction of fish in proportion to the catch, says a high authority, might be as great as ten thousand to one. Would Her Majesty's Government think that so wicked an act could not be prevented and its perpetrators punished simply because it had been committed outside of the three-mile line?

Behring Sea Troubles with Great Britian, America, Vol.9, p.312

Why are not the two cases parallel?….

Behring Sea Troubles with Great Britian, America, Vol.9, p.312–p.313

In this contention the Government of the United States has no occasion and no desire to withdraw or modify the positions which it has at any time maintained against the claims of the Imperial Government of Russia. The United States will not withhold from any nation the privileges which it demanded for itself when Alaska was part of the Russian Empire.

PRIME MINISTER SALISBURY TO MINISTER PAUNCEFOTE

Behring Sea Troubles with Great Britian, America, Vol.9, p.313

It is an axiom of international maritime law that such action is only admissible in the case of piracy or in the pursuance of special international agreement. The principle has been universally admitted by jurists, and was very distinctly laid down by President Tyler in his special message to Congress, dated the 27th of February, 1843, when, after acknowledging the right to detain and search a vessel on suspicion of piracy, he goes on to say: "With this single exception, no nation has, in time of peace, any authority to detain the ships of another upon the high seas, on any pretext whatever, outside of the territorial jurisdiction."

Behring Sea Troubles with Great Britian, America, Vol.9, p.313

Now, the pursuit of seals in the open sea, under whatever circumstances, has never hitherto been considered as piracy by any civilized state. Nor, even if the United States had gone so far as to make the killing of fur-seals piracy by their franchises, and privileges now belonging to Russia in the said territory or dominions and appurtenances thereto." Neither by the treaty with Russia of 1825, nor by its renewal in 1843, nor by its second renewal in 1859, did Great Britain gain any right to take seals in Behring Sea.

SECRETARY BLAINE TO MINISTER PAUNCEFOTE

Behring Sea Troubles with Great Britian, America, Vol.9, p.314

Great Britain contends that the phrase "Pacific Ocean," as used in the treaties, was intended to include, and does include, the body of water which is now known as the Behring Sea. The United States contends that the Behring Sea was not mentioned, or even referred to, in either treaty, and was in no sense included in the phrase "Pacific Ocean," If Great Britain can maintain her position that the Behring Sea at the time of the treaties with Russia of 1824 and 1825 was included in the Pacific Ocean, the Government of the United States has no well-grounded complaint against her. If, on the other hand, this Government can prove beyond all doubt that the Behring Sea, at the date of the treaties, was understood by the three signatory Powers to be a separate body of water, and was not included in the phrase "Pacific Ocean," then the American case against Great Britain is great and undeniable.

Behring Sea Troubles with Great Britian, America, Vol.9, p.314–p.315–p.316

The dispute prominently involves the meaning of the phrase "northwest coast," or "northwest coast of America." Lord Salisbury assumes that the "northwest coast" has but one meaning, and that it includes the whole coast stretching northward to the Behring Straits. The contention of this Government is that by long prescription the "northwest coast" means the coast of the Pacific Ocean south of the Alaska Peninsula, or south of the sixtieth parallel of north latitude; or, to define it still more accurately, the coast from the northern border of the Spanish possessions, ceded to the United States in 1819, to the point where the Spanish claims met the claims of Russia, viz., from 420 to 600 north latitude.—Russia practically withdrew the operation of the ukase of 1821 from the waters of the northwest coast of the Pacific Ocean, but the proof is conclusive that it was left in full force over the waters of the Behring Sea…. It is easy to prove from other sources that in the treaty between the United States and Russia the coast referred to was that which I have defined as the "northwest coast" of the Pacific Ocean south of 600 north latitude, or, as the Russians for a long time believed it, 590 30'. We have in the Department of State the original of the protocols between our Minister at St. Petersburg, Mr. Henry Middleton, and Count Nesselrode, of Russia, who negotiated the treaty of 1824…. We feel justified in asking His Lordship if the Government of Great Britain has uniformly illustrated these precepts by example, or whether she has not established at least one notable precedent which would justify us in making greater demands upon Her Majesty's Government touching the Behring Sea than either our necessities or our desires have ever suggested…. Napoleon was promptly sent by Great Britain to the island of St. Helena as a prisoner for life. Six months after he reached St. Helena the British Parliament enacted a special and extraordinary law for the purpose of making his detention more secure…. The statute…. forbids them to "hover within eight leagues of the coast of the island." The penalty for hovering within eight leagues of the coast is the forfeiture of the ship to His Majesty the King of Great Britain, on trial to be had in London, and the offenses to be the same as if committed in the county of Middlesex….

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The repeated assertions that the Government of the United States demands that the Behring Sea be pronounced "mare clausum," are without foundation. The Government has never claimed it and never desired it. It expressly disavows it. At the same time the United States does not lack abundant authority, according to the ablest exponents of International law, for holding a small section of the Behring Sea for the protection of the fur-seals. Controlling a comparatively restricted area of water for the one specific purpose is by no means the equivalent of declaring the sea, or any part thereof, "mare clausum." Nor is it by any means so serious an obstruction as Great Britain assumed to make in the South Atlantic, nor so groundless an interference with the common law of the sea as is maintained by British authority to-day in the Indian Ocean.

MODUS VIVENDI BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

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1. Her Majesty's Government will prohibit, until May next, seal killing in that part of Behring Sea lying eastward of the line of demarcation described in Article NO. 1 of the treaty of 1867 between the United States and Russia, "and will promptly use its best efforts to insure the observance of this prohibition by British subjects and vessels."

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2. The United States Government will prohibit seal killing for the same period in the same part of Behring Sea, and on the shores and islands thereof, the property of the United States (in excess of 7,500 to be taken on the islands for the subsistence and care of the natives), and will promptly use its best efforts to insure the observance of this prohibition by United States citizens and vessels.

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3. Every vessel or person offending against this prohibition in the said waters of Behring Sea outside of the ordinary territorial limits of the United States, may be seized and detained by the naval or other duly commissioned officers of either of the High Contracting Parties, but they shall be handed over as soon as practicable to the authorities of the nation to which they respectively belong, who shall alone have jurisdiction to try the offense and impose the penalties for the same….

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4. In order to facilitate such proper inquiries as Her Majesty's Government may desire to make, with a view to the presentation of the case of that Government before arbitrators, and in expectation that an agreement for arbitration may be arrived at, it is agreed that suitable persons designated by Great Britain will be permitted at any time, upon application, to visit or to remain upon the seal islands during the present sealing season for that purpose.

Work Done For Humanity, Miss Willard, 1890

Work Done For Humanity

Title: Work Done For Humanity

Author: Miss Willard

Date: 1890

Source: The World's Famous Orations, Vol.10, pp.162-164

From an address before the Seventeenth Convention of the World's Women's Christian Temperance Union at Atlanta, Georgia, in 1890. it was on entering that cave of gloom, and ever the right comes uppermost; and now is Christ's kingdom nearer than when we first believed.

Born in 1839, died in 1898; graduated from Northwestern Female College at Evanston, Illinois, in 1859; taught and traveled until 1874, when she became Secretary of the Women's Christian Temperance Union; in 1883 founded the World's Women's Christian Temperance Union.

Willard, Work Done For Humanity, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.162

I WISH we were all more thorough students of the mighty past, for we should thus be rendered braver prophets of the future, and more cheerful workers in the present. History shows us with what tenacity the human race survives. Earthquake, famine, and pestilence have done their worst, but over them rolls a healing tide of years and they are lost to view; on sweeps the great procession, and hardly shows a scar. Rulers around whom clustered new forms of civilization pass away; but greater men succeed them. Nations are rooted up; great hopes seem blighted; revolutions rise and rivers run with the blood of patriots; the globe itself seems headed toward the abyss; new patriots are born; higher hopes bloom out like stars; humanity emerges from the dark ages vastly ahead of what [p.163] it was on entering that cave of gloom, and ever the right come uppermost; and now is Christ's kingdom nearer than when we first believed.

Willard, Work Done For Humanity, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.163

Only those who have not studied history lose heart in great reforms; only those unread in the biography of genius imagine themselves to be original. Except in the realm of material invention, there is nothing new under the sun. There is no reform which some great soul has not dreamed of centuries ago; there is not a doctrine that some father of the Church did not set forth. The Greek philosophers and early Christian Fathers boxed the compass once for all; we may take our choice of what they have left on record. Let us then learn a wise humility, but at the same time a humble wisdom, as we remember that there are but two classes of men—one which declares that our times are the worst the world has seen, and another which claims our times as best—and he who claims this, all revelation, all science, all history witnesses is right and will be right forevermore.

Willard, Work Done For Humanity, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.163

The most normal and the most perfect human being is the one who must thoroughly addresses himself to the activity of his best powers, gives himself most thoroughly to the world around him, flings himself out into the midst of humanity, and is so preoccupied by his own beneficent reaction on the world that he is practically unconscious of a separate existence. Introspection, and retrospection were good for the cloister; but the uplook, the outlook and the onlook are alone worthy the modern Christian. To change the figure, an normal Christian stands in the midst of a great, beautiful and varied landscape. It is the landscape of beneficent work. Above him reaches the boundless skies, brilliant with the stars of God and Heaven.

Willard, Work Done For Humanity, Famous Orations, Vol.10, p.164

Love and friendship for a beautiful rainbow over his landscape and reach up toward his sky. But the only two great environments of the soul are work for humanity and faith in God. Those wounded in love will find that affection, dear and vital as it is, comes to us not as the whole of life, not as its wide wondrous landscape of the earth, not as its beautiful vision of the sky, but as its beautiful embellishment, its rainbow fair and sweet. But were it gone there would still remain the two greatest and most satisfying pictures on which the soul can gaze—humanity and God.

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