

GENERAL GARFIELD

AS A

STATESMAN AND ORATOR.

PARAGRAPHS

FROM

GENERAL GARFIELD'S SPEECHES.

THE DEATH OF SLAVERY.

[From a Speech in the House of Representatives, Jan. 13, 1865, on the Constitutional Amendment to abolish slavery.]

We shall never know why slavery dies so hard in this Republic and in this hall until we know why sin has such longevity and Satan is immortal. With marvellous tenacity of existence, it has outlived the expectations of its friends and the hopes of its enemies. It has been declared here and elsewhere to be in all the several stages of mortality—wounded, moribund, dead. The question was raised by my colleague [Mr. Cox] yesterday, whether it was indeed dead or only in a troubled sleep. I know of no better illustration of its condition than is found in Sallust's admirable history of the great conspirator, Catiline, who when his final battle was fought and lost, his army broken and scattered, was found far in advance of his own troops, lying among the dead enemies of Rome, yet breathing a little, but exhibiting in his countenance all that ferocity of spirit which had characterized his life. So, sir, this body of slavery lies before us among the dead enemies of the Republic, mortally wounded, impotent in its fiendish wickedness, but with its old ferocity of look, bearing the unmistakable marks of its infernal origin.

Who does not remember that thirty years ago—a short period in the life of a nation—but little could be said with impunity in these halls on the subject of slavery? How well do gentlemen here remember the history of that distinguished predecessor of mine,

Joshua R. Giddings, lately gone to his rest, who, with his forlorn hope of faithful men, took his life in his hand, and in the name of justice protested against the great crime, and who stood bravely in his place until his white locks, like the plume of Henry of Navarre, marked where the battle for freedom raged fiercest!

We can hardly realize that this is the same people, and these the same halls, where now scarcely a man can be found who will venture to do more than falter out an apology for slavery, protesting in the same breath that he has no love for the dying tyrant. None I believe, but that man of supernal boldness from the City of New York [Mr. Fernando Wood], has ventured this session to raise his voice in favor of slavery for its own sake. He still sees in its features the reflection of beauty and divinity, and only he. "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! How art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations!"

Many mighty men have been slain by thee, many proud ones have humbled themselves at thy feet! All along the coast of our political sea these victims of slavery lie like stranded wrecks, broken on the headlands of freedom. How lately did its advocates, with impious boldness, maintain it as God's own, to be venerated and cherished as divine! It was another and higher form of civilization. It was the holy Evangel of America dispensing its mercies to a benighted race, and destined to bear countless blessings to the wilderness of the West. In its mad arrogance it lifted its hand to strike down the fabric of the Union, and since that fatal day it has been a "fugitive and a vagabond on the earth." Like the spirit Jesus cast out, it has since then been "seeking rest and finding none."

It has sought in all the corners of the Republic to find some hiding place in which to shelter itself from the death it so richly deserves.

It sought an asylum in the untrodden Territories of the West, but with a whip of scorpions indignant freemen drove it thence. I do not believe that a loyal man can now be found who would consent that it should again enter them. It has no hope of harbor there. It found no protection or favor in the hearts or consciences of the freemen of the Republic, and has fled for its last hope of safety behind the shield of the Constitution. We propose to follow it there, and drive it thence as Satan was exiled from heaven.

SUPREMACY OF THE CIVIL LAW.

[From an Argument made in the Supreme Court, March 6, 1866, in the Indiana Conspiracy Case.]

YOUR decision will mark an era in American history. The just and final settlement of this great question will take a high place

among the great achievements which have immortalized this decade. It will establish forever this truth, of inestimable value to us and to mankind, that a Republic can wield the vast enginery of war without breaking down the safeguards of liberty ; can suppress insurrection and put down rebellion, however formidable, without destroying the bulwarks of law ; can by the might of its armed millions preserve and defend both nationality and liberty. Victories on the field were of priceless value, for they plucked the life of the Republic out of the hands of its enemies ; but

“ Peace hath her victories
No less renowned than war ;”

and if the protection of law shall, by your decision, be extended over every acre of our peaceful territory, you will have rendered the great decision of the century.

When Pericles had made Greece immortal in arts and arms, in liberty and law, he invoked the genius of Phidias to devise a monument which should symbolize the beauty and glory of Athens. That artist selected for his theme the tutelary divinity of Athens, the Jove-born goddess, protectress of arts and arms, of industry and law, who typified the Greek conception of composed, majestic, unrelenting force.

He erected on the heights of the Acropolis a colossal statue of Minerva, armed with spear and helmet, which towered in awful majesty above the surrounding temples of the gods. Sailors on far-off ships beheld the crest and spear of the goddess and bowed with reverent awe. To every Greek she was the symbol of power and glory. But the Acropolis, with its temples and statues is now a heap of ruins. The visible gods have vanished in the clearer light of modern civilization. We cannot restore the decayed emblems of ancient Greece ; but it is in your power, O judges, to erect in this citadel of our liberties a monument more lasting than brass ; invisible indeed to the eye of flesh, but visible to the eye of the spirit as the awful form and figure of Justice, crowning and adorning the Republic ; rising above the storms of political strife, above the din of battle, above the earthquake shock of rebellion ; seen from afar and hailed as protector by the oppressed of all nations ; dispensing equal blessings, and covering with the protecting shield of law the weakest, the humblest, the meanest, and, until declared by solemn law unworthy of protection, the guiltiest of its citizens.

RESTORATION OF THE REBEL STATES.

[From a Speech in the House of Representatives, Feb. 1, 1866.]

AND first, we must recognize in all our action the stupendous facts of the war. In the very crisis of our fate God brought us face to

face with the alarming truth that we must lose our own freedom or grant it to the slave. In the extremity of our distress we called upon the black man to help us save the Republic, and amid the very thunder of battle we made a covenant with him, sealed both with his blood and ours, and witnessed by Jehovah, that when the nation was redeemed he should be free and share with us the glories and blessings of freedom. In the solemn words of the great proclamation of emancipation, we not only declared the slaves forever free, but we pledged the faith of the nation "to maintain their freedom"—mark the words, "*to maintain their freedom.*" The omniscient witness will appear in judgment against us if we do not fulfil that covenant. Have we done it? Have we given freedom to the black man? What is freedom? Is it a mere negation—the bare privilege of not being chained, bought and sold, branded and scourged? If this be all, then freedom is a bitter mockery, a cruel delusion, and it may well be questioned whether slavery were not better.

But liberty is no negation. It is a substantive, tangible reality. It is the realization of those imperishable truths of the Declaration "that all men are created equal," that the sanction of all just government is "the consent of the governed." Can these truths be realized until each man has a right to be heard on all matters relating to himself?

Mr. Speaker, we did more than merely to break off the chains of the slaves. The abolition of slavery added four million citizens to the Republic. By the decision of the Supreme Court, by the decision of the Attorney-General, by the decision of all the departments of our Government, those men made free are, by the act of freedom, made citizens. As another has said, they must be "four million disfranchised, disarmed, untaught, landless, thriftless, non-producing, non-consuming, degraded men, or four million land-holding, industrious, arms-bearing, and voting population. Choose between the two!"

Mr. Speaker, let us learn a lesson from the dealing of God with the Jewish nation. When his chosen people, led by the pillar of cloud and fire, had crossed the Red Sea and traversed the gloomy wilderness with its thundering Sinai, its bloody battles, disastrous defeats, and glorious victories; when near the end of their perilous pilgrimage they listened to the last words of blessing and warning from their great leader before he was buried with immortal honors by the angel of the Lord; when at last the victorious host, sadly joyful, stood on the banks of the Jordan, their enemies drowned in the sea or slain in the wilderness, they paused and made solemn preparation to pass over and possess the land of promise. By the command of God, given through Moses and enforced by his great

successor, the ark of the covenant, containing the tables of the law and the sacred memorials of their pilgrimage, was borne by chosen men two thousand cubits in advance of the people. On the further shore stood Ebal and Gerizim, the mounts of cursing and blessing, from which, in the hearing of all the people, were pronounced the curses of God against injustice and disobedience, and his blessing upon justice and obedience. On the shore, between the mountains and in the midst of the people, a monument was erected, and on it were written the words of the law, "to be a memorial unto the children of Israel forever and ever." Let us learn wisdom from this illustrious example. We have passed the Red Sea of slaughter; our garments are yet wet with its crimson spray. We have crossed the fearful wilderness of war, and have left our four hundred thousand heroes to sleep beside the dead enemies of the Republic. We have heard the voice of God amid the thunders of battle commanding us to wash our hands of iniquity, to "proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." When we spurned his counsels we were defeated, and the gulfs of ruin yawned before us. When we obeyed his voice, he gave us victory. And now at last we have reached the confines of the wilderness. Before us is the land of promise, the land of hope, the land of peace, filled with possibilities of greatness and glory too vast for the grasp of the imagination. Are we worthy to enter it? On what condition may it be ours to enjoy and transmit to our children's children? Let us pause and make deliberate and solemn preparation. Let us, as representatives of the people, whose servants we are, bear in advance the sacred ark of republican liberty, with its tables of the law inscribed with the "irreversible guaranties" of liberty. Let us here build a monument on which shall be written not only the curses of the law against treason, disloyalty, and oppression, but also an everlasting covenant of peace and blessing with loyalty, liberty, and obedience; and all the people will say, Amen.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

[Remarks at the Memorial Services in the House of Representatives,
April 14, 1865.]

It was no one man who killed Abraham Lincoln; it was the embodied spirit of treason and slavery, inspired with fearful and despairing hate, that struck him down, in the moment of the nation's supremest joy.

Sir, there are times in the history of men and nations when they stand so near the veil that separates mortals and immortals, time

from eternity, and men from their God, that they can almost hear the beatings and feel the pulsations of the heart of the Infinite.

Through such a time has this nation passed. When two hundred and fifty thousand brave spirits passed from the field of honor, through that thin veil, to the presence of God, and when at last its parting folds admitted the martyr President to the company of these dead heroes of the Republic, the nation stood so near the veil that the whispers of God were heard by the children of men. Awe-stricken by his voice, the American people knelt in tearful reverence and made a solemn covenant with him and with each other, that this nation should be saved from its enemies, that all its glories should be restored, and on the ruins of slavery and treason the temples of justice and freedom should be built and should survive forever.

It remains for us, consecrated by that great event and under a covenant with God, to keep that faith, to go forward in the great work until it shall be completed. Following the lead of that great man, and obeying the higher behests of God, let us remember that

“ He has sounded forth a trumpet that shall never call retreat :
 He is sifting out the hearts of men before his judgment seat.
 Be swift my soul to answer Him, be jubilant my feet ;
 For God is marching on.”

PUBLIC DEBT AND SPECIE PAYMENTS.

[From a Speech in the House of Representatives, March 16, 1866.]

I PROPOSE, sir, to let the House take the responsibility of adopting or rejecting this measure. On the one side it is proposed to return to solid and honest values ; on the other, to float on the boundless and shoreless sea of paper money, with all its dishonesty and broken pledges. We leave it to the House to decide which alternative it will choose. Choose the one, and you float away into an unknown sea of paper money that shall know no decrease until you take just such a measure as is now proposed to bring us back again to solid values. Delay the measure, and it will cost the country dear. Adopt it now, and with a little depression in business and a little strigency in the money market the worst will be over, and we shall have reached the solid earth. Sooner or later such a measure must be adopted. Go on as you are now going on, and a financial crisis worse than that of 1837 will bring us to the bottom. I for one am unwilling that my name shall be linked to the fate of a paper currency. I believe that any party which commits itself to paper money will go down amid the general disaster, covered with the curses of a ruined people.

Mr. Speaker, I remember that on the monument of Queen Elizabeth, where her glories were recited and her honors summed up, among the last and the highest, recorded as the climax of her honors, was this—that she had restored the money of her kingdom to its just value. And when this House shall have done its work, when it shall have brought back values to their proper standard, it will deserve a monument.

A NATIONAL BUREAU OF EDUCATION.

[From a Speech in the House of Representatives, June 8, 1866.]

WHEN the history of the Thirty-ninth Congress is written it will be recorded that two great ideas inspired it, and made their impress upon all its efforts, viz., to build up free States on the ruins of slavery, and to extend to every inhabitant of the United States the rights and privileges of citizenship.

Before the divine Architect builded order out of chaos, he said, "Let there be light." Shall we commit the fatal mistake of building up free States without first expelling the darkness in which slavery had shrouded their people? Shall we enlarge the boundaries of citizenship and make no provision to increase the intelligence of the citizen? I share most fully in the aspirations of this Congress, and give my most cordial support to its policy; but I believe its work will prove a disastrous failure unless it makes the schoolmaster its ally, and aids him in preparing the children of the United States to perfect the work now begun.

The stork is a sacred bird in Holland, and is protected by her laws, because it destroys those insects which would undermine the dikes and let the sea again overwhelm the rich fields of the Netherlands. Shall this Government do nothing to foster and strengthen those educational agencies which alone can shield the coming generation from ignorance and vice, and make it the impregnable bulwark of liberty and law?

REFUSAL TO RETURN FUGITIVE SLAVES.

[From a Speech in the House of Representatives, Feb. 8, 1867.]

I CANNOT forget that less than five years ago I received an order from my superior officer in the army commanding me to search my camp for a fugitive slave, and if found to deliver him up to a Kentucky captain, who claimed him as his property, and I had the honor

to be perhaps the first officer in the army who peremptorily refused to obey such an order. We were then trying to save the Union without hurting slavery. I remember, sir, that when we undertook to agitate in the army the question of putting arms into the hands of the slaves, it was said, "Such a step will be fatal; it will alienate half our army and lose us Kentucky." By and by, when our necessities were imperious, we ventured to let the negroes dig in the trenches, but it would not do to put muskets into their hands. We ventured to let the negro drive a mule team, but it would not do to have a white man or a mulatto just in front of him, or behind him; all must be negroes in that train: you must not disgrace a white soldier by putting him in such company. "By and by," some one said, "rebel guerillas may capture the mules; so for the sake of the mules let us put a few muskets in the wagons, and let the negroes shoot the guerillas if they come." So for the sake of the mules we enlarged the limits of liberty a little. By and by we allowed the negroes to build fortifications and armed them.

TAXATION OF UNITED STATES BONDS.

[From a Speech in the House of Representatives, July 5, 1868.]

THERE was a declaration made by an old English gentleman in the days of Charles the Second which does honor to human nature. He said he was willing, at any time, to give his life for the good of his country, but he would not do a mean thing to save his country from ruin. So, sir, ought a citizen to feel in regard to our financial affairs. The people of the United States can afford to make any sacrifice for their country, and the history of the last war has proved their willingness; but the humblest citizen cannot afford to do a mean or dishonorable thing to save even this glorious Republic.

For my own part I will consent to no act of dishonor. And I look upon this proposition—though I cannot think the gentleman meant it to be so—as having in itself the very essence of dishonor. I shall, therefore, to the utmost of my ability, resist it.

Mr. Speaker, I desire to say, in conclusion, that in my opinion all these efforts to pursue a doubtful and unusual, if not dishonorable policy in reference to our public debt, spring from a lack of faith in the intelligence and conscience of the American people. Hardly an hour passes when we do not hear it whispered that some such policy as this must be adopted, or the people will by and by repudiate the debt. For my own part I do not share that distrust. The people of this country have shown by the highest proofs human nature can give that, wherever the path of honor and duty

may lead, however steep and rugged it may be, they are ready to walk in it. They feel the burden of the public debt, but they remember that it is the price of blood—the precious blood of half a million brave men who died to save to us all that makes life desirable or property secure. I believe they will, after a full hearing, discard all methods of paying their debts by sleight of hand, or by any scheme which crooked wisdom may devise. If public morality did not protest against any such plan, enlightened public selfishness would refuse its sanction. Let us be true to our trust a few years longer, and the next generation will be here with its seventy-five millions of population and its sixty billions of wealth. To them the debt that then remains will be a light burden. They will pay the last bond according to the letter and spirit of the contract, with the same sense of grateful duty with which they will pay the pensions of the few surviving soldiers of the great war for the Union.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS.

[From a Speech in the House of Representatives, April 4, 1871.]

Now, Mr. Speaker, to review briefly the ground travelled over: The changes wrought in the Constitution by the last three amendments in regard to the individual rights of citizens are these: that no person within the United States shall be made a slave; that no citizen shall be denied the right of suffrage because of his color or because he was once a slave; that no State, by its legislation or the enforcement thereof, shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; that no State shall, without due process of law, disturb the life, liberty, or property of any person within its jurisdiction; and finally, that no State shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Thanks to the wisdom and patriotism of the American people, these great and beneficent provisions are now imperishable elements of the Constitution, and will, I trust, remain forever among the irreversible guaranties of liberty.

THE TARIFF.

[From a Speech in the House of Representatives, April 1, 1870.]

I STAND now where I have always stood since I have been a member of this House. I take the liberty of quoting, from the

Congressional Globe of 1866, the following remarks which I then made on the subject of the tariff :

" We have seen that one extreme school of economists would place the price of all manufactured articles in the hands of foreign producers by rendering it impossible for our manufacturers to compete with them : while the other extreme school, by making it impossible for the foreigner to sell his competing wares in our market, would give the people no immediate check upon the prices which our manufacturers might fix for their products. I disagree with both these extremes. I hold that a properly adjusted competition between home and foreign products is the best gauge by which to regulate international trade. Duties should be so high that our manufacturers can fairly compete with the foreign product, but not so high as to enable them to drive out the foreign article, enjoy a monopoly of the trade, and regulate the price as they please. This is my doctrine of protection. If Congress pursues this line of policy steadily, we shall, year by year, approach more nearly to the basis of free trade, because we shall be more nearly able to compete with other nations on equal terms. I am for a protection which leads to ultimate free trade. I am for that free trade which can only be achieved through a reasonable protection."

Mr. Chairman, examining thus the possibilities of the situation, I believe that the true course for the friends of protection to pursue is to reduce the rates on imports wherever we can justly and safely do so, and, accepting neither of the extreme doctrines urged on this floor, endeavor to establish a stable policy that will commend itself to all patriotic and thoughtful people.



DEMOCRATIC RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE REBELLION.

[From a Speech in the House of Representatives, March 14, 1870.]

My friend from Indiana [Mr. Niblack] is not himself an extreme partisan. But he has said some things just now which deserve an answer. He says that if the glory of the war belongs to the Republican party, then the results of the war, the expenditures of the war, and the burdens laid upon the people in consequence of the war, fall also to our share. A part of this statement I indorse. But, Mr. Chairman, I desire to ask that gentleman and his party a question. Suppose that in the year 1861 every Democrat north of the Potomac and the Ohio had followed the lead of Grant, and Douglas, and Dickinson, and Tod, and all the other great lights of the Democratic party, had thrown away the Democratic name and said that they would be Democrats no longer, as we said we would be Re-

publicans no longer, but all would be Union men, and stand together around the flag until the rebellion had been put under our feet. I desire to ask the gentlemen, if these things had happened, how long the war would have lasted, how much the war would have cost? I do not hesitate to say that it could not have lasted a month, and the expenditures of the war would never have exceeded \$10,000,000. I say, as a matter of current history, that it was the great hope of the rebels of the South that the assistance of the Democratic party of the North would divide our forces and overcome all our efforts; that at the ballot-box the Democrats at home would help the cause which they were maintaining in the field. It was that, and that alone, which protracted the war and created our immense debt.

I come, therefore, to the door of your party, gentlemen on the other side, and I lay down at your threshold every dollar of the debt, every item of the stupendous total which expresses the great cost of the war; and I say if you had followed Douglas there would have been no debt, no blood, no burden.

THE WOMAN QUESTION.

[From an Address before the Business College, Washington, D. C., June 23, 1869.]

LAUGH at it as we may, put it aside as a jest if we will, keep it out of Congress or political campaigns, still, the woman question is rising in our horizon larger than the size of a man's hand; and some solution, ere long, that question must find. I have not yet committed my mind to any formula that embraces the whole question. I halt on the threshold of so great a problem; but there is one point on which I have reached a conclusion, and that is, that this nation must open up new avenues of work and usefulness to the women of the country, so that everywhere they may have something to do. This is, just now, infinitely more valuable to them than the platform or the ballot-box. Whatever conclusion shall be reached on that subject by and by, at present the most valuable gift which can be bestowed on women is something to do, which they can do well and worthily, and thereby maintain themselves. Therefore I say that every thoughtful statesman will look with satisfaction upon such business colleges as are opening a career for our young women. On that score we have special reason to be thankful for the establishment of these institutions.

BANK-NOTES AND GREENBACKS.

[From a Speech in the House of Representatives, June 7, 1870.]

In the first place, it is the experience of all nations, and it is the almost unanimous opinion of all eminent statesmen and financial writers, that no nation can safely undertake to supply its people with a paper currency issued directly by the government. And, to apply that principle to our own country, let me ask if gentlemen think it safe to subject any political party who may be in power in this government to the great temptation of overissues of paper money in lieu of taxation? In times of high political excitement, and on the eve of a general election, when there might be a deficiency in the revenues of the country, and Congress should find it necessary to levy additional taxes, the temptation would be overwhelming to supply the deficit by an increased issue of paper money. Thus the whole business of the country, the value of all contracts, the prices of all commodities, the wages of labor, would depend upon a vote in Congress. For one, I dare not trust the great industrial interests of this country to such uncertain and hazardous chances.

But even if Congress and the administration should be always superior to such political temptations, still I affirm, in the second place, that no human legislature is wise enough to determine how much currency the wants of this country require. Test it in this House to-day. Let every member mark down the amount which he believes the business of the country requires, and who does not know that the amounts will vary by hundreds of millions?

But a third objection, stronger even than the last, is this: that such a currency possesses no power of adapting itself to the business of the country. Suppose the total issues should be five hundred millions, or seven hundred millions, or any amount you please; it might be abundant for spring and summer, and yet when the great body of agricultural products were moving off to market in the fall that amount might be totally insufficient. Fix any volume you please, and if it be just sufficient at one period it may be redundant at another, or insufficient at another. No currency can meet the wants of this country unless it is founded directly upon the demands of business, and not upon the caprice, the ignorance, the political selfishness of the party in power.

What regulates now the loans and discounts and credits of our national banks? The business of the country. The amount increases or decreases, or remains stationary, as business is fluctuating or steady. This is a natural form of exchange, based upon the business of the country and regulated by its changes. And when that happy day arrives when the whole volume of our currency is redeemable in gold at the will of the holder, and recognized by all

nations as equal to money, then the whole business of banking, the whole volume of currency, the whole amount of credits, whether in the form of checks, drafts, or bills, will be regulated by the same general law, the business of the country. The business of the country is like the level of the ocean, from which all measurements are made of heights and depths. Though tides and currents may for a time disturb, and tempests vex and toss its surface, still, through calm and storm the grand level rules all its waves and lays its measuring-lines on every shore. So the business of the country, which, in the aggregated demands of the people for exchange of values, marks the ebb and flow, the rise and fall of the currents of trade, and forms the base line from which to measure all our financial legislation, is the only safe rule by which the volume of our currency can be determined.

A NON-EXPORTABLE CURRENCY.

[From a Speech in the House of Representatives, June 15, 1870.]

COULD anything but a predetermined purpose to defend, maintain, and increase our irredeemable paper money lead so able and distinguished a statesman as the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Kelley] to say, as he did the other day, concerning the green-back currency :

"Beyond the sea, in foreign lands, it fortunately is not money ; but, sir, when have we had such a long and unbroken career of prosperity in business as since we adopted this non-exportable currency ?"

It is reported of an Englishman who was wrecked on a strange shore that, wandering along the coast, he came to a gallows with a victim hanging upon it, and that he fell down on his knees and thanked God that he at last beheld a sign of civilization. But this is the first time I ever heard a financial philosopher express his gratitude that we have a currency of such bad repute that other nations will not receive it ; he is thankful that it is not exportable. We have a great many commodities in such a condition, that they are not exportable. Mouldy flour, rusty wheat, rancid butter, damaged cotton, addled eggs, and spoiled goods generally are not exportable. But it never occurred to me to be thankful for this putrescence. It is related in a quaint German book of humor, that the inhabitants of Schildeberg, finding that other towns, with more public spirit than their own, had erected gibbets within their precincts, resolved that the town of Schildeberg should also have a gallows ; and one patriotic member of the town council offered a resolution

that the benefits of this gallows should be reserved exclusively for the inhabitants of Schildeberg.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania would reserve for our exclusive benefit all the blessings of a fluctuating, uncertain, and dishonored paper currency. In his view this irredeemable, non-exportable currency is so full of virtue that for the want of it California is falling into decay. That misguided State has seen fit to cling to the money that all nations receive, and ruin impends over her golden shores. I doubt if the business men of California will ask my friend to prescribe for their financial maladies. Quite in keeping with the gentleman's other opinions on this subject is the following. He says "the volume of currency does not, as has often been asserted, regulate the price of commodities." According to this we have not only a non-exportable currency, but one regulated by some trick of magic, so as to defy the universal laws of value, of supply and demand, and that neither the increase or decrease of its volume can affect the price of commodities. Argument on such a doctrine is useless.

A FIXED STANDARD OF VALUE.

[From a Speech in the House of Representatives, April 8, 1874.]

WITH what care has our government protected its standards! The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Butler] sneeringly asked, Why does not some one argue in favor of redeeming the yard-stick, the quart-pot, or the Fairbanks scales? In that paragraph he uses words without significance. We do not redeem these standards, but we do in regard to them what is analogous to the redemption of our standard of value. Our yard-stick is a metallic bar copied from the standard yard of England, which is nearly three hundred years old. It is deposited in the office of the Coast Survey, and is sacredly guarded from diminution or injury. The best efforts of science have been brought to bear to make the yard-stick as little liable as possible to mutilation or change.

Two methods have been adopted by science to test the accuracy of the standard and preserve it from loss. One is to find a pendulum which, swinging *in vacuo*, will make one vibration a second, at a given altitude from the level of the sea; the other was a method adopted by France, when in the last century she sent her surveyors to measure six hundred miles of a meridian line, from Dunkirk to Barcelona. Thus she made her metre a given aliquot part of the earth's circumference, so that should her standard be lost the measure of the globe itself would furnish the means of restoring it. Both these standards are deposited in the Coast Survey, and together

with the standard measures of capacity are furnished to the several States as the standards to which all our State and municipal laws refer. Every contract for the sale and delivery of anything that can be weighed or measured is based upon these standards, and the citizen who changes the weight or the measurement commits a misdemeanor for which he is punished by the law. The false weight and balance are still an abomination.

Sir, we do not redeem our yard-stick ; but we preserve it, and by the solemn sanctions of the law demand that it shall be applied to all transactions where extension is an element. Let us with equal care restore and preserve our standard of value, which must be applied to every exchange of property between man and man. An uncertain and fluctuating standard is an evil whose magnitude is too vast for measurement.

THE BATTLE OF HISTORY.

[From a Speech in the House of Representatives, August 4, 1876.]

PEACE from the shock of battle ; the higher peace of our streets, of our homes, of our equal rights, we must make secure by making the conquering ideas of the war everywhere dominant and permanent. With all my heart I join with the gentleman in rejoicing that the war-drums throb no longer and the battle-flags are furled ; and I look forward with joy and hope to the day when our brave people, one in heart, one in their aspirations for freedom and peace, shall see that the darkness through which we have passed was a part of that stern but beneficent discipline by which the Great Disposer of events has been leading us on to a higher and nobler national life.

But such a result can be reached only by comprehending the whole meaning of the revolution through which we have passed and are still passing. I say still passing ; for I remember that after the battle of arms comes the battle of history. The cause that triumphs in the field does not always triumph in history. And those who carried the war for union and equal and universal freedom to a victorious issue can never safely relax their vigilance until the ideas for which they fought have become embodied in the enduring forms of individual and national life.

Has this been done ? Not yet. I ask the gentleman, in all plainness of speech, and yet in all kindness, Is he correct in his statement that the conquered party accept the results of the war ? Even if they do, I remind the gentleman that *accept* is not a very strong word. I go further : I ask him if the Democratic party have *adopted* the results of the war ? Is it not asking too much of human nature to expect such unparalleled changes to be not only accepted, but

in so short a time adopted by men of strong and independent opinions? The antagonisms which gave rise to the war and grew out of it were not born in a day, nor can they vanish in a night.

THE EVIL GENIUS OF THE SOUTH.

[From a Speech in the House of Representatives, August 4, 1876.]

I HOPE my public life has given proof that I do not cherish a spirit of malice or bitterness toward the South. Perhaps they will say I have no right to advise them; but at the risk of being considered impertinent I will express my conviction that the bane of the Southern people, for the last twenty-five years, has been that they have trusted the advice of the Democratic party. The very remedy which the gentleman from Mississippi offers for the ills of his people has been and still is their bane. The Democratic party has been the evil genius of the South in all these years. They yielded their own consciences to you on the slavery question, and led you to believe that the North would always yield. They made you believe that if we ever dared to cross the Potomac or Ohio to put down your rebellion, we could only do so across the dead bodies of many hundred thousands of Northern Democrats. They made you believe that the war would begin in the streets of our Northern cities; that we were a community of shopkeepers, of sordid money-getters, and would not stand against your fiery chivalry. You thought us cold, slow, lethargic; and in some respects we are. There are some differences between us that spring from origin and influences of climate—differences not unlike the description of the poet, that

"Bright and fierce and fickle is the South,
And dark and true and tender is the North"—

differences that kept us from a good understanding.

You thought that our coldness, our slowness, indicated a lack of spirit and of patriotism, and you were encouraged in that belief by most of the Northern Democracy; but not by all. They warned you at Charleston in 1860.

And when the great hour struck there were many noble Democrats in the North who lifted the flag of the Union far above the flag of party; but there was a residuum of Democracy, called in the slang of the time "copperheads," who were your evil genius from the beginning of the war till its close, and ever since. Some of them sat in these seats, and never rejoiced when we won a victory, and never grieved when we lost one. They were the men who sent

your Vallandighams to give counsel and encouragement to your rebellion, and to buoy you up with the false hope that at last you would conquer by the aid of their treachery. I honor you, gentlemen of the South, ten thousand times more than I honor such Democrats of the North.

NO STEPS BACKWARD.

[From a Speech in the House of Representatives, Aug. 4, 1876.]

I WILL close by calling your attention again to the great problem before us. Over this vast horizon of interest North and South, above all party prejudices and personal wrong-doing, above our battle hosts and our victorious cause, above all that we hoped for and won, or you hoped for and lost, is the grand onward movement of the Republic to perpetuate its glory, to save liberty alive, to preserve exact and equal justice to all, to protect and foster all these priceless principles, until they shall have crystallized into the form of enduring law, and become inwrought into the life and habits of our people.

And until these great results are accomplished it is not safe to take one step backward. It is still more unsafe to trust interests of such measureless value in the hands of an organization whose members have never comprehended their epoch, have never been in sympathy with its great movements, who have resisted every step of its progress, and whose principal function has been "To lie in cold obstruction" across the pathway of the nation. It is most unsafe of all to trust that organization, when for the first time since the war it puts forward for the first and second place of honor and command men who in our days of greatest danger esteemed party above country, and felt not one throb of patriotic ardor for the triumph of imperilled Union, but from the beginning to the end hated the war and hated those who carried our eagles to victory. No, no, gentlemen; our enlightened and patriotic people will not follow such leaders in the rearward march. Their myriad faces are turned the other way, and along their serried lines still rings the cheering cry, "Forward! till our great work is fully and worthily accomplished."

REBELLION IN THE REAR.

[From a Speech in the House of Representatives, Jan. 12, 1876.]

AND now, Mr. Speaker, I close as I began. Toward those men who gallantly fought on the field I cherish the kindest feeling. I feel a sincere reverence for the soldierly qualities they displayed on

many a well-fought battle-field. I hope the day will come when their swords and ours will be crossed over many a doorway of our children, who will remember the glory of their ancestors with pride. The high qualities displayed in that conflict now belong to the whole nation. Let them be consecrated to the Union and its future peace and glory. I shall hail that consecration as a pledge and symbol of our perpetuity.

But there is a class of men referred to in the speech of the gentleman yesterday, for whom I have never yet gained the Christian grace necessary to say the same thing. The gentleman said that amid the thunder of battle, through its dim smoke and above its roar, they heard a voice from this side, saying, "Brothers, come." I do not know whether he meant the same thing, but I heard that voice behind us. I heard that voice, and I recollect that I sent one of those who uttered it through our lines—a voice owned by Vallandigham. General Scott said, in the early days of the war, "When this war is over, it will require all the physical and moral power of the Government to *restrain the rage and fury of the non-combatants.*"

It was that non-combatant voice behind us that cried "Halloo?" to the other side; that always gave cheer and encouragement to the enemy in our hour of darkness. I have never forgotten and have not yet forgiven those Democrats of the North whose hearts were not warmed by the grand inspirations of the Union, but who stood back finding fault, always crying disaster, rejoicing at our defeat, never glorying in our victory. If these are the voices the gentleman heard, I am sorry he is now united with those who uttered them. But to those most noble men, Democrats and Republicans, who together fought for the Union, I commend all the lessons of charity that the wisest and most beneficent men have taught. I join you all in every aspiration that you may express to stay in this Union, to heal its wounds, to increase its glory, and to forget the evils and the bitternesses of the past; but do not for the sake of the three hundred thousand heroic men who, maimed and bruised, drag out their weary lives, many of them carrying in their hearts horrible memories of what they suffered in the prison-pen—do not ask us to vote to put back into power that man who was the cause of their suffering—that man still unaneled, unshrived, unforgiven, undefended.

POPULAR SUFFRAGE MADE SAFE BY EDUCATION.

[From an Address on the Future of the Republic, delivered before the Literary Societies of Hudson College.]

We are apt to be deluded into false security by political catch-words, devised to flatter rather than instruct. We have happily

escaped the dogma of the divine right of kings. Let us not fall into the equally pernicious error that multitude is divine because it is a multitude. The words of our great publicist, the late Dr. Lieber, whose faith in republican liberty was undoubted, should never be forgotten. In discussing the doctrine of "*vox populi, vox Dei*," he said :

"Woe to the country in which political hypocrisy first calls the people almighty, then teaches that the voice of the people is divine, then pretends to take a mere clamor for the true voice of the people, and lastly, gets up the desired clamor."

This sentence ought to be read in every political caucus. It would make an interesting and significant preamule to most of our political platforms. It is only when the people speak truth and justice that their voice can be called "the voice of God." Our faith in the democratic principle rests upon the belief that intelligent men will see that their highest political good is in liberty, regulated by just and equal laws ; and that in the distribution of political power it is safe to follow the maxim, "Each for all, and all for each." We confront the dangers of the suffrage by the blessings of universal education. We believe that the strength of the state is the aggregate strength of its individual citizens ; and that the suffrage is the link, that binds in a bond of mutual interest and responsibility, the fortunes of the citizen to the fortunes of the state. Hence, as popular suffrage is the broadest base ; so, when coupled with intelligence and virtue it becomes the strongest, the most enduring base on which to build the superstructure of government.

THE DEMOCRACY CONVICTED OF A REVOLUTIONARY PURPOSE.

[From a Speech in the House of Representatives, April 26, 1879.]

GENTLEMEN, I took upon myself a very grave responsibility in the opening of this debate when I quoted the declarations of leading members on the other side and said that the programme was revolution and, if not abandoned, would result in the destruction of this Government. I declared that you had entered upon a scheme which if persisted in would starve the Government to death. I say that I took a great risk when I made this charge against you, as a party. I put myself in your power, gentlemen. If I had misconceived your purposes and misrepresented your motives, it was in your power to prove me a false accuser. It was in your power to ruin me in the estimation of fair-minded, patriotic men, by the utterance of one sentence. The humblest or the greatest of you could have over-

whelmed me with shame and confusion in one short sentence. You could have said, "We wish to pass our measures of legislation in reference to elections, juries, and the use of the army; and we will, if we can do so constitutionally; but if we cannot get these measures in accordance with the Constitution we will pass the appropriation bills like loyal representatives; and then go home and appeal to the people."

If any man, speaking for the majority, had made that declaration, uttered that sentence, he would have ruined me in the estimation of fair-minded men, and set me down as a false accuser and slanderer. Forty-five of you have spoken. Forty-five of you have deluged the ear of this country with defeat; but that sentence has not been spoken by any one of you. On the contrary, by your silence, as well as by your affirmation, you have made my accusation overwhelmingly true.

A PARTY OF POSITIVE IDEAS.

[From a Debate with Geo. H. Pendleton, at Springfield, Ohio, Sept. 27, 1877.]

AND now, in looking over this long discussion, let me say that the Republican party, though it has made mistakes, has been a party of great courage, a party of great faith. It has had positive ideas—ideas it was willing to stand up by, and, if need be, die by. It believed in the Union; it believed in the public faith; it believed in a public trust; it believed in enlarging the borders of liberty; it believed in paying the public obligations, and it believes now in sustaining all it has so worthily achieved. It dares appeal to the country, as it is deserving of the confidence of the country. It dares appeal to the country as against a vacillating and uncertain and unwise and in many cases the unpatriotic spirit of the Democratic party.

THE DEMOCRATIC CREED.

[From a Speech at London, Ohio, Sept. 19, 1877.]

THERE was a time when the Democratic party was a party of ideas. No party ever did any good unless it was a party of ideas. While it had ideas the Democratic party prospered. But twenty years ago an explosion occurred in its camp. From then until the present time it has not been a party of ideas. For twenty years it has been a party simply of opposition, of obstruction. Its creed may be summed up in one little word of two letters--No! The

Democratic party for twenty years has said no. It has built nothing, but against all progress it has pulled back and snarled its opposition No. The Republican party is a party that builds something ; it is a party of aggressive ideas ; it believes in the Union and its perpetuity ; it believes in freedom against slavery ; it believes in the equality of all against class ; it believes in the public faith, in the public credit, in the payment of the public debt. It is the exponent of all great national things that make our country respected and prosperous. And to all this there has come one grumbling voice—No—from the Democracy. I hold myself open to debate this assertion with any Democratic speaker in Ohio. The Democracy have not in twenty years advanced one great national idea of public polity that they have held to for three consecutive years. Like an army building a bridge and burning each span behind it, they have builded and burned until at last they stand out isolated in the swamp, unable to get to either shore.

THE SAVINGS OF THE PEOPLE.

[From a Speech in the House of Representatives, Nov. 16, 1877.]

GENTLEMEN assail the bondholders of the country as the rich men who oppress the poor. Do they know how vast an amount of the public securities are held by poor people? I took occasion, a few years since, to ask the officers of a bank in one of the counties of my district—a rural district—to show me the number of holders and amounts held of United States bonds on which they collected the interest. The total amount was \$416,000. And how many people held them? One hundred and ninety six. Of these, just eight men held from \$15,000 to \$20,000 each ; the other one hundred and eighty-eight ranged from \$50 up to \$2500. I found in that list, fifteen orphan children and sixty widows, who had a little left them from their fathers' or husbands' estates, and had made the nation their guardian. And I found one hundred and twenty-one laborers, mechanics, ministers, men of slender means, who had saved their earnings and put them in the hands of the United States that they might be safe. And they were the bloated "bondholders," against whom so much eloquence is fulminated in this House. There is another way in which poor men dispose of their money. A man says, I can keep my wife and babies from starving while I live and have my health ; but if I die they may be compelled to go over the hill to the poorhouse ; and, agonized by that thought, he saves of his hard earnings enough to take out and keep alive a small life-insurance policy, so that, if he dies, there may be something left, provided the insurance company to which he intrusts his money

is honest enough to keep its pledges. And how many men do you think have done that in the United States? I do not know the number for the whole country; but I do know this, that from a late report of the insurance commissioners of the State of New York it appears that the companies doing business in that State had 774,625 policies in force, and the face value of these policies was \$1,922,000,000. I find, by looking over the returns, that in my State there are 55,000 policies outstanding; in Pennsylvania, 74,000; in Maine, 17,000; in Maryland, 25,000, and in the State of New York, 160,000. There are, of course, some rich men insured in these companies, but the majority are poor people, for the policies do not average more than \$2200 each. What is done with the assets of these companies, which amount to \$445,000,000? They are loaned out. Here again the creditor class is the poor, and the insurance companies are the agents of the poor to lend their money for them. It would be dishonorable for Congress to legislate either for the debtor class or for the creditor class alone. We ought to legislate for the whole country. But when gentlemen attempt to manufacture sentiment against the Resumption act, by saying it will help the rich and hurt the poor, they are overwhelmingly answered by the facts.

Suppose you undo the work that Congress has attempted—to resume specie payment—what will result? You will depreciate the value of the greenback. Suppose it falls ten cents on the dollar. You will have destroyed ten per cent of the value of every deposit in the savings-banks, ten per cent of every life-insurance policy and fire-insurance policy, of every pension to the soldier, and of every day's wages of every laborer in the nation.

THE DEMOCRATIC PROGRAMME OF COERCING THE PRESIDENT.

[From a Speech in the House of Representatives, March 29, 1879.]

OUR theory of law is free consent. That is the granite foundation of our whole superstructure. Nothing in this Republic can be law without consent—the free consent of the House, the free consent of the Senate, the free consent of the Executive, or, if he refuse it, the free consent of two thirds of these bodies. Will any man deny that? Will any man challenge a line of the statement that free consent is the foundation of all our institutions? And yet the programme announced two weeks ago was that, if the Senate refused to consent to the demand of the House, the Government should stop. And the proposition was then, and the programme is now,

that, although there is not a Senate to be coerced, there is still a third independent branch in the legislative power of the Government whose consent is to be coerced at the peril of the destruction of this Government ; that is, if the President, in the discharge of his duty, shall exercise his plain constitutional right to refuse his consent to this proposed legislation, the Congress will so use its voluntary powers as to destroy the Government. This is the proposition which we confront ; and we denounce it as revolution.

It makes no difference, Mr. Chairman, what the issue is. If it were the simplest and most inoffensive proposition in the world, yet if you demand, as a measure of coercion, that it shall be adopted against the free consent prescribed in the Constitution, every fair-minded man in America is bound to resist you as much as though his own life depended upon his resistance.

Let it be understood that I am not arguing the merits of any one of the three amendments. I am discussing the proposed method of legislation ; and I declare that it is against the Constitution of our country. It is revolutionary to the core, and is destructive of the fundamental principle of American liberty, the free consent of all the powers that unite to make laws.

In opening this debate I challenge all comers to show a single instance in our history where this consent has been thus coerced. This is the great, the paramount issue which dwarfs all others into insignificance.

EFFECTS OF RESUMPTION.

[From an Address in Chicago, Jan. 2, 1879]

SUCCESSFUL resumption will greatly aid in bringing into the murky sky of our politics what the signal service people call "clearing weather." It puts an end to a score of controversies which have long vexed the public mind, and wrought mischief to business. It ends the angry contention over the difference between the money of the bondholder and the money of the plough-holder. It relieves enterprising Congressmen of the necessity of introducing twenty-five or thirty bills a session to furnish the people with cheap money, to prevent gold-gambling, and to make custom duties payable in greenbacks. It will dismiss to the limbo of things forgotten such Utopian schemes as a currency based upon the magic circle of interconvertibility of two different forms of irredeemable paper, and the schemes of a currency "based on the public faith," and secured by "all the resources of the nation" in general, but upon no particular part of them. We shall still hear echoes of the old conflict, such as "the barbarism and cowardice of gold and silver."

and the virtues of " fiat money ;" but the theories which gave them birth will linger among us like belated ghosts, and soon find rest in the political grave of dead issues. All these will take their places in history alongside of the resolution of Vansittart, in 1811, that " British paper had not fallen, but gold had risen in value," and the declaration of Castlereagh, in the House of Commons, that " the money standard is a sense of value in reference to currency as compared with commodities," and the opinion of another member, who declared that " the standard is neither gold nor silver, but *something set up in the imagination to be regulated by public opinion.*"

When we have fully awakened from these vague dreams, public opinion will resume its old channels, and the wisdom and experience of the fathers of our Constitution will again be acknowledged and followed.

We shall agree, as our fathers did, that the yard-stick shall have length, the pound must have weight, and the dollar must have value in itself, and that neither length, nor weight, nor value can be created by the fiat of law. Congress, relieved of the arduous task of regulating and managing all the business of our people, will address itself to the humbler but more important work of preserving the public peace, and managing wisely the revenues and expenditures of the Government. Industry will no longer wait for the legislature to discover easy roads to sudden wealth, but will begin again to rely upon labor and frugality as the only certain road to riches. Prosperity, which has long been waiting, is now ready to come. If we do not rudely repulse her she will soon revisit our people, and will stay until another periodical craze shall drive her away.

THE ABSURDITY OF FIAT MONEY.

[From a Speech at Flint, Michigan, Oct. 22, 1878.]

Now, fellow-citizens, to sum up all I have tried to say thus far, when you can have more cloth by shortening your yard-stick ; when you can have more wheat by reducing the size of your bushel ; when you can have more land by changing the figures of your deed, and having it read " 200" where it read " 100 ;" when your dairyman can make more butter and cheese by watering his milk—then, and *not till then*, can you make wealth in this country by printing pieces of paper and calling them dollars. Why, I met a gentleman on your streets to-day, a man hardly past middle age, that told me he was here when there were but two log-cabins in this place. And I say that this beautiful city, with its beautiful gardens and its circling river, with its homes and happiness—I say that all that has been done

here since the time that man first came, has been done by the hard struggling and earnest toil of courageous men, who have for a generation back battled with the wilderness and brought it up to the glory of to-day. Well, friends, what fools these people were, to speak plainly, to have endured so much when they might have set up a printing-press and just printed themselves rich, if this idea of fiat money be true. Why, fellow-citizens, do you really believe that if we should in Washington print pieces of paper saying, "This is 1,000,000," and send one to each man, woman, and child in the United States, that we should all in fact be millionaires the next morning? Now does anybody believe that? It is the wildest hallucination that ever struck upon a people. It is wholly wild, and wholly without foundation.

A REPLY TO THE DEMOCRATIC THREAT TO DESTROY THE ARMY.

[Remarks in the House of Representatives, April 4, 1879.]

I SAY, if the gentleman from Virginia puts that proposition before the American people, we will debate it in the forum of every patriotic heart, and will abide the result. If the party which, after eighteen years' banishment from power, has come back, as the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Blackburn] said yesterday, to its "birthright of power," or "heritage," as it is recorded in the record of this morning, is to signalize its return by striking down the gallant and faithful army of the United States, the people of this country will not be slow to understand that there are reminiscences of that army which these gentlemen would willingly forget, by burying both the army and the memories of its great service to the Union in one grave.

We do not seek to revive the unhappy memories of the war; but we are unwilling to see the army perish at the hands of Congress, even if its continued existence should occasionally awaken the memory of its former glories.

Now, let it be understood, once for all, that we do not deny, we have never denied your right to make such rules for this House as you please. Under those rules, as you make or construe them, you may put all your legislation upon these bills as "riders." But we say that, whatever your rules may be, you must make or repeal a law in accordance with the Constitution, by the triple consent to which I referred the other day, or you must do it by violence.

Now, as my friend from Connecticut [Mr. Hawley] well said, if you can elect a President and a Congress in 1880, you have only to wait two years, and you have the three consents. You can then,

without revolution, tear down this statute and all the rest. You can follow out the programme which some of your members have suggested, and tear out one by one the records of the last eighteen years. Some of them are glorious with the unquenchable light of liberty; some of them stand as the noblest trophies of freedom. With full power in your hands, you can destroy them. But we ask you to restrain your rage against them until you have the lawful power to smite them down.

PROTECTION OF THE NATIONAL BALLOT-BOX.

[From a Speech in the House of Representatives, March 29, 1879.]

LET it be remembered that the avowed object of this new revolution is to destroy all the defences which the nation has placed around its ballot-box to guard the fountain of its own life. You say that the United States shall not employ even its civil power to keep peace at the polls. You say that the marshals shall have no power either to arrest rioters or criminals who seek to destroy the freedom and purity of the ballot-box.

I remind you that you have not always shown this great zeal in keeping the civil officers of the General Government out of the States. Only six years before the war your law authorized marshals of the United States to enter all our hamlets and households to hunt for fugitives slaves. Not only that, it empowered the marshals to summon the *posse comitatus*, to command all bystanders to join in the chase and aid in remanding to eternal bondage the fleeing slave. And your Democratic Attorney-General, in his opinion published in 1854, declared that the marshal of the United States might summon to his aid the whole able-bodied force of his precinct, all bystanders, including not only the citizens generally, "but any and all organized armed forces, whether militia of the State, or officers, soldiers, sailors, and marines of the United States," to join in the chase and hunt down the fugitive. Now, gentlemen, if, for the purpose of making eternal slavery the lot of an American, you could send your marshals, summon your *posse*, and use the armed force of the United States, with what face or grace can you tell us that this Government cannot lawfully employ the same marshals with their armed *posse* of citizens, to maintain the purity of our own elections and keep the peace at our own polls. You have made the issue and we have accepted it. In the name of the Constitution and on behalf of good government and public justice, we make the appeal to our common sovereign.

THE NEW REBELLION.

[From a Speech in the House of Representatives, March 29, 1879.]

LET it be understood that I am not discussing the merits of this law. I have merely turned aside from the line of my argument to show the inconsistency of the other side in proposing to stop the Government if they cannot force the repeal of a law which they themselves made. I am discussing a method of revolution against the Constitution now proposed by this House, and to that issue I hold gentlemen in this debate, and challenge them to reply.

And now, Mr. Chairman, I ask the forbearance of gentlemen on the other side while I offer a suggestion, which I make with reluctance. They will bear me witness that I have, in many ways, shown my desire that the wounds of the war should be healed; that the grass which has grown green over the graves of the dead of both armies might symbolize the returning spring of friendship and peace between citizens who were lately in arms against each other.

But I am compelled by the conduct of the other side to refer to a chapter of our recent history. The last act of Democratic domination in this Capitol, eighteen years ago, was striking and dramatic, perhaps heroic. Then the Democratic party said to the Republicans, "If you elect the man of your choice as President of the United States we will shoot your Government to death;" but the people of this country, refusing to be coerced by threats or violence, voted as they pleased, and lawfully elected Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States.

Then your leaders, though holding a majority in the other branch of Congress, were heroic enough to withdraw from their seats and fling down the gage of mortal battle. We called it rebellion; but we recognized it as courageous and manly to avow your purpose, take all the risks, and fight it out in the open field. Notwithstanding your utmost efforts to destroy it, the Government was saved. Year by year, since the war ended, those who resisted you have come to believe that you have finally renounced your purpose to destroy, and are willing to maintain the Government. In that belief you have been permitted to return to power in the two Houses.

To-day, after eighteen years of defeat, the book of your domination is again opened, and your first act awakens every unhappy memory, and threatens to destroy the confidence which your professions of patriotism inspired. You turned down a leaf of the history that recorded your last act of power in 1861, and you have now signalized your return to power by beginning a second chapter at the same page, not this time by a heroic act that declares war on the battle-field, but you say, if all the legislative powers of the Gov-

ernment do not consent to let you tear certain laws out of the statute-book, you will not shoot our Government to death as you tried to do in the first chapter, but you declare that if we do not consent against our will, if you cannot coerce an independent branch of this Government, against its will to allow you to tear from the statute-book some laws put there by the will of the people, you will starve the Government to death. [Great applause on the Republican side.]

Between death on the field and death by starvation I do not know that the American people will see any great difference. The end, if successfully reached, would be death in either case. Gentlemen, you have it in your power to kill this Government ; you have it in your power, by withholding these two bills, to smite the nerve-centres of our Constitution with the paralysis of death ; and you have declared your purpose to do this, if you cannot break down that fundamental principle of free consent which, up to this hour has always ruled in the legislation of this Government.

AN APPEAL TO YOUNG MEN.

[From a Speech at Cleveland, on the Saturday evening before the Ohio election of 1879.]

Now, fellow-citizens, a word before I leave you, on the very eve of the holy day of God—a fit moment to consecrate ourselves finally to the great work of next Tuesday morning. I see in this great audience to-night a great many young men—young men who are about to cast their first vote. I want to give you a word of suggestion and advice. I heard a very brilliant thing said by a boy the other day, up in one of our northwestern counties. He said to me, "General, I have a great mind to vote the Democratic ticket." That was not the brilliant thing. I said to him, "Why?" "Why," said he, "my father is a Republican, and my brothers are Republicans, and I am a Republican all over ; but I want to be an independent man, and I don't want anybody to say, 'That fellow votes the Republican ticket just because his dad does,' and I have half a mind to vote the Democratic ticket just to prove my independence." I did not like the thing the boy suggested, but I did admire the spirit of the boy that wanted to have some independence of his own.

Now, I tell you, young man, don't vote the Republican ticket just because your father votes it. Don't vote the Democratic ticket, even if he does vote it. But let me give you this one word of advice, as you are about to pitch your tent in one of the great political camps. Your life is full and buoyant with hope now, and I

beg you, when you pitch your tent, pitch it among the living and not among the dead. If you are at all inclined to pitch it among the Democratic people and with that party, let me go with you for a moment while we survey the ground where I hope you will not shortly lie. It is a sad place, young man, for you to put your young life into. It is to me far more like a graveyard than like a camp for the living. Look at it! It is billowed all over with the graves of dead issues, of buried opinions, of exploded theories, of disgraced doctrines. You cannot live in comfort in such a place. Why, look here! Here is a little double mound. I look down on it and I read, "Sacred to the memory of Squatter Sovereignty and the Dred Scott Decision." A million and a half of Democrats voted for that, but it has been dead fifteen years—died by the hand of Abraham Lincoln, and here it lies. Young man, that is not the place for you.

But look a little further. Here is another monument, a black tomb, and beside it, as our distinguished friend said, there towers to the sky a monument of four million pairs of human fetters taken from the arms of slaves, and I read on its little headstone this: "Sacred to the memory of Human Slavery." For forty years of its infamous life the Democratic party taught that it was divine—God's institution. They defended it, they stood around it, they followed it to its grave as a mourner. But here it lies, dead by the hand of Abraham Lincoln; dead by the power of the Republican party; dead by the justice of Almighty God. Don't camp there, young man.

But here is another—a little brimstone tomb—and I read across its yellow face, in lurid, bloody lines, these words: "Sacred to the memory of State Sovereignty and Secession." Twelve millions of Democrats mustered around it in arms to keep it alive; but here it lies, shot to death by the million guns of the Republic. Here it lies, its shrine burned to ashes under the blazing rafters of the burning Confederacy. It is dead! I would not have you stay in there a minute, even in this balmy night air, to look at such a place.

But just before I leave it I discover a new-made grave, a little mound—short. The grass has hardly sprouted over it, and all around I see torn pieces of paper with the word "fiat" on them, and I look down in curiosity, wondering what the little grave is, and I read on it: "Sacred to the memory of the Rag Baby;" nursed in the brain of all the fanaticism of the world; rocked by Thomas Ewing, George H. Pendleton, Samuel Cary, and a few others throughout the land. But it died on the 1st of January, 1879, and the one hundred and forty millions of gold that God made, and not fiat power, lie upon its little carcass to keep it down forever.

Oh, young man, come out of that! That is no place in which to put your young life. Come out, and come over into this camp of

liberty, of order, of law, of justice, of freedom, of all that is glorious under these night stars.

Is there any death here in our camp? Yes! yes! Three hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, the noblest band that ever trod the earth, died to make this camp a camp of glory and of liberty forever. But there are no dead issues here. There are no dead ideas here. Hang out our banner from under the blue sky this night until it shall sweep the green turf under your feet. It hangs over our camp. Read away up under the stars the inscription we have written on it, lo! these twenty-five years.

Twenty-five years ago the Republican party was married to liberty, and this is our silver wedding, fellow-citizens. A worthily married pair love each other better on the day of their silver wedding than on the day of their first espousals: and we are truer to liberty to-day and dearer to God than we were when we spoke our first word of liberty. Read away up under the sky across our starry banner that first word we uttered twenty-five years ago! What was it? "Slavery shall never extend over another foot of the territory of the great West." Is that dead or alive? Alive, thank God, forevermore! And truer to-night than it was the hour it was written. Then it was a hope, a promise, a purpose. To-night it is equal with the stars—immortal history and immortal truth.

Come down the glorious steps of our banner. Every great record we have made we have vindicated with our blood and with our truth. It sweeps the ground, and it touches the stars. Come here, young man, and put in your young life where all is living, and where nothing is dead but the heroes that defended it. I think these young men will do that.

THE DEMOCRATIC GRAVEYARD.

[From a Speech in the House of Representatives, Aug. 4, 1876.]

I WALK across that Democratic camping-ground as in a graveyard. Under my feet resound the hollow echoes of the dead. There lies Slavery; a black marble column at the head of its grave, on which I read, Died in the flames of the civil war; loved in its life, lamented in its death; followed to its bier by its only mourner, the Democratic party, but dead! And here is a double grave: Sacred to the memory of Squatter Sovereignty. Died in the campaign of 1860. On the reverse side: Sacred to the memory of the Dred Scott-Breckinridge doctrine. Both dead at the hands of Abraham Lincoln. And here a monument of brimstone: Sacred to the memory of the Rebellion; the war against it is a failure; Tilden et Vallandigham fecerunt, A.D. 1864. Dead on the field of battle; shot to

death by the million guns of the Republic. The doctrine of Secession, of State Sovereignty. Dead : expired in the flames of civil war, amid the blazing rafters of the Confederacy, except that the modern Æneas, fleeing out of the flames of that ruin, bears on his back another Anchises of State Sovereignty, and brings it here in the person of the honorable gentleman from the Appomattox district of Virginia. All else is dead.

Now, gentlemen, are you sad, are you sorry for these deaths? Are you not glad that secession is dead? that slavery is dead? that squatter sovereignty is dead? that the doctrine of the failure of the war is dead? Then you are glad that you were outvoted in 1860, 1861, in 1863, and in 1872. If you have tears to shed over these losses, shed them in the graveyard, but not in this House of living men. I know that many a Southern man rejoices that these issues are dead. The gentleman from Mississippi has clothed his joy with eloquence. Now, gentlemen, if you yourselves are glad that you have suffered defeat during the last sixteen years, will you not be equally glad when you suffer defeat next November?

RELATION OF CURRENCY TO PRICES.

[From a Speech in the House of Representatives, May 15, 1863.]

LET us examine more minutely the effect of such a currency upon prices. Suppose that the business transactions of the country at the present time require \$350,000,000 in gold. It is manifest that if there are just \$350,000,000 of legal-tender notes, and no other money in the country, each dollar will perform the full functions of a gold dollar, so far as the work of exchange is concerned. Now, business remaining the same, let \$350,000,000 more of the same kind of notes be pressed into circulation. The whole volume, as thus increased, can do no more than all the business. Each dollar will accomplish just half the work that a dollar did before the increase, but as the nominal dollar is fixed by law, the effect is shown in prices being doubled. It requires two of these dollars to make the same purchase that one dollar made before the increase. It would require some time for the business of the country to adjust itself to the new conditions, and great derangement of values would ensue ; but the result would at last be reached in all transactions which are controlled by the law of demand and supply.

No such change of value can occur without cost. Somebody must pay for it. Who pays in this case? We have seen that doubling the currency finally results in reducing the purchasing power

of each dollar one half ; hence every man who held a legal-tender note at the time of the increase, and continued to hold it till the full effect of the increase was produced, suffered a loss of fifty per cent of its value ; in other words, he paid a tax to the amount of half of all the currency in his possession. This new issue, therefore, by depreciating the value of all the currency, cost the holders of the old issue \$175,000,000 ; and if the new notes were received at their nominal value at the date of issue, their holders paid a tax of \$175,000,000 more. No more unequal or unjust mode of taxation could possibly be devised. It would be tolerated only by being so involved in the transactions of business as to be concealed from observation ; but it would be no less real because hidden.

SURPLUS AND DEFICIT IN THE TREASURY.

[From a Speech in the House of Representatives, March 5, 1874.]

REVENUES and expenditures may be considered from two points of view—in relation to the people and their industries, and in relation to the government and the effective working of its machinery. So far as the people are concerned, they willingly bear the burdens of taxation, when they see that their contributions are honestly and wisely expended to maintain the government of their choice, and to accomplish those objects which they consider necessary for the general welfare. So far as the government is concerned the soundness of its financial affairs depends upon the annual surplus of its revenues over expenditures. A steady and constant revenue drawn from sources that represent the prosperity of the nation—a revenue that grows with the growth of national wealth and is so adjusted to the expenditures that a constant and considerable surplus is annually left in the treasury above all the necessary current demands ; a surplus that keeps the treasury strong, that holds it above the fear of sudden panic ; that makes it impregnable against all private combinations ; that makes it a terror to all stock jobbing and gold-gambling—this is financial health. This is the situation that wise statesmanship should endeavor to support and maintain.

Of course in this discussion I leave out the collateral though important subject of banking and currency. The surplus, then, is the key to our financial situation. Every act of legislation should be studied in view of its effects upon the surplus. Two sets of forces are constantly acting upon the surplus. It is increased by the growth of the revenue and by the decrease of expenditure. It is decreased by the repeal or reduction of taxation, and by the increase of expenditures. When both forces conspire against it, when taxes

are diminished and expenditures are increased, the surplus disappears.

With the disappearance of the surplus comes disaster—disaster to the treasury, disaster to the public credit, disaster to all the public interests. In times of peace, when no sudden emergency has made a great and imperious demand upon the treasury, a deficit cannot occur except as the result of unwise legislation or reckless and unwarranted administration. That legislation may consist in too great an increase of appropriations, or in too great a reduction of taxation, or in both combined.

HEROES IN POLITICS.

[From an Oration delivered at Ravenna, Ohio, July 4, 1860.]

As a people we are brimfull of enthusiasm and excitement. To Europeans our Presidential campaigns are a source of profound astonishment. Mackay in his late tour among us expressed his wonder that such an intensely exciting mass-meeting should be held in the City of New York without the restraining influence of military force. But they do not understand the omnipotence of majorities among us. Let a contest rage never so fiercely, with all the intensity which excited partisans can feel, and though each will fight for his man or party to the bitter end yet, when once the voice of the majority has been clearly and fairly expressed, the waves of strife are still, and ninety-nine in the hundred of that fiery throng would fight to their death to sustain the will of that majority. This strong element of national enthusiasm has given a peculiar character to our hero-worship. We are never without a man or a motto to shout over. Still our Hosannas are not so much for the man as for the doctrine he represents. Our political heroes we very appropriately call "standard-bearers." We applaud the motto inscribed on the banner rather than him who bears it. He may soon pass out of sight, but the motto is preserved. And here we are reminded of that proverbial ingratitude charged upon republics for their treatment of their great men. It must be conceded that for the last quarter of a century few of our first men have been elevated to the highest positions. This has at least demonstrated the virtue and strength of the Government, that with only mediocre men at the helm its functions could be so easily and well discharged. It may be fairly questioned whether the welfare of the whole people does not demand that the power and control of great men should be jealously watched and in a measure abridged. As a giant tree absorbs all the elements of growth within its reach, and leaves only a sickly vegetation in its shadow, so do towering great men absorb all the strength and glory of their surroundings.

TREASON IN CONGRESS.

[From Remarks in the House Jan. 1874 in answer to a speech by Alexander Long in favor of recognizing the Southern Confederacy.]

FIRST of all, the gentleman tells us that the right of secession is a constitutional right. I do not propose to enter into the argument. I have expressed myself hitherto upon State sovereignty and State rights, of which this proposition is the legitimate child. But the gentleman takes higher ground, and in that I agree with him, namely, that five million or eight million people possess the right of revolution. Grant it: we agree there. If fifty-nine men can make revolution successful, they have the right of revolution. If one State wishes to break its connection with the Federal Government, and does it by force, maintaining itself, it is an independent nation. If the eleven Southern States are determined and resolved to leave the Union, to secede, to revolutionize, and can maintain that revolution by force, they have the revolutionary right to do so. Grant it. I stand on that platform with the gentleman.

And now the question comes, Is it our constitutional duty to let them do it? That is the question, and in order to reach it I beg to call your attention, not to an argument, but to the condition of affairs which would result from such action, the mere statement of which becomes the strongest possible argument. What does this gentleman propose? Where will he draw the line of division? If the rebels carry into successful secession what they desire to carry; if their revolution envelops as many States as they intend it shall envelop; if they draw the line where Isham G. Harris, the rebel Governor of Tennessee, in the rebel camp near our lines, told Mr. Vallandigham they would draw it--along the line of the Ohio and the Potomac; if they make good their declaration to him that they will never consent to any other line, then I ask, what is this thing that the gentleman proposes to do? I tell you, and I confess it here, that while I hope I have something of human courage, I have not enough to contemplate such a result. I am not brave enough to go to the precipice of successful secession and look down into its damned abyss. If my vision were keen enough to pierce to its bottom, I would not dare to look. If there be a man here who dare contemplate such a spectacle, I look upon him as the bravest of the sons of women or as a downright madman. Secession to gain peace! Secession is the tocsin of eternal war. There can be no end to such a war as will be inaugurated of this thing be done, and leave a dearth of greatness for a whole generation. A monopoly of popular honors is as much a tyranny as a monopoly of wealth. The good of the many should be dearer to the American heart than the good of the few.

GEN. GARFIELD'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

MENTOR, O., July 12.

DEAR SIR : On the evening of the 8th of June last I had the honor to receive from you, in the presence of the committee of which you were chairman, the official announcement that the Republican National Convention at Chicago had that day nominated me as their candidate for President of the United States. I accept the nomination with gratitude for the confidence it implies, and with a deep sense of the responsibility it imposes. I cordially endorse the principles set forth in the platform adopted by the Convention. On nearly all the subjects of which it treats, my opinions are on record among the published proceedings of Congress. I venture, however, to make special mention of some of the principal topics which are likely to become subjects of discussion.

Without reviewing the controversies which have been settled during the last twenty years, and with no purpose or wish to revive the passions of the late war, it should be said that while the Republicans fully recognize and will strenuously defend all the rights retained by the people and all the rights reserved to the States, they reject the pernicious doctrine of State supremacy which so long crippled the functions of the National Government, and at one time brought the Union very near to destruction. They insist that the United States is a nation, with ample power of self-preservation ; that its Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof are the supreme law of the land ; that the right of the Nation to determine the method by which its own Legislature shall be created cannot be surren-

dered without abdicating one of the fundamental powers of government ; that the national laws relating to the election of Representatives in Congress shall neither be violated nor evaded ; that every elector shall be permitted freely and without intimidation to cast his lawful ballot at such election and have it honestly counted, and that the potency of his vote shall not be destroyed by the fraudulent vote of any other person.

The best thoughts and energies of our people should be directed to those great questions of national well-being in which all have a common interest. Such efforts will soonest restore perfect peace to those who were lately in arms against each other ; for justice and good-will will outlast passion. But it is certain that the wounds of the war cannot be completely healed, and the spirit of brotherhood cannot fully pervade the whole country, until every citizen, rich or poor, white or black, is secure in the free and equal enjoyment of every civil and political right guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws. Wherever the enjoyment of these rights is not assured, discontent will prevail, immigration will cease, and the social and industrial forces will continue to be disturbed by the migration of laborers and the consequent diminution of prosperity. The National Government should exercise all its constitutional authority to put an end to these evils, for all the people and all the States are members of one body, and no member can suffer without injury to all. The most serious evils which now afflict the South arise from the fact that there is not such freedom and toleration of political opinion and action that the minority party can exercise an effective and wholesome restraint upon the party in power. Without such restraint party rule becomes tyrannical and corrupt. The prosperity which is made possible in the South by its great advantages of soil and climate will never be realized until every voter can freely and safely support any party he pleases.

Next in importance to freedom and justice is popular educa-

tion, without which neither freedom nor justice can be permanently maintained. Its interests are entrusted to the States and to the voluntary action of the people. Whatever help the Nation can justly afford should be generously given to aid the States in supporting common schools; but it would be unjust to our people and dangerous to our institutions to apply any portion of the revenues of the Nation, or of the States, to the support of sectarian schools. The separation of the Church and the State in everything relating to taxation should be absolute.

On the subject of national finances my views have been so frequently and fully expressed that little is needed in the way of additional statement. The public debt is now so well secured and the rate of annual interest has been so reduced by refunding, that rigid economy in expenditures and the faithful application of our surplus revenues to the payment of the principal of the debt will gradually but certainly free the people from its burdens, and close with honor the financial chapter of the war. At the same time the Government can provide for all its ordinary expenditures and discharge its sacred obligations to the soldiers of the Union, and to the widows and orphans of those who fell in its defence. The resumption of specie payments, which the Republican Party so courageously and successfully accomplished, has removed from the field of controversy many questions that long and seriously disturbed the credit of the Government and the business of the country. Our paper currency is now as national as the flag, and resumption has not only made it everywhere equal to coin, but has brought into use our store of gold and silver. The circulating medium is more abundant than ever before, and we need only to maintain the equality of all our dollars to insure to labor and capital a measure of value from the use of which no one can suffer loss. The great prosperity which the country is now enjoying should not be endangered by any violent changes or doubtful financial experiments.

In reference to our customs laws a policy should be pursued which will bring revenues to the Treasury, and will enable the labor and capital employed in our great industries to compete fairly in our own markets with the labor and capital of foreign producers. We legislate for the people of the United States, and not for the whole world, and it is our glory that the American laborer is more intelligent and better paid than his foreign competitor. Our country cannot be independent unless its people, with their abundant natural resources, possess the requisite skill at any time to clothe, arm, and equip themselves for war, and in time of peace to produce all the necessary implements of labor. It was the manifest intention of the founders of the Government to provide for the common defence, not by standing armies alone, but by raising among the people a greater army of artisans whose intelligence and skill should powerfully contribute to the safety and glory of the nation.

Fortunately for the interests of commerce, there is no longer any formidable opposition to appropriations for the improvement of our harbors and great navigable rivers, provided that the expenditures for that purpose are strictly limited to works of national importance. The Mississippi River, with its great tributaries, is of such vital importance to so many millions of people that the safety of its navigation requires exceptional consideration. In order to secure to the Nation the control of all its waters, President Jefferson negotiated the purchase of a vast territory, extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean. The wisdom of Congress should be invoked to devise some plan by which that great river shall cease to be a terror to those who dwell upon its banks, and by which its shipping may safely carry the industrial products of 25,000,000 of people. The interests of agriculture, which is the basis of all our material prosperity, and in which seven-twelfths of our population are engaged, as well as the interests of manufactures and commerce,

demand that the facilities for cheap transportation shall be increased by the use of all our great water-courses.

The material interests of this country, the traditions of its settlement, and the sentiment of our people have led the Government to offer the widest hospitality to immigrants who seek our shores for new and happier homes, willing to share the burdens as well as the benefits of our society, and intending that their posterity shall become an undistinguishable part of our population. The recent movement of the Chinese to our Pacific Coast partakes but little of the qualities of such an immigration either in its purpose or its result. It is too much like an importation to be welcomed without restriction; too much like an invasion to be looked upon without solicitude. We cannot consent to allow any form of servile labor to be introduced among us under the guise of immigration. Recognizing the gravity of this subject, the present Administration, supported by Congress, has sent to China a commission of distinguished citizens for the purpose of securing such a modification of the existing treaty as will prevent the evils likely to arise from the present situation. It is confidently believed that these diplomatic negotiations will be successful without the loss of commercial intercourse between the two Powers, which promises a great increase of reciprocal trade and the enlargement of our markets. Should these efforts fail, it will be the duty of Congress to mitigate the evils already felt, and prevent their increase by such restrictions as, without violence or injustice, will place upon a sure foundation the peace of our communities and the freedom and dignity of labor.

The appointment of citizens to the various executive and judicial offices of the Government is, perhaps, the most difficult of all duties which the Constitution has imposed on the Executive. The Convention wisely demands that Congress shall co-operate with the executive departments in placing the Civil Service on a better basis. Experience has proved that with our frequent

changes of administration no system of reform can be made effective and permanent without the aid of legislation. Appointments to the military and naval service are so regulated by law and custom as to leave but little ground for complaint. It may not be wise to make similar regulations by law for the Civil Service. But without invading the authority or necessary discretion of the Executive, Congress should devise a method that will determine the tenure of office, and greatly reduce the uncertainty which makes that service so uncertain and unsatisfactory. Without depriving any officer of his rights as a citizen, the Government should require him to discharge all his official duties with intelligence, efficiency, and faithfulness. To select wisely from our vast population those who are best fitted for the many offices to be filled, requires an acquaintance far beyond the range of any one man. The Executive should, therefore seek and receive information and assistance of those whose knowledge of the communities in which the duties are to be performed best qualifies them to aid in making the wisest choice.

The doctrines announced by the Chicago Convention are not the temporary devices of a party to attract votes and carry an election; they are deliberate convictions resulting from a careful study of the spirit of our institutions, the events of our history, and the best impulses of our people. In my judgment these principles should control the legislation and administration of the Government. In any event, they will guide my conduct until experience points out a better way.

If elected, it will be my purpose to enforce strict obedience to the Constitution and the laws, and to promote, as best I may, the interest and honor of the whole country, relying for support upon the wisdom of Congress, the intelligence and patriotism of the people, and the favor of God. With great respect, I am very truly yours,

J. A. GARFIELD.

To the Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, Chairman of Committee.

LIFE OF
CHESTER A. ARTHUR
OF NEW YORK.

BY
E. L. MURLIN.



CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

LIFE OF
CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

CHAPTER I.

BOYHOOD AND COLLEGE LIFE.

THE traveller through Washington County, New York, and the bordering counties of Southwestern Vermont finds a land that has many of the characteristics of a mountain region. There are long and narrow valleys adorned with rich meadows, shut in by hills approaching the height of mountains—their bases covered with farms and their crests hidden by dense forests. To the northward the dwellers on these hills see, low-lying on the horizon line, the Adirondacks; at the south the curving line of the blue Catskills; while cleaving their land is a great mountain range, a huge ridge of rock and forest lifted high in the air—the Green Mountains. The inhabitants of this region, as in all mountainous countries, have always been a liberty-loving people and very energetic in their action when they thought it endangered. From them went forth Ethan Allen to conquer Ticonderoga, “in the name of God and the Continental Congress.” From them again, in 1851, there came forth a young man who loved liberty and believed in human freedom, and who, from these native traits, was to take a great part in the liberation and enfranchisement of four million slaves then in bondage.

Chester Alan Arthur was born in Franklin County, Vermont, on the 5th day of October, 1830. He was the eldest of two

sons ; he had four sisters older and one younger than himself. His father, the Rev. Dr. William Arthur, was a Baptist clergyman, who came to the United States from Ballymena, County Antrim, Ireland, when only 18 years old, and died at an advanced age in Newtonville, near Albany, on October 27th, 1875. Dr. Arthur was a finely-educated man ; a graduate of Belfast University, Ireland. For several years he published *The Antiquarian*, a journal devoted, as its title indicates, to antiquarian research. A work of his own, "Family Names," is still highly esteemed by the collectors of this kind of literature. While devoting himself to literature, he yet fulfilled faithfully all the duties of his special calling. He was pastor of the Calvary Baptist Church, Albany ; and also of Baptist churches at Bennington, Hinesburg, Fairfield and Williston, in Vermont ; and at York, Perry, Greenwich, Schenectady, Lansingburg, Hoosic, West Troy, and Newtonville, in New York State. The second son, William Arthur, highly distinguished himself in the Union army during the war of the Rebellion. He is now a paymaster of the regular army with the rank of major.

Chester A. Arthur found his father's fine knowledge of the Latin and Greek classics of great advantage to him when he came to prepare for college. His preparation first began in Union Village, now Greenwich, a beautiful village of Washington County, New York ; and was concluded at the grammar school at Schenectady. Thanks to his fine training young Arthur took a high position in Union College, which he entered in 1845, when only 15 years old. Every year of his college course he was declared to be one of those who had taken "maximum honors" ; and at the conclusion of his college course, out of a class of one hundred members he was one of six who were elected members of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, the condition of entrance to which is the highest scholarship. This was the more creditable to him as he was compelled to absent himself from Union two winters during his course, to

earn money to go on with his education. His father was receiving a salary of only \$500, and with a large family to support with it, found that he could not aid his eldest son through college. When 16 years old, therefore, and a Sophomore, young Arthur left college, and obtaining a school at Schaghticoke, Rensselaer County, taught there throughout the winter. He had "to board around" and received only \$15 a month compensation. He also had to keep up his studies in college. In the last year of his college course he again taught during the winter at Schaghticoke. He was graduated, at 18 years of age, from Union College in the class of 1848. In college he had been very popular with his fellow-students and had become a member of the Psi Upsilon fraternity—in whose welfare he ever after took a keen interest.

CHAPTER II.

AT WORK FOR THE SLAVE.

AT college he had determined to become a lawyer. Accordingly, upon graduation he went to a law school at Ballston Springs, and there remained diligently studying for several months. He then returned to Lansingburg, where his father then resided and there studied law. In 1851 he obtained a situation as principal of an academy at North Pownal, Bennington County, Vermont. He prepared boys for college, all the while studying law. Two years after he left North Pownal, or in 1853, a student from Williams College named James A. Garfield came to the place, and in the same academy building taught penmanship throughout one winter. It was a singular circumstance that after nearly a quarter of a century both these men should meet at a great political convention and unexpectedly to themselves be picked out as the candidates of the Republican Party for President and Vice-President.

Mr. Arthur came to New York in 1853 and entered the law office of E. D. Culver as a law student. By the strictest economy he had saved \$500, and with this determined to start out in business life. He had known Mr. Culver when the latter was a Congressman from Washington County and when Mr. Arthur's father was pastor of the Baptist Church in the village. Mr. Culver was celebrated in Congress for his firm anti-slavery principles, and his law office in New York was one of the depots of "The Underground Railway" patronized by runaway slaves. It was from Mr. Culver that Mr. Arthur imbibed his anti-slavery ideas. Admitted to the Bar in 1853 he became, at once a member of the firm of Culver, Parker & Arthur, where he remained until the dissolution of that firm in 1857. He then formed a law partnership with Henry D. Gardiner, an intimate friend, the firm being Arthur & Gardiner. They had intended to practice law in the West, but after a three months' tour through the West they concluded that their prospects were better in New York City. They accordingly returned to New York, and very soon acquired a very lucrative practice.

Already there were tokens of the coming struggle over slavery. Mr. Arthur's fame as a lawyer had begun earlier with his management of a very celebrated slave case. In 1852, a slaveholder of Virginia named Jonathan Lemmon determined to take eight slaves to Texas. He brought them by steamer from Norfolk to New York, intending to reship them from New York for Texas. While in New York these slaves were discovered by a free colored man named Louis Napoleon. He had been told that slaves could not legally be held in the State of New York. He accordingly presented a petition to Elijah Paine, a Justice of the Superior Court of New York, asking that a writ of habeas corpus be issued to the persons having the slaves in charge, commanding them to bring the slaves into court at once. Mr. Culver and John Jay appeared as counsel for the slaves, and H. D. Lapaugh and Henry L. Clinton for

Lemmon. Judge Paine, after hearing long arguments, ordered the slaves released, affirming that the fugitive-slave law did not apply to them and that no human creature could be held in bondage in the State, except under that national law. This decision created great excitement in the slave States, as it practically made every slave free who should put foot on the soil of a free State. Governor Cobb of Georgia thought the decision would be "a just cause for war." Governor Johnson, of Virginia said : " In importance it is of the first magnitude, and in spirit it is without a parallel. If sustained, it will not only destroy that comity which should have subsisted between the several States composing this Confederacy, but must seriously affect the value of slave property wherever found." Inspired by this message, the Legislature of Virginia directed the Attorney-General of the State to employ counsel to appeal from the decision of Judge Paine to the higher courts of New York. Mr. Arthur went to Albany and after persistent effort induced the Legislature of New York to take up the challenge ; and he procured the passage of a joint resolution requesting the Governor to appoint counsel to defend the interests of the State. Ogden Hoffman, then Attorney-General, E. D. Culver, and Joseph Blunt were appointed the counsel of the State. Mr. Arthur was the State's attorney in the matter, and upon the death of Ogden Hoffman at the suggestion he associated with him William M. Evarts as counsel. The Supreme Court sustained Judge Paine's decision. Thereupon to strengthen their cause the slaveholders engaged Charles O'Connor to argue the case before the Court of Appeals. But there again the counsel for the State were successful in defending Judge Paine's decision ; and thenceforth no slaveholder dared venture with his slaves into the State of New York.

Mr. Arthur became such a champion of their interests in the eyes of the colored people by his connection with this case that it was natural they should seek his aid when next in trouble. The street car companies of New York, cringing to the senti-

ments of the slaveholders, made almost no provision for the transportation of colored people. Upon several of the lines occasionally there could be seen passing by an old and shabby-looking car labelled, "Colored persons allowed in this car." Several of the lines did not make even this provision. This was the case with the rich Fourth Avenue line. One Sunday in 1855 a neatly-dressed colored woman named Lizzie Jennings, who had just come from fulfilling her duties as superintendent of a colored Sunday-school, hailed a Fourth Avenue car. The car stopped, she took a seat, and the conductor took her fare — thus silently acknowledging her right to ride on the car. The car went on a block and then a drunken white man said to the conductor : "Are you going to let that — nigger ride in this car?"

"Oh, I guess it won't make any difference," said the conductor.

"Yes, but it will," answered the pro-slavery man ; "I have paid my fare, and I want a decent ride, and I tell you you've got to give me a decent ride."

Thereupon the conductor went to Lizzie Jennings and asked her to leave the car, offering to return her fare. She refused to comply with the request. The car was stopped and the conductor attempted to put her off by force. She strenuously resisted, all the while crying : "I have paid my fare and I am entitled to ride." Her clothing was almost torn from her body, but still she resisted, and resisted successfully. Finally, the conductor had to call in several policemen, and by their efforts she was finally removed from the car. Influential colored people soon heard of her treatment, and going to the office of Cullver, Parker & Arthur told them all about it. They at once told them that her wrongs should be righted. A suit was brought against the railway company in her behalf in Judge Rockwell's court in Brooklyn. Public sentiment was still on the side of the slaveholder, however, and even the judge was prejudiced.

When Mr. Arthur handed him the papers in the case he said : " Pshaw ! do you ask me to try a case against a corporation for the wrongful act of its agent ? " Mr. Arthur immediately pointed out a section of the Revised Statutes under which the action had been brought, making the corporation liable for the acts of its servants. It could not be disputed, and upon trial of the case, judgment in favor of Lizzie Jennings to the amount of \$500 was rendered. Without further contest the railroad company paid the \$500. It then issued orders to its conductors that colored people should be allowed to ride on the cars. All the city railroad companies followed the example. The " Colored People's Legal Rights Association " annually for years celebrated the anniversary of the day on which Mr. Arthur conducted and won this celebrated case.

CHAPTER III.

FIRST STEPS IN POLITICS.

It was in the year 1856 that Mr. Arthur began to be prominent in politics in New York City. He had taken an active interest in politics at a very early age. He sympathized with the Whig Party and was an ardent admirer of Henry Clay. It is related of him that during the contest between Polk and Clay, he was the leader of the boys of Whig parentage in Greenwich village, who determined to raise an ash pole in honor of Henry Clay. They were attacked by the boys of Democratic parentage while doing so, and for a time driven off the village green. But they were rallied by young Arthur, and he leading a desperate charge, the Democrats were driven with broken heads from the field. Then, with a shout of triumph, the Whig boys raised the ash pole. His first vote was cast in 1852—for Winfield Scott for President. In New York City Mr. Arthur identified him-